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FRONTISPIECE

Bowen Sculp

Time blowing the Clouds which had obscured the Genius of France, who is sitting between Justice & Mercy - On her right hand is Vigilance near to whom sits History - On her left is Strength.

THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,
FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES,
TILL THE DEATH OF
LOUIS SIXTEENTH.

FROM THE FRENCH
OF VELLY, VILLARET, GARNIER, MEZERAY, DANIEL,
AND OTHER EMINENT HISTORIANS;

WITH
NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY;

BY
JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

AND,
CONTINUED FROM THE ABOVE PERIOD,

UNTIL
THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT WAR,

BY
A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE PRESENT

BY

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THE
P R E F A C E.

IN an age of science, like the present, when the importance of historical knowledge is clearly understood, it becomes needless to expatiate on its peculiar advantages. Several histories of the United States have been already published; the annals of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, have been faithfully delineated; philosophers, men of erudition, men of genius, and men of labour, have successively exerted their talents on a subject that affords ample scope for the demonstration of their respective abilities—the eastern and western parts of the globe have had their separate historians: scarcely a kingdom or petty state in the north or south of Europe, but has engaged the attention of some able writer; while FRANCE, alone, has escaped the notice of all English authors.

When we consider the very powerful inducements to the composition of a HISTORY of FRANCE, we are naturally led to conclude, that the extreme difficulty, attending a task so laborious, has *alone* proved sufficient to prevent the publication of so desirable a Work. It is, undoubtedly true, that, either to an American or an Englishman, no history, if we except that of his own country, can prove so highly interesting and instructive as the History of France. It is, indeed, so immediately connected with that of the United States, and likewise with that of England, that an adequate knowledge of either of the latter cannot possibly be acquired without an intimate acquaintance with the former; hence the English historian is frequently compelled to take a cursory view of the situation of affairs in that country; but his view is necessarily so contracted as to prove unsatisfactory to himself, and to heighten, rather than gratify, the curiosity of his readers. It must not be forgotten, that a province of France gave a monarch to England, where the laws and language of its conqueror long prevailed; and have, ever since, retained no inconsiderable influence. For ages their rival in arts as in arms, to France are they indebted for numerous improvements, of great national utility. In her annals may be discovered the origin of many customs and manners, that they still cherish and respect; and to her may be traced many of those sentiments, and many of those principles, which, for a long time, dignified and distinguished them among the nations of Europe. In short, she may justly be termed—*Gentis incunabula nostræ.*

Considerations of this magnitude must operate with irresistible force on the inquisitive mind, and lead it to explore those copious sources of information, that are peculiarly calculated to enlarge the circle of its knowledge, and give a more liberal and expansive scope to its ideas.

In the present History, we mean to give, not merely the Annals of the different Sovereigns, but those of the Nation they governed; to join the names of such heroes as have extended the limits of their country, with those of such men of superior genius, as have enlightened its understanding; in short, it is our intention to give an impartial account of its victories and its conquests, and an ample and interesting detail of its manners, its laws, and its customs.

The attention bestowed on each particular object will be proportioned to the degree of amusement or instruction which it is capable of affording: we shall be careful, however, to notice the commencement of all singular and curious customs; the principles of the constitution; the true sources and various foundations of the laws; the origin of particular dignities; the institution of the parliaments; the establishment of universities; the foundation of orders, religious and military; and every discovery in the arts and sciences, which has proved of use to society.

In short, we may safely affirm, that nothing will be neglected that can render the work interesting to the Public: every fact will be accompanied by its principal circumstances, and not any thing advanced, but on the most unquestionable authority.

The Abbé Velly, and his learned co-adjutors—indisputably the best of all the French historians—we have chosen as our *principal* guides : but, in the course of our labours, we shall not fail to profit by the assistance of other eminent writers ; and particularly by those various elucidations, and explanatory comments, to which the lately-established liberty of the press, in France, has given birth.

Independent of these essential advantages, which no historian has hitherto enjoyed, the CONTINUATION of our Work until the conclusion of the present war, an era that is pregnant with the most important consequences, will render it the *only* complete and perfect HISTORY of FRANCE, that exists, either in this, or in any other language.

THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Origin of the French.

IT seems as if Fate had decreed that the most celebrated nations should have no certain monument of their origin. The people of Athens, and of Rome, knew but little of their ancestors; the early state of the ancient Britons is involved in obscurity; and the founders of the French nation are but imperfectly known. Some maintain them to have been descended from the ancient kings of Troy; others assure us, that they were natives of Trans-Alpine and Cis-Alpine Gaul, which they left either before or soon after the conquests of Julius Cæsar; while a third class of writers make them come from Scandinavia, which was formerly denominated the common mother of all nations. The authority of certain authors, quoted by Gregory of Tours, has given rise to an assertion, that they sprang from Pannonia; and others pretend that they were a colony of those famous free Scythians, or Franks, who, according to Herodotus, inhabited the banks of the Palus-Mæotis. The most probable opinion is, that they were originally of Germany; but it is not precisely known in what part of that extensive country they first established their residence, or what was the ancient signification of the word Frank. It is supposed that the Franks were a league of several different nations, which occupied that extent of country which is bounded by the Elbe, on the east; the Mein, on the south; the Rhine, on the west; and on the north, by the Northern Ocean*: a tract which comprised the present Franconia, Thuringia, Hesse, Friezeland, and Westphalia.

* Philip Cluverius, l. iii, c. 20.

Such of the ancient writers as mention these people, represent them as savages, who lived on the produce of the chase, and on fruits, vegetables, and roots*. More jealous of their liberty, than anxious to obtain the pleasures of life, they were strangers to silver and gold, and all their commerce was carried on by exchange. More martial than civilized, their forests were their only towns; their houses consisted of subterraneous caverns, or else of rustic habitations composed of wood cemented with clay; their possessions were confined to such lands as the prince, or the magistrate, distributed to them every year, according to their rank, their services, or condition. Frank, faithful, and sincere, they observed the point of honour with the most scrupulous delicacy. Rigidly attached to the laws of nature, they were, in general, ignorant of those abominations which dishonoured Italy and Greece; and if they sometimes occurred, they were punished with the utmost severity. In their enmity generous, an offence was no sooner acknowledged than forgiven: implacable in war, their vengeance often degenerated into ferocity. Zealous citizens, they were ever ready to sacrifice their all to the welfare of their country: formidable neighbours, they made their glory and their safety consist in the devastation of their own frontiers, and in separating themselves from the rest of the world by gloomy deserts. A singular composition of activity and sloth, they neither knew how to employ themselves to advantage in time of peace, or to contain themselves within the bounds of moderation in war. Their hospitality shone conspicuous in the list of their merits, and was a theme of universal admiration. Their houses were always open to the stranger, who was treated with kindness as long as he chose to stay, and, at his departure, was loaded with presents. Their religion was simple as their manners. The sun, the moon, fire, trees, and rivers, were their deities; their temples were darksome caverns, or the most gloomy recesses of their forests, impenetrable by the light of the day: human victims, sheep, wolves, and foxes, were the sacrifices they offered to their gods: their priests were more deeply versed in magic than theology: their marriages were always contracted from inclination; and, to the shame of more polished societies be it spoken! were never formed by the sordid ties of interest; as their women were excluded from the succession, no fortune was expected from them. Their funerals were simple ceremonies, whence all kind of pomp was excluded, but which were distinguished by the strongest symptoms of regard, in the living, for the friend they had lost. When they burnt the body, the pile was composed of chosen wood; when they committed it to the earth, they buried with it the richest and most valuable effects of the deceased; and such was their attention, that they even sent a servant with him to attend on him in the other world.

The nation was divided into four classes—*nobles*; *free-born subjects*; *slaves*, and those who were *born slaves*, but had afterwards found means of obtaining an exemption from slavery, and were, therefore, denominated *Freed-men*. We

* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

learn from history that they were sometimes governed by a king, sometimes by a prince, and sometimes by a duke. The authority of the first was perpetual, and that of the second temporary; and the last was only entrusted with the command in time of war. The power of these chiefs was limited; all affairs of importance being settled by an assembly of the states. The king was always selected from the highest class of nobility; but in the election of dukes, merit was more the object of consideration than birth. No chief, nor commander, had the power of levying imposts, each individual paying him a voluntary tribute, from the produce of his fields or flocks. This present, the free homage of the subjects' love, was the only reward for the labours, and the only support of the expences, of sovereignty. The use of letters, or characters, were totally unknown to these people, who had neither annals, nor written laws. The bards, or poets, were their historians; songs, consequently, formed their histories; custom was their code, and the light of their understanding, their digest. Adultery was considered by them as a horrible monster, and as such punished by repudiation and disgrace: an ignominious death was the lot of traitors and fugitives: cowards, and such as were guilty of an unnatural crime, were buried alive in a bog; a punishment unprecedented in the annals of nations, and which sufficiently demonstrates the degree of horror in which every kind of infamy was holden by this brave and virtuous people.

The warlike genius of the nation was visible even in the education of their children, whose only amusement was wrestling and riding. They could not, however, carry arms without the express permission of the tribe to which they belonged. The candidates for this honour assembled, when one of their princes, their fathers, or their relations, presented them with a lance or shield; by which ceremony they were initiated into the military order, and ranked among the defenders of the state. Their arms were the sword, the lance, or halbert, the sling, the *mallet*, the javelin, the battle-axe, and a species of heavy club, which they threw into the enemy's battalions, which it crushed with its enormous weight. Their shield was oblong, composed of osier-twigs, or the bark of trees, and the loss of it involved the warrior in infamy and dishonour; this, with a cuirass, covered with the skin of the bear, or wild boar, and a helmet crested, with horses' tails dyed red, or else with some hideous figure, formed their only armour. Their standards were objects of terror; selected either from the most ferocious inhabitants of the forest, or from whatever was most horrible in their own consecrated groves. Their order of battle was strictly uniform; their infantry, always placed in the centre, formed a kind of triangle*, which they called a wedge, because its point being presented to the enemy, it was destined to divide and break their ranks. An hundred chosen youths fought at the head of this formidable phalanx. The cavalry was posted on the wings:

* Agath. lib. xxiv.

their chariots, and baggage, were drawn up in the rear. For a long time they were reproached with the tumultuous irregularity of their attacks, and their total ignorance of discipline; it was from the Romans they first learnt all the stratagems of war.

There was no people in Europe, according to Pliny, so well versed in all maritime matters. Their vessels were either composed of skins sewed together, or else of osier, covered with leather; they had neither sails nor prows, but were worked entirely by oars. At first, their navigation was confined to their own coasts; they began, however, insensibly to venture on longer voyages; they coasted along the shores of Gaul and Spain, and even penetrated through the Straits of Gibraltar, as far as the Mediterranean.

Such were the ancient Franks, who were so often attacked, sometimes beaten, but never totally subdued by the Romans. Julius Cæsar, the conqueror of the Gauls, made irruptions into their country, at two different times*; but he repassed the Rhine without having obtained any other advantage over them, than that of committing depredations on their lands, and burning some few of their villages. The consternation of that prince, when he was informed of the massacre of his legions commanded by Varus †, is well known. His fear made him lose sight of his dignity; he gave himself up for lost; and anticipated the destruction of his capital by this untameable people.

Tiberius, when a subject, having waged war against them with more glory to himself, than utility to his country, gave orders, when he ascended the throne, to leave them undisturbed; contenting himself with confining them to the limits of their own forests, and preventing their irruption into Gaul. Caligula, intoxicated with the ridiculous hope of rivalling the conquests of his father Germanicus, prepared a powerful armament for the reduction of this warlike people: but, a precipitate flight, the disgrace of having retreated without making a single attack, and the contempt of a nation, whose honour and courage were their dearest idols, were the only advantages which he reaped from all his splendid and pompous preparations ‡. Claudius, and the greater part of his successors, were only intent on preventing them from passing the Rhine §, deeming it the wisest policy to leave them to themselves; in the hope, that they would, in time, destroy each other, and finally be dissolved by the fury of domestic commotions.

Marcus Aurelius, who dared to follow them into their native marshes, lost thirty-three thousand men in the first battle; and, though he afterwards beat them in the defiles of Carnunta, he acknowledged that he was indebted for his success to the intervention of a miracle. Though this miraculous advantage astonished, it did not dispirit them: they soon passed the Rhine, and made incursions into Gaul. Alexander Severus, who then governed the empire, hastened to attack them on the first news of their irruption ||; but, though he was a brave

* Cæsar de Bello Gallica, l. iii. & iv. † Fl. l. iv. c. 12. de gest. Rom. ‡ Sueton, in Calig.

§ Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. || Herodot. lib. vi. Lamprid: in Alex. Sev.

prince, he rather chose to employ his treasures in the purchase of a peace, than to hazard a battle, the loss of which might deprive him of his dominions. His successor, Maximian*, enabled the Gauls, for some time, to enjoy a state of tranquility, by repressing the incursions of this restless and untractable people, who do not appear to have undertaken any enterprize of importance till the reign of that unfortunate emperor, Valerian.

It is true, indeed, that we are told, in the chronicle of Alexandria, that the two Decii, the father and son, were killed in an action with the Franks; but all other historians assure us that these princes fell beyond the Danube, in an expedition against the Goths. It was not then till the reign of Valerian, that the Attuarians, the Bructeri, the Chamari, the Salians, the Catti, the Amfivarians, the Cauci, the Sicambri, and the Frisians, all inhabitants of Germany, began to render themselves formidable, under the appellation of Franks †. We learn, from history, that they spread themselves over the first and second Germanica: that Aurelian, who was afterwards raised to the Purple, taking one of their detachments by surprize, killed seven hundred men, and took three hundred prisoners. The rejoicings, and songs of congratulation, that were made on this occasion, sufficiently demonstrate the dread in which this nation was holden by the Romans, since they laid so great an emphasis on so trivial an advantage.

Some time after, and during the reign of the same emperor, they attempted a second irruption into Gaul; but they were repulsed by Galienus, at the passage of the Rhine, and the affrighted Belgæ thereby delivered from the terror with which they had inspired them ‡. But when the same Galienus ascended the throne, he took so little care to preserve the rights and prerogatives of his station, that as many tyrants sprung up, as there were provinces in the empire. The Franks took advantage of this universal commotion, seized all the vessels they could find, and penetrated some of them into Spain, which they ravaged during twelve years; and others into Africa, where every thing was laid waste by fire and sword ||. At length, tired with pillage and depredations, they returned to their own country, loaded with booty, the possession of which no one attempted to dispute with them.

The long interregnum which followed the death of Aurelian, revived their avidity: they passed the Rhine, accompanied by many different nations of Germany; over-ran Gaul, and took seventy cities by surprize. But Probus, marching against them with a powerful army, beat them in several engagements, retook all the places they had subdued, and pursued them into their native marshes.

* Jul. Cap. in Maxim. † Oros. l. iii. c. 14. ‡ Sozim. l. xii. Aurel. Vict. in Valerian.

|| Euseb. l. i. Hist. Temp. Pros. l. vii.

The Franks, whom he made prisoners in this glorious expedition, were all transported, by his orders, to the shores of the Pontus; from the hope that, when thus exiled, they would cease to be troublesome to the empire. He was mistaken, however; for these martial youths, seeing him occupied in other wars, seized a few barks*, and traversing the ocean, spread desolation over all the coasts of Asia Minor, of Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Africa, and Sicily; the capital of which last kingdom they reduced and pillaged.

These depredations irritated the emperors to such a degree, that they vowed the destruction of this untameable people †. But their threats were as impotent as their efforts. This brave nation, says Tacitus ‡, has always maintained its independence; and, in spite of our vain triumphs, has never been subdued. Constantius pursued them into such of their retreats as had hitherto been deemed inaccessible; and, having, taken a great number of prisoners, had them conveyed to the country about Amiens, Beauvais, Langres, and Troies, where he compelled them to cultivate the very lands which they had recently laid waste ||. Constantine carried on a cruel war against them, ravaging their lands and burning their villages: he also took two of their monarchs, who were torn to pieces by wild beasts, in the amphitheatre at Treves §. The orators of those days, by their attempts to enhance the glory of this prince, have only exhibited his barbarity in a stronger light. “Other nations,” say they, “shrink from the attack of the wild beasts to which they are exposed; but the Franks, by facing and irritating them, prove that they can die, though they cannot be subdued.”

Constant, persuaded of his inability to restrain the incursions of an enemy, whom all the forces of his father had proved inadequate to repel, courted their friendship, and was highly commended for appropriating the treasures of the state to the purchase of their alliance ¶.

After this treaty, so glorious to the Franks, we see them holding the first places at court, and in the armies of the empire. We find a Solanus, grand-master of the militia, under Constant; a Mellobold, superintendent of the domestics*; a Merobald, a Bauto, a Ricomer, patricians and consuls under Gratian; a Carieto, governor of Gaul, under Valentinian the Second ††; and an Arbagaustus, tutor to that prince †††, and afterwards regent of the west, under the great Theodosius |||. But while these men were the support of the empire, others of the Franks laid it waste by their incursions.

When Maximian, shut up in Aquileia, was on the brink of destruction §§, Genobaudus, Marcomer, and Sunno, made an irruption into Gaul, where they

* Vopisc. in Prob. † Eumenius in orat. de gestis Constantii. ‡ Tacitus de moribus German. N. 37. || Eumen. in laud. Constantii. § In Orat. cujusd. Gall. ad Constant. ¶ Liban. de rebus gestis Constant. Socrat. l. xxi. Sozom. * * Ammian Marcellinus, l. iii. †† Sulp. Alex. l. iv. †† Zozim. l. iv. ||| Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9. §§ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9.

put all such as opposed them to the sword. Quintinus and Nannienus, the Roman governors, immediately assembled their troops, and repaired to Cologne; when a party of the Franks repassed the Rhine, laden with the spoils of the vanquished; while those who remained to face the enemy, were defeated near the forest of Charbooniere. Quintinus, elated with success, passed the river, contrary to the advice of his colleague, to encounter the ferocious Franks on their native soil. The event justified the remonstrances of Nannienus; the best of the Roman troops perished in this unfortunate expedition. The cavalry were massacred, and the small body of infantry that effected its escape, was indebted for its safety to the darkness of the night.

It does not appear, that in these various incursions, which were continued during the long space of one hundred and fifty years, the Franks were actuated by any other motive, than the prospect of pillage. The facility of making irruptions into Gaul, first gave them the desire of invading it. Already had the Allans, the Suevès, the Gepidæ, and the Vandals, ravaged, in their passage, that devoted country: already had the Goths and Burgundians, established their residence there; the former towards the Alps, and the latter in the vicinity of the Pyrennees. The rest of the country was in a bad state of defence; the Roman power was depressed by intestine commotions; and the incapacity of its chiefs had involved the empire in ruin*. These considerations renewed the ardour of the Franks; who once more passed the Rhine, though not as a band of depredators allured by the hope of plunder, but as a body of conquerors in search of a place of settlement.

What was formerly called Gaul, consisted of that part of Europe which lies between Rhine, the two seas, the Alps, and the Pyrennees †. This extensive country is famous for the excellence of its climate, the richness and fertility of its soil, and the virtues of its mineral springs ‡. The beauty of its situation is peculiarly admired; it presents to the view a vast number of lofty mountains crowned with woods, rising grounds, embellished with vineyards; fertile plains, and meadows, intersected by brooks and rivers, which, after spreading plenty around them, discharge themselves in the ocean, or the Mediterranean.

Although Gaul is highly celebrated for this variety of advantages, she is still more famous for the antiquity, courage, and happy genius of her inhabitants. It is notorious that she has established colonies in every part of the known world. The irruption and settlement of of Sigoveze, in Bohemia and Bavaria ||; a part of Iberia and of Italy §, reduced by the arms of Belloveze, Rome sacked and pillaged by Brennus ¶; the temple at Delphos plundered; Macedonia and Dardania ravaged by two other princes of the same name; Thrace, the Propontis, the Æolis, Ionia, and all the country watered by the river Hallis, sub-

* Oros. l. vii. c. 27. † Shabon. l. ii. ‡ Diod. l. v. || Titus Livius Decad. i. l. 3.

§ Justin. l. xxiv. Polib. l. ii. ¶ Strab. l. xii.

dued by Lonnorius and Luthaire, are so many monuments of Gaulic intrepidity and valour. If, at last, they were compelled to bow their necks to the yoke, it was not till after they had long fought bravely for their freedom; and their conqueror was the conqueror of Rome, and of the whole world.

We forbear to speak of their origin, which is lost in the shades of antiquity; of their ancient manners and customs, which are to be seen in every history;* ; or of that warlike disposition, by which they were distinguished from all the other nations of the earth. It was a proverbial saying, that there could be no army without a Gaulic soldier. It is sufficient for the purpose of this history, to give some idea of the state of Gaul, when it was first conquered by the Franks.

At this time it was divided into seventeen provinces; five of which were comprehended in the territory of Vienne, three in Aquitain, five in that of Lyons, two in Germania, and two in Belgia: these provinces had each their metropolis; the first five were Vienne, Narbonne, Aix, Embrun, and Monstiers en Tarantaise; those of Aquitain were Bourges, Bourdeaux, and Auch; in the Lyonnaise, Lyon, Rouen, Tours, Sene, and Bensançon; in Germania, Mayence and Cologne; and in Belgia, Treves and Rheims. Each province was divided into different tribes; each tribe into different districts; and each district into different *parts*. These tribes had each its capital on which the inferior towns and hamlets were dependent; as the capital itself was dependent on the metropolis, in which the governor of the province resided. Justice was administered according the Roman law; and all the public acts were in Latin; a custom which long continued to obtain in France. An idea may be formed of this distribution of provinces, and this subordination of jurisdiction, from the present government of the Gallic Church;—the archbishoprics represent the metropolises; the bishoprics, the capitals; the archdeaconries, the inferior towns; and the deaneries, the hamlets.

The government of these provinces was either consular or presidial. The governors of the former were nominated by the Senate. The consular governments were six in number; viz. the districts of Lyons, Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Rheims, and Vienne. The right of nomination to the remaining eleven, was solely vested in the emperors, who disposed of them at their pleasure. But this distinction of Governor conveyed no idea of pre-eminence; it did not prevent such as were in possession of important offices from exercising an authority almost absolute, over their respective departments; and they equally enjoyed the privilege of having the *fasces* carried before them. Besides these, the frontier towns had their dukes, and the cities their counts. The former were officers of the first rank, who received their dignity only from the legates; the latter acted as assessors, or councillors to the commanders in chief, and the provincial governors. Constantine the Great conferred this dignity upon the chief officers of his household; and upon all those who enjoyed any

* Cæsar de Bel. Gal. lib. vi.

considerable post in the law, the finances, or the army. The military dukes, and counts, were most distinguished; and certain territorial possessions were assigned them for their support. At first, these dignities were temporary; but they were afterwards granted for life, and, at length, became hereditary. We find, from the annals of the empire, that there were two counts in Gaul; one in the marches of Strasbourg, and the other on the Saxon coast, which formed part of the second province of Belgia. There were also five dukes, one of whom commanded in Franche-Comté; a second, in Normandy and Brittany; a third, at Rheims; a fourth, at Cologne; and a fifth, at Mayence. Among the great officers of Gaul, we find, likewise, a master of the cavalry; whose duty it was to distribute to the dukes and counts, the troops which he himself received from the grand master of the militia. Arsenals were established in several towns, where the necessary arms for this multitude of soldiers were forged. At Strasbourg they made arms of all kinds: Mâçon supplied them with darts and arrows; Rheims, with swords; Autun, with cuirasses; and Amiens, Treves, and Soissons, with shields, with *ballistæ*, and with armour for their light-armed cavalry.

As soon as Constantine the Great found himself in peaceable possession of the empire, he created a pretorial prefect for Gaul; an officer who enjoyed a degree of power almost equal to that of a sovereign. He presided over the departments of war and finance, the administration of justice, and the levying of imposts. His authority even extended over the presidents and governors of provinces. He made them deliver to him an account of their administration, and could depose them for malversation. An appeal lay from every other tribunal to that of the prefect, who was only subject to the emperor. He had under him three vicars; one for Gaul, a second for Spain, and a third for Great Britain. Treves was the usual place of his residence, for which reason that city became the capital of Gaul. But after it had been sacked by the Barbarians, Honourius transferred that honour to the city of Arles, which was separated from the province of Vienne, and formed an eighteenth metropolis.

Christianity had long been the prevailing religion of the Gauls. The gospel had been preached to them, according to some writers, by St. Luke, St. Philip, and St. Paul; but according to others, by Crescens, a disciple of the latter apostle*. Be that as it may, the persecutions which raged during the reigns of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius †, sufficiently proves that the churches of Vienne, and Lyons, had been established many years, since so great a number of Christians were found in those provinces, who sealed their faith with their blood. We are told by Gregory of Tours ‡, that whilst Decius occupied the Imperial throne, Trophimus was sent to Arles, Paul to Narbonne, Martial to Limoges, Stremo to Auvergne, Gratian to Tours, Saturninus to Toulouse, and Dyonysius to Paris. These holy prelates preached the Gospel with such success,

* Hist. Sacr. l. ii. † Euseb. l. v. c. 1. ‡ Greg. Tur. Hist. l. i. c. 28.

that they founded several churches, and converted to Christianity the greater part of the Gauls. Soon after, appeared the Hillarys, of Poitiers; the Martins, of Tours; the Exuperes, of Toulouſe; and ſo many others of fervent piety and ſplendid talents, who became at once the ſupport and the ornaments of the church. It was in a council, holden at Arles* ; that the famous diſpute of the Donatiſts, of Africa, was terminated. The council of Cologne, in which biſhop Euphrates was anathematized for denying the divinity of Chriſt; that of Paris, where the doctrine of Athanaſius was ſolemnly acknowledged to be orthodox; that of Valentia, where the beſt poſſible ſyſtem for promoting a purity of manners was adopted †; that of Bourdeaux, at which thoſe biſhops were excommunicated, who, forgetting that meekneſs of ſpirit which the Goſpel ſo ſtrongly inculcates, ſolicited the emperor to put the heretical Prſcillian, and his followers, to death; exhibit ſo many glorious proofs of the zeal of the Gallican church, for eſtabliſhing a purity of faith, an integrity of morals, and a holineſs of diſcipline.

While theſe pious men rendered Gaul illuſtrious by the ſplendour of their virtues, a great number of learned perſonages encouraged the progreſs of the arts and ſciences. Marſeilles, Lyons, Benſançon, Autun, Narbonne, Toulouſe, Bourdeaux, Poitiers, Clermont, Treves, and Rheims, were celebrated for their academies; where youth was inſtructed in philoſophy, phyſic, mathematics, aſtronomy, jurisprudence, grammar, and poetry; eloquence, in particular, was ſtudied with ardour and ſucceſs. Thoſe of Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, and Lyons, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed. Marſeilles boated, among its academical profeſſors, a Critias, or, as ſome call him, Crinias, a learned phyſician, who flouriſhed ſoon after Hippocrates; a Pytheas, a celebrated geographer; a Menecrates, a great lawyer; Staius, a famous rhetorician; Petronius, as well known for the purity of his ſtyle, as for the obſcenity of his ſatirical portraits; Troguſius Pompey, ſo celebrated for his univerſal hiſtory, the loſs of which will long be a ſubject of regret; Favorinus, a prodigy of erudition; Salvinus Gennadus, Saloninus, Viſtorinus, Cæſarius, and Avitus, orators not leſs diſtinguiſhed for the purity of their lives, than the ſtrength of their genius. Bourdeaux was the theatre on which the talents of the following illuſtrious men were diſplayed: Minervius, who was dignified with the appellation of a ſecond Quintilian; Atthius Patera, called the moſt powerful of all rhetoricians; Procereſius, to whom the capital of the world erected a ſtatue, with this glorious inſcription—*Rome, the Queen of Kings, to the King of Eloquence*; and, laſtly, Auſonius, whoſe merit, ſeconded by fortune, raiſed him to the ſecond dignity in the empire. The chief glory of the city of Lyons conſiſts in having contained within its walls that formidable Athenæum whither the greateſt orators repaired every year, to diſpute the prize of eloquence, before a general

* In the year 314.

† Sulpic. Sever. Dial. iii.

assembly of all the people of Gaul. The vanquished were condemned either to efface their own writings with their tongues, or else to be thrown from the center arch of the bridge into the Saone. It would be an endless task to repeat the names of all those whose abilities did honour to this ancient academy: we shall not, therefore, expatiate on the merits of a Julius Florus, whom Quintilian styled the Prince of Eloquence, in Gaul; nor on those of a Julius Secundus, whose elocution was greatly admired by the same rhetorician. We shall only observe, and more need not be said in its praise, that at this school Eucher of Lyons, Sidonius Apollinaris, Claudiens Mamer, Constantius, Remigius of Rheims, and the Princes of Soissons, received the first rudiments of the Belles Lettres.

The annalists of Autun place the origin of its academy in the remotest antiquity; they pretend that it was founded by the Druids, and built on a mount which still bears their name*. The chief objects of its boast are Eumenius, and his grandson of the same name; the former of whom was one of the principal officers in the palace of Constantius Chlorus. Both time and barbarism, have respected the panegyric which he pronounced on that great prince. Clermont is indebted for a part of its reputation to the illustrious Fontones, one of whom was preceptor to the Emperor Antoninus, who honoured him with the dignity of Consul. It would be an error to suppose that Thoulouse owes its principal lustre to the institution of the *floral games*, by the incomparable Clemens, of the ancient family of the Iauri; since it is certain that long before that period an Æmilius Arborius, an Exupere, and a Sedatus—names consecrated in the annals of eloquence—had given it the well-deserved and well-applied appellation of the City of Pallas. Narbonne is not less celebrated for the great men which its schools have produced. That famous academy ranks, in the number of its professors, Votienus Montanus, Terentius Varo, and Exupere; but, its glory is still greater in having had for its pupils the emperors Carinus and Numerianus.

We must, however, acknowledge, that the taste and the natural eloquence which so peculiarly distinguished the writers of the Augustan age, are not to be met with in the authors whose names we have mentioned. This deficiency must not be ascribed to any want of encouragement: the emperors were attached to men of letters, they sought after their society, and loaded them with wealth and honours. Their profession was holden in great respect; they were taken from the chair of eloquence, or of poetry, to fill the first offices in the state. But what ought, by a natural influence, to have contributed to the perfection of the fine arts, only served to accelerate their fall. Anxious to display, in their writings, a greater fund of wit than the ancients, they neglected the

* Mount-Dru.

beauties of nature for the most pompous refinements of art. By seeking to embellish their works, they sacrificed substance to show: by aiming at novelty, they became finical; by endeavouring to please, they became frivolous; new modes of speech were invented, and a thousand new words introduced, which insensibly adulterated their style and language. The incursions of the barbarous nations completed the perversion of taste, and the destruction of the schools. Sciences and arts were, thenceforth, confined to the cloister, the convent, or episcopal palace.

Such was the state of Gaul, when the Franks attempted to procure a settlement there; for which purpose they resolved always to have kings of their own nation. This was the first blow which they aimed at the authority of Rome, who wished to confound them, according to her usual policy, with her own subjects.





J. Bourc. sculp.

PHARAMOND.

Philadelphia Publish'd by James Stuard, & Co; Nov. 19th 1796.

PHARAMOND.

A. D. 419 or 420]. HONORIUS reigned in the west, and the younger Theodosius in the east, when the Franks passed the Rhine*, and surprized and pillaged the city of Treves, under the conduct of Pharamond†. Some historians have absurdly had recourse to fiction, in order to encrease the splendour of this prince's birth. He was king of a people who never obeyed any other than the descendants of their first masters. This august title sufficiently proves the antiquity of his race. It was about the year 420 that he was lifted up on a shield, exposed to the sight of the whole army, and acknowledged as chief of the nation. Such was the only inauguration known to the ancient monarchs of Gaul.

It is likewise all that is known, with certainty, of the reign of Pharamond. We are wholly ignorant of his exploits, the time of his death, the place of his burial, and the name of his queen. We are only told that he had two sons; Clodian, who succeeded him; and Clenus, with whose fate we are unacquainted.

To Pharamond is commonly ascribed the institution of that famous law, distinguished by the epithet *Salic*, either from the surname of the prince who published it, or from the name of Salogast, who proposed it; or else from the word *Salic hame*, the place in which the chief men of the nation assembled in order to reduce it into form. Others pretend, that it was so called, because it was expressly made for the *Salic* lands, which were noble fiefs, given by the first monarchs of Gaul to the *Salians*; that is, to the principal noble : of their *Salz*, or Court, on the sole condition of military service, exempt from every

* Prosp. Aquit. Chron.

† Nichol. Vign. Duch. tom. i. p. 155.

other species of feudal obligation. And this was the reason why they were not descendible to women, who, from the delicacy of their sex, are dispensed from bearing arms. There are some* who maintain, that this word came from the the Salians, a tribe of the Franks established in Gaul under the Emperor Julian: these assert, that that prince gave them lands under the obligation of personal attendance in time of war. He even made a law of this obligation, they say, which the new conquerors adopted, and called it *Salic*, from the name of their ancient countrymen.

It is a vulgar prejudice to suppose that this law only relates to the succession to the crown, or to the Salic lands. It was neither instituted for the disposal of the kingdom, nor merely for determining the right of individuals to feudal possessions. It is a collection of regulations that extend to almost every thing. It prescribes punishments for thieves and incendiaries; and for a variety of crimes and depredations: it establishes rules for preserving the morals of the subject; for the government; for the order of proceeding in criminal matters; and, lastly, for the maintenance of peace and concord between the different members of the state. Of seventy-one articles which it contains, there is but one which relates to successions; it is couched in these terms—*In the Salic lands no part of the inheritance shall descend to females. It belongs entirely to males*†.

It appears that what remains of this law, is but an extract from a larger code ‡. This is evident, from the Salic law itself being there quoted, as well as certain rules that are not to be found in what is now extant of that famous ordinance. Ducange, the celebrated glossator, says there were two sorts of *Salic* laws, one of which was in force before the Franks were converted to Christianity; and was reduced into form by the four chiefs of the nation, Wisogast, Bosogast, Salogast, and Wildogast; the other was corrected by the Christian kings, and is that which has been published by Tillet, Pithou, Lindembrock, and the famous Advocate-General Jérôme Bignon, who made some learned commentaries on it. For the methodical arrangement of it, says a modern author of great erudition §, we are certainly indebted to Clovis the Great. On one hand, it cannot be posterior to the reign of this prince, since his son Chilbert reformed some articles of it; and, on the other, the chapter which treats of the immunity of churches, and of the conservation of their ministers, supposes the conversion of our first Christian king. This last code, says Ducange, is only a compilation of rules to be observed by such of the Franks as were established between the forest of Charbonniere and the river Loire; in contradistinction to the *Lex Riparia*, given to those who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, the Maese, and the Scheld. A certain author § boldly asserts, on what authority we know not, that the sixty-second chapter of the Salic code cannot possibly apply, even indirectly, to the succession of the kingdom; and that it was a

* Paul, Emil. Menage, Pasquier, Borel. † Tit. 62 des Alode's art. 6. ‡ Daniel, tom. i. p. 10.

§ M. de Fonc Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 492 & seq. § Du Haillan.

mere invention of Philip the Long, to exclude Joan of France, daughter of Lewis Hutin, from the throne. He doubtless did not reflect that the established laws of succession, with regard to such fiefs as belonged to the nobility, operating to the exclusion of females, we must certainly conclude that the same prerogative, *a fortiori*, is annexed to royalty, which is the most noble of all possessions, and the source, too, from whence the nobility of all others is derived. Thus the right of Philip having been scrupulously discussed in a general assembly of the great men of the kingdom, the crown was unanimously decided to be his, to the exclusion of the princess; so firmly were they persuaded that there existed, if not a law, at least an immemorial custom, which excluded women from the throne of France; a custom as old as the monarchy itself, which Agathias calls the law of the country, which certainly possesses all the force that antiquity can give it, since Clovis the First succeeded his father Childeric, to the prejudice of his sisters Albofleda and Lantilda. During the reign of Philip of Valois, a fresh dispute arose on the same subject, on which the decision was the same. The right of Edward the Third of England, did not appear to be better founded than that of the princess Joan, a daughter of France. The Count was unanimously declared the legitimate successor of Charles the Fair. The article which settled the right of individuals to the Salic lands, was declared equally to regard the succession to the crown, and it became a fundamental law of the state.

CLODIAN.

A. D 427]. CLODIAN, furnamed the Hairy, either from the quantity of hair which he had, or because he wore it longer than his predecessors, succeeded his father Pharamond. It is said that he had scarcely ascended the throne*, when the Roman general, Ætius, marched against him with a powerful army, defeated him, took from him all he possessed in Gaul, and compelled him to repass the Rhine. We are further told, that this prince, in order to be revenged on the Romans, made incursions into Thuringia, where he committed great ravages, and surprized a castle called Dispurg.

A. D. 431]. Ætius advanced against him a second time, and after beating him in an action, in which much blood was shed on either side, he preferred the granting him a peace, to risking another battle against a nation which seemed to acquire fresh vigour from defeat. This peace, however, was of short duration.

Clodian could not forget the beautiful kingdom he had possessed in Gaul, the loss of which affected him most sensibly, and all his thoughts were bent on recovering it. He left Thuringia in the year 435, with a numerous army, resolved no longer to direct his attacks against those towns on the banks of the Rhine, but to seize some important places in the interior parts of the country. It was with this view that he sent to reconnoitre that division of the district of Belgia, of which Rheims was the capital.

* Duch. tom. i. p. 793.



The following table shows the results of the experiment. The data points are as follows:

Time (min)	Temperature (°C)
0	25.0
10	26.5
20	28.0
30	29.5
40	31.0
50	32.5
60	34.0
70	35.5
80	37.0
90	38.5
100	40.0

The results of the experiment show that the temperature of the system increases over time. The rate of increase is relatively constant, suggesting a steady heat input. The final temperature reached after 100 minutes is 40.0°C.

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Anno
437



Singleton del.

Golland Sc.

The Romans carrying off the Bride of a Nobleman at Pons.

Philadelphia Published by Jo^hn Stewart & Co. Jun^o 5th 1797.

As soon as he was informed that all the towns were defenceless, he began his march, surprized and defeated the Roman troops that were appointed to guard the passages, took Tournay, carried Cambray at the first assault, and reduced all the surrounding country as far as the river Somme*.

Such is the basis on which those historians have grounded their assertions, that Clodian founded a great state in Gaul. Adon maintains that the city of Cambray was the capital of his kingdom. Roricon, a monkish writer, peculiarly fond of chimeras, has made him establish his court at Amiens. Marianus Schotus, another monk, equally credulous, but still more generous with regard to this prince, gives him possession of a part of Holland, and all the country from thence to the river Loire. But it is evident, from the testimony of contemporary writers †, that he was unable to keep his new conquests, and that Ætius recovered all he had taken from the Roman empire on this side the Rhine. The fact, as related by these historians, is this:—

A. D. 437]. Clodian was engaged in celebrating the marriage of a nobleman of rank in his army, at a village called Elena, now the city of Lens. They were in the act of conducting the bride to the place where the nuptial feast was prepared, when the Romans suddenly rushed on them from a bridge which they had recently constructed. The surprize of the Franks was so great, that they could not range themselves in order of battle. The advanced guards were put to the sword; the bride was carried off, together with all the bridal preparations; the army dispersed, and the whole province regained.

The poet who relates this adventure, draws so advantageous a portrait of the Franks, that it merits a place in their history:—“They are,” says he, “tall in stature; their skin is very white, and their eyes are blue; their face is entirely shaved, except the upper lip, on which they suffer two small whiskers to grow; their hair, cut behind, and long before, is admirably fair; their dress is so short, that it does not cover their knees, and so tight, that it shows the exact form of their body; they wear a large girdle from whence hangs a sword that is heavy, but extremely sharp. There is no nation existing so well versed in military motions and evolutions. Such is their skill, that they never fail to strike what they aim at; so prodigious their agility, that they reach the enemy as soon as the dart which they have thrown at him; in short, their intrepidity is such, that they are not astonished, either by the number of their foes, by local disadvantages, or even by death himself, when encompassed with all his horrors—*they may lose their lives, but never can their courage ‡.*” It was this untameable valour that determined the victorious Ætius to grant them peace; he was unwilling to wage war against a people who had as many soldiers as citizens.

* Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 9. Fredeg. Epi. c. 9. Roric. Monac. l. i. † Sidon, Apollin. Carm. v. p. 224.

‡ Sidon. Apoll. in panegy. Major. Carm. v. apud Duch. tom. i. p. 224.

We are told, by the historians of that age, that some years after this treaty, Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, was sent into England to maintain the true faith against the heretical followers of Pelagius, who denied the existence of original sin, and the necessity of divine grace for the purpose of salvation*. The tradition is, that before his departure he consecrated to God a young girl named Genevieve, whose virtue was afterwards signalized by miracles without number. But there are some who pretend that she received the veil, at a more advanced age, from Villicus, bishop of Chartres. Be that as it may, the miracles she performed at Paris, secured her the glorious appellation of Patroness of that capital of the French empire.

A. D. 447 or 448.] Clodian died, after a reign of twenty years, from grief, as some authors assert, for the death of his eldest son, who was killed at the siege of Soissons. Neither the name of his consort, nor the number of his children, is known. Some say he had two sons, Claudebaud and Claudemir; others three, whom they call Regnault, Auberon, and Regnacarius. From Auberon, they say, sprang Auzbert, from whom the family of Pepin, the first monarch of the second race, descended. But an author †, deeply versed in the ancient history of France, pretends to have demonstrated that he descended from Tonantius Ferreolus, prætorial prefect of Gaul.

* For a curious account of this expedition of Germanus and his colleague Lupus, bishop of Troyes, see Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History, c. 17. 19. 20.

† Du Bouchet—2 Lyreg. Tur. i. 2, c. 9.

M E R O V E U S .

A. D. 447, or 448.] THE birth of Meroveus is a perfect problem, of which no part of history can afford a solution. Some assert, from a passage in Gregory of Tours *, that he was related to Clodian. Others, on the authority of Priscus, the rhetorician, pretend that he was the son of that monarch. Priscus relates, that the king of the Franks left two sons, who both laid claim to the crown; the eldest implored the assistance of Attila, king of the Huns; and the youngest sought the protection of the Romans: he even tells us, that he saw the latter at Rome. He was, says Priscus, in the flower of his youth, and his long fair hair hung in ringlets upon his shoulders; the emperor loaded him with honours and presents; and Ætius adopted him for his son. But what can we conclude from accounts in which neither of the princes are *named*? It is very certain that Meroveus was not a third candidate for the crown, and established his usurpation by force, to the prejudice of the rival brothers? Be that as it may, we are sure that a prince of that name reigned over the Franks, and that a son of Clodian disputed the throne with him.

From him descended the monarchs of the first race, distinguished by the appellation of Merovingian Kings.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9.

A. D. 451.] The generality of historians pretend, that Meroveus was in the Roman army at the battle gained by Ætius over Attila*: a battle, the circumstances of which, as well with regard to the number of the slain, which has been rated at two hundred thousand on the part of the Huns, as to the spot on which it was fought—are so little known, as to afford an endless source of dispute. The majority of writers, however, are of opinion, that the theatre of this bloody action was not in Sologne, in Auvergne, nor in the Thoulousain, but in the vast plains of Chalons, in Champagne †.

A. D. 456.] This prince died in the tenth year of his reign. We are not told what family he had, neither know we the name of the queen who gave birth to Childeric, his son and successor.

* Jornand de reb. Got.

† The author of a French periodical work, in the year 1753, wrote a dissertation, to prove that this battle was fought in Champagne, in the plain of Merry-upon-Seine, five leagues from Troyes. In support of this assertion, he quotes the following passage from Gregory of Tours: “ Attilam fugant, qui Mauriacum Campum adieus, se præcingit ad Bellum.”

CHILDERIC THE FIRST.

CHILDERIC was destined to experience such a variety of adventures, as might have given him a claim to be ranked among the heroes of romance. Carried off in his infancy, by a detachment of Attila's army *, he was miraculously rescued, by a valiant Frank, from the hands of those who were taking him into captivity. A general conspiracy afterwards deprived him of the throne of his ancestors; but the nation regretting his loss, was speedily induced to recall him. He was the best made man in his dominions. He was endued with wit, and possessed of courage; but, being born with a heart too susceptible of love, he yielded to its dictates, and thereby accelerated his own destruction †.

The French nobles, enraged at the seduction of their wives, who were incapable of resisting the charms of Childeric, entered into a league for the purpose of deposing him. [A. D. 457.] Unable to oppose them, he returned into Germany, where he afforded a proof that adversity rarely corrects the vices of the heart, by seducing Basina, wife to the king of Thuringia, who had received him with hospitality, and honoured him with his friendship.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. Fred. Scholast. x. † Roric. l. i.

The Franks, however, held a general assembly, in which the crown was conferred on Ægidius, who had been appointed by the Romans to command their forces in Gaul. This whimsical choice, it is said, was owing to the policy of Wiomald*, who, faithful to his sovereign, took advantage of the ascendancy he possessed over the mind of the new monarch, to lead him to the adoption of such measures, as could not fail to render him odious to the nation.

A. D. 463, or 464.] The exactions of Ægidius accordingly estranged the affections of his subjects, who now regretted the banishment of their former prince; and, in a short time, determined to recall him. Wiomald, ever attentive to the interests of his master, sent him the half of a piece of gold which they had broken at their last separation; and Childeric, understanding the signal, left Thuringia, and made his appearance in Gaul. One battle decided the fate of the kingdom; Ægidius was completely defeated, and the lawful monarch regained possession of that throne, whence his gallantry had excluded him.

This wonderful event was succeeded by another equally singular and remarkable †. The queen of Thuringia, like another Helen, left the king her husband, to follow the fortunes of this second Paris. “Did I know,” said she, “a greater hero, or a more gallant man than you, I would go in search of him, to the farthest extremities of the earth.” Basina was both handsome and sensible; and Childeric, allured by this double temptation, married her, to the great displeasure of all virtuous men, who in vain expatiated on the sacred rights of marriage, and the inviolable laws of friendship. From this marriage sprung the great Clovis.—A. D. 465.

The conclusion of this romantic reign was signalized by a variety of glorious exploits ‡. The hatred of the Romans, and the desire of recovering the esteem of his subjects, revived the courage of Childeric, who had hitherto appeared to be lulled on the bosom of pleasure. He advanced into the heart of Gaul; defeated, near Orleans, the army of Odoacer, a Saxon monarch; took Angers, which he pillaged; killed, with his own hands, the general of the Roman troops, in the Soissonois; and, if the author of the life of Saint Genevieve may be credited, made himself master of Paris; but this last fact is attested by no other historian. It appears that he made peace with the Saxons, who united their arms to his, in order to exterminate the Germans, who had over-run part of Italy ||. The conquest of Germany was the last memorable action of this prince. He died soon after, [A. D. 481.] in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was buried in a spot of ground which is now enclosed in the city of Tournay.

* Gest. Franc. c. 7. † Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 12. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 18. Gest. Franc. c. 8.

|| Fred. Epit. c. xii.

His tomb was discerned by chance in the year 1653. There were found in it the skeleton of a horse, and some human bones tolerably perfect, which proved him to have been stout in form, and tall in stature. The other curiosities of this ancient monument, are a crystal glass, and several curious pieces of massive gold; an ox's head; a *style*, with tablets; medals of different emperors; and a number of rings, on one of which is a seal, bearing the impression of a man of perfect beauty. His face is entirely shaved; his hair long, plaited, separated on the forehead, and thrown back; he holds a javelin in his right hand. On the exergue is engraven the name of Childeric, in Roman letters. A part of these curiosities may be seen in the Royal Library*, at Paris.

* The Reader will please observe, that Mr. Gifford began this work at an early period of the revolution, and during the existence of the limited monarchy, in France.

The Publishers.

CLOVIS THE FIRST.

A. D. 481]. CLOVIS was only in his fifteenth year, when he ascended the throne. He was scarcely twenty, when he challenged Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, who was governor of Gaul, where his authority was almost despotic*, to meet him in the field. The challenge was accepted, and Clovis began his march to Soissons, [A. D. 486.] accompanied by two princes, who were nearly allied to him, Ragnacharius and Chararic. The battle was bloody and decisive; Syagrius saved himself by flight; but having taken refuge among the Visigoths, their king, Alaric, was induced, by the threats of Clovis, to deliver him into the power of his enemy, who ordered him to be beheaded. This victory was followed by the capture of Soissons; and the death of the Imperial general facilitated the reduction of all the places, that still remained faithful to the Romans.

Clovis, anxious to conciliate, by mildness, such as he had conquered by arms, exerted his utmost efforts to restrain the unbridled licentiousness of his victorious troops. He could not, however, prevent the pillage of a few churches. All the historians mention the sacred vase which was claimed by Saint Remigius, of Rheims; and speak of the insolence of the subject in refusing to restore it to his master, the moderation of the sovereign in concealing his resentment, and the vengeance which he exacted at the general review of his troops on the Field of Mars, in terms of admiration: the soldier's arms not being in proper order, the king clove his head asunder with his sword—"It was thus," said he, "that you struck the vase at Soissons."—A. D. 487.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 28. Fred. Epitom. c. 15. Gest. Franc. c. 19. Roric. l. ii.



J. Galland fecit.

CLOVIS.

Philadelphia Published by A. J. G. Henderson, Sep. 5. 1795.



A sanguinary execution, says Gregory of Tours, performed by the hand of a sovereign, must doubtless excite disgust in the present age. But this action, which appears to us degrading to majesty, inspired greater respect than horror.

By this account it is evident that the French were accustomed to assemble every year in a field *, which they denominated *The Field of Mars*, because their assemblies were holden at the commencement of the month of March, (in French, MARS). It was from the same motive that the field was afterwards called the Field of May. These assemblies were convened for a variety of purposes; the troops were reviewed before them; questions of war and peace were discussed; and abuses in the government, in the administration of justice, and in the disposal of the public money, were corrected. It was there they appointed protectors during the minority of their princes; divided the treasures and dominions of the departed monarch, and fixed the day and the place for the inauguration of his successor; and it was there that the kings received the *voluntary gift* from their nobles: this present consisted of money, furniture, or horses; the name of *voluntary gift* has been retained, although the nature of it has been altered. The king presided at these general assemblies of the nation; at which he was accompanied by the great officers of the crown, the mayor of the palace, the chaplain, the chamberlain, and the chancellor. The bishops, and abbots, were also under the necessity of attending.

The dukes and counts likewise received a summons to appear. These dignities, which are now hereditary, were then but simple commissions, granted and revoked at the pleasure of the sovereign. The king, or the mayor of his palace, proposed the questions that were to be examined; after the assembly had discussed them, their decisions were determined by a plurality of voices, and thenceforth became the law of the state.

A. D. 491.] Some years after the establishment of the Franks in Gaul, Bafinus, king of Thuringia, made a sudden irruption into that part of the dominions of Clovis, which was situated beyond the Rhine. Clovis was no sooner informed of this invasion, than he assembled his army with the utmost expedition, and entering the enemy's country, laid it waste with fire and sword, and imposed a perpetual tribute on the offending monarch †. His thoughts were next bent on the formation of an alliance, by marriage, with some one of the princes whose territories lay contiguous to those which he had recently detached from the empire.

* The Merovingians dated the commencement of their year on the day of this review; the Carolingians from Christmas; and it was not till the reign of Charles the Ninth, that it was fixed to the first of January. This variation occasions a great embarrassment in settling the precise date of events.

† Gest. Franc. c. 19.

Gondebald, king of the Burgundians, had a niece of extraordinary beauty, the reputation of whose charms, and the accounts of whose sense and virtues, made a deep impression on the heart of Clovis, who sent ambassadors to ask her of her uncle. The court of Burgundy, fearful of offending a young prince, whose arms were every where victorious, complied with his request; and the princess Clotildis was accordingly espoused by Aurelian, an illustrious Gaul, who made her the customary present of a halfpenny, and a denier*. This custom was long observed in France; and, even now, husbands give their brides some pieces of money; the only difference is in their number and value.

A. D. 493.] Every thing being ready for the departure of the new queen, she began her journey in a kind of waggon, called a *basterne*, which was the most decent carriage then in use; it was drawn by oxen, which, though they move slower than horses, give a less uneasy motion to the vehicle. The marriage was celebrated at Soissons, amidst the mingled acclamations of the Gauls and French. Heaven smiled on this propitious union; Clotildis became mother of a prince, who received baptism, with the king's consent, and was christened Ingomer †. But the death of a child, for whom Clovis had so strong an affection, inspired him, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances and soothing persuasions of his wife, with aversion to the Christian religion ‡. He was prevailed on, however, to suffer his second son to undergo the ceremony of baptism. He also was attacked with a severe indisposition, [A. D. 494.] but the prayers of his consort were heard, the prince was restored to health, and the anxiety of his father dispelled. Soon after this, Clovis was converted to Christianity; an event which is thus related by historians:—

A. D. 496.] The Germans, a warlike people, had made incursions into Gaul, with a view to a settled establishment, in imitation of those nations who had effected the expulsion of the Romans. Clovis, apprized of their intentions, hastened to impede their progress, and met them on the plains of Tolbiac, not far from Cologne, where a bloody battle was fought. The French army had begun to give way, when the king, lifting up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, “God of my queen Clotildis, if you grant me victory, I here vow to receive baptism, and hereafter to worship no other than you ||.” Having said this, he rallied his yielding forces, again led them to the charge, pierced, with irresistible ardour, the enemy's battalions, and at last put them to flight §. He then followed them into Germany, where he dispersed the remains of the vanquished army, reduced to obedience a nation hitherto invincible, and compelled them to pay him an annual tribute ¶. Faithful to his vow, he enquired into the mysteries of the Christian religion; and on Christmas-day, received baptism at the

* Frederig, Epit. c. 10. A denier is a small French coin, equal, in value, to about the twelfth part of a halfpenny. † Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 29, 30. Gest. Franc. c. 24. ‡ Hincmar. in vit. Remig. || Greg. Tur. c. 15. Gest. Frank. c. 37. § Roric. l. ii. ¶ Hincmar. in vit. Remig.

church of St. Martin, in the suburbs of the city, from Remigius, bishop of Rheims, a prelate equally distinguished for his birth and piety. His sister Albofleda, and about three thousand of his subjects, followed his example.

A silly story prevails*, that a dove, descended from Heaven, brought a phial of balsam, with which Clovis was consecrated, or confirmed. This is what is now called LA SAINTE AMPOULE, the Holy Phial; which is kept with extreme care, at Rheims, and contains the oil, used by the monarchs of France at the ceremony of their consecration. It has also been said that this prince received from the hands of an angel, an *Ecu Azur*, spotted with *Fleur de Lys*; but it is certain that the use of armorial bearings did not prevail in France till long after this period.

The conversion of Clovis by no means repressed his ambition. Brabant, the country of Liege, and that part of Flanders which was situated on the sea coast, had not yet submitted to the new conqueror of Gaul.

The most considerable of these small states were the Arborici †, a Christian nation; that was firmly attached to the Christian religion, and thence maintained an enmity against the French, who were Pagans. But the recent conduct of Clovis and a part of his subjects having diminished their aversion, they were induced to consent to an alliance with him ‡, and at length, they acknowledged him for their sovereign; and the two people were consolidated into one nation. The Roman garrisons, following the example, capitulated, and gave up all the places that were still in possession of the empire towards the ocean, and on the banks of the Rhine. The principal articles of the treaty were these—that they should be governed by their own laws; that they should wear what dress they chose; and that, in time of war, they should hoist their own colours. This event gave rise to the establishment of the famous law called *Lex Riparia*, from the name given to those soldiers, or people, who guarded or inhabited the banks of the Maese and the Rhine, and probably the sea-shore. By this law, which bears a great resemblance to the Salic law, it is ordained that every *Riparius* shall be treated as a Frenchman. It betrays vestiges of some Roman customs; and contains several articles which have a direct relation to the Christian religion.

A. D. 499.] The union of the Arborici with the French, was followed by an event, which Clovis, with more skill than probity, turned greatly to his

* Hincmar, in vit. Remig.

† This is the name of a people who formerly inhabited Zealand, a province of the Low-Countries. Some authors have confounded them with the Taxandri, a nation that was established in the vicinity of Maestricht; while others place them between Antwerp and the Maese.

‡ Procop. l. i. de Bello Goth.

own advantage. Gondegisilis, and his brother Gondebald, reigned jointly over the Burgundians; but a jealousy arising between them, the former entered secretly into a league with the French monarch, who promised to assist him with his forces*. Circumstances were extremely favourable for concealing the preparations that were going forward in France. The revolt of the inhabitants of Verdun furnished a pretext for the collection of troops, whom Clovis led against the rebels, [A. D. 500]; but his wrath being appeased by the solicitation of a priest, named Euspicius, he pardoned those whom he came to chastise, and immediately directed his march towards Burgundy, where an action ensued on the banks of the small river Ouseche. The victory was soon decided; Gondebald, being deceived by the treachery of his faithless brother, fled, with the small remains of his army, to Avignon; whither he was pursued and besieged by the victorious troops. Endued with a wonderful presence of mind, that no calamity could destroy; and a fertility of mental resources, that no complication of misfortunes could exhaust; he had the address to form a treaty with Clovis, by which he agreed to leave Gondegisilis in possession of Vienne, and of some other places which he had reduced. But, no sooner were the French departed than, thinking himself justified by the former treachery of his brother, in the violation of his present engagements, he declared war against him; took Vienne by surprize; and, pursuing Gondegisilis to the foot of the altar, whether he had fled for refuge, put an end to his existence.

[A. D. 501.] Clovis was, at this time, employed in the reduction of the Armorician † towns; but, having in vain attempted to subdue them by arms, he at length acquired them by negotiation ‡. A treaty was concluded, by which it was stipulated that the Britons should have no more kings, but only counts, or dukes, dependent on the French monarch §. There are some writers §, who pretend that the French army took Vannes, and that this exploit paved the way for the conquest of all Brittany. Be that as it may, Clovis had no sooner determined that important business, than he renewed, in concert with Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, the war against Gondebald.

* Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 32. Gest. Franc. c. 16. Frédegar. Epit. c. 22.

† This is the name which the ancients gave to Little Brittany, which is now a province of France; it signifies, in the old Gaulic language, “on the borders of the sea, or sea coast.” It is, in fact, surrounded on three sides by the sea; on the north by the English channel, on the west by the main ocean, and on the south by the great gulph of France. It was formerly inhabited by the Nanneti, the Rhedones, the Diablinti, Ambiliati, Veneti, Ossimians, and Curiosoliti; these people were powerful from the extent of their commerce, and formed a kind of republic within themselves. The tyrant Maximus abandoned them to the Britons, as an acknowledgment for the services they had rendered him against Gratian and Theodosius. It was from these new settlers that it received the name of Brittany, instead of Armorica.

Corr. on the word Armorica; and Baudouin on the word Brittany.

‡ Greg. Tur. de Mart. l. iv. § Idem. l. iv. c. 4. § Eginard in Annal. Aimoin, l. iv. Procop. l. xiv. de Bello Gothic.

[A. D. 502.] The king of Burgundy had had sufficient time to make the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence. His first care was to conciliate the affections of his subjects, by an uniform display of mildness and moderation. With this view, too, he published the famous ordinance, called, after him, the *Gombetian Law*; the chief purport of which was to ensure the felicity of his people: it particularly forbids to molest or maltreat such of the Gauls as may be settled in any part of Burgundy*. The forty-fifth article allows the liberty of an appeal to single combat, to those who may be indisposed to abide by an oath. After these preparations, Gondobald advanced against the French; [A. D. 503.] whose junction with the Visigoths, he was anxious to prevent. But his success was not answerable to his efforts; his army being cut in pieces, and his kingdom reduced. It was, however, restored to him; but for what reason is not known. Some authors have asserted, that the Burgundian prince became tributary to Clovis; that he even attached himself to his person, and accepted an office in his household. This opinion is founded on a passage in bishop Avitus, where it is said that Gondobald was either a soldier, or knight, in the service of the French king †.

[A. D. 507.] The conquest of Brittany was soon followed by that of the kingdom of the Visigoths. Before the French set out on this expeditious they made a vow not to shave themselves till they had subdued their enemies ‡. Vows of this kind were very common among the ancient Franks ||. Every account, and every occurrence, prior to the victory of Clovis over Alaric, are interspersed with marvellous legends, and wonderful incidents. It was the custom of those times to draw an omen from the verse that was chaunting when a person entered the church. The king's envoys, at their entrance into the church of St. Martin, heard these words from the Psalms—"Thou hast endued me with strength for the wars; thou hast supplanted those that had risen up against me; thou hast put my enemies to flight, and hast exterminated those that hated me." This fortunate prognostic was confirmed on the banks of the Vienne. The army was at a loss where to pass that river; when a hind plunged into the stream in sight of the whole camp, and shewed them a ford, which still retains the name of *the passage of the hind*. A third prodigy, still more wonderful, dispelled every doubt, and assured them that their expedition could not fail to prove successful. A fire was seen in the air, which appeared to rise from above the church of St. Hilary; and after hovering over the camp, it settled on Clovis's tent, and there evaporated. In a more enlightened age it would have been considered as a mere Aurora Borealis; but at that time it was regarded as a prodigy portending the most splendid triumphs.

* Lex. Burg. Tit. 45. † In Epist. ad Clodovic. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 37. || Roric. l. iv. Gest. Franc. c. 17. Amoin, l. 1.

The two armies met in the plains of Vouillé, near Poitiers*. Soon after the battle began, the monarchs of either nation, perceiving each other, rushed forward at the same instant, and engaged in single combat; when the superior strength or skill of Clovis decided the victory in his favour: he dismounted his adversary, and slew him on the spot. Nothing now remained, to impede the progress of the conqueror; who extended his empire from the banks of the Loire to the Pyrenean mountains.

A. D. 508.] It was on his return from this expedition that he received, at the city of Tours, the ambassadors of Anastasius, emperor of the east, who sent him the title and insignia of a patrician and consul, and conferred on him the dignified appellation of August†. Clovis gave a great feast on this occasion, at which he appeared on horseback, with the crown on his head, and arrayed in imperial purple; he threw a quantity of money among the people, and from that time assumed the title of August, an appellation ever dear and venerable to the Gauls, from their long connection with the Romans. The new patrician, after dismissing the ambassadors, returned to Paris, which he made the capital of his empire; and fixed his residence in a palace, in the southern part of the city, which had formerly been inhabited by the emperors Julian and Valentinian the First. Success had hitherto attended all the plans of Clovis; and, allowing for the ferocious and martial spirit which then prevailed, he had preserved his fame from any material pollution; but his good fortune and his heroism appear to have forsaken him at the same time.

A. D. 509, 510.] The defeat of his troops at Arles, though followed by an advantageous peace, irritated his temper; and the latter part of his life was marked by sanguinary deeds, that merit the severest reprobation‡. The cruelties he exercised against the princes of his family, whose territories he invaded, cannot fail to excite horror. The death of Sigebert, king of Cologne, and his son Clodoric, who lost their lives through his intrigues; the fate of Cararic, king of the Morini ||, and his son, whom he first ordered to be shaved§, and then massacred; that of Ragnacharius, king of Cambray, and his brother Richarius, whom he killed with his own hand; and the assassination of Regno-

* Procop. de Bell. Got. Isidor. Histor. Got. † Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 38. Gest. Franc. c. 17.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 40, 41, 42. Frederig. Epit. c. 26, 27.

|| The dominions of these people, it is supposed, extended over that country in which are now included Boulogne, St. Omer, and a great part of Artois.

§ This is the first instance that occurs in the French history of shaving, or cutting off the hair of a prince; which was considered as a proof that he resigned the sceptre. Too many examples of this barbarous custom will be seen in the sequel.

mer, king of Mœns, and his brother, are acts of barbarity and injustice, that must fix an indelible stigma on his name*.

It was, probably, with the view to wipe out the infamy incurred by the commission of so many crimes, that he founded a great number of churches and monasteries; a custom which was but too prevalent in those ages of ignorance, when all Christian justice was supposed to consist in the erection of temples, and the maintenance of a certain number of monks, for the purpose of prayer and meditation. It was probably from similar motives, that he convened a council of thirty-three bishops, in the town of Orleans †, [A. D. 511.] We learn from history that it was not only assembled by his orders, but that he fixed on the topics of discussion; and the prelates wrote to him to request his approbation of their decisions. The most remarkable articles that were passed related to the right of asylum, or sanctuary, claimed for the churches, and the condescension to be shewn to heretical clerks, whose conversion should appear to be sincere. The council ordained that no one should be admitted to holy orders without the permission of the king, or of the judge, and that no slave should be allowed that privilege without the express consent of his lord.

The celebrated author of the chronological abridgment of the history of France ‡, pretends, that the true principles of the *regale* || is to be found in the acts of this council, the first that was holden in Gaul, when under the dominion of the French; but these acts are now before us, and we fear not to maintain, as Pasquier has already §, that nothing can be discovered in them which relates to that important prerogative of the crown: if, therefore, it be true that this privilege is coeval with the monarchy, its origin must be looked for in the nature of the feudal law. The French monarchs have, in all ages, granted lands on the condition of military service, or some other mark of feudal subjection. It is evident from the testimony of the author of the Actions of the Kings of France ¶; of Rorico, the monk*§; of archbishop Hincmar, in his Life of Remigius, or Saint Remy ††, which was taken from contemporary writers; and of Aimoin, in his history of France ††, from the origin of the

* This multitude of petty kingdoms which subsisted in Gaul, at the same time as that of Clovis, form, says an illustrious academician, one of the greatest difficulties in the ancient history of France. Chantereau le Fevre, in a manuscript work, preserved in the king's library at Paris, imputes it to the disorders which prevailed after the expulsion of Childeric, when such as were sufficiently powerful took advantage of the anarchy in which the nation was involved, to establish an independent authority. It is possible they were founded by Clenus, brother to Clodian. M. de Fonc. Mémoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 470, 471.

† Epist. Synod. Aur. Prim. ad. Reg. Clodov. ‡ The President Hainault.

|| The *regale*, is that law which gave to the king the right of nomination to vacant bishopricks, and of enjoying their revenues.

§ Recher. de la France, l. iii. c. 35. p. 295. ¶ Gest. Reg. Fr. c. xiii. p. 700. apud Duch. tom. i. *§ Roric. Mon. p. 806. †† Vita. M. S. Rem. p. 525. †† Aim. l. i. c. 1.

monarchy; that Clovis invested Aurelian with the lordship of Melun, to be holden of him in faith and homage. The names of these gifts to the sovereign have varied with the times: during the reigns of the Merovingian monarchs, they were called *benefices*; during those of the Carolingian kings, they were called *fiefs* *; both terms, however, conveyed an idea of vassalage, and implied an obligation of fidelity to the prince. These benefactions, then, never granted but for life, reverted to the crown on the death of the possessors, when their revenues returned to the monarch, who enjoyed them till such time as he granted a new investiture. This law admitted of no exception; it extended generally to all fiefs, as well ecclesiastical as lay. It may, therefore, be justly regarded as the foundation and basis of the *regale*, which, in course of time, was extended to all episcopal possessions.

What appears merely probable at first sight, is converted into a certainty, by an attentive examination of certain anecdotes of the monarchy †. From the will of Philip the August, and from various ordinances of the monarch who succeeded him ‡, it is evident that there were churches exempted from the *regale*. What could be the reason of this exception? It is certainly not to be found in the acts of the council of Orleans, which, according to the author of the Chronological Abridgment, subjects all bishopricks, generally, to this right of the crown; nor in the protectorship which the French monarchs exercised over all churches indiscriminately; nor yet in the prerogative of founders and patrons, which is common to all sovereigns, though all sovereigns do not enjoy the right of the *regale*. It must then be sought for in the nature of the possessions which constituted the revenues of those churches. They were not subject to the *regale*, because they held no fief of the king. Thus we see the ecclesiastical fiefs, in some of the ancient French authors, styled *regales*. They tell us that the bishops of Orleans, and Auxerre, having refused to produce the men they were bound to furnish, Philip the August seized their *regales*, that is (according to the explanation of Rigord,) all the possessions which they held of his majesty in faith and homage.

Whatever may have been the origin of this prerogative, we are assured by Gregory of Tours, that the first race of kings enjoyed it, notwithstanding the opposition of many of the bishops. Popes, Innocent the Third, Clement the Fourth, and Gregory the Tenth, acknowledged its validity by their bulls. The council of Lyons authorized it in those churches, where it was established at their foundation, or by ancient custom; but it prohibited the introduction of it in such as were not before subject to it.

The parliament of Paris, the sole judge of these matters, always maintained, that, the *regale* being a right of the crown, ought to extend to every bishoprick

* Du Cange, on the word feudum. † Ordon. de. Phil. le Bel, 1302. ‡ Ord. de Phil. de Valois, 1434.

in the kingdom. In 1673, Lewis the Fourteenth issued an edict, whereby the *regale* was declared to be unalienable *, and universal throughout his dominions. This edict was confirmed by the parliament, and subscribed by all the clergy, at a general assembly, except the bishops of Aleth and Pamiers, whose refusal was punished by the seizure of their revenues. Pope Innocent published some bulls of excommunication in their favour; but the matter was accommodated under the pontificate of Innocent the Twelfth, and the universality of the *regale* solemnly acknowledged.

The assembling of the council of Orleans, was the last remarkable event of the reign of Clovis, who died the same year, at the age of forty-five, and was buried in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which he had caused to be built †. It has been a subject of dispute with historians, whether the military or the political talents of this prince were the most eminent. Gaul, subdued by his arms, and preserved by his prudence, affords a proof that he was equally skilful in the cabinet, and formidable in the field. Such a tribute of admiration, as a continued series of victories may command, is certainly due to his conduct, at the commencement of his reign: but it is not success alone that can ensure the commendation of an historian; it is his duty to weigh, with candour and impartiality, the motives that influence a monarch when he engages in a war that terminates in conquest; and such an investigation induces us to condemn what has hitherto been considered as a theme of applause, in the life of Clovis, who was certainly actuated by ambition, and a culpable desire of extending his dominions, in most of his contests with the neighbouring monarchs; and, when thus urged, he alike despised the principles of justice, and the dictates of humanity. If then we are compelled, from these considerations, to withhold that praise which has been too profusely bestowed on the former part of his reign; what terms of censure, sufficiently strong, can we employ, to mark our detestation of its conclusion, which exhibits a disgusting scene of violence and cruelty? His injustice and barbarity are, unfortunately, but too conspicuous; and his conduct, in particular to the princes his kinsmen, sinks the hero in the usurper.

* Charles the Seventh, and most of his successors, had granted the revenues arising from the *regale* to the holy chapel, at Paris; but Lewis the Thirteenth took them again, and gave, in exchange, the abbey of St. Nicaise, at Rheims.

† Greg. Tur. de glor. confes. c. 71.

CHILDEBERT THE FIRST.

CLOVIS left four sons, who divided the kingdom into four equal parts, and then drew lots for them. Thierrî, though sprung from a concubine, was king of Metz; Clodomir was king of Orleans; Childebert of Paris; and Clo-taire of Soissons. The precise limits of their respective dominions have not been marked by historians †, but from circumstances it may be collected that the kingdom of Metz comprehended the country of the Albigenſes, Rouergue, Auvergne, all the frontiers of Provence and Languedoc, Champagne, the three biſhopricks, Luxembourg, Alſace, the electorates of Trèves, Mayence, and Cologne, and the whole of ancient France, as far as Weſtphalia; that of Paris extended along the ſea coast from Picardy to the Pyrenean mountains. Beauce, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, formed that of Orleans. The kingdom of Soissons was leſs extenſive; it was ſituated between Champagne, the iſle of France, Normandy, the ocean, and the Scheld. But, though theſe four ſtates were governed by different princes, independent on each other ‡, they were all ſubject to the ſame laws, and formed but one monarchical body. The nobles of the four kingdoms aſſembled together, from time to time, in the ſame place, where they ſettled the general affairs of the nation, and decided ſuch law-ſuits as concerned the empire, either by the importance of the object of diſpute, or by the quality of the parties.

* Childebert was but the third ſon of Clovis: but as Paris is become the capital of the French empire, it has been uſual only to rank ſuch as have reigned in that city among the kings of France; and to this cuſtom we ſhall conform throughout the preſent work.

† Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 2. Frederig. c. 30. Geſt. Franc. c. 10.

‡ This diviſion of the kingdom of Clovis, gave riſe to a new diviſion of the kingdom of France. They gave the name of Auſtraſia to that part of it which is ſituated towards the eaſt, between the Rhine, the Maefe, and the Moſelle. And the part which lies to the weſt, between the Maefe and the Loire, and extends to the ocean, was called Neuſtria.

A. D. 519.] The first years of the reign of these princes were neither disturbed by foreign war or domestic commotion. France enjoyed the most profound peace *, when Cochiliac, who pretended to be descended from Clovis, made incursions upon the territories of the king of Austrasia. Thierry was obliged to send a considerable army against him, the command of which he gave to his son Theodebert. This young hero overtook the Danish prince just as he was going to embark his forces, which he attacked and overcame, and slew their leader with his own hand. It appears from the accounts of those times, that so early as this period France had a navy, since we are told that the French fleet took that of the Danes, got possession of a considerable booty, and released all the French prisoners. This expedition was succeeded by another into Thuringia, where Balderic was deprived of his dominions and his life. [A. D. 520.] The king of Austrasia was to have divided this conquest with Hermenfray, the brother of the deceased monarch, at whose instigation he had taken up arms.—Such were the terms of the treaty; but the Thuringian, equally perfidious to his allies as barbarous to his brother, violated his engagement. Thierry disguised his resentment, and deferred his vengeance to a future opportunity.

A. D. 523.] The three sons of Clotildis declared war against Sigismund, king of Burgundy, who unjustly detained the possessions of their mother, and after they had overcome him in a pitched battle, they seized his dominions †. Sigismund, his wife and children, were delivered to Clodomir, who notwithstanding the threats and solicitations of the abbot Avitus, caused them to be massacred and thrown into a well—a punishment that was but too frequent in those barbarous times ‡.

Gondemar, brother to the murdered monarch, re-entered Burgundy, and retook the kingdom; when the king of Orleans, assisted by Thierry, advanced against him, and defeated his army at Vesperonce, in the neighbourhood of Vienne. But his extreme eagerness in pursuing the enemy carrying him too far into the country, he was surprized by a party of Burgundians, who attacked and slew him. The courage of the French, far from being damped by the death of Clodomir, was now converted into fury; they destroyed all before them, sparing neither age nor sex, and did not leave Burgundy till they had laid the whole country waste.

Thus perished the youthful Clodomir, in the midst of victory. Some years after, his three brothers, and Theodebert, his nephew, revenged his death by the conquest of Burgundy, which they divided between them ||. This monarchy

* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 7.—Gest. Franc. c. 19. Fredeg. 31. † Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 6. Gest. Franc. c. 20.

‡ There are two villages of the ancient kingdom of Clodomir, where some traces of the action are still preserved—Saint Sigismund and Columelle—This last word is supposed to be a corruption of Calumnia.

|| Procop. de Bel. Goth. l. ii. c. 13.

had been founded one hundred and twenty years at the period of its re-union to the kingdom of France *. The king of Orleans left three sons, Theodebert, Gontaire and Clodoalde †. Brought up under the care and inspection of their virtuous grandmother, they would doubtless have enjoyed that felicity, every essential requisite for which they possessed, but for the cruelty and ambition of their uncles. These princes having, by artifice, got their nephews into their power immediately threw off the mask of affection which they had hitherto worn, and sent a sword and a pair of scissars to Clotildis, the guardian of their youth. That princess, in a transport of grief, inconsiderately exclaimed; that she would rather see them committed to the earth, than shut up in a convent. Her words were but too faithfully reported to Clotaire, who seizing the eldest; then only in his eleventh year, dashed him on the ground, and plunged a poniard into his breast; the youngest, affrighted, threw himself at the feet of Childebert, and embracing his knees, begged hard for his life. The monarch was deeply affected, and could not restrain his tears; but Clotaire, reproaching him with his weakness, tore the child from his arms, and murdered him on the body of his brother. The third had the good fortune to escape the fury of this barbarian. He submitted to have his hair cut off, and having devoted his life to the service of God, is, at present, invoked under the name of Saint Cloud. Though these events did not take place till some years after the death of Clodomir, we thought it necessary to relate them together, in order to prevent a future interruption in the thread of our history.

A. D. 531.] The king of Aufrasia had not forgotten the perfidy of Hermenfroy. Assisted by his brother Clotaire, he entered Thuringia, carried the capital by assault, and reduced the whole kingdom to subjection ‡. Almost every event of these barbarous ages is marked with cruelty ||. The king of Thuringia, confiding in the promise of Thierry, went to meet him at Tolbiac; but as he was walking with him, one day, on the walls of the town, a person in the retinue of the French monarch came behind him and threw him over into the ditch, where he expired. Clotaire married the incomparable Radeconda, and ordered her brother to be murdered; but he himself had nearly fallen a victim to the jealousy of Thierry. That prince had desired to have some private conversation with him; when the king of Soissons entered his apartment, he perceived the feet of some soldiers who were concealed behind the tapestry; upon which he made a sign to the noblemen who attended on his person to follow him. Though his brother was thus foiled in his attempt, he betrayed no signs of confusion, but loaded him with caresses, and presented him

* Both ancient and modern writers fix the foundation of this monarchy at the year 413 or 414, under Gondicarius or Gondiocus. The Abbé du Bos fixes its destruction at the year 534, during the reign of Gondomar; after which it was sometimes divided, between several of the French kings, and sometimes possessed by one; and at length it was divided into two or three parts, each of which was honoured with the title of the kingdom of Burgundy.---Velly. Greg. Tur. l. i. c. 18.

† Gest. Franc. c. 14. Fred. Epitom. c. 37. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 8. Gest. Franc. c. 22.

|| Fredeg. Epit. c. 32.

with a rich basen—a present that was very common in those times. Gregory of Tours relates, that among the precious articles which Childeric sent to Tiberius Constantine, emperor of the east, there was a gold basen enriched with stones, which weighed fifty pounds.

During these transactions in Thuringia, the king of Paris revenged the insults and cruelties committed on his sister by her husband Almaric*. The effects of this expedition were the deliverance of Clotildis, the death of the king of the Visigoths, and the capture and pillage of Narbonne, where were found seventy-two vases of gold, which, it was pretended, had been taken from the temple of Solomon. As Childebert was going on this expedition †, a false report was spread that the king of Aufrasia was killed, which induced him to take a different road, and direct his march to Auvergne, whose inhabitants joyfully acknowledged him for their sovereign. They had soon reason, however, to repent their imprudence, for the victorious Thierry entered their country with his troops, took possession of Clermont, stormed the castle of Volorre, burnt that of Tiern, reduced the fort of Oliergue, which was deemed impregnable, caused Munderic ‡, the chief supporter of the rebel party, to be assassinated, and left, in every quarter, marks of the most implacable vengeance.

This destructive expedition, and the reconciliation of Thierry with his brothers, are the last memorable actions of his reign. He died in the year 534.—There was nothing of mediocrity in the character of Thierry. As a king, prompt and decisive in all his undertakings; as a man, licentious and unrestrained in the gratification of his passions—never did a monarch exercise authority more absolute—never did a politician pay less respect to the laws of honour and the rights of humanity. We learn, from the history of this reign ||, that formerly the kings of France nominated to vacant bishopricks, without waiting for the suffrage of the people and the clergy. The church of Auvergne having chosen a successor to bishop Euprasius, Thierry not approving their choice, conferred the bishoprick on Apollinaris, who was accordingly received and consecrated. This prelate too dying some months after his promotion, the king appointed Quiatin, whom the Arians had expelled from his see, to succeed him; and the neighbouring bishops assembling, installed him in the church at Clermont, and presented him to the people, who acknowledged him for their lawful pastor. The popes had not yet arrogated to themselves the right of confirmation. The only homage paid by the prelates to the sovereign pontiffs, consisted in sending them a confession of faith, and in asking their communion.

* Procop. l. i. de Bell. Got. l. xii. c. 2. Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 10. † Idem, *ibid.* c. 13, 14. Fredeg. Epit. c. 37. Aimoin, Hist. l. x.

‡ Munderic, who pretended to have an equal right to the kingdom with Thierry, and to be a king like him, might probably, according to the conjecture of a learned academician, be a natural son of Clovis, although that prince, for reasons unnoticed in history, had not acknowledged him as such. M. de Fonc. Mémoire de L'Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. viii. p. 473.

|| Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 17.

A. D. 534.] Theodebert, the son and sole heir of the king of Aufrasia, was in Auvergne during his father's illness; a slave to the charms of the beautiful Deuteria, he seemed to have forgotten the rest of the world. Already had Childebert and Clotaire adopted measures for dismembering the succession of Thierry, and were preparing to enforce them*, when the young prince, tearing himself from the arms of his mistress, hastened to Metz, and by shewing himself to his subjects, defeated the perfidious schemes of his uncles. But the commencement of a reign, in many respects glorious, was dishonoured by an action of great criminality. The new monarch repudiated his wife, Wisigarda, in order to espouse Deuteria, who was also married. These incidents were very common, in the early times of the monarchy; for, besides Clotaire's marriage with his brother's widow, that prince had three wives at the same time, two of whom were sisters, and he made no scruple to marry Waldrada, his nephew's son's widow†. Such examples were followed by private people, who probably carried this licentiousness to a greater height: at least, we are authorized to believe so, by one of the canons of the second council of Orleans‡, by which a man is prohibited from marrying his mother-in-law, or father's wife.

A. D. 535.] The French now discovered a new theatre for the display of their valour, beyond the Alps.—Theodat having become king of Italy, in right of his wife Amalafonta, had scarcely obtained the crown when he put her to death to whom he was indebted for it||. Justinian undertook to inflict vengeance on the ungrateful assassin, and with this view applied for assistance to the French princes, with whom he speedily concluded a treaty. The Ostrogoths, however, found means to detach them from this new alliance, by ceding to them Provence and a part of the Alps. But this second treaty was no better observed than the first. The year following, Theodebert appeared in Italy at the head of a powerful army, where he first attacked the Ostrogoths, and next the Romans, and having defeated both their armies, ravaged Liguria, sacked the city of Genoa, and then returned to France, loaded with plunder; which was the only advantage he derived from this inglorious expedition.

A. D. 540.] After his return to his own dominions, he entered into a league with Childebert against the king of Soissons. Historians are silent as to the cause of this war; they only tell us that Clotaire, unable, from the inferiority of his forces, to encounter his enemies in the open field, intrenched himself in the forest of Routot, in the pays de Caux, with a resolution to perish rather than yield§. Already had the two monarchs made every necessary preparation for forcing his intrenchments, when a dreadful tempest burst over their camp. The noise of the thunder, incessant flashes of the most vivid lightning, and showers of hail, mixed (according to the credulous historians of those days) with stones, carried consternation and dismay throughout the ranks. The con-

* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 20. † Idem, l. iv. c. 9. ‡ Concil. tome iv. || Procop. l. i. Hist. Got. Jornand. de Reb. Got. § Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 28. Gest. Franc. c. 25.

federate princes acknowledged the hand of God, and immediately became reconciled to Clotaire, whose camp, we are told, the storm had respected. This miracle was ascribed to the prayers of Saint Clotildis.

This same year has been fixed on as the epoch of the establishment of the kingdom of Ivetot. It is said *, that Clotaire slew with his own hand, in the church of Soissons, a gentleman of the name of Gautier, who was lord of that barony; that when his passion was over, he was the first to condemn the murder he had committed, and as a kind of reparation for it, erected the lordship of Ivetot into a kingdom. But this story appears to be fabulous. The lords of Bellay, who have enjoyed that lordship by the marriage of one of their ancestors with Isabel Chenu, acknowledge that they have no just title to this pretended royalty †.

After the reconciliation between the kings of Paris and Soissons, those monarchs joined their troops, and entering Spain, took Pampeluna, ravaged Biscay, Arragon, and Catalonia, and laid siege to Sarragossa, whose inhabitants, in order to rescue themselves from pillage, gave them the tunic of Saint Vincent the martyr ‡. This precious relic was deposited in the church which Childebert had built in the suburbs of Paris, and to which he had given the name of Saint Croix and Saint Vincent. It is now called St. Germain des Prés. Such is the account given by the French authors of this event §. The Spaniards, on the contrary, affirm that the two kings were totally defeated before the town; that the conquerors having immediately seized the passes of the Pyrenees, they must have been taken, if the general of the Visigoths had not been bribed to grant them a passage; and that their army was entirely cut in pieces.

Italy still continued to be a prey to the destructive flames of war. Justinian, convinced that he should fail in his endeavours, if he had the French princes for his enemies, sent them a celebrated embassy, with a formal cession of all his rights and pretensions to Provence §. He granted them the privilege of presiding, like the Emperors, over the games which were celebrated in the amphitheatre at Arles; and he issued an edict, ordering that all gold coin, coined by them, and bearing their image, should be current throughout the whole extent of the empire. This was a prerogative, that had constantly been refused even to the great king of Persia. But all these advances proved fruitless: Theodebert entered into a treaty with Totila, to whom he had recently refused to give his daughter in marriage, because he would not suffer her to be the wife of any one of inferior rank to that of a monarch. The motives of this confederacy was the assumption, by Justinian, of the pompous title of *Franciscus*, which was grossly inconsistent, after the numerous victories obtained by the French over the Roman troops ¶.

The king of Austrasia undertook either to make him lose or merit that title. He began by causing medals to be made, on which he was represented not only

* Robert Gaguin, Hist. l. ii. in vit. Clot. † Pasquier Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 7.

‡ Gest. Franc. c. 26. § Isidor. Hisp. Hist. Got. § Procop. l. iii. de Bel. Got. ¶ Agat. l. i.

with all the marks of the imperial dignity, but with the appellation of "Lord," and "Augustus," which were peculiar to the emperors. He next thought of engaging in his quarrel the Gepidi, the Lombards, and all those nations which swelled the list of Justinian's conquests. He intended to carry the war even into Thrace and Illyria; but these grand projects were put an end to by a fatal accident, which deprived him of life.

A. D. 548.] This prince, the most accomplished of all the descendants of Clovis, was taken off either by the fall of a tree, which wounded him mortally; or by a tedious disorder which baffled the utmost skill of his physicians*; for historians are not agreed on this point.

Bold, hardy, and intrepid, he had scarcely arrived at maturity, when he acquired, by a signal victory over the Danes, the epithet *Useful*, which was ever after annexed to his name. Benificent, humane, and alive to the miseries of his people, he had nothing of that ferocity in his disposition, which dishonours the memory of his grandfather, his father, and his uncles. Adored by his subjects, courted by his neighbours, and feared by his enemies, never did a monarch more ably maintain the dignity of his crown. Marius, bishop of Lausanne, always distinguished him by the appellation of the 'Great King of the French. † The memorable reply which he made to bishop Didier, is particularly worthy of notice. That prelate having brought him a considerable sum which had been lent from the royal treasury to the inhabitants of Verdun, he refused to take it:—"We are both of us but too happy," said he; "you, in having procured me an opportunity of doing good; and I, in not having suffered it to escape." He left but one son, whom he had by Deuteria; he was named Théodobald or Thibaut, and succeeded to the crown, without any opposition from his uncles, which sufficiently proves that bastards were not then excluded the succession.

The death of the king of Austrasia, was soon followed by that of the virtuous Clotildis; who was a model of patience, piety, and zeal: her body was conveyed to Paris, where it was interred by the side of Clovis, in the church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, now Saint Genevieve. She was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 549.] Théodobald had scarcely ascended the throne when Justinian sent ambassadors to ask his alliance, and the restitution of those places which his father had taken in Liguria, and the Venetian territories. The young monarch, in return, dispatched four French noblemen to the court of Constantinople, who brought this negotiation to a happy conclusion. Peace was proclaimed between France and the Empire, and the French remained in possession of their Italian conquests †. The Pope was treated with greater respect; the Emperor left the affair of *the three chapters* to the decision of a general council—this appellation was bestowed on the famous question which was agitated in the sixth century,

* Agath. l. i.

† Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 36.

‡ Procop. l. iv. de Bell. Got. c. 24, 26.

relative to the condemnation of certain writings of Theodoret, bishop of Cyr; a letter of Ibas, bishop of Edeffa; and the person and works of Theodorus, of Mopsuestia. These writings are represented by ancient authors as just objects of suspicion; the two first, because they were composed in favour of Nestorius, against Cyrillus, of Alexandria; and the last, because they were regarded as the sources whence all the errors of the bishop of Byzantium were derived. But Theodoret and Ibas had both been acknowledged as orthodox writers by the council of Chalcedon, and Theodorus had been received into the bosom of the church, previous to his death.—These considerations occasioned no small embarrassment.—Nevertheless, *the three chapters* were condemned in the fifth general council of Constantinople. Pope Vigilius refused to ratify this condemnation; but it was solemnly confirmed by his successor, Pelagius. Childebert considering this step as an infringement on the authority of the council of Chalcedon, complained of it to the Pope, whom he obliged to send him his confession of faith. This letter was sufficient to prevent the schism which was on the point of breaking forth in France, though it was inadequate to remove the prejudices of the nation; with regard to the prevarication of which it accused the sovereign pontiff.

[A. D. 554.] The peace with the Empire was of short duration. The king of Aufrasia, in violation of the late treaty, permitted Leutharis and Bucelinus to lead seventy-five thousand men to the assistance of the Ostrogoths. These generals made themselves masters of Parma, defeated a detachment of the Imperial army, under the command of Fulcaris, spread devastation around them wherever they went, and advanced as far as Samnium, where they divided their army into two bodies *. One of these, under Leutharis, after ravaging Calabria and the neighbouring countries, perished by the plague, under the walls of Padua. The other commanded by Bucelinus, laid waste Lucania, and the country of the Brutii, and was then cut to pieces, not far from Capua. The slaughter, we are told, in this battle was so dreadful, that but five soldiers escaped out of an army of thirty thousand men; the rest were all slain, or taken prisoners. By this defeat the French lost all the places they possessed in Liguria, and the Venetian territories; the passage of the Alps was the only one of their conquests they were able to preserve.

[A. D. 555.] This calamitous intelligence had scarcely reached France, when Théodobald, whose mind was more vigorous than his body, departed this life, in the seventh year of his reign. He left no children; and, though he had two sisters, Wisigarda and Ragnitrua, the law of the realm, says Agathias †, called Childebert and Clotaire to succeed him, as his nearest relations. This is the first historical monument of that fundamental law which excludes females from the throne. The king of Paris, attacked by a violent disorder, was in no condition to enforce his right; and Clotaire, taking advantage of this circum-

* Procop. l. iv. Agath. l. ii.

† C. 2.

france, gained over the nobles of Aufrasia, and compelled his brother to make a formal surrender of all his pretensions. Childebert, by way of revenge for this treacherous conduct, sowed confusion and discord in the family of the king of Soissons. When that monarch returned from an expedition against the Saxons, he found that Chramne, the most beloved of all his children, had revolted against him*. He took proper measures for reducing him to submission; and was on the point of enforcing them, when he was obliged once more to direct his arms against the Saxons; he, therefore, sent his two other sons, Caribert and Gontran, to attack the rebels. These kings (all the children of France were then honoured with that title †) entered Auvergne, compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Clermont, and advanced, to give them battle, as far as the Limousin. But a false report, purporting that their father was killed, made them suddenly return towards Burgundy.

A. D. 558.] The return of Clotaire, and the death of his brother, put an end to these civil commotions. Chramne, deprived of his uncles support, implored the king's mercy, and was pardoned. Childebert died in the forty-seventh year of his reign; and his loss was severely felt by every class of people ‡. The nobility lost a chief, the affability of whose manners, and the plenitude of whose goodness, captivated every heart; the people had to regret an equitable sovereign, who governed them with wisdom and moderation; and religion lost a protector of unbounded zeal. A number of monasteries and hospitals, built and founded with a magnificence truly royal ||; a charter published by his authority for the abolition of idols, and images consecrated to the devil, throughout his dominions; and four councils, assembled during his reign, and by his orders, one at Orleans, one at Arles, and two at Paris, are exhibited by historians as so many illustrious monuments of the piety of this monarch. He is reproached, however, and justly, with the death of his nephews; but if he had ambition enough to project the crime, he, at least, had not sufficient cruelty to put it in execution. He was buried in the church of Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Prés; where his tomb is still to be seen.

The foundation of the church of Paris is ascribed to him §; but that is a mistake. It is true, indeed, that he embellished it with glass windows, ornaments till then unknown in the churches of that capital; but he certainly did not build it. He left two daughters, Crotberga and Clodofinda, who were of course excluded from the throne.

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 10, 14. Gest. Franc. c. 27. † Marculp. l. i. Formul. 39. ‡ Fred. Epit. c. 35. || Tom. i. Capit. Baluzii, p. 6. § Fortunat. l. ii. Carm. 11.

CLOTAIRE, SOLE KING.

A. D. 509, 561, 562.] THE king of Soissons, now become sole monarch of all France, experienced the insufficiency of power, however extensive; of dignity, however illustrious; to secure the mind from mortification and chagrin. This unhappy father was again obliged to take up arms against that son on whom he had, in a peculiar degree, bestowed his affections *. The Britons were defeated, their chief slain, and the wretched Chramne taken prisoner, and sacrificed to the resentment of an offended parent. This punishment was extended to his whole family; they were all strangled, and then burnt.

After this fatal victory, followed by such an act of inhumanity, Clotaire passed the remainder of his life in the deepest melancholy. He died at Compiègne, in the fifty-first year of his reign †; a reign that was marked by a series of actions, from the contemplation of which humanity shrinks with disgust: by adultery, incest, cruelty, assassination, and every species of barbarous violence. It has been remarked, that his death happened exactly a year after his son's execution, on the same day, and at the same hour. He was interred in the church of St. Medard, at Soissons, which he had begun, and which his son Sigebert completed. He left four sons, who succeeded to his dominions: Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. He had six wives: Ingonda and Aregonda, who were sisters; Chonsena, Radegonda, Gondiuca, his sister-in-law; and Waldrada, his nephew's son's widow.

* Gest. Franc. c. 28. Fredeg. Epet. c. 54. † Marius in Chron.

C A R I B E R T.

A. D. 562.] FRANCE was again divided into four kingdoms, whose limits were different to those of its former divisions. Touraine, Albigeois, and Marseillés, were added to the kingdom of Paris. To that of Orleans were annexed Burgundy, whose name it took, the Sénonois, and a part of Champagne. Chalons upon Saone became the royal residence*. Soissons was enlarged by the acquisition of the Tournesis, though some writers have supposed that it before formed a part of that kingdom. And Aufrasia, by giving up a few provinces in Gaul, considerably increased its limits in Germany, by the annexation of all Thuringia. But before the division was completed, a quarrel arose among the children of Clotaire. Chilperic insisted on having the capital of the empire; and, profiting by the absence of his brothers, he took possession of Braine, a country seat, where his father kept all his treasures; which he seized and distributed among the leading men of the nation; then, placing himself at their head, he repaired to Paris, where he compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign. The other princes, enraged at this proceeding, raised troops, besieged him in his new capital, obliged him to descend from the throne he had usurped, and forced him to abide by the usual mode of decision, by drawing lots; which proved unfavorable to him. Caribert was accordingly proclaimed king of Paris; Gontran, of Burgundy; Sigebert, of Aufrasia; and Chilperic, of Soissons.

A. D. 563.] This contest for the succession was no sooner terminated, than the king of Aufrasia received intelligence that the Huns, an ancient people of

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 28. Gest. Franc. c. 29. Fred. Epit. c. 54.

European Sarmatia, and then masters of Pannonia, which from them took the name of Hungary, had made incursions into that part of his dominions which was situated beyond the Rhine. He immediately hastened to give them battle, and came up to them in Thuringia, where they had excited the people to revolt*. A celebrated poet of those days remarks, that this young prince placed himself foremost in the ranks, and with his battle-axe charged the enemy with an heroic intrepidity, overthrew all that came in his way, and obtained a complete victory. But he was induced to conclude a peace with them, on account of the news he received, that Chilperic, having got possession of Rheims, had ravaged all the province of Champagne. He, therefore, passed the Rhine with great expedition; laid siege to Soissons, which he took; made his nephew, Theodebert, prisoner, then overcame his brother in a pitched battle; and, afterwards, through the mediation of Caribert and Gontran, restored him his dominions, and his son †.

The victorious Sigebert now thought of forming a matrimonial connection, suitable to his birth and dignity; with this view he fixed his eyes on Brunehaut, daughter of Athanagildus, king of the Visigoths, who passed for the most accomplished princess of the age. The ambassador whom he sent to ask her hand, was Gogo, Mayor of the Palace ‡. This is the first time that this dignity, which afterwards proved so fatal to the sovereign authority, is mentioned in history. The mayor was formerly what the grand-master of the British king's household is now; his power was confined to the palace, and the domestics attached to it. In the sequel, he became minister, commander of the armies, chief, prince; in short, king of the nation. The reign of Sigebert the Second was the epoch of the elevation of this officer, and of the humiliation of majesty. The proposals of the French ambassador experienced a favourable reception; the new queen accordingly arrived at Metz, amidst the acclamations of the people; and the marriage was celebrated with all possible magnificence. Some time after she abjured Arianism; and her public reconciliation to the church crowned the happiness of the king and his subjects.

A. D. 566.] The king of Soissons, moved by the example of his brother, and determined to renounce the un sanctified pleasures of illicit amours, sent to ask the hand of Galswinda, Brunehaut's eldest sister. But a just knowledge of his disposition excited scruples in the mind of her father, which were not easily removed. By dint of sollicitation, however, he at length gave his consent; but he first exacted an oath from the ambassadors, that no other woman should enjoy the title and dignity of Queen, during the life of his daughter: this they promised, by drawing and shaking their swords; which was customary with the ancient Franks whenever they engaged themselves, by oath, to observe any promise. The new queen set out from Toledo, loaded with riches, and arrived

* Fortunat. Episc. Pictav. l. vi. Carm. 3. † Greg. Tur. Ib. c. 23. ‡ Gest. Franc. c. 31.

at Rouen in a round car of solid silver *. At that city her new subjects took the oath of fidelity to her; either because such was the custom of those times, or because Athanagildus had required it in order to procure her greater respect from the nation. When the king married her, he settled on her le Bordelois, the Limoufin, Quiercy, Bearn, and Bigorre. This settlement, or gift, was called *the Morning Present*, *Morganegiba*, or *Morgangeba*. The dower was fixed before the marriage, and the donation made the day after †.

But though Chilperic entertained the greatest respect for the virtue of his bride, he soon permitted the flames of lawless love to rekindle in his bosom. The queen complained of his inconstancy to an assembly of the states; and the nation obliged the king to swear that he would in future, be faithful to his marriage-vows: but a few days after they had exacted this oath from him, Galfrinda was found dead in her bed ‡. Fredegonda, a woman of great beauty, but who was still more vicious than handsome, was suspected of her death; and when she was seen to occupy the place and the throne of her rival, those suspicions were converted into certainty.

These alliances, so degrading to majesty, were but too common in the family of Clotaire. Caribert repudiated Ingoberga to marry the daughter of an artizan; and she was afterwards obliged to give place to her own sister Marcovefa, who had taken the veil. And, lastly, Theudegilda, the daughter of a simple shepherd, was raised to the first throne in the empire of France. This conduct induced Germanus, bishop of Paris, to excommunicate Caribert. The popes had not yet interfered in these delicate matters; each prelate had absolute power in his own diocese. If any offence against religion was committed, it came under the cognizance of the bishop of the diocese. If any dispute arose, on points of belief or discipline, they were determined by a national council, under the authority of the king §, and if any privileges or dispensations were to be determined, this decision rested with the assembly of the bishops of the provinces. It was in one of these assemblies, and about this time, that the abbey of St. Vincent, now St. Germain des Prés, was exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary.

Caribert reigned six years. Gregory of Tours only speaks of his vices. But Fortunatus represents him as a prince of great prudence, moderation, and suavity of manners §. He was an encourager of literature, and spoke Latin as well as his native tongue. Zealous in his efforts to enforce a due observance of the laws, his time was wholly devoted to the purpose of promoting the happiness and tranquillity of his subjects. Ever peaceably disposed, but jealous of his power, he preserved his authority with equal dignity and firmness.

* Fortunat. l. vi. Carm. 7. † Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 20. Ducange on the word *Morganegiba*. ‡ Fredeg. Epit. c. 6. § Pasquier, Recherches de la France, c. 7. p. 183. § l. iv. c. 26. l. v. Carm. iv.

Leontius, of Bourdeaux, had assembled a council at Xaintes*, at which Emericus, bishop of that city, was deposed; but Caribert, enraged at this daring encroachment on his prerogative, sentenced the archbishop to pay a fine of a thousand pieces of gold, and his suffragans in proportion to their revenues.

This prince only left three daughters; BIRTHA, who was married to Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Bertfleda and Chrodielta, who took the veil, the first at Tours, the second at Poitiers. His dominions were divided between his brothers; each of whom was anxious to have possession of Paris; but, after much altercation, it was determined that that city should be equally subject to all the three, and that neither of them should be permitted to enter it without the consent of the other two †. They confirmed this agreement by an oath; and in case of violation, submitted themselves to the malediction of God and the saints.

* Idem. Greg. ibid. † Greg. Tur. l. vii. c. 6.

CHILPERIC THE FIRST.

A. D. 567.] FRANCE did not long enjoy the advantages that were expected to result from the late agreement between the three royal brothers. The death of Galfwinda excited a civil war † that seemed to threaten the destruction of Chilperic. Sigebert and Gontran, at the pressing sollicitation of queen Brunehaut, entered into a league for the purpose of inflicting vengeance on the assassin of her sister. They had even seized the greatest part of his dominions, when tranquillity and concord were suddenly restored, not from motives of affection, but interest. It was stipulated by treaty, that the king of Soissons should cede to the queen of Austrasia those domains which had been given to Galfwinda for her dower, [A. D. 568.] When this dispute was settled, Sigebert found himself obliged to take up arms against the Huns, now the Hungarians, who had renewed their depredations on the French territories beyond the Rhine. The expedition proved unfortunate. The king, abandoned by his soldiers, was surrounded by the enemy and taken prisoner. He was a prince of extraordinary prudence, and his person was peculiarly calculated to conciliate esteem: his liberality overcame those whom his arms could not subdue: the barbarians, won by his munificence, restored him to liberty, entered into an alliance with him, swore never to molest him more, and loaded him with marks of their friendship and kindness ‡.

* Although Chilperic had only a part of the kingdom, and of its metropolis, the generality of historians place him among the kings of Paris, immediately after the death of Caribert.

† Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 20. ‡ Id. l. iv. c. 29. p. 337.

A. D. 569.] During these transactions beyond the Rhine, the Lombards, who had recently founded a new kingdom in Italy, made an irruption into Burgundy, defeated and slew the governor, cut the army of Gontran in pieces, and repassed the Alps, with an immense booty. A thirst for plunder, joined to the impunity of their first attempt soon induced them to make a second incursion into Dauphiné. Mummol, the greatest warrior then in France, surprized them, in the vicinity of Embrun, and gained a complete victory.

At this engagement an incident occurred which, at that time, was unexampled. Salonus and Sagittarius, both of them bishops, the first of Embrun, the second of Gap, changed their mitres for helmets, and charged the enemy, sword in hand, with an intrepidity that, in a soldier, would have excited the warmest commendation; but which was universally blamed in a prelate. The irruption of the Lombards was followed by an invasion of the Saxons, who had assisted them in the conquest of Italy. Mummol marched against this new enemy, dispersed their army, took from them all the booty they had collected, and compelled them to return to their own country, which they were obliged to divide with the Suevi, who had taken possession of it during their absence.

A. D. 570.] While Burgundy was thus harassed by the incursions of the barbarians, the king of Austrasia, seduced by the tempting opportunity, seized the city of Arles, to which he had some claims; but it was speedily retaken, and the Austrasian army defeated. The conquerors then attacked Avignon, which belonged to the dominions of Sigebert, but Gontran restored it on the conclusion of a peace*. This unexpected accommodation was highly disagreeable to the king of Soissons, who profiting by their dispute, had made an irruption into the territories of Sigebert. Clovis, the youngest of his sons, had reduced Tours and Poitiers, when Mummol appeared at the head of those troops who had so recently signalized their courage against the Lombards and Saxons. The mere presence of this general sufficed to disperse the army of Chilperic, and to re-establish tranquillity and subordination. They finished the first campaign; the next exhibited one of those examples of an aptitude to violate the most sacred treaties, which were but too common with the children of Clovis.

Theodebert, notwithstanding his oaths never more to bear arms against his uncle, committed depredations in Touraine, then entered Poitou, defeated the army of Sigebert, and having made himself master of all the towns near the Loire, advanced into Quercy and the Limousin, where he laid every thing waste.

The king of Austrasia, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, brought a foreign army into France, composed of Germans, Suevi, Bavarians, Thuring-

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. ib. c. 36.

gians, and Saxons*. Chilperic, unable to face so formidable a force, and abandoned by Gontran, who at first had joined him, retreated, and intrenched himself in the Chartrain from whence he sent proposals of peace to his brother. Through the mediation of the French nobles, an accommodation was effected and the three brothers swore to maintain a perpetual amity. The German troops, who had fed themselves with the hope of plundering the camp of Chilperic, finding themselves disappointed, began to murmur. But Sigebert, mounting his horse, rode along the ranks, and ordered the most seditious to be arrested, and stoned to death in sight of the whole army. This is the only example to be found in the French history of this species of punishment, which was common among the ancient Romans.

A. D. 575.] The king of Aufrasia had no sooner dismissed his troops, than Chilperic and his son Theodebert again took up arms. The former entered Champagne, and laid the whole country waste with fire and sword, spreading destruction around him wherever he went. The latter marched into Aquitain, where he was killed in action†. The death of Theodebert, the reconciliation of Gontran with Sigebert, and the approach of the German troops, filled the court of Soissons with consternation and dismay. Chilperic fled to Tournay, where he shut himself up with his wife and children. The Aufrasian prince was every where successful; Paris, Rouen, and all the cities and towns belonging to his brother, submitted to his arms, and acknowledged his authority. Inflated by success, he became deaf to the suggestions of pity, and determined to punish the treachery of his brother with death. The remonstrances of Germanus, the prayers of Radagonda, and the wishes of the nation, all proved inadequate to superinduce the adoption of more moderate sentiments. Tournay was already invested, when two ruffians, hired for the purpose by Fredegonda, assassinated Sigebert at Vitri, whither he had repaired in order to receive the homage of his new subjects.

Thus perished, in the midst of victory, the most perfect monarch that had yet appeared on the throne of France. Generous, liberal, and beneficent, no sovereign ever established a more extensive sway over the *hearts* of his subjects. Intrepid in the hour of danger, and unshaken by adversity, he had the art, even in captivity, to conciliate the respect and affection of a conqueror, who scarcely possessed the appearance of humanity. In manners chaste, his inclinations conformed to his situation. His reign may be justly denominated the reign of decency and honour.

Sigebert died in the forty-first year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He was buried in the church of Saint Medard at Soissons, where his figure may still be seen on his tomb. He is there represented with a long coat, and that species of cloak which the Romans called *chlamys*. This dress was worn by all

* Greg. Tur. l. iv. † Ibid. c. 51. 52. Gest. Franc. c. 32.

the children of Clovis, either because they thought it had a more noble and majestic appearance, or because they considered the title of "August" as hereditary in their family. Be that as it may, long coats were, during several centuries, peculiar to persons of distinction; they were generally trimmed with martin, sable, or ermine. Ruffs and collars were introduced by Henry the Second; till when, most of the French monarchs had their necks entirely bare. The short coat, which was formerly confined to the country and the camp, became fashionable during the reign of Lewis the Eleventh; it was exploded in that of Lewis the Twelfth; and renewed under Francis the First. The favourite dress of Henry the Second, and his children, consisted of a close doublet, a kind of half trowsers, such as are worn by the pages in Spain, and a short cloak that did not reach below the waist.

The dress of the French ladies experienced as many revolutions as that of the men. It does not appear that they bestowed much pains on the decoration of their persons, till towards the conclusion of the ninth century. Their head-dress was extremely simple, and their linen plain, but fine. Lace was long unknown to them. Their gowns, which were adorned on one side with the arms of their husbands, and on the other with those of their own family, were made to fit so tight, that they shewed every part of the shape, and to come so high that they entirely covered the bosom. The widow's weeds greatly resembled the dress of a modern nun. They did not begin to expose their shoulders to sight till the reign of Charles the Sixth. During the gallant reign of Charles the Seventh, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings were introduced. Anne of Britanny rejected with disdain all those frivolous embellishments; while Catherine of Medicis was incessantly employed in the invention of new decorations; vanity, luxury, caprice, and coquetry, at length carried them to the height which they have now attained.

A. D. 576.] No revolution was ever more sudden or complete than that which took place on the death of Sigebert*. The Austrasian army immediately raised the siege of Tournay; all the towns that had been taken in the kingdom of Soissons returned to their allegiance; Queen Brunehaut and her children were arrested; and Chilperic, after he had recovered his dominions, saw himself on the point of ascending the throne of his conqueror. Sigulphus, and several other of the Austrasian nobles, had acknowledged him for their sovereign; and their example was followed by Sigo, the grand *referendary*—that was the title given, by the Merovingian kings, to the person who kept the great seal, dispatched letters, and sealed the public ordinances. He was called

* Greg. Tur. v. l. c. 1. Gest. Franc. c. 32. Fred. c. 74.

Chancellor under the Carlovingian monarchs; either because he drew his pen across such letters as he rejected, or because he affixed a seal to them; in an apartment that was secured with iron bars, or *chanceaux*, as they were then called*. It was formerly but the fifth place in the kingdom †; and it was not without great difficulty that a seat in the assembly of the peers was allowed him in 1224; and for a long time he took his place in the parliament after the princes and prelates. At length he has become the first officer under the crown; president of all the councils; head of all the judges and courts of justice; and dispensator of all favours, abolitions, and pardons. He is the only man in the kingdom who does not wear mourning, and the only subject who receives visits without returning them.

Chilperic made his entry into Paris, accompanied by a variety of relics borne in procession. He imagined that this affectation of religious zeal would avert the malediction to which he had subjected himself, in case he should violate the treaty of division; or, at least, that the credit of so many saints would prove sufficient to counterbalance the authority of Polieuctus, Hilary, and Martin, whom he had called to witness his sincerity. But his surprize and indignation were inexpressible, when he learned that the son, and sole heir of Sigebert, had effected his escape. Gondebald, one of the first nobles at the court of the deceased monarch, had released the infant prince from captivity. He was let down, from the window of his prison, in a basket, and received by a trusty person, who delivered him safe into the hands of the faithful Austrasian, by whom he was conducted to Metz. The great men of the kingdom assembled on Christmas day; and Childebért, who had scarcely attained his sixth year, was crowned king of Austrasia.

Enraged at the escape of his prisoner, the king of Soissons seized the treasures of Sigebert, and sent Queen Brunehaut to Rouen, where he ordered her to be strictly guarded. But what caused the deepest affliction to this unfortunate mother, was the seizure of her daughters, Ingonda and Chlodosinda, who were conducted to Meaux. Chilperic next dispatched one of his generals, named Rocolene, to take possession of Maine, and sent his son Meroveus to reduce Poitou. The first had orders to seize Gontran-Bafon, whom the king suspected of having killed his eldest son, Theodébert. This officer had fled for refuge to the church of Saint Martin of Tours, an asylum that was more respected than any sanctuary in France. This consideration, however, was inadequate to restrain Rocolene from fulfilling the commands of his master; but his punishment for such a profanation of this sacred place, says Gregory of Tours, was prompt and exemplary †. Stricken with a sudden terror, he was forced to retire without putting his project in execution, and died a few days after at Poi-

* Du Tillet, p. 278. † Tessereau Grande Chancellerie, p. 8. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 1, 2, 4.

tiers. Young Meroveus, less faithful to the orders of his father, repaired to Tours, and leaving that place under pretence of going to Mons, where his mother Audovera resided, he took the road to Rouen; where bishop Pretextatus married him to Brunehaut, whose beauty was still in its meridian; Fortunatus, indeed, represents her as a second Venus*; and the particulars into which he enters on this subject, prove, either that he was not yet a bishop, or that the prelates of those days, though irreproachable, perhaps in their manners, were not very delicate in their expressions.

Chilperic, deeply offended at the conduct of his son, repaired to Rouen with a determination to punish the new-married couple, who, alarmed at his approach, took refuge in the church of Saint Martin, built on the ramparts of the city. In vain were every artifice and every stratagem exerted to induce them to quit their asylum; they refused to leave it till they had obtained a most solemn promise, not only that no insult nor injury should be offered them, but that their marriage should be confirmed, in case the bishops should deem it lawful. The king, after this accommodation, obliged Meroveus to follow him to Soissons, and left Brunehaut in her former prison; from whence, he soon after sent her into Austrasia, with the princesses her daughters. She was no sooner arrived there, than she engaged her son Childebert to declare war against his uncle. Godin, one of the chief nobles of Austrasia, [A. D. 577], who had before sworn allegiance to Chilperic, received orders to march to Soissons, for the purpose of seizing the person of Fredegonda; but arriving a few hours too late, he was himself surprized, defeated, and slain. This commotion being ascribed to Meroveus, they took from him his arms, and placed guards over him. The defeat of an army in the Limousin confirmed these suspicions, and entirely deprived him of his father's confidence and affection.

Gontran had joined Childebert against the king of Soissons, who had sent two powerful armies to oppose them, one in Saintonge, under the command of his second son, Clovis, and the other in the Limousin, under the conduct of general Didier †. This last was attacked by Mummol, who gained a complete victory; after a most bloody and obstinate action, in which twenty-five thousand of Chilperic's troops, and five thousand Burgundians, were slain. Meroveus, being considered as the author of this war, was made responsible for its consequences. They cut off his hair, and, after he had been disinherited, he was ordained priest, and confined to a convent. But escaping from his prison, he fled to the church of Saint Martin at Tours; and Chilperic finding all his efforts to make him quit this sanctuary fruitless and unavailing, at length determined

* L. vi. Carm. 6. † Greg. Tur. c. 14. Gest. Franc. c. 33.

to remove him by force. He wrote on this subject to Saint Martin, whose indignation he was fearful of incurring. His letter, which was in the form of a consultation, was placed on the tomb of the saint; and the king—such was the simplicity and ignorance of these times!—had the precaution to send a piece of plain paper with it, on which he hoped the blessed pontiff would write his decision. But the Saint did not honour him with an answer, and the paper being found in *statu quo*, at the expiration of three days, the superstitious monarch abandoned his design.

Meroveus, on his part, implored the protection of the same saint, against the rage and machinations of his father. He conjured him to point out his fate, by such passages of scripture as he should open on by chance; but not one of them proved favourable. All, says the historian, from whom we take this account, foretold that he would die a violent death. The unhappy prince, after this fatal prediction, was a stranger to rest and tranquillity: A fugitive; wandering about the country—passing from Touraine to Aufrasia, and from Champagne to Artois*; abandoned by his wife, whose affection for him was sincere, but who was totally unable to serve him; persecuted by his father, and betrayed by the principal inhabitants of Terouane, he was at length assassinated by some people in the pay of Frédégonda.

This queen carried her revenge still farther; she had not forgotten the connection that formerly subsisted between Pretextatus and Meroveus; and she therefore undertook to procure the deposition of that prelate, in a council holden at Paris, in the church of Saint Genevieve†. It is difficult to say which was the most calculated to excite astonishment; the situation of the king, who appeared as his accuser, or that of the fathers, who were greatly embarrassed to find any cause for reprehension in the conduct of a bishop, who had married an aunt to her nephew. One might be tempted to conclude, either that such marriages were not prohibited by the ancient canons, or that the ecclesiastics were persuaded the ordinary had a right to grant dispensations. Our surprize is still augmented when we reflect on the weakness of the party accused; who, at the instigation of some pretended friends, confessed himself guilty of crimes which he had never committed. But our astonishment is at its height, when we see the king throwing himself at the feet of the prelates, his vassals, to sue for the condemnation of one of his subjects. He wished to have his robes torn off in full council, and to have the maledictions, contained in the hundred and eighth Psalm, repeated to him; or, at least, to have a sentence of eternal excommunication pronounced against him. But none of his requests were granted. The bishop, however, was condemned on his own confession, committed to prison, and afterwards banished. On the death of Chilperic, he was recalled by the king,

* Fred. Epit. c. 78. † Greg. Ib. c. 9.

of Burgundy, and reinstated in his bishoprick, in spite of Fredegonda, who, in revenge, had him stabbed in the midst of divine service. In consequence of this horrid attempt, all the churches in Rouen were shut; the bishops, who were there, forbade the celebration of the holy mysteries till such time as the author of that sacrilegious deed should be discovered. This is the first instance of such an interdiction in ancient days.

But the assassination of Meroveus, and the condemnation of Pretextatus, only served as a prelude to the enormities of Fredegonda. Chilperic had one son by his first wife still living; it was that same Clovis who commanded his father's army, in the war against the king of Aufrasia. The cruel step-mother resolved to sacrifice this prince to the elevation of her own children. She was first disposed to put her abominable project in execution, by the discovery of a conspiracy formed by Leudastes, governor of Tours. The means he employed were so far removed from the common modes of proceeding, in such cases, that they appeared to be infallible.

[A. D. 578, 579, 580, 581.] He suborned witnesses to accuse Gregory of Tours of carrying on a correspondence with Childebert, and of having spoken indecently of the amours of Fredegonda and the bishop of Bourdeaux*. Gregory soon cleared himself from these odious imputations; his accusers, being put to the torture, confessed that this intrigue had been feigned, for the purpose of inspiring the king with suspicions of his wife's infidelity; and that the design of the conspirators was to assassinate Chilperic, to make away with the children he had by the queen, and to place Clovis on the throne. Though the young prince had no concern in the conspiracy, he was greatly beloved by the people, which was alone sufficient to ensure the hatred of Fredegonda. Having lately lost three children by the dysentery, she bribed some persons to swear that Clovis had poisoned them †. He was accordingly seized and imprisoned in the castle of Noisy, where he was soon after murdered: his mother, Audovera, experienced a similar fate; the sacredness of her retreat being insufficient to preserve her from the rage of this monster. Basina, sister to Clovis, and daughter to the reigning monarch, was first dishonoured by infamous hirelings, and then shut up in a convent.

‡ The writers of those times tell us that these cruel deeds were preceded by the most evident proofs of the anger of Heaven—by earthquakes, inundations, conflagrations, famine, epidemic diseases, *showers of blood*, and a total subversion of nature, which made flowers blow in January, and grapes ripen in December.

While the kingdom of Soissons was the scene of such horrid transactions, the kings of Aufrasia and Burgundy had a meeting at Pont-Pierre, a small

* Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 31. † Marius in Chron. Fred. Epit. c. 82. ‡ Id. ib.

village on the Maese, for the purpose of forming an alliance both sincere and durable.

* Gontran, who had lost two sons, adopted Childebert, and declared him sole heir to his dominions. The Austrasians, proud of this alliance, sent to demand from Chilperic the restoration of those places which he had taken from them, particularly Poitiers, which he had lately seized. The ambassador had orders, in case of refusal, to declare war against him. His demands, however, were rejected, and his menaces despised; while the court of Metz quietly put up with the insult, and took no pains to resent it: but it is conjectured, and with great probability, that it instigated Waroc, earl of Brittany, to refuse to pay homage to the king of Soissons; which refusal produced a bloody war, that continued for some time: but how it terminated is not known.

A. D. 584.] In the mean time, Childebert, forgetting his adopted son, entered into a league with Chilperic against the king of Burgundy. Hostilities commenced with the surprise of that part of Marfeilles which had belonged to Sigebert, and which was now the object of contention. A civil war, which broke out at this period, in the kingdom of Austrasia, prevented the young prince from extending his conquests farther. Gontran profited by the occasion to make his peace with the king of Soissons, to whom he ceded Perigueux, Agen, and all the places of which he had taken possession. But the league was soon renewed; and a battle was fought near Melun, in which both parties claimed the victory. The Burgundian prince next attacked the camp of Chilperic, killed a great number of his troops, and by this advantage paved the way to an accommodation, which was speedily concluded; and the two brothers and their nephew swore to observe an eternal friendship for each other.

At the conclusion of this war, the king of Spain sent ambassadors to ask the hand of Rigintha, daughter to Fredegonda, for his youngest son, Recarede. The court of Soissons affected to start some difficulties at first, but the marriage was at length concluded. This was the last fortunate event of the reign of Chilperic. His only son, Thierry, died suddenly soon after. Childebert and Gontran were continually at war with him. Compelled to shut himself up in Cambray, with all his treasures, he rarely appeared at the head of his armies; and never undertook any expedition of importance. Having gone to pass some days at a favourite seat called Chelles, he was stabbed on his return from the chace one evening, and expired on the spot. It is probable the assassin was not known, as Gregory of Tours, a contemporary writer, does not mention his name †. Fredegarius, who seems to have written merely for the purpose of tarnishing the reputation of Brunehaut, ascribes his death to that princess ‡. An author, who did not write till long after this period, assures us, on the con-

* Fred. Epitom. c. 37. † Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 46. ‡ Fred. Epit. c. 93.

rary, that it proceeded from Fredegonda*. The fact, as he relates it, is this: Chilperic, just before he set out for the chace, went to the queen's chamber, who, hearing some one approach, thought it was a person named Landry, with whom she maintained a criminal intercourse; this mistake led her to make use of some expressions which discovered the intrigue to her husband. The king left the room abruptly, and appeared to be involved in thought. Fredegonda sent for her lover, whom she informed of what had passed, and in order to elude the punishment he was conscious of deserving, he determined to murder his sovereign.

† Thus perished the Nero of the French empire, which he exposed to every kind of calamity; the executioner of his family, which he seemed intent on exterminating; and the tyrant of his subjects whom he so loaded with taxes, that they were compelled to abandon their possessions. Every acre of vines paid a barrel of wine; a poll-tax was levied not only on every slave, but on every free person; and no kind of effects whatever was exempt from imposts. Not that these tributes were absolute innovations; the chief part of the revenues of the first kings of France consisting of provisions and effects, which were levied in the same manner as tythes are now; but Chilperic had prodigiously augmented them. He was tyrannically avaricious of money, and ostentatiously magnificent in his furniture and equipages; voluptuous, even to debauchery, his incontinence knew no bounds; and if he was faithful at last to Fredegonda, his fidelity was rather the effect of fear than of duty; superstitious, yet impious, he scarcely believed in God, whose ministers were to him objects of incessant raillery, though his respect for Saint Martin, and his fear of offending him, were inexpressibly great. Vain, presumptuous, and rash, he dared to sound the depths of religious mysteries, and to submit them to the feeble and inadequate standard of human reason; in consequence of which he had planned an edict to prohibit any distinction of persons in the Trinity; but the vigilant and intrepid zeal of Gregory of Tours, and of Silvius, bishop of Albi, induced him, though not without great difficulty, to suppress it. Anxious to acquire the reputation of an author and a wit, he composed some volumes of stupid prose, and some of poetry still more insipid. He wanted to add all the double letters of the Greek alphabet to that of the French. He ordered them not only to be used in all new publications, but to be inserted in the old. This intention was to represent by one character what before required several to express. The custom, however, ended with his reign ‡.

*-Gest. Franc. c. 35. † Idem. Greg. i5.

‡ The letters he adopted were the Greek θ for th; φ for ph; χ for ch; ξ for ex; and ψ for pf.

At the death of this prince, a striking example was exhibited of the little reliance to be placed by kings on the homage of an idolatrous court. The incense of courtiers is offered to their rank, and not to their persons; while adoration hangs on the lip, contempt and hatred sit enthroned on the heart. The body of Chilperic, forsaken by every one, would have remained on the spot where he was killed, but for the interference of Malulfus, bishop of Senlis, who had it conveyed to Paris, where it was interred in the church of St. Germain des Prés. He left but one son, an infant of four months, who succeeded him, under the name of Clotaire. He had three wives; Audovera, whom he repudiated; Galswinda, who was found dead in her bed; and Fredegonda, who plunged him into an abyss of crimes and enormities.

CLOTAIRE THE SECOND.

A. D. 584.] CHILDEBERT was at Meaux when Chilperic was assassinated: the presence of so formidable an enemy so near to the court, struck the mother of Clotaire with terror. Shuddering at the recollection of her crimes*; detested by her subjects, whom she had oppressed without mercy; devoid of confidence in the nobles, who openly censured her conduct; pursued by the king of Austrasia, who imputed the death of his father to her; an object of hatred to Gontran, who dreaded her treachery; and solely relying for protection upon an infant of four months, she fled to Paris, where she was received by the bishop of that metropolis, who placed her in his church, as a retreat that would secure her from the resentment of the two kings. It was from thence that she wrote to the king of Burgundy, offering him the crown of Chilperic, entreating him to act as a father to his nephew, and assuring him that she was less anxious to reign than to increase the number of her subjects. This prince, touched with compassion, hastened to the capital of the French empire, where he took Clotaire under his protection, and openly declared himself in favour of Fredegonda against Childebert, who in vain called on him for justice on the assassin of a father, an aunt, an uncle, and two cousin-germans. Childebert was even forbidden to enter Paris; one of his ambassadors, who had been so bold as to threaten Fredegonda with the law of retaliation, was sent back in disgrace; and his designs on Tours and Poitiers, which had formerly belonged to his father, were frustrated. Those cities, constrained to yield to a superior force, took an oath of fidelity to Gontran, who was considered as guardian to the two young monarchs, and as head of the nation.

* Greg. Tur. I. vii. c. 4.

The conduct of the Burgundian prince had a great effect on the minds of the French nobles. Young Clotaire was proclaimed king of Soissons; and they assigned him a third part of the kingdom of Caribert; but took away from him Touraine, Saintonge, Perigord, Agenois, the Limousin, and Albigeois, which his father had usurped from Childebert. It does not, however, appear that this young prince was master of Soissons; though Gontran, in the sequel, ceded Paris to him. Fredegonda was declared regent—a privilege which, formerly, was always enjoyed by the queen-dowagers—Brunehaut, under Childebert the Second; Batilda, under Clotaire the Third; Nantilda, under Clovis the Second; Alix of Champagne, under Philip the August; Blanche of Castile, under Saint Lewis; and Louisa of Savoy, under Francis the First; governed the state with absolute power, during the minority or absence of their royal children. This custom has passed from the throne into private families; the French law, both old and new, gives to mothers the guardianship, and *garde-noble* of their children; which means, says Pasquier *, the government of their persons and possessions, whether fiefs or not.

The power of the regent was equal to that of the king, whose revenues he received, without the obligation of accounting for them. Justice was administered in his name. All edicts, grants, and patents were sealed with his own seal when he was a prince of the blood, and when he was not with a seal peculiar to the regency. He disposed of all offices and employments; received homage from the vassals of the crown; and was the sovereign arbiter of peace and war. This authority appeared to be of such enormous extent, that Charles the Fifth undertook to restrain it, at least in its duration; for which purpose he published an ordinance, declaring the king to be of age at fourteen, instead of twenty-two, as before. By a law of Charles the Sixth, it was enacted, that the heir to the crown, though an infant, should be proclaimed king, immediately after the death of his predecessor. Before that time, in consequence of an ancient prejudice, he could neither be consecrated, till he came of age, nor take the title of king, till after he had undergone the ceremony of consecration. It is for this reason that John, son of Lewis Hutin, is not ranked in the list of the French monarchs. It appears, from another ordinance of Charles the Fifth, that the regency was sometimes distinguished from the guardianship: it is there declared, that, if Charles should die during the minority of his son, the duke of Anjou, his brother, should be regent of the kingdom, and the queen, with the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, should have the care of his children. But this edict was only temporary; and these two titles, which had formerly been united, were never more separated.

A. D. 585.] But the oppressive conduct of Fredegonda, the indolence of Gontran, and the weakness of Childebert, had led many of the French nobles

* Recherches de la France, l. ii. p. 149.

to entertain thoughts of choosing a new master. The heads of the conspiracy were general Didier, who had so often commanded the armies of Chilperic; Mummol, so highly celebrated for his martial achievements; and Duke Boson, the most artful courtier, and the most deceitful man, that ever existed *. The person they brought forward, as the instrument of their designs, was no common adventurer; it was Gondebald, that illustrious child of misfortune, who was very generally received as the son of the first Clotaire. He had been involved in the disgrace of his mother, who placed him under the protection of Childebert the First; and that monarch conceived so strong an affection for him, that he even intended to adopt him; but he had not sufficient resolution to withstand the pressing solicitations of his brother, who, after he had disowned him, was contented with cutting off his hair. Such an instance of moderation, in such a monarch as Clotaire, affords a strong presumption in favour of the pretended impostor. The death of his persecutor revived the hopes of Gondebald, who experienced, from the new court of Paris, the same gracious reception, and the same base treachery, that he had met with from the old one. Being delivered by Caribert, who esteemed him, to Sigebert, who oppressed him, his hair was again cut off, and he was banished to Cologne. He then fled to Italy, where he re-assumed the title of Prince of France; and, having taken a wife, went from thence to Constantinople, where he was treated with great respect and attention.

He was now recalled to France by the malcontents, who promised to raise him to the throne; and, being seconded by Childebert, who supplied him with troops to oppose Gontran †, he caused himself to be proclaimed king, at Brivella-Gaillarde, from whence he sent ambassadors to the king of Burgundy. In order to preserve them from danger, he gave them wands, or holy canes, which were an effectual security, among the French, to those who carried them. But they were surprized, at a time when they had not these sacred arms in their hands; and the whole secret of the conspiracy was forced from them by the means of torture. Childebert, apprized of a correspondence between the new monarch and some noblemen of his court, became reconciled to his uncle, who once more adopted him, by shewing him to the army, and putting a lance in his hand, which was the ancient mode of designating the successor to the crown. The king of Burgundy immediately sent a powerful army to the banks of the Garonne, under the command of Leudegifilis; and on the news of its approach Gondebald retreated towards the Pyrenees, and took possession of Cominges; a place which, from the strength of its situation, and from being well stocked with provision and ammunition of all kinds, was in a condition to sustain a siege of several years. But this prince was ever doomed to be the victim of treachery: he was betrayed to the Burgundian general by those same traitors who had pro-

* Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 24. † Id. l. vii. c. 32.

claimed him king, and immediately put to death. His hair was torn from his head, and his body ignominiously dragged round the camp, where it was left to rot in the open air. The perfidious conduct of the garrison of Cominges, soon experienced the chastisement it deserved—they were all put to the sword—their general Mummol was assassinated, and bishop Sagittarius massacred, by the king's orders. Such were the victims that were sacrificed to the manes of a prince, who wanted neither courage nor prudence.

These horrid executions restored tranquillity to the subjects of Gontran. That prince, before he left Paris, had established a council of regency, to govern jointly with Fredegonda, whom he now began to mistrust; and lest she should acquire too great an influence in the capital of the French empire, he compelled her to retire to Vaudreuil, a royal palace, about twelve miles from Rouen. The regent, enraged at this division of her power, resolved to assassinate Brunehaut, with whom she imagined the plan originated, but the plot was discovered, and the assassin sent back with contempt to Fredegonda, who, in a transport of fury, mingled with shame, ordered his hands and feet to be cut off. She dispatched one of her chamberlains at the same time, to enter into a treaty with Gondebald, whom she wished to secure, as an instrument that might enable her to shake off the yoke of the court of Burgundy. But the capture and death of that prince marred all her projects. Again reduced solely to rely on the protection of Gontran, she earnestly entreated him to stand godfather to her son; an office, the acceptance of which was, in those times; regarded as the strongest pledge of amity and affection, and the most solemn promise of an inviolable attachment. Her delay to have this ceremony performed, gave rise to suspicions on the birth of the child; the Burgundian prince, in particular, openly expressed his doubts; which coming to the ears of the queen, she hastened to him in alarm, and swore that Clotaire was the real son of Chilperic. She also made three bishops of her acquaintance, and three hundred other witnesses, swear the same thing. This monarch was no longer permitted to doubt the truth of a fact thus solemnly attested; he even coincided with Fredegonda in the necessity of deferring the ceremony, which was performed six years after at the village of Nanterre.

Such was the ancient mode of verifying all doubtful circumstances. The party accused was not admitted to clear himself by oath, unless his oath was confirmed by those of persons who were either related to him, or were of his own sect or profession, or, at least, who lived in his neighbourhood*. It was requisite that these witnesses should be people of irreproachable conduct, acquainted with the accuser, and if they were not ecclesiastics, resident in the place where they made their deposition. In earlier times they were drawn by lot; they were mostly brought forward by the party accused—seldom by the

* Ducange's Glossary, on the word Juramentum.

accuser. Their number depended on circumstances—more or less were required, according to the importance of the cause, and the merit or quality of the parties concerned *. The judge, by way of warning them to be careful in what they were going to depose, either pulled them by or gave them a gentle box on the ear. The oath could only be administered on certain days, in the morning, fasting, and in the church, either upon the altar, the cross, the testament, the canon of the mass, the tomb of a saint, or upon some shrine. The party accused laid his hands upon that of the witness, at the time he was delivering his evidence, and protested in a loud voice that he was innocent of the crimes imputed to him. This ceremony, which was productive of so much perjury, cleared him from all further prosecution.

Gontran, on his return from Burgundy, gave orders to assemble a council at Mâçon, with a view to procure the condemnation of those prelates who had espoused the cause of Gondebald †. He had already published an ordinance, inflicting penalties on such of the nobles as had neglected to follow the army of Leudegisil; and the commissaries appointed to levy them executed their charge with the utmost rigour. The ecclesiastics too, who had omitted to supply their stipulated quota of men, were treated with equal severity. But there were some prelates who had shown a more evident and decisive partiality to the usurper. Theodorus, who passed for a saint, had received him at Marfeilles; and at Cahors he had experienced the same degree of favour from another prelate. The bishops of Bourdeaux, Xaintes, and Bazas, had even consecrated Faustinian, whom he nominated to the bishoprick of Acqs. Childibert interceded for Theodorus, who was set at liberty, and permitted to take his seat with the rest. Faustinian was deposed, but allowed to retain the rank and honours of a bishop. It was enacted by the decree of the council ‡, that those who ordained him should pay him an annuity of a hundred crowns of gold. The prelate who received him at Cahors was excommunicated, condemned to abstinence from meat and wine for three years, and prohibited, during that time from the celebration of the holy mysteries: but what appears strange is, that he was ordered to remain in his diocese; and, excepting the power of ordaining priests, of consecrating churches, and bestowing his benediction on the holy chrism, he was allowed to exercise every other part of his episcopal functions ||. We are told that a prelate had the presumption to maintain, in the presence of the council, that *woman could not be called man*, which occasioned great disputes among the fathers. At length, however, the authority of the scriptures, which expressly say, that *God created man, male and female*, was received as decisive.

* Ducange's Glossary, on the word Auris. † Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 12. ‡ Tom. i. Concil. Gall.

|| Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 20. p. 401.

The tranquillity of France was soon interrupted by two wars, which broke out at the same time; one in Burgundy, against the Visigoths; and another in Aufrasia, against the Lombards*. Gontran's pretext was, to revenge the death of Hermengild, brother-in-law to Childebert; but his real motive for commencing hostilities appears to have been, the expulsion of the Visigoths from France, and the extension of the limits of the French empire as far as the Pyrenees. Childebert was induced to march into Italy, by the hope of rescuing Ingonda from the hands of the Imperial generals, into which she had been delivered, either for her own personal safety, or as a hostage for the fidelity of her husband, Hermengild: but the progress both of Gontran and Childebert was slow, and their schemes proved finally unsuccessful.

The Burgundians, seldom subdued, though often defeated, found themselves reduced to the necessity of entering into an accommodation with Recarede, the son and successor of Leuvigild. That wise prince, who had recently abjured Arianism, was extremely anxious to put an end to the war; he had offered himself in marriage to Chlodofinda, sister to the king of Aufrasia, and the match was concluded; but he neither married that princess, nor Riguntha, the daughter of Chilperic, who had likewise been engaged to him. This last, indeed, was actually on the road to Spain, when the death of her father occasioned an alteration in her sentiments and measures †. General Didier, being displeased with Fredegonda, took this opportunity of insulting her, in the person of her daughter, by seizing all the treasures which she had received for her dower; these consisted of considerable sums of money, both in gold and silver, besides fifty large waggons loaded with rich clothes, and other precious effects: all of which Didier secured and deposited in a safe place. Riguntha, returning to the court of Clotaire, there led such a life of debauchery, that her mother used to correct her most severely. We are told, by the historians of those days, that their quarrels were sometimes so serious, that they actually came to blows. One day, in particular, the queen pretending to give her that part of her father's treasures to which she was entitled, the princess stooped to take them from the trunk in which they were enclosed; when her mother pressed the lid down upon her head, and, but for the interference of some person who was in an adjoining apartment, she must inevitably have been sacrificed to the fury of that pitiless and unnatural woman.—We relate these circumstances merely to convey an idea of the ferocity of manners which obtained in the first ages of the monarchy.

The Aufrasians, in the mean time, had entered Italy; but being won by the submission and the presents of Autharis, king of the Lombards, they contented themselves with merely passing the Alps. A second expedition, which they undertook soon after, was attended with no greater advantage. A dispute

* Greg. Tur. c. 28. † Idem. l. vii. c. 9.

arising among the leaders, the army remained inactive, and returned to France without making a single attempt. The king of Italy, however, continued his solicitations for peace, which was at length concluded. The court of Aufrasia received his presents, promised him the princess Chlodofinda, and broke the engagement. The treaty was no sooner signed, than the French made a fresh irruption into Lombardy*: but their perfidy was justly punished by the most signal defeat which the nation ever experienced †. The Italian prince took every method he could devise in order to distress them; he persuaded Garibald, Duke of Bavaria, to shake of the Aufrasian yoke; and to attach him the more firmly to his interest, he asked his daughter, Theodelinda, in marriage. It is pretended that he accompanied the ambassadors himself; and that the princess, having presented the cup to the envoys, according to a custom that prevailed among the people over whom she was going to reign, Autharis, in returning it, pressed her hand ‡, which made her blush, and led her to suspect it was the king of Lombardy—who immediately confirmed her suspicions by kissing what before he had only ventured to squeeze. This circumstance calls to our mind a curious article of the Salic law §, which says, *whoever shall kiss the hand of a free woman, shall pay a fine of fifteen sols of gold*. It must be owned, that if the present age is more polished than that of the ancient French legislators, it is neither so respectful nor so reserved.

The defeat of the French only served to irritate their courage. They entered into a league with the empire; and Childebert sent a numerous army into Italy, divided into two bodies §: one, under the conduct of Audovald, lost time in waiting for the Imperial troops, in order to form the siege of Milan ¶; while the other, commanded by Cadinus, entered the country of Trento, where they took nine or ten places of strength. They both returned with an immense booty, but considerably weakened by disorders, proceeding from the extreme heat of the climate. This consideration, joined to the mediation of the king of Burgundy, and enforced by motives of policy, which taught to weaken and not to destroy the Lombards, superinduced the conclusion of a peace, on the condition of receiving from the Lombards a tribute of twelve thousand sols of gold*, which was afterwards given up, on the payment of a stipulated sum.

During these expeditions, several incidents occurred in France, which give us an horrid idea of the manners of those times. Fredegonda, whose mind was ever fertile in projects of cruelty, and who could always find assassins to put them in execution, hired two ecclesiastics to murder the king of Aufrasia with poisoned poniards ††. The wretches were apprehended at Soissons; and being

* Paul Longob. l. iii. c. 36. † Greg. Tur. l. ix. c. 25. ‡ Fred. 34. § Lex Salic. Tit. 22, § Greg. l. x. c. 2, 3. ¶ Paul Longob. l. iii. c. 32. * Fred. in Chron. c. 45. †† Greg. l. viii. c. 39.

put to the torture, confessed the crime they intended to commit. Even Gontran the friend of Fredegonda, and the father, the guardian, the protector of her son, was not exempt from her abominable machinations. As he was going into chapel one day to hear matins, he surprized an assassin whom she had sent there to poniard him: another time, as he was going to receive the sacrament, a man advanced towards him—but, either from remorse of conscience, or respect for majesty, he let the poniard fall from his hand*. He was immediately seized and confessed his execrable design; but having been taken in a church, he could not be punished;—as if the right of sanctuary could be extended to the man who violates its sacredness by the most detestable parricide!

The failure of so many diabolical attempts was insufficient to deter Fredegonda from persisting in her murderous efforts. Intrepid in evil, she appeared to acquire fresh force from disappointment; and when one project was marred, another of greater importance was immediately formed †. The death of the king of Austrasia, and his mother, was again resolved on; and the success of this scheme appeared the more infallible, as she had engaged three of the principal nobles, at the court of Childebert, to join in its execution: but that prince being so fortunate as to discover the plot, the conspirators met the fate they deserved. Raucingus, who called himself the natural son of Clotaire the First, was stabbed just as he had quitted the king's apartment, whither he had been summoned on pretence of business, Urison was slain after a bold resistance; and Berthefred, though protected by Brunehaut, was murdered in a chapel, whither he had fled for shelter; the bishop of Verdun having refused to give up the keys of it, the assassins, not daring to break open the doors, got upon the roof, and crushed him to death with the tiles.

Ægidius, bishop of Rheims, was suspected of being an accomplice in this conspiracy against Childebert; but possessing the arts of intrigue and persuasion in an eminent degree, he acquired such an ascendancy over the king that he eluded the punishment due to his crime ‡. He was less fortunate, however, in a second conspiracy, which was discovered soon after the first. The leaders of it were the constable Sunegifilis; the grand referendary Gallus; and Septimina, governess to Theodebert and Thierry. Their design was either to make the king repudiate his wife Faileuba, and banish Brunehaut, or else to poison him; in the hope that, in the absence of those princesses, or during the minority of the young princes, the reigns of government would be entrusted to them. Childebert, averse to shedding blood, contented himself with depriving them of their places, and sending them into exile. But the constable having accused the bishop of Rheims, Ægidius was apprehended, and committed to close confinement at Metz. Some of the bishops complaining of the impro-

* Greg. l. ix. c. 3. † Idem, l. x. c. 9. ‡ Idem, l. ix. c. 38.

priety of taking a prelaté from his diocese, on the simple deposition of a layman, the king, moved by their remonstrances, ordered him to be sent back, and at the same time summoned a council to assemble in his capital. The culprit appearing, the letters he had written to Chilperic were produced, when his design to murder young Childebert being fully established by them, his judges, notwithstanding their disposition to favour him, were obliged to pronounce the sentence of degradation; by throwing themselves at the king's feet, to beg he would spare the life of the bishop, they obtained what they asked; and, though the crime of which they stood convicted was of the deepest dye, yet exile and confiscation formed his only punishment.

A. D. 590.] In the mean time Waroc, Earl of Brittany, had, at the instigation of Fredegonda, made incursions into France, on the side of Rennes and Nantes. Gontran sent Beppolenis and Elvacharius to oppose him*. The first, deceived by a traitor, advanced into a country full of defiles and marshes, where he was attacked, defeated, and slain: but the last was more successful; encouraged by an invitation from the inhabitants of Vannes, he marched to that city, which opened its gates at his approach. Waroc, alarmed at the loss of so important a place, went to Elvacharius, acknowledged himself as the subject and vassal of the French monarchs, swore eternal fidelity to them, and also bound himself, by oath, never more to bear arms against the king of Burgundy. This oath, however, was no sooner made than broken. The son of Waroc attacked the French troops, as soon as a part of them had passed the river Villaine, on their return home, and throwing them into confusion, killed some thousands, and took a great number of prisoners †. Elvacharius, being suspected of maintaining a correspondence with the Earl of Brittany, was disgraced, and received orders to absent himself from court.

A. D. 593.] The war in Brittany, and the christening of Clotaire, were the last events of importance in the reign of Gontran, who died at Chalons upon Saone, in the sixty-first year of his age. The abilities of Gontran were not above mediocrity;—destitute of that vigour and firmness, which are essential to the enforcement of authority, his schemes, though well conceived, were not unfrequently marred by those whom he appointed to superintend their execution. His disposition was naturally good; yet was it rather calculated to encourage licentiousness, than to command veneration: for though he loved his subjects, he had not sufficient resolution to secure them from the oppression of his ministers. He was mild, humane, and complacent; yet rather from timidity than virtue. In the moment of passion it was dangerous to approach him; and, in the first transports of rage, he would sometimes condemn his subjects to death

* Greg. l. x. c. 9, 12.

† Fred. in Chron. c. 12.

for the most trivial offences *. One of his wives, being at the point of death, begged him to have two of her physicians executed, because she imagined that their medicines had brought her into that situation; and Gontran was not only weak enough to make the promise she required of him, but cruel enough to keep it. Going through a forest one day, he saw a wild bull just killed; he charged the keeper of the forest with the fact; but the man accused one his chamberlains, who denied having any knowledge of it. The king ordered that the matter should be decided by single combat †. The chamberlain, being old and infirm, sent one of his nephews to fight for him, who mortally wounded the accuser; but, in stooping to disarm him, he killed himself by falling on the poinard of his adversary. The death of his champion, though accidental, was regarded as the conviction of the chamberlain, whom the king ordered to be immediately seized, and stoned to death on the spot. Such were the ideas entertained of justice in those barbarous times. The biographers of Gontran tell us he possessed a vast fund of piety; and the austerity of his life, the extent of his bounty to the poor, and his love, respect, and protection of religion, the church, and its ministers, procured him a place in the long list of Romish saints. Gregory of Tours, whose credulity knew no bounds, says that he performed miracles.

That prelate, after speaking in the warmest terms of commendation of Gontran's virtue, adds, that *he had a concubine whose name was Veneranda* ‡. This, at first, appears strange and inconsistent; but our astonishment ceases, when we reflect that *concubinage*, though now a term of reproach, was then a lawful union; which, though less solemn, was equally indissoluble with marriage §. It was authorized by the civil law, whenever the want of birth or fortune, in a woman, raised a legal impediment to her marriage with persons of a certain rank. Although a concubine, therefore, did not possess the same degree of consideration in a family; with a wife of equal rank, it was still an honourable appellation ¶, very different to that of mistress; and her children, according to the custom of the ancient French, were capable of inheriting whenever their father chose it. This kind of alliance was, for several ages, regarded by the western church as a lawful connection. The first council of Toledo ¶ formally declared—*that a man could only have one wife, or one concubine, whichever he preferred*.—Saint Isidorus, of Seville; the council of Rome, under Eugenius the Second **; and another council, holden in the same city, under Leo the Fourth, expressed themselves in terms of a similar import. The subsequent declarations of the nullity of such connections, did not arise from their being considered as illicit in themselves, especially when the engagement was

* Greg. l. v. c. 36. † Idem, l. x. c. 10. ‡ L. iv. c. 25. § Leg. iii. ff. de Concubin. leg. stuprum. ff. ad leg. Jul. de Adulter. § Jacob Cuiac, de cohabit clericor. and Malier.

¶ Can. 17. ** Concil. Rom. sub Eugen. II. c. 37. collect. Hort. part 2.

formal and perpetual, but from the numerous abuses to which the want of solemnity gave birth *. It was for this reason, also, that the Romans, though they considered the offspring of an union so contracted as legitimate, did not grant them the right of succession.

Gontran was fond of literature, and master of several languages. We are told that, at Orleans, he was harangued in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin. He had three wives; Veneranda, Marcatruda, and Austregilda; two sons, who died in their infancy; and two daughters, Chlodberga, and Clotilda. Some authors affirm †, that this last survived him; and that he left her an immense fortune, to dispose of at her pleasure.

Some account of the condition of the Princesses, of the first race, is here necessary: they received the title of *Queen* ‡; which placed them on an equality with Kings, without giving them any claim to the throne, and was regarded as a presage of their alliance with a crowned head: for, under the Merovingian monarchs, there is no instance of a daughter of France, who did not either lead a life of celibacy, or espouse a Sovereign Prince. Whenever their names were mentioned after their death, the epithet *glorious*, or, *of happy memory*, was always annexed to them; a prerogative that was confined to royalty §. They were provided with a suitable subsistence, by the assignment of lands, or even towns, either during the life of their father, or after his death; but they only enjoyed the revenues of such possessions, which were never detached from the state. Such was the law of the realm. The deviation from this law, at the celebrated treaty of Andelaw, by Childebert and Gontran, where the former was actuated by motives of benevolence to his sister, Clodofwinda; and the latter by affection for his daughter, Clotilda, was a particular privilege that rather tends to confirm than subvert §. It is even remarkable, that in the very act which gives them possession of the *fiscal* lands, it was stipulated that they should only receive the revenues arising from them so long as they remained in France; so very careful has the government of France ever been to prevent the exportation of the national wealth, and to prevent foreign princes from acquiring rights to any part of the monarchy.

The death of Gontran did not appear at first to effect any material change in the French empire. The king of Austrasia took possession of Orleans and Burgundy without opposition ¶. His title to those territories was founded on the adoption of his uncle; on the famous treaty of Andelaw, by which the crown was settled on him, in default of male heirs; and, lastly, on the will of the deceased monarch, who left him sole heir to all his dominions.

* Concil. Leo, iv. c. 37, *ibid.* † Greg. I. ix. c. 20. ‡ Id. I. v. c. 50. § Sirm. Concil. tom. i. p. 370. § Greg. I. ix. c. 20. ¶ Id. *ib.*

Young Clotaire, at the same time, was put in possession of all his father's rights; and Soissons, which had put itself under the dominion of Childebert, was, nevertheless, restored to the son of Chilperic. It is even pretended* that the two kings entered into an amicable arrangement, with respect to their participation of the city of Paris; their friendship, however, did not last long.

Childebert, no longer restrained by the fear of Gontran, now gave a free vent to his just resentment against the family of Chilperic. The death of a father, assassinated by the emissaries of Fredegonda; the danger to which he had been exposed himself when arrested, together with the queen his mother; a thousand perfidious attempts upon his life; the doubtful circumstances attending the birth of Clotaire; ambition; interest—all excited him to attack a prince, whose death or deposition would render him sole monarch of France. Thus stimulated, he raised a powerful army, which he sent into the Soissonnois, where it committed great depredations. But this was the only advantage he gained; for Wintrion, who commanded his troops, was put to flight, after an obstinate engagement †, in which more than thirty thousand men were slain. No other circumstances of this memorable action are mentioned by contemporary writers; nor are any further particulars of this bloody war preserved in history. It appears, however, that the king of Soissons lost some part of his territories ‡.

A. D. 594.] The motions of the Austrasian monarch, on the irruption of Waroc into the countries of Rennes and Nantes; the rapidity of his march against that rebellious vassal; the desperate battle that was fought between the Britons and the French of the kingdom of Metz; the obstinate inveteracy of the troops, which was so great, that scarcely a man survived the action on either side;—all these circumstances tend to prove that that part of Chilperic's dominions had been reunited to the crown of Austrasia, and that the love of glory received a powerful stimulus from considerations of interest.

The author of the book intitled, "Actions of the Kings of France," gives an account, not less singular than particular, of the defeat of Wintrion.—Fredegonda, he tells us, who was never alarmed at danger however great, had no sooner learnt that the Austrasians had invaded the territories of her son, than she gave orders for assembling the army with the utmost expedition. Braine was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the troops. She reviewed them herself ||, running through the ranks with her son in her arms, and presenting that last relic of the family of Chilperic, reminded them of the oath they had taken to defend him; then placing herself at their head, she led them on to the enemy, whom they met at the village of Droiffi, about five leagues from

* Gest. Franc. c. 36. † Fred. in Chron. c. 14. Paul. Diac. de Gestis Longobard. l. iv. c. 4.

‡ Fredeg. c. 15. Aimoin, l. iii. c. 83.

|| Gest. Franc. c. 36.

Soissons. She obtained all the honour of that celebrated day, by means of a stratagem, which implies almost a total ignorance of the utility of spies in those days. It was the custom, both in peace and war, to suffer horses to graze at large, with a bell tied round their necks for the conveniency of finding them again. The queen, therefore, ordered her cavalry to supply themselves with small bells, and large branches of trees in full verdure; and, thus equipped, they advanced, during the night, towards the camp of Childebert. The stratagem succeeded, as the Austrasians mistook them for the horses that were feeding in the plain. The appearance of day led them into a fresh error: they thought it was a real forest, and did not perceive their mistake till Landry, who commanded under Fredegonda, had advanced so near to them, that they had not time to range themselves in order of battle: they were of course defeated, with a dreadful slaughter, and the victory of Fredegonda was complete.

But when we reflect that this child, which was carried about from rank to rank, was then in his tenth or eleventh year; that no contemporary writers takes notice of these particulars, so remarkable in their nature; that the author who transmitted them to posterity, did not live till a hundred and twenty years after the period in which they were supposed to have occurred;—there is every reason to believe, that the whole story is a mere creature of the imagination, produced by a love of singularity, and adopted from a taste for the marvellous.

A. D. 595.] The victory of Droissi was insufficient to quiet the apprehensions of Fredegonda, since Childebert still remained master of two thirds of the French empire; her chief care was to encrease the number of his enemies. The revolt of Waroc was a stroke of policy in her; and she now made another diversion, at the opposite extremity of the kingdom of Austrasia, by engaging the king of the Varni to take up arms against the persecutor of his son. The Varni were a German nation, established on the sea-coast, at the mouth of that branch of the Rhine which formerly emptied its waters into the ocean; but which now runs by Leyden, and then loses itself in the sands, at Catwick. The intrigues of Fredegonda proved the destruction of this unfortunate people*; who were not only defeated by Childebert, but so completely exterminated, that their very name was extinguished for ever.

A. D. 596.] Childebert did not long survive this victory. He died a few months after, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign †; more regretted from the hopes which he had given rise to, than for the exploits which he had achieved. His queen, Faileuba, died soon after. He had two children by her, who succeeded him under the conduct of their grandmother, Brunehaut. The eldest, Theodebert, was crowned king of Austrasia; and the youngest, Thierra, had the kingdom of Burgundy; to which were annexed Alsace, Sundgaw, Turgaw, and a part of Champagne. In this

* Fred. c. 15. † Fred. in Chron. c. 17. Gest. Franc. c. 37.

division, which had been settled by Childeberr, the wishes of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alsace, had been chiefly consulted. Their partiality to Thierri arose from his having been brought up among them at a country seat called Marlem.

These country-seats of the ancient kings of France, or pleasure-houses, as they are generally termed, were very different from those which the present monarchs devote to the mere purpose of amusement. They were rather rich farms, than regal palaces, at which every object of convenience was to be found; where ornament was less studied than utility, and where profit was more consulted than pleasure. There were above a hundred and sixty of these royal seats, in different parts of the kingdom; and the sovereigns passed their lives in travelling from one to another. The villages that lay on the road were obliged to supply them with carriages for their retinue; and the abbies and castles with lodging and provision. The abbots and nobles, not content with entertaining them in a style of superior magnificence, never failed to make them a present of plate at their departure. That which at first was but a voluntary gift, a token of affection from the vassal to his lord, became, in the sequel, a tribute of obedience. The kings, in time, grew tired of this wandering kind of life; but they were determined, notwithstanding, to give up none of the prerogatives that were attached to it. They therefore imposed on those prelates and nobles, who had been accustomed to receive them, a tax of *agistment* *. A truly grateful reward for their hospitality!

The death of Childeberr occasioned a renewal of the war between the courts of Aufrasia and Soissons. Fredegonda, taking advantage of the present conjuncture, levied an army, and took possession of Paris, and of several other places on the banks of the Seine †. A contemporary writer observes, that this irruption was made after the manner of the barbarians, without any previous declaration of war; which necessarily implies that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the two crowns, after the battle of Droiffi. Be that as it may, Brunehaut hastened to assemble the troops of her grandchildren, and made them march, with the utmost expedition, to the relief of the provinces that were attacked. The two armies met at Leucofao, which was situated either in the environs of Laon, of Toul, or of Moret en Gâtinois; for the place is unknown at present, and authors are divided in opinion as to its situation. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and attended with great slaughter on both sides. The three young kings, as we are told by historians, were placed at the head of their respective troops, though the oldest of them was but in his thirteenth year. —Victory declared for Clotaire.

A. D. 597.] Fredegonda had now attained the summit of prosperity; a crown procured by the splendor of her charms, and preserved by the strength of her

* Ducange's glossary, on the word *Gistum*. † Fred. ii.

genius; a husband restored, through her, to a throne which he had lost by his perfidy; a minority conducted with all the art of a consummate policy; a regency rendered illustrious by two celebrated victories; and a new kingdom conquered and secured to her son:—all these achievements are unequivocal proofs of her vigor and talents; and proved almost sufficient to make her subjects forget that she was ambitious, vindictive, and cruel; that she had sacrificed to her grandeur, or to her safety, one great king, two virtuous queens, two heirs apparent to the throne, and an infinite number of people of inferior rank. It was at this moment of triumph and exaltation, when her arms were crowned with victory, and her projects with success, that GOD called her from the world; as if apprehensive that the enormity of her crimes would, in the sight of unthinking mortals, be sunk in the splendor of her exploits. She was interred near her husband, in the church of Saint Germain des Près, where her tomb is still to be seen*.

The death of this formidable rival, afforded leisure and opportunity to Brunehaut to establish universal tranquility throughout her dominions; she concluded a peace with the Huns, who, after the death of Childebert, had invaded the Austrasian territories; she renewed the ancient treaties with the king of Lombardy; and she engaged the pope to avert the difference which was likely to arise with regard to the valley of Aouste, and the country of Suza, which Gontran had taken from the empire. But affairs of state did not make her forget matters of religion. The sovereign pontiff, apprized of the disposition of the English to listen to the doctrine of Christianity, which had been greatly encouraged by Bertha, daughter to Caribert the First, who had married Ethelbert, king of Kent, determined to send missionaries to promote the promulgation of the gospel. Brunehaut granted these missionaries a free passage through her dominions, sent some French papists, who understood both English and Latin, to accompany them †, facilitated their journey to Canterbury, and protected them so effectually, that, according to pope Gregory, *after God, England is indebted to her for its conversion to Christianity.* 1170. 11

A. D. 599.] It was not long, however, before the flames of war began to rage with additional fury, throughout the empire of France. It is not known whether a desire to recover Paris, induced Theodebert and Thierry to arm; or whether Clotaire, elated with success, endeavoured to extend his conquests ‡. But it is certain, that this last monarch had entered upon the territories of Burgundy, before a junction had been formed between the armies of the two Brothers ||. An action took place at a village, called by Fredegarius, *Doromellus super Arcannam*, now Dormeil-upon-Quefne, near Sens, which terminated in favour of Theodebert and Thierry. Clotaire, obliged to retreat, fled first to

* Gest. Franc. c. 37. † Bede, l. i. c. 25, 26, 27. ‡ Fred. in Chron. c. 20: p. 748. || Gest. Franc. g. 57. Aimoin, l. 3.

Melun, afterwards to Paris, and then to Arelauna, now the British Forest, till the places that he had reduced after the battle of Leufao were retaken and sacked; and he was, at length, compelled to sue for peace; which was granted him, but on very hard terms. He was obliged to cede to the king of Burgundy all the towns in his possession, which lay between the Loire, the Seine, the sea, and the frontiers of Brittany; and to the Aufrasian monarch he gave up the Duchy of Dentellenus, which comprized, according to the most probable opinion *, that extent of country which is situated between the Aisne, the Oise, the Seine and the ocean, and which nearly forms the present Isle of France. He only preserved for himself twelve districts, between the sea, the Oise and the Seine; by which means he was considered as a prince who had been stripped of his dominions and was reduced to a simple appanage for subsistence. This concluded the sixth century in France.—The beginning of the seventh was signalized by the defeat of the Gascons.

A. D. 601.] That people, equally distinguished for their wit and courage, had not yet established themselves in the province which now bears their name. They then resided in Navarre, in a part of old Castile and Arragon †. Pampeluna and Calahorra were their principal cities. It was beyond the Pyrenees, therefore, that Theodebert and Thierrî extended their incursions. Victory followed their steps; the Gascons were defeated, and a tribute exacted from them.

A. D. 603.] While the kings of Burgundy and Aufrasia were thus employed, Clotaire, who was ever intent on revenge, made a sudden irruption into the country between the Seine and the Loire ‡. His son Meroveus, a child of six years, commanded his army, under the conduct of Landri. That general, after reducing several towns, invested Orleans, where Bertoald, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, had taken refuge. Thierrî, informed of his situation, flew to his assistance; and Landri not being able to keep the field, retreated towards Estampes, with a resolution to make a stand at the passage of the river of that name. The van of Thierrî's army had no sooner passed the stream, than he attacked it with determined bravery, and Bertoald, who commanded it, was slain, after performing prodigies of valour. But the resistance made by this gallant officer, gave the remainder of the troops an opportunity of passing the river, and forming on the opposite side. The contest then became too unequal to be long supported. A dreadful carnage of the Neuftrians ensued: the greatest part of their army perished in the field, and the few that escaped were indebted for their safety to the precipitation with which they fled. Young Meroveus was taken prisoner; but what became of him afterwards is not known, since his name is never again mentioned in history. It has been suspected || that he was put to death in prison; but that is a mere conjecture.

* Boulainv. Mem. hist. c. 1. p. 219. † Fred. in Chron. c. 21. ‡ Idem, c. 26. || Recherches de Pasquier, l. v. c. 23. p. 491.

Theodebert, in the mean time, had entered the kingdom of Soissons, and advanced towards Compiègne, where Clotaire had fixed his camp. The two main armies had just formed a junction, when they received intelligence of Landri's defeat; and the Neustrian prince being now compelled to sue for peace, obtained it on reasonable terms. The king of Austrasia began to entertain apprehensions that his brother's enterprising spirit might prove prejudicial to his interest, and therefore wished to secure a friend who might protect him from dangers, that existed but in his own imagination. This spirit of mistrust, when made known to Thierry, appears to have inspired him with similar sentiments: hence the amity which had hitherto subsisted between the brothers, being poisoned by diffidence, was speedily converted into discord.

Protades had been recently appointed to succeed Bertoald in the office of Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy. This nobleman was the most supple courtier, a man of the greatest address, and the bravest and most accomplished cavalier of the age. All that reason could dictate, or interest suggest, did he exert, in order to irritate his master against Theodebert. The peace of Compiègne, concluded without the consent, and contrary to the interest of Thierry, afforded a subject of complaint which he did not fail to profit by; and he contrived to acquire such an ascendancy over the mind of that prince, that war was declared against the king of Austrasia. There are some, however, who pretend, that this rupture proceeded from another cause, and that Brunehaut was the instrument of discord that set her grandchildren at variance. That vindictive woman, say these writers *, had not forgotten the insult she had sustained from Theodebert, who expelled her from his court; and she was induced to revenge it by meditating the destruction of its author. She gave Thierry to understand, that this prince, who had hitherto passed for the son of Childebert, was, in fact, but the son of a gardener. Such, according to Fredegarius, and his copyist Aimoin, was the true cause of the war between the two brothers.

But the truth of this account is justly suspected. The very year in which it is pretended that Brunehaut was expelled from the kingdom of Austrasia, she engaged the two princes to form a junction of their armies for the purpose of opposing Clotaire—a measure which certainly implies neither hatred nor misunderstanding. If that princess had really sustained such an insult, Gregory, under whose pontificate this event is placed, would not have failed to write to her on the subject, either to console her, or to make her consider her disgrace as a just chastisement inflicted by the hand of Providence. This pope, the first who interfered in the affairs of France, would never have suffered such an opportunity for the exertion of his religious zeal to escape; since it is well

* Fred. in Chron. c. 19.

known that he always conceived it to be his duty to convey instruction to crowned heads. The king of Austrasia would doubtless have experienced the severity of his remonstrances, on a proceeding so cruel and unjust. But, on the contrary; we find, from all the letters which he wrote at this period, that a strict amity subsisted between Theodebert and Brunehaut, and that the two courts were alike governed by the advice of that princess. We might add with Pasquier *, that it is *highly credible* she never resided with Theodebert, but that, immediately after the death of Childebert, she followed Thierri into Burgundy. It was a kingdom newly acquired, and of course but indifferently secured. It was out of the power of a child of nine years to secure it; and the presence of Brunehaut, therefore, became a matter of necessity. What at first appears but probable, is rendered certain, when we consider the great number of superb edifices which she caused to be erected in the dominions of the young Burgundian prince. It is not known, says the learned critic we have quoted above, that this queen, who is allowed by all to have possessed the appearance of devotion at least, ever founded a single church in Austrasia; whereas, a thousand monuments, raised for pious purposes, or for public convenience, are still to be found in the kingdom of Burgundy. The great roads and causeways which still bear her name; the monastery of Aulnay, near Lyons; the abbey of Saint Vincent, at Laon; that of Saint Martin, at Autun; the celebrated hospital at the same place; with many other public works, which must have required several years to accomplish, began and completed during the pontificate of Gregory, all seem to demonstrate, that long before her pretended exile she had fixed her residence at the court of Thierri.

The supposition with regard to Theodebert is equally destitute of probability;—revenge deferred for seven years, by an enraged woman, by a queen capable of every enormity, by a monster of wickedness and cruelty, for such do these authors represent Brunehaut. This is a tale, says Pasquier †, that may be calculated to impose on monks, who have taken a vow of patience, but not on people who frequent courts, much less on kings, at a time when they think themselves grievously insulted. Another problem, not less difficult of solution, is the facility with which the king of Burgundy suffered himself to be persuaded that Theodebert was not the son of Chilperic; a persuasion with which, they tell us, he was so strongly impressed, that he took up arms in order to dethrone him. Yet war was no sooner declared than the prince, who was so strongly convinced of the illegitimacy of the usurper, became suddenly reconciled to this pretended son of a gardener. Nay, he not only concluded a peace with him, but observed it most religiously, under the immediate inspection, and by the direct advice, of her who is supposed to have revealed to him the horrid secret. These are contradictions so highly repugnant to reason and common sense, that they scarcely deserve to be seriously confuted.

* Recherches, l. v. c. 16, p. 477-78. † Ch. 17. l. v. p. 479.

A. D. 605.] As soon as war was resolved on, the two princes took the field; but when the armies came in sight of each other, the Burgundian troops rose up against Protades, whom they justly considered as the author of those dissensions which prevailed in the royal family. The principal leaders of the sedition were Uncelenus and Wulf *, both patricians, and both envious of the favorite. The plot was carried on with so much secrecy, that, before any thing had transpired, the whole army had invested the royal tent, where the minister was playing with the king's physician *at tables*, that is to say at draughts, or probably at chefs; which game, having been invented in the East Indies at the commencement of the fifth century, might very possibly have been known in France at the beginning of the seventh, since the French had long maintained a commercial intercourse with Constantinople, between whose inhabitants and the Indians an intimate connection subsisted †. The air suddenly resounded with the tumultuous cries of the soldiers and their officers, who jointly demanded that the *fire-brand* which had lighted the torch of war, should be delivered up to them. The king, surprized at this insolence, was going forth to repress it, but his guard, either from zeal for his person, or from his connection with the rebels, opposed his passage, under pretence that he could not suffer him to expose his life to the fury of an armed multitude. He then ordered Uncelenus to carry his orders to the troops, and to make every man repair to his post. But that general, instead of obeying him, told the soldiers that the king gave up the mayor of the palace to their disposal. These words were no sooner pronounced, than the royal tent was forced, and Protades dragged forth and torn in pieces. This event superinduced the conclusion of a peace, and the two armies departed without fighting. Policy required that a conspiracy of so heinous a nature should not pass unpunished. Uncelenus, who had misrepresented the orders of his sovereign, was accordingly mutilated by the amputation of a foot; a species of punishment then much in use. Wulf, who had instigated the army to mutiny, was sentenced to death. The office possessed by Protades was given to a Gaulic nobleman, named Claud, a man of great sense and courage.

Some time before this rupture between the two brothers, pope Gregory died. He was the first of the sovereign pontiffs who had any particular connection with the French kings. One of his letters to Childebert the Second contains a glorious eulogy on the nation. "Your kingdom," says Gregory ‡, "is as much above other nations, as sovereigns are above other men." But this familiarity, as Pasquier remarks §, though but of short duration, had nearly proved fatal to the ancient liberties of the Gallican church. The danger he

* Fred. in Chron. c. 28, 29. † See Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres, tom. v. p. 252. ‡ S. Gregor. l. v. Epist. 6. § Rech. de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 195.

alludes to, arose from the ambition of certain ecclesiastics. It was a custom that had been introduced some years before at the court of Rome, to send the *pallium* or pall, to such prelates as the pontiffs wished to distinguish. This *pallium* was a kind of imperial mantle, with which the Christian emperors had decorated the bishops, as a mark of the spiritual authority they possessed over the church. The patriarchs of the east received it at the altar, during the ceremony of their consecration, and sent it to the metropolitans, who gave it to the bishops of their provinces. It was not known in the west, till the commencement of the sixth century. Cesarius of Arles was the first prelate of the French church that wore it. It was not till about the year eight hundred that it was sent to all metropolitans.

The bishops of Burgundy and Provence were led by their vanity to boast of this honour*. Vigilus of Arles was the first who solicited the *pallium*, with the consent, and at the recommendation of king Childebert. The pope, who acquired more than he gave, granted more than they asked:—"We appoint you," says Gregory to Vigilus, "to represent us in the whole extent of the kingdom of our son, Childebert. Should any prelate be obliged to travel or to absent himself from his diocese for any length of time, he must have your previous permission. If any matter of consequence should occur, or any question of faith arise, you will assemble twelve bishops to decide it. But should it be attended with any peculiar difficulty, you'll refer it to us. We send you the *pallium*, but you'll only wear it in the church." This was a visible encroachment on the power of metropolitans, to whom it assigned a head or chief, a thing till then unexampled. It went still further—it sapped the foundation of, destroyed and annihilated, the most valuable liberties of the Gallican church, which had hitherto decided all questions and all differences that had arisen within its jurisdiction by its own councils, finally and without appeal. But happily this assumption of power proved a vain prerogative that was never exerted. We do not find that Vigilus, or bishop Syagrius, who had also obtained the *pallium*, enjoyed any kind of precedency in the synods that were holden in those days, or that they exerted a right which the sovereign pontiffs could more easily grant than secure.

It was not ambition alone that infringed on the ancient prerogatives of the church; heresy sometimes encroached on them, and guilt often †. One Maximus, a Gaulic bishop, is mentioned in history, who retired to the court of Boniface the First, in order to obtain protection from the sentence of a council before which he had been convicted of Manicheism. But that wise pontiff, respecting the rights and privileges of the church, refused to take cognizance of the affair; he only wrote to the Gaulic bishops, to beg they would grant the fugitive prelate a short delay. This was all he obtained. It does not appear

* Recher. de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 196. † Idem, p. 197.

that Saint Brice*, when accused of adultery, found greater protection at Rome, where he resided seven years. On the death of the prelate who had been appointed to his see he returned, and was established in his episcopal dignity, in the same manner as he had been deposed; that is to say, without any investigation of the charge preferred against him. Salonius and Sagittarius, two brothers, bishops of Embrun and Gap, the shame and disgrace of the prelacy, having been deposed by a council holden at Lyons, they obtained permission from Gontran to appeal to the pope, who restored them to their respective sees. But it must be observed that, in this case, the appeal was made with the express consent of the French monarch. It was he who conducted the whole business; who reconciled the two prelates to Victor, their accuser; and who put the sentence of the sovereign pontiff in execution. The forbearance of the bishops in so delicate a case is less to be considered as an acquiescence in the decision of the pope, than as an act of obedience to their sovereign. If they shewed their respect for the king in sparing two criminals whom he had taken under his protection, they gave proofs of their firmness, at the same time, by excommunicating Victor, who had been so mean as to withdraw his accusation.

This example, though evidently repugnant to the rights of the church, might have had dangerous consequences in future. This does not, however, appear to be the case†. Ursicinus having been deposed by the second council of Mâcon, had recourse to Gregory, after the death of Gontran. But that pontiff, though highly jealous of the authority of the Romish church, did not dare to take cognizance of the cause; he confined himself simply to intercession.

Simony was extremely prevalent in France at this period; and the only arms that the pope employed against a monster, that has been so often attacked though never exterminated, were prayers, supplications, and complaints, preferred with the greatest humility. But he assumed a very different tone in Sicily, Dalmatia, Sardinia, and a considerable part of Africa. There he was no longer the servant of servants, but an absolute sovereign, who, from the plenitude of his power, could unite or divide bishopricks; could appoint, depose, or re-establish titularies; could command one to come to Rome to perform penance for his errors; a second, to submit his pretensions to the arbitration of the holy see; and the third he could punish with the utmost severity of the canons, if he took money for ordinations. But such was the opinion that then prevailed in France, that the French bishops, although devoted to the holy see as to the centre of unity, were nevertheless independent of the

* Saint Brice succeeded Saint Martin in the see of Tours, whence he was expelled on an accusation of having had a child by a nun.

† Rech. de la France, l. iii. c. 9. p. 198.

jurisdiction of Rome, as well in matters of discipline as in all ecclesiastical causes whatever*.

A. D. 607.] It was immediately after the treaty of peace between the two crowns of Burgundy and Aufrasia, that Thiéri, if Fredegarius may be credited, married Ermenberga, daughter of Bettoric, or Vittoric, king of Spain. Brunehaut, who only fought, says that author, to corrupt the manners of her grandson, that she might govern him with greater authority, prevented the consummation of this marriage by the most detestable means; which rendered the new queen so odious in the eyes of the Burgundian prince, that he sent her back to the king her father, without even restoring her dower †. But what reliance can be placed on a fact that requires the aid of witchcraft to support it? What credit does an historian deserve, who can find, in the works of contemporary writers, not a single circumstance that can tend to the confirmation of what he advances? Had Spain sustained such an insult, in the person of one of her princesses, she would, doubtless, have revenged it, or, at least, attempted to do so. Yet not a vestige of such a transaction is to be discovered in the annals of that nation, which was ever so feelingly alive to any attack on her honour. Would Jonas, the monk, whom credulity or adulation induced wantonly to calumniate Brunehaut, have forgotten a circumstance so degrading to her character? He wrote before Fredegarius, and laboured under the same prejudices as that author; like him, he wishes to persuade us that she was ever anxious to prevent the king of Burgundy from forming a lawful connection; yet he observes a profound silence with regard to this pretended marriage; which we must, therefore, conclude to be a mere fiction.

The name of Jonas reminds us of other scandalous invectives, which he propagated against the memory of Brunehaut and her grandson. This hermit, too credulous for an historian, too impassioned for a monk, relates that Thiéri had four children, not one of whom was born in marriage ‡. Colomban, abbot of Luxeuil, frequently exhorted him to marry, but all his exhortations proved fruitless and unavailing. One day when that holy man went to visit the queen, she introduced the king's four sons to him, requesting him to give them his benediction—"Do not imagine," replied the monk, "that these children, which are born in infamy, shall ever wear the crown." This brutal exclamation inducing the queen to withhold the provisions which she had been accustomed to send to the convent, the zealous reformer went to complain to Thiéri, who sent him the most delicate viands, and wines of the most exquisite flavour, all of which Colomban threw away, crying out, in the ardour of his zeal, "God rejects the presents of the wicked." This pious transport so alarmed Thiéri and Brunehaut, that they solemnly promised to reform; but the

* *Recherches de la France*, l. iii. c. 9. p. 200.

† *Fred. in Chron.* c. 30.

‡ *Jonas in vita. S. Colomb.* c. 19.

monarch, we are told, soon returned to his former course of life, which drew a second reprehension from Colomban, couched in such severe terms, that Brunehaut procured a sentence of banishment to be pronounced against him: the abbot, however, returned to his convent, notwithstanding the king's prohibition, and did not leave it till repeatedly urged by the officers, whom his sovereign had sent to enforce the execution of his orders*.

Such is the account of Jonas, every line of which is marked by indecency, imposition, and absurdity. It is true, that the sons of the king of Burgundy were born in concubinage; but we have already shewn that this kind of connection was authorized not only by the laws of the church, but by those of the state. No faithful historian would have concealed so essential a circumstance: even Fredegarius †, who is sometimes obliged to yield to the superior power of truth, remarks, that these princes had for their godfathers the most pious prelates in the dominions of Thierrî. Is it credible, then, that so many personages of that description, compelled by their station to the repression of scandal, should have sanctioned such a proceeding, by their silence, when a simple monk was so loud in his censures? Is it likely that Saint Gregory, too, who could not possibly be ignorant either of Thierrî's conduct, or his grandmother's approbation of it, should have been silent on an occasion in which religion was so deeply concerned? Was the sacred flame of holy zeal so totally extinguished in the bosoms of the pope and the prelates, that not a single spark was to be discovered any where but in the breast of the good abbot of Luxeuil?—But the partial panegyrist of Colomban loses himself most when he converts the most unequivocal objects of censure into grounds for commendation—Such is the benediction which, he tells us, was so brutally refused to children whose birth, even if illegitimate, could not exclude them from regeneration in Jesus Christ; the presents, so ridiculouſly thrown away; and his insolent affectation of contempt for the orders of his sovereign. We boldly affirm, that either the anecdote of Colomban's zeal, his exile, and return, is wholly fabulous; or that Jonas the hermit was destitute of the virtues of meekness, humility, and obedience, which are the very soul of Christianity. That satirical author was not aware that the very circumstance which led him to represent Brunehaut as an implacable fury, would suffice to prove her a princess of the greatest moderation. The abbot's disobedience was a crime against the state, and, consequently, punishable with death: a sentence of banishment, therefore, was a proof of clemency.

A. D. 610.] Theodebert began to be impatient at the dismemberment of his dominions, by taking from him Alsace, Sundgaw, Turgaw, and a part of Champagne. He had long formed a project for re-uniting these territories to his crown. Brunehaut, ever attentive to the interests of her grandchildren,

* Jonas in vita. S. Colomb. c. 22.

† Fred. in Chron. c. 22, 24.

spared no pains to terminate a difference which threatened to be productive of the most fatal consequences *. Bilichilda, formerly a slave belonging to that princess, but now queen of Austrasia, a woman whose virtue was equal to her charms, had acquired a great ascendancy over the mind of her husband, and would have deterred him from the pursuit of hostile measures, but for the intervention of his courtiers, who breathed nothing but war. At this time there appeared at the court of Austrasia, a young woman, of uncommon beauty, named Theudichilda; for whom the king conceiving a violent passion, he resolved to marry her; but as Bilichilda proved an obstacle to this alliance, the barbarian treated her as a slave over whom he enjoyed the right of life and death, and stabbed her with his own hand. The Austrasian nobles, having now no rival in the councils of their sovereign, easily persuaded him to commence hostilities against his brother. He accordingly entered Alsace, which he reduced before the court of Burgundy could possibly be apprized of his having taken up arms. He then wrote to Thierrî, to propose the submission of the question to an assembly of the nobles of the nation. A castle, then called Saloissa, now Seltz, between Saverne and Strasburgh, was chosen for the place at which the conference was to be holden. The two kings agreed to repair thither with a certain number of men, not exceeding ten thousand.

The king of Burgundy, relying on his brother's word, attended with a very small retinue. He was followed by Theodebert, whose suite was apparently not more numerous; but the troops, which he had distributed in different parts, suddenly uniting, invested Thierrî, and pressed him so closely, that, in order to escape the danger, that threatened him, he found himself obliged to sign whatever his brother required. By this means, the Austrasian prince remained master of the whole country which formed the object of contestation.

A. D. 611.] A treaty thus concluded from necessity, was, as might easily have been foreseen, soon broken from revenge. The Burgundian monarch had no sooner escaped from the hands of his brother, than he resolved to regain by arms what he had lost by treachery †. But in order to secure the king of Soissons, he engaged to promote the restitution of all that country which the Austrasians had usurped from him, between the Oise and the Seine. On these conditions, Clotaire promised to observe a strict neutrality, and he performed his promise with the most rigid scrupulosity.

A. D. 612.] As soon as the season would permit, Thierrî opened the campaign, and advanced towards Andelau ‡. His first attempt was upon the castle of Nas, supposed to be little Nancy, Nancey, or Nançois, which he had but just reduced when the army of Theodebert came in sight. The battle was fought in the plains near Toul, where the Austrasians, after a bold and vigorous resistance, sustained a total defeat. The king, being obliged to fly, retired first to

* Fred. in Chron. c. 37. † Idem. ibid. ‡ Idem. in Chron. c. 38.

Metz, and then to Cologne, where he received a considerable reinforcement, composed of Saxons, Thuringians, and other nations of that part of Germany which belonged to France: This was a kind of corps-de-réserve, which was never employed but on the most urgent occasions. The king placing himself at their head, marched immediately to Tolbiac, where Thierry had fixed his camp. This place, so famous on account of the victory which Clovis had there gained over the Germans, again became the scene of a most obstinate and bloody action. To speak in the hyperbolical language of Fredegarius, which the reader will know how to reduce to its proper standard, "The slaughter was so dreadful that, in several parts of the field, whole battalions of dead bodies were seen standing upright, pressed close together, as if they had been alive †."

The Austrasians, again defeated, only thought of gaining some place of safety.—But as many of them perished in the flight as in the battle. The fields and woods, from Tolbiac to Cologne, were strewed with the bodies of wounded and dying soldiers. History furnishes but few examples of such animosity as was here exhibited.

The king of Austrasia fled beyond the Rhine, where he was taken and brought to his brother, who stripped him of all the emblems of royalty; and in this humiliating state sent him, under a strong guard, to Châlons upon Saone †. This is all that we learn from Fredegarius of the fate of Theodebert: Jonas, indeed, goes farther; he says, that queen Brunehaut ordered his hair to be cut off ‡, and then compelled him to embrace a religious life; and that all these precautions proving inadequate to satisfy this wicked woman, she at length determined to murder him. But he is the only one of the ancient historians who mentions this circumstance, which is not noticed even by those writers, who are most inveterate in the abuse of that princess. Another monk, and the author of the book, intitled, "The Actions of the kings of France ||," both say, on the contrary, that Theodebert, after his defeat, fled to Cologne, where he was besieged by the king of Burgundy. The inhabitants of that city, in order to obtain better terms for themselves, conspired against his life, cut off his head, and threw it over the walls. It was only on such conditions, which reflect equal dishonour on the person who exacted, and on those who submitted to them, that they could obtain peace from the conqueror.

The two last authors affirm that Theodebert had several children; and say, that Brunehaut, who had gone before Thierry as far as Metz, ordered them all to be massacred, except one princess, of great beauty: for her Thierry conceived a violent passion, and accordingly resolved to marry her; but the regent

* Fred. in Chron. p. 752. Duch. tom i. † Fred. in Chron. c. 38. ‡ Jonas, in vit. Columbanæ.

|| Aimoin, l. iii. c. 87. Gest. Franc. c. 38.

being afraid that when she was made queen she would revenge the death of her father, represented to him that it was not lawful to marry his niece. "Did not you tell me, wicked woman that you are," exclaimed the prince in a rage, "that he was not my brother? And have you then rendered me guilty of parricide *?" As he said this, he drew his sword, and would have killed her, but for the interference of some noblemen who were present at the time. Brunehaut, say these writers, knowing the disposition of her grandson, resolved to avert the effects of his vengeance by giving him poison, of which he died. Yet, if *Fredégarius* may be credited, who lived nearer to the present period †, the king of *Austrasia* had only one son, named *Meroveus*, who being taken with his father, was conducted to *Cologne*, where his uncle had him put to death. This account is less liable to suspicion, as it comes from a pen which appears only to have been employed for the purpose of calumniating *Brunehaut*. We shall shew, from the evidence of the same historian, that the death of the *Burgundian* monarch is ascribed to her with equal injustice. The fact is thus related by him.

A. D. 613.] *Clotaire*, on the news of the defeat and capture of *Theodebert*, seized the duchy of *Dentelenus*, which had been promised him as a reward for his neutrality; but the king of *Burgundy*, who made no scruple to violate the faith of treaties, summoned him to withdraw his troops; and ordered his ambassadors to declare war against him, in case of refusal. The *Neustrian* prince being determined to maintain his rights with firmness and resolution, both parties had recourse to arms. *Thierr*, at the head of a numerous army, was preparing to invade the kingdom of *Soissons*, when he was attacked by a dysentery, which carried him off in a very few days ‡. He was then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. Like his brother, his only recommendation was his courage, which was hereditary in the family of *Clovis*. This the *Spanish Goths* experienced under the reign of *Gondemar*, who, if *Mariana* may be credited §, was tributary to the French monarchs; which, he says, may be proved by the testimony of *Bulgaran*, whose letters are still preserved in the archives of *Alcala* and *Oviedo*. *Gondemar*, then, whose reign commenced in six hundred and ten, and finished in six hundred and thirteen, could only have been subjected to pay tribute by the two young princes who then held the reins of empire in France.

A fatal revolution ensued, on the death of *Thierr*, who left four sons—*Sigebert*, *Childebert*, *Corbus*, and *Meroveus*. The eldest of these was only in his eleventh year; and *Brunehaut* took every method to secure to him the double crown of his father, but she was betrayed on all sides. The *Austrasian* nobles, at the solicitation of *Arnoul* and *Pepin*, openly declared for the king

* *Aimoin*, l. iii. c. 82. *Gest. Franc.* c. 39. † *Fredég.* in *Chron.* c. 39. ‡ *Idem*, *ibid.*

§ *Mariana*, *Hist. Hisp.* l. vi. c. 2.

of Soissons *. Clotaire, certain of their support, entered Aufrasia, and being received into several of the principal towns, advanced as far as Andernac, a strong place on the Rhine, which he took by assault. There he gave audience to the ambassadors sent by Brunehaut, to complain of his irruption into a kingdom that belonged to the children of Thierri. The monarch, assuming a semblance of moderation that was foreign from his heart, told the envoys that he was willing to submit the decision of this affair to an assembly of the nobles.

The queen expecting a similar answer, had sent Sigebert into Thuringia, where she hoped his presence would engage the inhabitants to declare in his favour. But Garnier, the Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy †, who attended him, held a correspondence with the king of Soissons; and, in obedience to his instructions, obtained a promise from the Thuringians, that they would not only refrain from taking any steps in favour of Sigebert, but that they would immediately recall the troops which some of them had already sent into France. Having thus secured this people, he took the young prince to Worms, where Brunehaut then was; and persuaded that princess to return to Burgundy, where, he said, she would find the inhabitants more submissive to her orders, and more faithful to her children. The motive alledged was sufficiently spacious to deceive her; she therefore went into Burgundy; but Garnier found means to engage the Burgundian nobles to acknowledge Clotaire for their sovereign. It was then agreed to put Brunehaut and the young princes to death; and the plot was conducted with such secrecy, that she did not entertain the smallest suspicion of it.

Though the Aufrasians might veil their conduct beneath the specious pretext of revenge for the death of their king, Theodebert; the defection of the Burgundians could admit of no palliation. To join some modern writers in the assertion, that the children of Thierri were illegitimate, would betray an ignorance of the first principles of the ancient law of France. We have already proved, that it was customary in those times to admit to the succession not only bastards and sons of concubines, but even the polluted offspring of incest or adultery. Witness Theobald, who succeeded Theodebert, though sprung from Deuteria, who was a married woman ‡; and Chilperic also, who was admitted to an equal division with his brothers, although the son of Aregonda, sister to Ingonda, both of them wives to Clotaire the First, and at the same time.

Fredegarius is not more successful in his choice of means for the justification of Garnier's conduct. Brunehaut, says he, suspecting the fidelity of that officer, wrote to a nobleman named Alboin, who accompanied Sigebert on his journey to Thuringia, to beg he would rid her of a traitor who secretly favoured

* Fred. c. 40. † Idem. ib. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 22, 23. L. iv. c. 28.

the cause of Clotaire. Alboin tore the letter; but a servant belonging to Garnier collected all the pièces; so that his master was able to read the contents. Enraged at the plot that was meditated against his life, from that moment he resolved on the destruction of the queen and her children.—Such is the account of Fredegarius. But is it probable, that a man who had received such an order, as that pretended to have been sent to Alboin, would have been so imprudent as to tear it in so careless a manner, that the pieces might be easily collected and joined? If Garnier had been apprized of any machinations against his life, is it possible to believe that he would have presented himself at the court of a princess with whom they had originated? If Brunehaut had entertained any doubts of Garnier's fidelity, would she have entrusted him, not only with the administration of her affairs, but with the care of the princes; and the command of the army which she sent to oppose the enemies of her family?

Be that as it may, Clotaire, whose projects wore a most prosperous appearance, advanced with a numerous army as far as the plains of Châlons upon Marne. The Burgundians were encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, at some distance from the river Aisne. The troops were preparing for action, when Sigebert's generals ordered the retreat to be sounded. The whole army immediately fled; and the king of Soissons pursued it*, according to agreement, but so slowly as to give the Burgundians ample time to escape. They continued in this manner till they came to the river Saone, where Garnier threw off the mask, and put his infamous plans in execution. The traitor, in violation of the laws of religion, of probity, honour and humanity, seized Sigebert, Corbus and Meroveus, and delivered them into the hands of their most inveterate enemy. Childebert had the good fortune to escape, though it is not known what became of him.

Brunehaut, on the news of this fatal catastrophe, fled to the castle of Orbe, upon the lake of Neuchâtel; but her retreat being discovered, she was arrested, and with Theudelana, sister to Thierrî, conducted to Ryonne, a village situated on the Vingene, where Clotaire had fixed his camp. An ancient author affirms, that this princess had the four children of Thierre murdered herself; and that she presented herself to the usurper, decorated with all the embellishments of youth, in the hope of inspiring him with love, and of inducing him to marry her. But that historian did not write till a century after these events occurred, and at a time when the immediate descendants of Clotaire swayed the sceptre of France: it was then fashionable to regard Clotaire as another Jehu, and Brunehaut, as a second Jezabel. Nothing was spared to render the portrait striking; even probability was sacrificed to prejudice or adulation; for, in fact, is it consistent with reason to suppose, that a queen, who was great-grandmother to four children, the eldest of whom was, at least, in his thirteenth year, could

* Creg. Tur. l. iv. c. 29. Fred. *ibid.*

flatter herself with the prospect of becoming the wife of a youthful monarch, who was already married, and who was, moreover, her most implacable enemy? Another historian, who wrote at a later period indeed, but who was equally inveterate in his animosity against the memory of Brunehaut, justifies her completely from any concern in the murder of the young princes. “The queen,” he tells us*, “was no sooner in the power of Clotaire, than he put Sigebert and his brother Corbus to death. He had compassion on Meroveus, to whom he stood godfather; and to that circumstance alone was the child indebted for his life. He was entrusted to the care of Ingobod, who brought him up privately in Neustria; where he lived many years.”—But it is highly improbable that, in this single instance, the suggestions of pity should rise superior to the dictates of policy, in the ferocious mind of Clotaire. Meroveus had an equal right with his brothers to the double crown which the usurper wished to unite to his own. Neither is this fact attested by any other historian than Fredegarius, who wrote his history at the express command of Childebrand; uncle to king Pepin, above a century after the tragical event. Besides, that writer evidently contradicts himself, when, within a few lines of the above passage, he says that Clotaire reproached queen Brunehaut with the murder of *the three sons of Thierrî, who had just been put to death*. † This cruel execution was succeeded by another still more barbarous. ‡ Brunehaut remained—Childebert was still alive—the vengeance of Clotaire was but partially gratified—his fears were but partially dispelled. He ordered that princess to be brought before him at the head of his army, where in a manner equally indecent and unjust, he reproached her with crimes which had chiefly been committed by his mother or himself. The troops, inflamed by his remarks, called loudly for her death. During three days she was exposed to the insults and derision of the army, mounted on a camel, and parading round the camp; on the fourth, she was tied to the tail of a horse that had never been broken, and dashed to pieces on the ground. § What remained of her body was thrown into the flames, and reduced to ashes. ¶ The horror which such barbarity is calculated to excite, acquires double force on the perusal of Fredegarius, who concludes his account of this infamous transaction, by a panegyric on the *humanity* of Clotaire. He was a prince, says that author, who feared God; was of a gentle disposition, and an incredible suavity of manners. † Thus miserably perished the daughter and mother of so many monarchs; that queen, whom bishop Fortunatus ‡ represents as a perfect model of Venus and the Graces; whom Gregory of Tours § recommends as a pattern of decency, virtue, wisdom, and meekness: whom pope Gregory § praises as a princess who was ever attentive to the discharge of the duties of religion, and

* Fred. in Chron. c. 42. † Ibid. ‡ Fortunat. J. vi. Carin. 6. || Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 27. § S. Greg. l. v. Epist. 5.

studious to prove herself a virtuous regent and a good mother. The history of her reign, amidst the horrors with which the pens of calumny and detraction have been anxious to deface and disguise it, affords many eminent proofs of her sense, generosity, firmness and benevolence. Her public magnificence was incredibly great; even at the time when Aimoin wrote, so many castles, churches, monasteries, hospitals, high-roads, and other works of elegance and utility, erected by this princess, were still to be seen, "that one could scarcely believe," says that author*, "that they could have been performed by a single monarch, who had only governed a small part of France."

Several of the nobles were involved in the calamities which beset the unfortunate Brunehaut. Romulphus was one of the most wealthy and powerful of these; his son Romaric, too, retired to Luxeuil, and devoted all his possessions to the endowment of the celebrated abbey of Remiremont †. There are few ages in which the mistaken piety of men gave rise to so great a number of monastic institutions as the present. About the year four hundred, some pious persons who had retired from the noise and bustle of life to indulge in serious meditations, left Italy to settle in the desert isles of Provence, and in the uncultivated mountains of the district of Vienne. The sanctity of their lives procured them a number of disciples. Monasteries were built for them, where they lived under the inspection of the bishop of the diocese, and subsisted by the work of their hands. The first of these religious retreats, and the most famous of them all, is that of Lerins, founded by Saint Honorat; it was, for a long time, the school for monks and a seminary for bishops. In the fifth century was erected, among others, the convent of Saint Maurice, in Chablais, which the Abbè Severin is said to have rendered celebrated by his miracles and his virtues. A prodigious number of monasteries sprung up in the sixth century:—Saint Mesmain, formerly Mici, near Orleans, was founded by Clovis; Saint Thierrri, near Rheims, by Remigius; Saint Cloud, formerly Nogent, by Clodoald, the last of the family of Clodomir; Saint Croix and Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Près, by Childebert the First; Saint Peter and St. Paul, at Rouen, by Clotaire the First; Saint Medard, at Soissons, begun by the same prince, but completed by his son Sigebert; Glanefeuille in Anjou, by Saint Maur, a disciple of Saint Benedict; Saint Pierre-le-Vif, near Sens, by Theudichilda, daughter of Thierrri the First, king of Austrasia; Moustier-Saint John and Saint Seine, both in Burgundy, Saint Martin, in the Cotentin, and Saint Erroul, in the diocese of Lisieux, all four of them named after their respective founders.—These were the most considerable that were built in the sixth century: the seventh was still more distinguished by the fervent zeal of religious founders.

* Aimoin, Præfat. in Hist. Franc. † It is called in Latin Romarici-Mons, by the name of its founder.

Luxeuil, Estival, Moyen-Moustier, Saint Dié, Senone, and Bon-Moustier, were all erected in the duchy of Lorraine; Saint Gal, in the mountains of Switzerland; Saint Vandrille, in the diocese of Rouen; Saint Vallery, on the coast of Picardy, and another in the same place, founded by Saint Joffe, brother to Judicael, prince of the Britons; Saint Guislain, in Haynaut; Saint Tron, in the territory of Liege; besides Saint Godart, Fescamp, Jumiéges and Noir-Moustier. An enthusiastic emulation appears to have prevailed at this period among the wealthy, which made them strive who should erect the greatest number of these retreats. The most distinguished erections which resulted from the pious contest, were Saint Marcel in the forest of Bresse, founded by king Gontran; Saint Martin, at Autun, by queen Brunehaut, for the reception of three hundred monks; Saint Denis, in the isle of France, by Dagobert the First, as much celebrated for the richness of its revenues, as the magnificence of its buildings; Corbie, by queen Bathilda; Stavelo, in the Ardennes; Malmedy, in the diocese of Liege; Saint Martin in the Fields, near Metz, by king Sigebert; Saint Wast, at Arras, by Thierry the Third; and Surgub, Halefac, Konisbruck, and Saint Sigismond, in Alsace, by Dagobert the Second.

The queens, princesses, and women of quality, were not less zealous than their husbands, in the encouragement of a monastic life. Many celebrated abbeys were built at this period, where young women of condition found an asylum for their virtue; widows, a place of refuge in the hour of calamity; and queens, a peaceful shelter from the tumultuous embarrassments of royalty. Saint Croix, at Poitiers, owes its establishment to Radegonda, wife to Clotaire the First, who, preferring the sweets of religion to the pleasures of matrimony, left her husband, and taking the veil, passed the remainder of her days at that convent. Bathilda founded the famous monastery of Notre Dame, at Chelles, where she fixed her residence after completing the education of her royal son. Irmina, the daughter of Dagobert the Second, was the founder and first abbess of that of Ocren*. The convent of Notre Dame, at Soissons, of which several princesses have been abbesses, was erected by Leutruda, wife to Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace to Thierry the Third. Glodesina, or Glosina, daughter of Wintrion, duke of Champagne, instituted that at Metz, which still bears her name. Fare-Moustier, in Brie, owes its origin to the illustrious Fara, sister to Faro, bishop of Meaux. Begga, widow of Anchises, son of Saint Arnoul, and daughter of Pepin the Old, founded that at Andene, which is now a college of secular maidens: and Aldegonda and Vaultruda, two sisters, erected the convent at Maubeuge. It would be an endless task to specify every monastic institution erected by women, in those times; it is sufficient to observe that the weaker sex were not less eager than men to endure the fatigues and austerity of a life of penitence and mortification.

* Horreum.

There were formerly several classes of monks or hermits. Some of them lived in community, under the conduct of a superior—these were the *cenobites*. Others, impelled by a desire of attaining to a greater degree of perfection, retired to the most horrid deserts—these were *hermits*, or *anchorites*. A third class travelled from province to province, either to visit holy places, or to gain instruction from those who were most celebrated for their sanctity—such were called *pilgrims*. A fourth, either built cells in towns, or else shut themselves up in dreary caverns—these were named *recluses*. There were, also, societies consisting of three or four persons who lived together, without any head or chief, neither restrained by rules, nor confined by vows. Most of them distributed their fortunes among the poor; but they were under no obligation so to do; nor did the laws exclude them from the possession of estates, on their return to the world; though such a return was regarded as a shameful desertion.

Besides the erection of monasteries, the princes and nobles of these times displayed their zeal for religion, in the profusion of presents which they lavished on their inhabitants, and in the numerous and important exemptions which they granted them. Each abbey had its treasury, which monarchs and their opulent subjects, were studious to stock with precious effects of various kinds; these generally consisted of rich girdles, magnificent belts, valuable vases, clothes embroidered with gold and stones, and articles of furniture more rare than useful. The monks made a point of preserving such gifts as well for the glory of the convent, as for the honor of the donors. But they were still more careful to preserve those charters which contained the enumeration of their privileges; and sometimes, indeed, they had the temerity to amplify them. The French kings exempted them from all taxes on land, houses, and goods, and from all contributions to the support of the judges; a species of impost then in use. But even these precautions were inadequate to secure to them full possession of their property, since the bishops were empowered to dispose of all offerings made at the different churches of their diocese. They exacted so much for the benediction of the holy chrism; so much for the consecration of altars; so much for their visitations; and sometimes they even insisted on being paid for an ordination. The French monarchs persuaded them to give up these rights in favour of such monasteries as were royal foundations; and the prelates engaged never to enter them, but when the authority of the abbot should prove insufficient to command respect, and to enforce obedience.

It was always the bishop of the diocese, assisted by the other prelates of the province, who granted this kind of exemption. The first, and most ancient, is that which was accorded to the abbey of Saint Croix and Saint Vincent, by Germanus, or Saint Germain, whose name it now bears*. It was from such

* It is proper to observe, that this exemption was warmly attacked; as well as that of Saint Medard, at Soissons, Saint Corneille, at Compeigne, and several others; but it is not less true that similar privileges have been conferred on different monasteries.

an example, that Saint Dennis, Corbie, Lerins, Luxeuil, Saint Maurice in Chablais, and Saint Vandrille were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary; the hierarchy having employed its authority for its own destruction. Pope Deodat acknowledges that these exemptions were real abuses; yet in the same bull in which he says they are contrary to the sacred canons, he confirms all the privileges of Saint Martin, at Tours, if that can properly be called a privilege which annihilates all monastic perfection, which consists in humility and obedience.

Although monastic institutions are indisputably liable to various objections of great weight and magnitude, it is certain that France has derived many advantages from the number of its religious establishments. They tended, at least in the early times of the monarchy, to the advancement of religion, and promoted the diffusion of virtuous sentiments; they furnished historians, who preserved the annals of the nation, and who, with a proper allowance for their credulity and professional prejudice, may still be read with advantage; and they supplied the state with useful citizens, to whose industry France is chiefly indebted for the present fertility of its soil. The frequent incursions of the Barbarians had laid the whole country waste; nothing but uncultivated plains, extensive forests, barren heaths, and noxious marshes, were to be seen in every district. Possessions, thus sterile, it was justly thought might be ceded to the monks without any detriment to the state. Under this idea, as many lands were granted them as they were able to cultivate; though they had embraced a life of penitence, and consecrated themselves to their Creator, they did not wish to encourage sloth, or to subsist in idleness: they cleared the woods; drained the marshes; ploughed, sowed, and planted the lands; and made such erections on them as were necessary for the purposes of agriculture. Nor was their labour polluted by motives of selfishness; they observed the strictest frugality, and the greatest part of the produce of their toil was devoted to the relief and comfort of the poor. Under such auspices, the face of the country was speedily changed; it assumed an aspect of cheerfulness to which it had long been a stranger; the dark heath now wore an appearance of verdure, the gloomy forest was converted into pleasing plains, and all was cultivation and fertility around. There were some abbies whose revenues, thus improved by industry, became so extensive, that they could raise small armies: whence it was that the abbots were, in after times, invited to the assemblies in the Field of Mars.

The custom, that so generally prevails at present, of making vows in favour of people who sneeze, is commonly believed to have originated during the regency of Brunehaut, and the pontificate of Gregory the Great. It is pretended *, that at this period there was a malignity in the air, so contagious in

* Polyd. Virg. Sigonius.

its nature, that whoever was unfortunate enough to sneeze, expired on the spot; which induced Gregory to order all good Christians to offer up prayers, accompanied by vows, for the purpose of averting these evil effects. But this is a fiction, framed in violation of all the rules of probability, since it is certain that the custom subsisted in every part of the globe, from the remotest antiquity*.

In the Heathen Mythology, we are told †, that the first sign of life given by the man of Prometheus, was a sneeze. That pretended creator stole a portion of the sun's rays, which having enclosed in a phial hermetically sealed, he immediately returned to his favourite work, and applied it to the statue. The solar rays had retained all their activity, and insinuating themselves into the pores, made the statue sneeze. Prometheus, delighted with the success of his plan, offered up prayers for the preservation of this singular being. His pupil hearing him, recollected what he said, and was always careful, on similar occasions, to make the same vows in favour of his descendants, who have transmitted them from generation to generation.

The rabbies, in speaking of this custom, do not give it quite so early a date. They say that, after the creation, God made a general law, by which it was ordained, that every living man should sneeze but once, and that at the very moment he sneezed he should resign his soul to the Lord, without any previous indisposition. Jacob, by no means pleased with this abrupt method of quitting the world ‡, and being desirous of settling his affairs previous to his departure, humbled himself before the Lord, and urgently requested the favour of being excepted from the general rule. He obtained his wish; he sneezed and did not die. All the princes of the earth being informed of the fact, unanimously ordained, that, in future, every person who sneezed should offer up prayers for the preservation and prolongation of his life.

Even from these fictions, it is apparent that this mark of politeness, which now universally obtains on the Continent, was in use long before the establishment of Christianity. It was considered as very ancient, in the time of Aristotle, who was ignorant of its origin, and sought the cause of it in his problems ||. He pretends, that the first men being strongly prejudiced in favour of the head, which is the principal seat of the soul, that intelligent substance, which governs and animates the whole mass, extended their respect to the act of sneezing, which is one of its most manifest and expressive operations. Hence the different compliments, used on such occasions, by the Greeks and Romans; such as—"Long may you live!" "Good health to you!" "Jupiter preserve you!"

* Mémoires de L'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. † Fain. strada in prob. Acad.

‡ Pirke R. Eliezer, c. 32. || Aristot. in Probl.

CLOTAIRE THE SECOND,

(NOW)

SOLE KING OF THE FRENCH.

A. D. 613.] CLOTAIRE was the second of his name, and what is extraordinary, he was the second king of Soissons who reunited the different parts of the French monarchy, which had been constantly divided since the death of Clovis. But his power was not equal to the extent of his domination. Could it, indeed, be expected, that a throne raised on a basis so criminal, would be solid and durable; or that an all-just and all-sapient Providence would suffer so many crimes to pass unpunished? Though Clotaire appeared to have laid a foundation for the greatness and elevation of his family, he was the first cause of its abasement—of its desolation—nay, of its total ruin. Garnier, mayor of the palace of Burgundy, had only declared against Brunehaut, on a promise of being confirmed in his office for the remainder of his life *. Rado, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, had espoused the cause of Clotaire on the same conditions. Both of them governed in their respective departments more like kings than ministers. Gondeland, mayor of the palace of Neustria, had also rendered great services to the king—his reward was consequently the same, and his power almost as absolute. The weak monarch consented to grant these important places for life, which originally were holden only during pleasure. The mayors soon began to make an ill use of their authority, which daily continued

* Fred. in Chron. c. 14, 43. Gest. Franc. c. 41.

to encrease, while that of the sovereign diminished in proportion; till at length, the descendants of Clovis were dethroned by the posterity of those very men who had favoured their usurpation over the family of Thierri. This, Pasquier calls a vengeance truly divine.

A. D. 614, 615.] The mayors of the palace were not the only objects of apprehension to the French monarch. The Austrasian and Burgundian nobles had equally favoured the invasion; and they imagined, that the least reward that was due to their services, was a permission to commit all acts of violence with impunity. The king had appointed duke Herpin to the government of one part of Burgundy; an office which, though one of the most important in the French empire, had recently been filled by a woman—a thing hitherto unexampled in France*. But that woman, it must be observed, was Theudelana, sister to king Thierri, so that it was not astonishing that custom should have been made to yield to fraternal affection. This princess was involved in the misfortunes of her family; being arrested with queen Brunehaut, and brought to the victorious Clotaire; but what became of her afterwards is not known. All that we learn from history is, that duke Herpin was appointed to succeed her;—at least, that is what we must conjecture from the account of Fredegarius. After saying that Theudelana was brought from Burgundy, whither Brunehaut had fled for shelter; doubtless, because she imagined that a country governed by her daughter must prove a safe asylum for her,—he adds, that “duke Herpin succeeded Theudelana in the government of that same province.” This, however, is but a simple historical conjecture, which we may either admit, with father Daniel, on a supposition that the text is correct; or else reject it with some learned critics, who read Endelana instead of Theudelana.—Herpin was a man of great severity, but rigid in the enforcement of order and justice. He undertook to repress the licentiousness of the nobles, who desolated the province by their oppressive exactions; but enraged at his conduct, they revolted, and the duke was massacred.

The king was then with his whole court at Marlem, a royal mansion in Alsace. He sent a body of troops against the rebels, who quelled the sedition; and returned with some of the chief conspirators, who were first tortured and then put to death. Aletheus, who had conducted the plot from beginning to end, not only escaped suspicion, but, by his artful intrigues, obtained that government which had become vacant by the death of the man he had assassinated. This important post revived all his ambition. He was a nobleman of high birth, and was endued with sense, and possessed of courage. He even claimed descent from the ancient kings of Burgundy, and determined to ascend the throne of his pretended ancestors. The project was rash in the extreme; but still he found means to persuade Leudemond †, bishop of Sion, that it must infallibly be attended with success. The prelate undertook to make a proposal

* Fred. c. 40. † Idem, 44.



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617



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*Interview of Leudemond Bishop of Lion
with Queen Bertrude.*

to queen Bertrude, the most insolent that ever was made by a subject to his sovereign—he went to her palace, and told her in confidence, that it had been revealed to him that the king, her husband, would die within the year: he next advised her to put all her treasures in a place of safety, and offered his own episcopal city for that purpose; and then offered her the hand of Aletheus, and the crown, which that presumptuous rebel had dared to regard as due to his merit and his birth.

Bertrude was naturally simple, and a prophecy thus circumstantial, and related by such a person, alarmed her affection for Clotaire. Being prevented, by excess of grief, from entering into an explanation on the temerity of Aletheus, she hastily withdrew, and retired to her apartment to give vent to her tears. The prelate, disconcerted, by the reception which his offers experienced, immediately perceived the whole extent of his imprudence, and the consequent danger of his situation. Believing his destruction to be inevitable, he fled to Sion; but his fear proving too powerful to suffer him to remain there, he left it to throw himself under the protection of Eustatius, abbot of Luxeuil, who afterwards procured his pardon. In the mean time, the king, informed by the queen of Aletheus's conspiracy against his life, instantly dispatched orders to apprehend him*. He was tried by an assembly of nobles at Maffolac, a royal seat in Burgundy, and condemned to lose his head.

A. D. 616, 617.] These assemblies were often holden by Clotaire; they were called *placita*; and were a species of ambulatory parliament, composed of bishops, chief officers of the crown, dukes, counts and *farons*, who have since been denominated barons. That which the French assembled this same year, at Bonneuil upon the Marne, was one of the most numerous that had been hitherto seen. All the Burgundian prelates and nobles were present †; the prince placed but little reliance on their fidelity, and therefore granted them all they required. These assemblies generally met at one of the royal seats. The predecessors of Clotaire only convened them once a year, in the month of March; they were abolished by the mayors of the palace, and re-established by Pepin the Fat: but, for a long time, they were only holden twice a year.

It must not be supposed, however, that the administration of justice was neglected: each estate and each profession had its peculiar tribunal, its laws, and its customs. Ecclesiastics were tried by the clergy; the military by officers; the nobles by gentlemen; and the people by *centurions* in the boroughs and villages; by counts in the cities; and by dukes in the capitals ‡. There was no superiority of jurisdiction among these different tribunals, from whose sentences an appeal could only lay to the king himself. If the appeal proved to be well founded, the judge became responsible for costs and damages; if, on the contrary, the sentence complained of appeared to be just, the appellant, if

*Fred. c. 44. † Idem, ibid. ‡ Ducange's Glossary on the words *Judex*, *aliffa*, *placitum*.

noble, was condemned to pay a pecuniary fine; and if not, to be whipped. Pecuniary fines were almost the only punishments known in those days; and there was scarcely any other crimes than those which affected the state, that were punished with death. The Salic law fixes the sums to be paid to the king by way of fine, and to the party injured by way of reparation. The life of a bishop was valued at nine hundred sols of gold*; that of a priest at six hundred; and that of a laic at something less, according to his quality †. The centurion did not possess the power of condemning criminals to die; the counts only possessed it in certain cases; and the dukes were extremely cautious how they exerted that power. The court sent commissaries, from time to time, into the provinces, never less than two, and always one duke, count, or prelate: their business was to hear complaints, and report them to the king.

Lawyers were unknown during the first race of kings. The judges, that is, such as were not ecclesiastics, administered justice armed with a sword, a battle-axe and a shield. Their commission, which was but for a time, interdicted them from making any purchase within their jurisdiction. To discharge the office of a judge with propriety, a deep knowledge of the national laws and local customs was essentially requisite. The Frank was tried by the Salic law; the Gaul, who resided beyond the Loire, by the Roman law; and the inhabitants of the northern provinces, by the common law, or custom of the country ‡. The assizes were holden every week or fortnight, according to the number of causes, and always in some public place, that was open to every one. Each person pleaded his own cause—widows and paupers were privileged; they were under the protection of the church, and nothing could be decided against them, until the bishop had been apprized of it. The prelates were holden in such consideration in those days, that their intercession sufficed to save the life of a criminal, and they could even order a cause to be brought before them, which had been begun in a secular court ||. This privilege was granted them by a law of Constantine; Charlemagne renewed it; and Lewis the Debonnaire, or *Gentle*, confirmed it. The bishop could decide either in person, or by his official, on every thing that could be considered as a sin—on bargains ratified by oaths, on marriages, wills, sacrilege, perjury and adultery. This enormous power was founded on the dignity of their character, the sanctity of their lives, and the extent of their capacities. Most of the nobles could neither read nor write: till tired at length with being subjected, like the common people, to the correction of priests, they began to study the law.

* The sol of gold was worth about twelve shillings and sixpence sterling (or two dollars and seventy-eight cents). Two hundred sols of gold were paid for a laic; a hundred for a Gaulic proprietor; and forty-five for a tributary Gaul. A Gaulic proprietor was a Gaul who had lands of his own, and a tributary Gaul, one who paid certain fines to the king.

† Baluze Capit. t. i. p. 387. ‡ Recherches sur le Droit Francois, Sect. iii. l. i. p. 72.
|| Cop. Theodof. in Append. P. Sirmundi.

Sometimes the monarch administered justice himself: the court was then holden at the gate of his palace. When he could not attend in person, he appointed two officers to receive petitions, and to give an immediate answer to such as did not require much consideration. Besides these *masters of requests*, there was a *count-judge*, whose counsellors were military men like himself, and were called aldermen of the palace*. This tribunal decided on all matters of state, and all questions by which the prince or the public was affected. When the king presided, assisted by his prelates, abbots and dukes, the cause was reported to him by the *count-judge*; his majesty then cast up the votes, and pronounced sentence. The form observed in this case may be seen in the second book of Marculphus †.

Some time before the parliament of Bonneuil, assembled ‡, a council had been holden at Paris, composed of seventy-nine bishops, many of the nobles, and a great number of the king's vassals, who were called *leudes*, or *sideles*. This was the first council of that kind §; but many such were assembled under Charlemagne and his successors. It was there that those celebrated ordinances were framed, which were denominated *capitularies*, from their having been composed in an assembly, or, according to the language of those times, in a *general chapter* of the nation. This council, the fourth holden at Paris, after the establishment of the monarchy, declares all such ecclesiastical elections, as were either simoniacal, or made without the consent of the metropolitan, to be null and void. The third canon prohibits the clergy, of whatever rank, from employing the credit of the great, or the authority of the king to the prejudice of their bishop. By the fourth it is decreed, that no secular judge could condemn or punish an ecclesiastic, without the knowledge of his prelate. All nuns who should quit the monastic life, were declared to be excommunicated; and the prohibition of incestuous marriages was renewed. The king caused an edict to be published, by which he confirmed the statutes of the councils, with such additions as he thought necessary to preserve the prerogatives of the crown.

In this edict it was declared, that a prelate, when elected after the forms prescribed by the fathers of the council, could only be consecrated by virtue of an order from the sovereign; that every ecclesiastic who should appeal to the king, for whatever cause, should be pardoned, on presenting himself to the bishop, with a letter under the royal signet §; and that no ecclesiastic should be subject to a secular jurisdiction, except in criminal cases, when the prelates and secular judges should have joint cognizance of the matter. Clotaire, by the same edict, declared it a capital crime, forcibly to carry off widows or virgins consecrated to God, whether they resided at home or in a monastery. He

* Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 19, and l. ix. c. 12. † Chap. 25. ‡ In 615. § Tom. i. Concil. Gall.

§ In Decreto Reg. Clot. t. i. Concil. Gall.

finally abolished all the new taxes, and revived those which had been in use under Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. There is not any of the ancient edicts in which all the necessary forms are observed with such strictness and precision as in this.—It is signed by the king, and undersigned by the chancellor or referendary.

It was beneath these wholesome regulations that Clotaire attempted to veil the injustice of his usurpation. But though the diminution of imposts secured the applause of the people in Aufrasia and Burgundy, his spirit of reform was by no means agreeable to the inclinations of the great, who had only betrayed the family of their sovereign, from the hope of living in a state of perfect independence. It is not known whether Garnier really incurred the displeasure of Clotaire, by the commission of some treasonable act, or whether he was only induced by the fears, which a knowledge of his vicious disposition might naturally excite, to adopt measures for depriving him of his office. Be that as it may, we are assured by an ancient author*, that the king only assembled the parliament of Bonneuil for the purpose of persuading the Burgundian nobles to consent to his deposition. The attempt, however, proved unsuccessful; for they all entreated him to pardon the minister, and confirm him in his place. His authority was so feebly secured that he durst not refuse their requests, and what happened the following year, sufficiently proves that the power of the mayor was greater than that of the monarch.

A. D. 618.] The Lombards as a mark of their subjection to the Gallic crown, paid an annual tribute to the French of twelve thousand sols of gold. Adaloald, their king, now dispatched an embassy to Clotaire, not only to request the remission of that tribute, but the restoration also of Aoste and Susa †, two places which had been conquered by Gontran. These were posts of great importance, as they opened a free passage for the French troops into Italy, and formed the sole defence of the kingdom of Burgundy, on that side. The proposal consequently deserved to be treated with contempt, and to experience a refusal the most prompt and decisive: but the council were of a different opinion; Garnier, and two other noblemen of Burgundy, had received two considerable bribes from the king of Lombardy, and they accordingly exerted themselves with such art, industry, and success that the weak monarch of France was prevailed on to comply with the petition, on receiving the sum of thirty-five thousand sols of gold. By this base condescension, equally dishonourable to the sovereign and the nation, a stop was put to the conquests of the descendants of Clovis; and the gate of victory was for a long time shut against the French ‡. It was once more opened, indeed, under the second race of kings, but not without a vast effusion of blood.

* Hermann.

† Fred. in Chron. c. 75.

‡ Pasquier Recherches de la France, l. v.

Clotaire was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his rapine and injustice, without the frequent interruption of fear, and the restless inquietude of apprehension—the never-failing attendants of vice and usurpation. It was rumoured about this time that Childebart, the son of Thierrî, lay concealed in a monastery of nuns at the city of Arles. The affrighted king no sooner heard the report, than he issued orders for apprehending the abbess, whose name was Rusticula. She was accordingly brought before him, and took an oath that she had never even harboured a thought of giving refuge to the object of his search*. The piety of her life, and the goodness of her character, gave force to her declarations, and the whole court was convinced of her veracity. Clotaire, more suspicious, because more deeply interested, was the only person who suspected her of dissimulation and falsehood. He kept her in prison, till the sudden illness of his son Meroveus made him believe that Heaven interposed in her favour. Then influenced by superstition, as before by fear, both arising from the same cause, he restored her to liberty: the young prince, however, died, and queen Bertrude soon followed him. The king was greatly afflicted at this double loss.

A. D. 622.] He had still two sons, Dagobert and Aribert; the former, though the oldest of the two, was yet very young. He is supposed to have sprung from Haldetruda, Clotaire's first wife. The king, either from a love of repose, from policy, or from affection, ceded Austrasia to him, with the title of king †. This is the first example that occurs in the French history of a son being associated with his father in the throne. Clotaire gave him, for his ministers, two men holden in great estimation for their wisdom and their virtue; Arnoul, bishop of Metz; and Pepin, surnamed *The Old*, or, *of Landen*. But as prudence forbade him to despoil himself of all his authority, he reserved a kind of sovereignty over the kingdom which he ceded. Besides that, too, he kept the Ardennes, Vosges, Auvergne, and all the towns, in short, which the Austrasian monarchs had possessed on both sides the Loire. This dismemberment of the empire nearly proved, in the sequel, a source of dispute between the father and son.

A. D. 626.] Dagobert, accompanied by all the noblemen of his court, repaired to Clichy, a royal mansion near Paris, in order to espouse Gomatrude, sister to Sichilda, the reigning queen. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost magnificence; but the ceremony was no sooner concluded, than the young monarch openly demanded the restitution of all the places which had been detached from the kingdom of Austrasia ‡. Clotaire, though extremely enraged at this ungrateful conduct, concealed his resentment; and, as his timid policy ever led him to entertain apprehensions of imaginary conspiracies, he was induced to believe that his son would not have dared to make such a proposal,

* Flor. Pr. in vita S. Rusticul. p. 564. † Fred. in Chron. c. 47. ‡ Idem. c. 33.

had he not been impelled to it by the great men of the realm. Influenced by this persuasion, he consented to leave the matter in question to the decision of twelve noblemen, who prevailed on him to cede the Ardennes, Vosges, Rheims, Châlons, Laon, and Cambrai. By this condescension, tranquility was, for a time, restored to the French empire.

The first interruption it experienced, was from a revolt of the Gascons, which was, however speedily quelled. But an insurrection of the Saxons, about the same period, wore a more serious aspect. That fierce nation, regarding the youth of Dagobert, and the pacific disposition of his father, as equal objects of contempt*, thought the opportunity favourable for the recovery of their ancient liberty. Their duke, Bertoald, having previously secured the aid of several tribes of Barbarians, sent a declaration to the king, that he would no longer pay the accustomed tribute. On receiving this intelligence, Dagobert immediately passed the Rhine, in order to chastise the rebels. He was met, and attacked by the duke, before he could be joined by the army of Clotaire. The contest was maintained for some time with great obstinacy; but, at length, the young prince being wounded by the stroke of a sabre, which divided his helmet and cut off some of his hair, he was obliged to retire from the field. He instantly dispatched a messenger to his father, with the broken pieces of his helmet, which showed that he had performed his duty, and served as unequivocal proofs of the danger he had run.

The king lost no time in taking the field; but hastily collecting what troops he could, flew to assist his son. He found the two armies in sight of each other, and only separated by the Vezèr. Bertoald, to encourage the Saxons, had spread a report in his camp that Clotaire was dead. That monarch, therefore, advanced to the bank of the river; and, taking off his helmet, exposed his long grey hair to the sight of his faithless vassal, who stood on the opposite side. The duke insulting him, he set spurs to his horse, swam the river, and being followed by a great number of his troops, immediately attacked the Saxons. Bertoald, alarmed for his safety, betook himself to flight; but he was pursued by Clotaire, who, having overtaken him, cut off his head with one stroke of his sword, and stuck it on a lance. A horrible carnage then ensued; the whole army was cut in pieces, and the nation almost annihilated. It is said that the ferocious conqueror ordered every one of these seditious people who was in stature taller than his sword to be massacred; and that his orders were but too well obeyed.

[A. D. 628.] This was the last memorable exploit of the reign of Clotaire; if, indeed, it may be reckoned among the achievements of that prince; for that candour, which the historian should never lose sight of, compels us to remark, that authors of great weight have doubted its veracity. The author of "The Actions of the Kings of France," is the only writer who mentions

the fact. Fredegarius takes no notice of it. Be that as it may, Clotaire died about the same time, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and was interred at Paris, in the church of Saint Germain des Prés. He had three wives, Halde-trude, Bertrude, and Sichilda; and left two sons, Dagobert and Aribert; it appears certain that he had the last by Bertrude.

In vain have contemporary historians, under the influence of prejudice, or of gratitude, represented this monarch as a just and gentle prince; his actions give the lie to their assertions. The usurpation of Thierrî's throne; the massacre of Brunehaut's grandchildren; the cruel death of that princess; the murder of Boson; that of Godin, the son of Garnier;—all prove that he had nothing in his nature of that inflexible equity, and that incredible sweetness of temper, which have been assigned him by his panegyrists. Boson, a young courtier distinguished by the symmetry of his form, was suspected, by the king, of maintaining a criminal correspondence with his queen-Sichilda*; and this suspicion induced Clotaire to have him assassinated. Godin had married his father's widow; and incest being declared a capital crime by the new edicts, the king, instead of bringing him to a public trial, sent some persons, in whom he could confide, to put him to death secretly †. The young nobleman, however, being apprized of his intentions, escaped into the dominions of Dagobert, who procured his pardon, on condition that he would never more have commerce with his stepmother. That wicked woman whose name was Berta, enraged at her husband's scrupulous fidelity in the observance of his promise, accused him of a conspiracy against the life of the king. Clotaire, on this accusation, the result of malice and disappointment, expressed a wish to put the fidelity of Godin to the test; and with this view he sent two noblemen to him, avowedly for the sole purpose of sounding his disposition; but, in fact, they had secret orders to stab him whenever a proper opportunity should occur. Godin, suspicious of their real designs, was accompanied by a number of armed men wherever he went. He wandered from church to church, from Soissons to St. Dennes, where he swore on the tomb of that saint, as he had before sworn on that of Saint Médard, that he would ever preserve his allegiance to Clotaire. It was proposed to him to take the same oath of fidelity at Saint Agnan, at Orleans, to which he consented. Hitherto he had been constantly on his guard; but being at length taken by surprize near Chartres, he fell a victim to the dissimulation, perjury, and barbarity of a prince who was indebted to the intrigues of his father for the possession of a great kingdom. These are actions so highly repugnant to the spirit of equity, to the laws of honour, and the maxims of Christianity, as to admit of no palliation or excuse. It is a gross reflection on the humanity of the age in which they were committed, that they were neither stigmatized as unjust, nor regarded as cruel.

* Fred. in Chron. c. 54. † Idem, ibid.

It cannot, however, be denied that Clotaire possessed many good qualities. He was certainly a valiant and brave prince; well versed in the art of governing; popular, affable, charitable to the poor, and a zealous protector of the ministers of religion. He had banished the bishop of Sens, for his attachment to the family of Thierrî; but hearing of his piety and merit, he recalled him, and inviting him to court, there begged his pardon, placed him at his own table, and loaded him with presents. He renewed the ancient vigour of the laws; and, by the new regulations which he enforced, acquired a just claim to be placed in the list of legislators. To him the French were indebted for the introduction of the German code, which was regulated, and committed to paper, by a parliament consisting of thirty-three bishops and thirty-four dukes, assembled by the king's orders. He had a cultivated mind, was fond of the Belles Lettres, and piqued himself on his politeness and gallantry. His complaisance to the fair sex was ever carried to excess; and he was extremely attached to the pleasures of the chase.

That noble diversion, which Plato * calls a divine exercise, and the school for martial accomplishments, has ever been the favourite amusement of the French sovereigns, from the first foundation of the monarchy. It appears from history that, in early times, every man had a right to shoot or hunt on his own lands, but never on those of another, without the permission of the owner. This restriction was enforced by the Roman law †, which was adopted by the monarchs of France, and preserved in its utmost vigour. Gontran condemned one of his chamberlains to die, for having killed a buffalo in the royal forest of Vassac, or Vaugenne ‡. There are some good rules laid down, with regard to this diversion, in the Salic law §. It forbids to steal or kill a tame stag, that has been trained for the field. It also fixes a punishment for any one who shall steal or kill a stag of which another is in pursuit; or who shall purloin game belonging to a sportsman, or his dogs or his hawks. These regulations have been repeatedly confirmed and renewed by the French kings, at different times §.

It has been pretended that the ancient monarchs of France were deficient in policy, when they adopted a law that did not pay sufficient respect to the rights of sovereignty ¶. Be that as it may, a system of jurisprudence is now universally received in France, Spain, and Germany, which declares the primitive right of the chase to be inherent in the king, and that the nobles hold it of him, either as a fief, by concession, or privilege.

* Plat. de Leg. Dial. † L. 3, quod inde de acquirend. rerum dominio. ‡ Greg. Tur. l. x. c. 10. § Leg. Salic. c. 35. § Dagobert l. 650. Carol. Magn. 798. ¶ Traité de la Pol. t. ii. l. 5. tit. xxiii. p. 1492.

DAGOBERT THE FIRST.

A. D. 628.] The news of Clotaire's death had no sooner reached the court of Aufrasia, than Dagobert exerted all the arts of a refined policy to get himself acknowledged sole king of France, to the exclusion of his brother Aribert. He immediately dispatched * into Burgundy and Neustria, such of his ministers as he knew to be most capable of insinuating themselves into the good graces of the inhabitants of those kingdoms, and of procuring their votes in his favour. This ambitious monarch did not trust entirely to intrigue; he raised a powerful army, and placing himself at its head, advanced as far as Rheims. He there found all the Burgundian nobles and prelates, who had come for the purpose of taking the oath of fidelity to him; and their example was soon followed by the Neustrians. Brunalf, brother to Aribert's mother, in vain attempted to oppose a resolution so hostile to the interests of his nephew; he was constrained to yield to necessity, and came with Aribert himself to do homage to the new sovereign.

This was an open violation of the laws of the realm, which had ever admitted all the children of the French monarchs to a share in the kingdom. But, unfortunately, the most just cause is not always the most successful †. The good qualities, however, of young Aribert, at length shone forth so conspicuously, that the nobles began to pity his hard fate. The wisest members of the council, fearing that this compassion might finally prove fatal to Dagobert, advised

* *Fred. c. 56.* *Gest. Dagob. c. 15.* † *Ibid. c. 16.*

that monarch to form certain provinces into a kingdom, and cede it to Aribert. He accordingly gave his brother the Touloufain, Quercy, Agenois, Perigord, Saintonge, and all that country which lies between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. But they obliged him to renounce all pretensions to the rest of the French monarchy. Aribert, having assumed the title of King of Aquitaine, set out immediately for his new dominions, of which Thouloufe was the capital. He lived there with splendour, subdued the Gascons who had revolted, and supported, with glory, the honour of royalty.

The commencement of Dagobert's reign was distinguished by the most wise and equitable measures. The kingdom of Burgundy was desolated through the oppression of the nobles, who profiting by the timid indulgence of Clotaire, had exercised every species of tyranny over their unfortunate vassals, the new monarch repaired thither in all the pomp of majesty, and visited Langres, Dijon, Saint Jean de Lône, Châlons-sur-Saone, Autun and Auxerre, listening to the complaints of the widow and orphan, and of every one whose poverty or insignificance had rendered them most liable to oppression*. He administered strict justice to all, and every crime was punished with an inflexible severity, without any distinction of rank or station. He was loaded with the benedictions of the poor; a thousand praises were bestowed on the ministers who advised him to pursue such prudent measures; and to see a young monarch so much occupied in discharging the duties of his office, as scarcely to allow himself time to eat his meals, afforded a theme for universal admiration.

But amidst these acts of justice, he committed one of a very different description. Brunulf, Aribert's uncle, to avoid giving offence, had followed Dagobert into Burgundy, where that prince caused him to be arrested; and, though he had nothing to accuse him off, he basely ordered him to be put to death, and three noblemen of his court were bafe enough to execute his orders. The king then returned to Paris; and soon after repudiated Gomatrude, under pretence of sterility, and married Nantilda, one of her maids of honour†. But even this second connection was insufficient to fix his volatile disposition. No longer restrained by the prudent councils of bishop Arnoul, who, wearied out by a continual repetition of ineffectual remonstrances, had at length obtained permission to retire from court, the voluptuous Dagobert, hurried away by the impetuosity of youth, gave a loose to his passions, and rioted in excess of debauchery.

Impelled by vanity, rather than actuated by any desire of administering justice to the inhabitants, he resolved on a journey to Austrasia; where he displayed all that pomp and magnificence, of which he was so fond; appearing every where in his royal vestments, attended by the chief nobles of Neustria and Burgundy. A young Austrasian, whose name was Ragnetrude, once more inspired him with love‡; and by her he had a son, afterwards so celebrated

* Fred. c. 16. † Id. Fred. c. 59. Gest. Dagob. c. 22. ‡ Id. Fred. c. 60.

under the appellation of Saint Sigebert. She, however, was soon succeeded by another favourite; and this amorous monarch had three wives, at one time, all of whom were honoured with the title of Queen. His mistresses were innumerable; and we are told that his excesses, with regard to women, were carried to such a height, that historians were ashamed to particularize them. The treasures of this effeminate monarch proving insufficient to satisfy the avidity of his women, he was soon compelled to distress his subjects by the exaction of new and onerous imposts.

The magnificence displayed at the court of Dagobert exceeded every thing which had hitherto been seen in the kingdom of France. The king had a throne of solid gold; and that precious metal, with diamonds and other valuable stones, appears to have been very common among the nobles and courtiers at this period. The French were indebted for these articles of luxury, partly to their commerce with the eastern empire, and partly to their Italian conquests. But still the people groaned under the iron hand of oppression; and the ministers became responsible for the exactions of the prince. The virtuous Pepin was the first object of public calumny, and of public hatred. Hostile to the vices of his sovereign, he rather aspired to the character of a censor, than to that of a base and servile flatterer*. Every scheme which malice could invent, was adopted for his ruin; but his prudence, his piety, and his virtue, frustrated all the pernicious designs of his unprincipled enemies.

A. D. 630.] Aribert, of a disposition very different from that of his brother, was solely intent on promoting the happiness of his subjects, by whom he was adored. The wisdom and mildness of his government made the French repent the injustice of their conduct towards him. But he was unfortunately snatched from the world by a premature death, and left his subjects to deplore his loss with a deep and grateful sorrow. His infant son, Chilperic, did not long survive him; and at his death Dagobert succeeded to his treasures, which were considerable; and to his dominions, which were in a most flourishing condition †.

A. D. 631.] The tranquillity which France had enjoyed for a length of time, which, in those days of commotion and revolt, was considered as extraordinary, was now suddenly interrupted by a merchant, formerly a subject of the Gallic monarchs, but lately promoted to the sovereignty of a powerful nation. This man, whose name was Samo, had left home in company with several of his countrymen, for the purpose of traffic with the Slavonians; a people that occupied not only that country which is now called Selavonia, but also Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and a part of Bohemia ‡. They had advanced as far as the Danube, and had been subdued by the Abari; but the ill treatment they experienced from their conquerors at length induced them to revolt; in order to shake off a yoke which oppression had rendered intolerable. At

* Fred. c. 62. † Idem c. 57. ‡ Gest. Dagob. c. 24. § Fred. c. 48.

this period the French merchants arrived in their country, where the flames of war were about to rage with incredible fury. Samo generously offered them his services, and in the course of the contest performed so many prodigies of valour, that they unanimously chose him for their king. Endued with a capacious and heroic mind, his efforts were dictated by prudence, and enforced with courage; their success was accordingly complete, and he had the satisfaction of liberating his new subjects from tyranny and oppression. But forgetting he was a Christian, he lived among them in all the licentiousness of paganism; and, profiting by the custom of polygamy, which he found established in his dominions, he married twelve wives, who gave birth to twenty-two sons, and fifteen daughters.

Such was the man who now disturbed the tranquillity of his native country. The subject of the quarrel was an insult offered to certain French merchants, who had, according to custom, gone to traffic with the Slavonians*. Those barbarians, in violation of the rights of nations, had seized their merchandize, and massacred such as attempted to defend their property. Dagobert demanded reparation for the injury, but in vain—Samo even refused an audience to his ambassadors; one of whom, however, named Sicharius, found means to gain admission to his presence under the disguise of a Slavonian dress; but he remonstrated with the king in terms so indecent and brutal, that he ordered him to be dismissed in an ignominious manner. War was accordingly declared, and three armies were sent from France to attack the Slavonian monarch in three different quarters, who was therefore compelled to make a similar division of his troops. The first of these divisions was defeated by the Germans under the conduct of duke Clodobert. The Lombards, who though formerly tributary to, were now in alliance with France, beat the second, and obtained a considerable booty. But the third, in which Samo probably fought in person, attacked the Austrasians with such vigour, that they retired in disorder. This check super-induced the defection of the Urbians or Sorabians, a people on the borders of Thuringia, who, with Dervan, their duke, went over to Samo. The Slavonians, acquiring fresh courage from this acquisition, extended their incursions as far as French Germany, which they desolated during several years.

Dagobert, indeed, had raised a powerful army, in order to oppose them, and had actually advanced as far as Mayence, where he was preparing to pass the Rhine, when some envoys from the duke of Saxony came to make him a proposal, that must have been rejected with indignation and disdain, had he not preferred the tranquil pleasures of repose to the dangers attending the acquisition of glory†. They undertook to defend with their own troops all the frontiers of the French possessions in Germany, on condition that the tribute of five hundred oxen, which the Saxons were obliged to furnish for the king's

* Fred. c. 68. Gest. Dagob. c. 27.

† Fred. c. 74.

household, should be remitted. He accepted this offer, granted the exemption required, and leaving the defence of Thuringia to them, dismissed an army, at the head of which he might have given laws to all the nations in the vicinity of Aufrasia.

A. D. 633.] The Saxons, however, soon discovered their inability to repress the incursions of the Sclavonians; and accordingly giving up the attempt, Thuringia was again exposed to the rage and avidity of that barbarous people*. These disappointments filled the monarch with grief, though they proved inadequate to rouse him from his peaceful lethargy †. At length he determined to give the crown of Aufrasia to young Sigebert, who had not yet attained his fourth year; he assigned him a revenue sufficient for the support of his regal dignity, and appointed two persons to attend him, who were celebrated for their wisdom, prudence, and virtue. These were Cunibert, bishop of Cologne, and Adalgise duke of the palace of Aufrasia ‡. This step was attended with all those beneficial consequences which he expected to derive from it. The Aufrasiens, having now a king of their own, imagined they had recovered their ancient liberty, and prosecuted the war with vigour and effect. The Sclavonians, repulsed on all sides, refrained from their depredations, and kept within the bounds of their own dominions.

A. D. 634.] But the satisfaction experienced by the Aufrasiens on this event was somewhat allayed by another measure of Dagobert's the following year. By the advice of St. Amand, whom he had recalled from banishment, he had again taken Nantilda to his bed, and had a son by her, named Clovis. Fearing that this young prince might meet with the same injustice as Aribert, he took every precaution that prudence could inspire, to insure him a crown after his death. With this view, he assembled the nobles of the three kingdoms at Paris §; and declared to them his intention of appointing Clovis to succeed him in the kingdoms of Burgundy and Neustria; at the same time ensuring to Sigebert ¶ all the possessions he now enjoyed, and promising to leave him whatever had formerly appertained to the kingdom of Aufrasia, viz. a part of Champagne, the Ardennes, Vosge, and all the places, in short, which his predecessors had possessed in Aquitain, Provence, and other parts of the empire, with the single exception of the dutchy of Dentelenus, which he re-united to Neustria, from whence it had been detached by Theodebert the Second. The Aufrasian nobles could with difficulty be prevailed on to consent to this division of the kingdom, but all the rest of the assembly declaring strongly in favour of it, they were compelled to withdraw their resistance, and place their hands to Sigebert's renunciation of Burgundy and Neustria.

* Gest. Dag. c. 31. † Fred. c. 75 and 85. Gest. Dag. c. 32.

‡ It appears from hence, that the post of Duke of the Palace was distinguished from that of Mayor, which Pepin enjoyed, both now and at a subsequent period.

§ Fred. c. 76: § Vit. Sigeb. reg. Gest. Dagob. c. 32.

A. D. 635, 636.] No sooner was this business terminated, than Dagobert found himself obliged to send a numerous army against the Gascons, who had revolted. That turbulent people, however, were soon reduced to subjection; and Æghinan, their duke with all their principal nobles, were forced to repair to Saint Denis, where they besought the king's pardon for their offence, and took an oath of allegiance and fidelity.—A similar insurrection took place in Brittany, where duke Judicael, in violation of existing treaties, assumed the title of king, and committed depredations on the frontiers of France. But the reduction of the Gascons induced him speedily to renounce his pretensions to royalty; and in imitation of Æghinan, he hastened to Clichy, where the court then was, asked pardon for his transgressions, and swore eternal obedience to Dagobert.

A. D. 638.] That monarch, however, did not live long to enjoy the blessings of peace which he had secured to his subjects. Being seized with a dysentery, at Epinay, a royal seat on the Seine, he was conveyed to Saint Denis, where he died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the church belonging to that Abbey, which he had richly endowed*. He had four wives; Gomatrude, whom he repudiated; and Nantilda, Wifegonda and Bertilda, who all reigned at the same time. It does not appear that Ragnetrude, Sigebert's mother, ever enjoyed the title of Queen. The division of his dominions between his two sons, which he had made during his life, was rigidly observed. Sigebert governed Austrasia, and Clovis was proclaimed king of Neustria and Burgundy.

The monks, who were greatly indebted to his generosity, have passed the most brilliant eulogies on the life and conduct of Dagobert. But though the gratitude of those writers be deserving of commendation, it has still betrayed them into gross flattery and flagrant misrepresentation. The commencement of his reign was well calculated to ensure the esteem of his subjects—where the felicity of his people forms the chief object of a monarch's study and attention, their affection will invariably follow. But Dagobert only changed the source of oppression; he restrained, indeed, the tyranny of the nobles, but he soon established a tyranny of his own; distressing his subjects to support his debauchery—loading them with burthenome imposts, in order to gratify the insatiate avidity of his mistresses. Though not deficient in personal bravery, yet he did not possess that active valour which had hitherto distinguished all the descendants of Clovis. The fairest objects of commendation in the character of Dagobert, are his charity, munificence, and generosity—these virtues he certainly possessed in an eminent degree, though they were not directed with that propriety of judgment which is requisite to give them their most beneficial effect.

During this reign, a collection was made of the laws of the different people subject to the domination of France. Those of the French are comprized

* Fred. c. 79.

under the head of *Salic law* or *Ripuarian law* *. The first regarded such of the French as inhabited the country between the Maese and the Loire †, and the last was made for those that lived between the Maese and the Rhine. They differ but little: it may be seen by them both, that subjects were then divided into two classes—*freemen* and *slaves* ‡. Of the former there were two sorts—one noble, and the other not. The nobles only founded their nobility on the antiquity of their family—letters or patents of nobility were not yet known. The chief dignities were those of patrician, duke, count, and domestic or governor of the royal mansions. The French paid no tribute; that was only exacted from the native Gauls, who were seldom distinguished by any other appellation than that of Romans. These were treated with contempt, and and scarcely ever entrusted with any post of importance.

The French law had one distinguishing characteristic, which no law, indeed, should be without—that is, it left nothing to the discretion of the judge. Every possible crime had its peculiar punishment specifically annexed to it; and reparation for every species of insult, indecency, or ill treatment, was appreciated with precision, if not always with rigid justice ‖. Heavy fines were inflicted on such as stripped a man when dead or asleep §; and on those also who mounted a horse without the permission of the owner, or a horse which they found astray ¶. Whoever dared to squeeze the hand of a free woman, was sentenced to pay fifteen sols of gold; if he took her by the arm, he paid double that sum; and if he touched her bosom, quadruple. These regulations were highly prudent in those times; for the French being accustomed to take their wives with them to camp, it was necessary to secure them against every kind of insult *.

The provisions of the Salic law, with regard to homicide, were not equally salutary or unobjectionable. It allowed of that same composition for murder, which in the ages of imperfect civilization, was common to almost all countries; and fixed a price on the life of each individual ††.

* Chron. Moissiac. † Ado Vien. et alii. ‡ Lex Salic. tit. 37, 43, 44. Lex Ripuar. tit. 62.
 ‖ Lex Sal. tit. 60. § Ibid. tit. 15, 17, 25. ¶ Ibid. tit. 22.

* * This attention to the fair sex was ever justly considered as the certain mark of a tendency towards a refinement of manners; and in nations recently emerged from a state of rudeness and barbarism, the commencement of such attention affords a strong and almost infallible presage of a rapid progress in civilization, and in the attainment of social virtues. “It was (says a learned British writer, speaking of the ancient codes of the different people in France and Germany) the first indication of the approach of these nations towards politeness, that their compositions for injuries done to women were generally doubled.”—Lord Kaims’s Law-Tracts, p. 32, &c.

†† Tit. 43, 44, 45, 65.

On this head it entered into a thousand particulars. If the assassin was insolvent, his relations, to a certain degree, were compelled to pay for him; and if they were not rich enough, he became a slave to the family of the deceased. Such a system of jurisprudence was rather calculated to authorize crimes than to repress them. Something, indeed, might be said in its favour, when applied to countries but thinly inhabited; since it preserved a member of the community, and assured to the relations of the deceased, either a slave, or an advantageous composition; which proved some compensation for the loss of a kinsman, whose labours might have contributed to their subsistence; and it was probably on this principle alone that such laws were founded. Every citizen, too, was compelled by it to keep a strict watch over the conduct of those who were allied to him by blood; since, in certain cases, he was responsible for their misbehaviour. It was allowable, however, for a man to exempt himself from the consequences of relationship, by a juridical declaration*; but the person who made such a declaration, forfeited all right of inheritance; and if he were killed, his fortune, or at least the fine exacted from his assassin, was paid into the exchequer †.

The French laws also contained some regulations with regard to marriage; that, being founded on feudal principles, were more favourable to family pride, and perhaps to domestic harmony, than to conjugal happiness, or the increase of population. Children could not marry without the consent of their fathers and mothers ‡. The intended husband was obliged to offer a certain sum to the parents of his mistress; which, according to Fredegarius and Marculphus, was a *sel* and a *denier*. If the bride was a widow, *three sols of gold* and *one denier* were paid to the judges, who divided them among such of the relations of her first husband as were not heirs ||. The offer of this sum was always made in a public court, where a shield had been elevated, and where three causes, at least, had been tried; without this formality, the marriage was declared null. By this species of purchase, the husband acquired so great a power over his wife §, that if he dissipated her dower, or any estate that had fallen to her by succession, she had no right to call on him for restitution. The reason assigned for exacting a larger sum for a widow than for a maid, is this—when a girl married she was supposed not to change her condition, in point of subserviency, as she did but pass from under the tuition of her parents to that of her husband: a widow,

* Tit. 65.

† Of all the pecuniary fines to be found in the ancient codes, those of the Welch are the most curious. Howel Dda fixed the fine for murdering a chancellor at 189 cows; for killing the queen's cat, as much wheat as would cover her, when suspended by the tail; for a perjury, three cows; for the rape of a maid, twelve cows; of a matron, eighteen; and in cases of seduction, "Vir, si factum denegaverit, jurabit super campanam ecclesie malleo destitutam; quod si falsus fuerit, compensabit denariis totidem, quot nates foemine operiantur."—Leges Wallicæ, p. 116, 202, &c.

‡ Tit. 62. || In Epitom. c. 18. form. 75. § Rip. Tit. 37.

on the contrary, had recovered her liberty; and therefore a greater value was placed on the sacrifice of it. A girl who suffered herself to be carried off, was condemned to slavery. A freeman who married a slave became a slave himself.

The laws of inheritance were fixed with equal precision: The children of the deceased were sole heirs to his fortune; in default of them, his father and mother inherited; if he had no parents, his brothers and sisters; after them the father's sisters, and the mother's sisters; and, lastly, the next heir on the father's side*—adoption was allowed†. The child was adopted in the king's presence, who issued his letters for that purpose, and he enjoyed all the rights of a legitimate offspring.

There were three sorts of possessions.—Those of which a man could dispose at his pleasure, and which were termed *propres*;—*benefices*, which were either holden of the prince, or of the church, on paying certain fines;—and *Salic lands*, holden on condition of military service. Women could only inherit the first; the second reverted to the king, on the death of the possessor; and the last were confined to the male heirs. It is worthy of remark, that the French monarchs, on their first establishment in Gaul, left the native Gauls in possession of two thirds of their lands, on paying a tribute. The remaining third was distributed among the victorious troops; who, from the soldier to the general, all held of the king.

* Salic. Tit. 14. † Rip. Tit. 45.

CLOVIS THE SECOND.

[A. D. 638.] ON the death of Dagobert, the royal family of France began rapidly to decline. The enormous authority usurped by the mayors of the palace, during the long minority of his children, led them by degrees to the usurpation of the regal dignity, to which alone such power should belong. Interest, ambition, and caprice became the sole rules of their government; they brought up the young princes in a state of shameful inactivity, purposely keeping them aloof from business; inspiring them with no sentiments worthy of their rank and birth; studying their passions, not for the salutary purpose of restraint, but with the base view of affording them a dangerous indulgence; and even profiting by their disposition to piety, in order to acquire a more perfect ascendancy over their youthful minds. Vice, indolence, and sloth, were the natural offsprings of such an education.

These acts of baseness, however, cannot be attributed to Æga and Pepin, both mayors of the palace; one in Neustria, under Clovis; and the other in Austrasia, under Sigebert. There appeared in their conduct nothing which betrayed a design to encroach on the royal authority or to oppress the people*. The first was a man of exemplary prudence, and approved fidelity †. The king, on his death-bed, had recommended his queen Nantilda, and the prince, her son, to his care; and the conduct of Æga shewed that the confidence of his sovereign was not misplaced. The first use which he made of his power was to restore to individuals what the officers of the exchequer had unjustly exacted from them. Pepin, still more respectable from his virtues than from his political knowledge, procured such respect to the authority of his pupil,

* Fred. c. 80, 85. † Gest. Dagob. c. 46.

that, so long as he lived, it experienced no interruption, either from foreign invasions or domestic commotions. As soon as he entered upon the duties of his office, he sent an ambassador to Clovis, to demand a division of the treasures of Dagobert. [A. D. 639.] The request was complied with: the two ministers repairing to Compiègne, divided the gold, silver, furniture, clothes, and jewels, into three lots; the first of which was given to Clovis; the second to Sigebert; and the third to Nantilda, in compliance with the French Riparian Law, which ordains that a woman shall inherit a third of her husband's acquired property*.

A. D. 640.] Pepin, unfortunately, died the year after this display of his zeal for the interests of his master. The mildness and equity of his government, rendered his death an object of lamentation to the Austrasians; and the splendour of his virtues procured him a place in the list of Romish saints.

Æga soon followed him; so that the royal family sustained a double loss. The successors of these virtuous ministers, neither possessed the same fidelity, nor the same moderation. Erchinoalde, the new mayor of Neustria, governed more like a king †, than a minister. Among his servants was a girl of exquisite beauty, named Batilda, whom he married [A. D. 646.] to the young monarch. She was a woman of strict virtue, and an heroic courage. She was born in England, of a Saxon family, from whence she had been carried off when a child, and sold as a slave in France. The author of her life affirms, that she was descended from illustrious parents ‡; but as Clovis was a king, and Batilda a slave, the virtue of the latter was insufficient to counterbalance the inequality of the parties in the eyes of the nation.

Grimoald, the son of Pepin, aspired to the enjoyment of his father's post; and though powerfully opposed by Otho, the son of an Austrasian nobleman, who had been governor to the king §, he found means to procure the assassination of his rival, and by that means obtained the object of his wishes. This was the first time that the office of mayor passed from father to son. It afterwards became hereditary.

While the court of Austrasia was harrassed and divided by the intrigues of these ambitious young men, the standard of rebellion was hoisted in Thuringia, by Radulfus, duke of that province. This nobleman was possessed of great military talents: having conquered the Sclavonians, and restored tranquillity to the province over which he presided, he became elated with success §, asserted his independence, and adopted means for the establishment of his authority. It is probable the court had intended to recall him; but as they had never put their designs in execution, he seized the earliest opportunity that occurred openly to declare his sentiments, and to commence hostilities against

* Tit. 37, artic. 2. † Fred. c. 83, 84 ‡ Vita S. Batild. c. 1. § Idem. Fred. c. 88.

§ Ib. c. 87.

his sovereign. He had entered into a league with a Bavarian, named Fare, a man of quality, descended from the illustrious family of the Agilolfingians, hereditary dukes of Bavaria. That young nobleman, who possessed great riches, a high spirit, and extensive connections, was actuated by resentment for the death of his father, Crodoalde, whom Dagobert had ordered to be killed for some crimes which he had committed. An eager desire of vengeance supplied him with the means of raising a considerable army, which he led to the assistance of Radulfus.

All the troops in the kingdom were assembled to quell this formidable insurrection, and the king marched in person to oppose the rebels. When the armies met, victory, at first, seemed to declare in favour of Sigebert. Fare, who had taken post beyond the Buconian forest, on the frontiers of Thuringia, was defeated and slain; but the face of the day was speedily changed. The French army next advanced against Radulfus, who had entrenched himself on an eminence, on the banks of the river Unstrut. The advantage of his situation induced the king to hold a council of war, in which the sentiments of his officers were divided; some were of opinion, that the assault should be immediately given; while others maintained the propriety of deferring it till the next day, when the troops would be recovered from their fatigue. The former, however, prevailed; and those who were of the opposite opinion, foreseeing the consequence of this rash decision, remained near the king, with a resolution either to protect his life, or die at his feet. The event fully justified their conjectures. As the troops were ascending the hill, the duke of Thuringia rushed out upon them, and attacking them with great fury, put most of them to the sword. The slaughter was so dreadful, that Sigebert seeing the whole mountain covered with the dead and the dying, could not refrain from bursting into tears.

This terrible check spread an universal consternation throughout the Austrasian army, and the king's person being thought in danger, it was judged prudent to enter into a negotiation with the conqueror. Radulfus acknowledged that he held Thuringia under the authority of Sigebert; but, at the same time, expressed his hopes that he should be confirmed in a post, which he had so richly deserved by his numerous victories over the Slavonians. The Austrasians were obliged to content themselves with this kind of submission, and to re-establish him in his government, where he afterwards exercised all the powers of a king.

This is the only memorable event in the reign of Sigebert, who was a good, though not an active prince; more busied in religious foundations, than in military establishments: a pious monarch, but a bad politician; and rather formed by nature for obedience than command. He erected and endowed twelve monasteries; yet from a letter of his, which is still extant, it appears, that he had sufficient spirit to maintain his authority against ecclesiastical encroachments: it is addressed to Didier, bishop of Cahors, and contains some severe reprim-

mands on the subject of a synod that had been convened without his knowledge; with a strong prohibition to the prelates, not to assemble in any place whatever without his express permission. It is said that though he was very young, and recently married, he adopted the son of Grimoald*. But having a son, some time after, named Dagobert, by his queen Imnichilda, the adoption was revoked †.

The birth of this prince encreased the devotion of the monarch, and the credit of the mayor of the palace. Sigebert devoting his whole time to works of piety, Grimoald held the reins of government, distributing favours as he pleased, and regulating every thing according to his wishes. The king's confidence in this ambitious minister was so great, that, finding himself attacked by a dangerous disease, he recommended his son to his care.

A. D. 654.] Sigebert died at Metz, and was buried in the magnificent church which he had recently built in that city, and dedicated to Saint Martin. Dagobert succeeded to the throne without opposition; but he had no sooner ascended it, than he was removed from his station by an act of treason the most abominable. The conspirators being afraid to make an attempt on his life, cut off his hair and sent him to Scotland—where he long lived in a state of obscurity—under the conduct of Didon, bishop of Poitiers; who, though descended from Clovis, was not ashamed to undertake the infamous commission ‡.

A. D. 655, 656.] A report was immediately spread that young Dagobert was dead; and they even affected to bury him with great pomp. The story of the pretended adoption was renewed; no circumstance was omitted that could tend to establish its truth; and, such was the extent of Grimoald's power, that his son Chilbert was proclaimed king. But the Austrasians, shocked at these proceedings, had recourse to arms ||, deposed the new monarch, and seizing the mayor of the palace, conducted him to the king of Burgundy and Neustria §. It is not known what punishment was inflicted on this perfidious minister, nor what became of the young usurper. Dagobert, either from a belief that he was dead, or from ignorance of his retreat, was not recalled. Austrasia submitted to Clovis, who re-united, for the fourth time, the different kingdoms of the French monarchy.

The reign of this prince, like that of his brother Sigebert, was undistinguished by any brilliant achievement. There are few kings of whom more good and more evil has been said. The motives of their commendation and censure exhibit, in a just light, the judgment and spirit of the writers of those times. [A. D. 657.] A great famine happening in France, Clovis, in order to procure nourishment for the poor, sold the plates of gold and silver, which

* Vita Sigeberti Reg. † Gest. Franc. c. 43. ‡ Vita Sancti Vulfridi. || Vita Sigeberti Reg. Act. S. Audoeni. § Gest. Franc. c. 43.

covered the tombs of Saint Denis, and his companions. This was a charitable action, and truly worthy of a Christian king; but, at the same time, it was an encroachment on the treasures of the monks. Clovis, says the continuator of Fredegarius *, was a prince addicted to every species of vice:—he was brutal and unfeeling; a debauchee, and a drunkard. Some time after this, he obtained for the same abbey, of Saint Denis, an exemption from all jurisdiction; Landry, bishop of Paris, consented to it, and the deed for that purpose was drawn up in a general assembly of the prelates and nobles of France. Then the scene changed; he was no longer that monarch, who, during the *whole course of his life had not performed one virtuous action*; he was now a great king, says Aimoin †; wise, valiant, brave, equitable; full of religion; and highly agreeable to God.

A. D. 660.] The monks have imputed another crime to him—the seizure of an arm of Saint Denis, for the embellishment of his oratory. This appeared a matter of great importance to those who dreaded a diminution of the number of pious pilgrims who went to pay their devotions at the shrine of the French apostle. It was a crime, they tell us, which Heaven took care to punish, by depriving Clovis of his senses. And, if the monks may be credited, to that impious measure must be ascribed all the calamities which France experienced under the successors of this monarch; who died in the twenty-second year of his age, and the fifteenth or sixteenth of his reign. He was buried at Saint Denis.

* Monachus Dionysianus, c. 1. † Aimoin Hist.

CLOTAIRE THE THIRD.

A. D. 660.] CLOVIS left three sons, Clotaire, Childeric, and Thierry; the eldest of whom was proclaimed sole king, under the conduct of queen Batilda, and of Ebroin, mayor of the palace of Neustria, who was a man of address and courage, capable of great undertakings, but cruel and ambitious. He had the art, however, to conceal his vices, to which he was induced through the fear of displeasing Batilda, whose wife plans he ever seconded with cheerfulness and alacrity. The regency of that princess was distinguished by its mildness, prudence, justice, and virtue*. The Gauls, without distinction of age or sex, paid a heavy poll-tax, which either prevented them from marrying, or else subjected them to the necessity of exposing, or even selling, their children. They now carried their complaints to the foot of the throne; and Batilda, moved by their supplications, remitted this onerous tribute; and redeemed all those whom the rigid exaction of it had reduced to a state of slavery. Nor was she less attentive to the interests of the church; she displayed her zeal for religion in her endeavours to promote a reformation of manners; in the repression of intrigues for obtaining the honours of episcopacy, and in the extermination of simony.

The Austrasians, however, bore with impatience the yoke of the Neustrians; they demanded a king of their own; and the queen, in compliance with their request, appointed her second son to reign over them. Wisfoalde was created mayor of the palace, and declared guardian to the young prince, whom Imni-

* Vita Batild. c. 127.

childa obtained permission to accompany. In this condescension, Batilda displayed more goodness than policy; for Innichilda was beloved*, and Dagobert was still alive; so that the residence of that princess, in a kingdom which belonged to her son, might be attended with disagreeable consequences. But the virtuous mind, conscious of its own rectitude, is seldom open to suspicion. Childeric was received and crowned with every possible demonstration of joy, and tranquillity appeared to be established throughout the three kingdoms.

A. D. 665.] The virtuous regent was studiously bent on promoting the interests of religion, the welfare of the state, and the education of her son. Her court was filled with people renowned for their wisdom and piety. But, unfortunately, her partiality to bishops proved prejudicial to the church, and injurious to her own reputation. She invited to court, among others, two men equally celebrated for their mental endowments, though not possessed of an equal portion of merit. One of them, the illustrious Leger, who was allied to the royal family, was prudent, pious, and learned; endued with a suavity of manners that captivated every heart, and with a strictness of virtue that conciliated universal respect. Him the queen appointed to the bishoprick of Autun, and the sanctity of his life evinced the wisdom of her choice†. The other was Sigebrand, bishop of Paris‡, a prelate whose conduct had been hitherto irreproachable, but whose vanity proved the cause of his destruction. This haughty favourite, in order to ensure a greater degree of consequence, suffered a wrong construction to be put on Batilda's kindness to him. The nobles, jealous of the credit he enjoyed, began to murmur; and, at last, put him to death. The assassins then hastened to the queen, and advised her to shut herself up in a monastery. As she had long sighed after a life of solitude, she was easily prevailed on to listen to their advice, and retired to the abbey of Chelles, which she had founded§. She there passed the remainder of her life, in the exercise of every virtue. She was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 668.] Batilda's secession from the regency left the kingdom a prey to the unbridled licentiousness of the mayor of the palace. Ebroin, possessed of sovereign authority, now showed himself in his true character—a monster of avarice, cruelty, perfidy, and pride. His administration was one continued scene of injustice, tyranny, outrage, and oppression. If a man was rich, powerful, or virtuous, he was exposed to become the victim of his avidity, ambition, or malice. Detested by all men of integrity, he banished the nobles from court, and forbade them to appear there without an express invitation from him. Things were in this dreadful situation when Clotaire died, in the twentieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. He left no children: it is not even known whether he was married. Some pretend that he was interred in the church belonging to the abbey of Chelles: others, at Saint Denis§.

* Vita Batild. c. 23. † Vita S Leodeg. c. 1. ‡ Vita San, Batild. c. 8. § Ibid. c. 7, 8. § Ib. Diplom. p. 467.

The ambitious Ebroin, hated by all the world, could not hope to preserve his place, if the usual forms were observed in the election of a mayor of the palace. Influenced by this consideration, without summoning the nobles of the kingdom to deliberate on the matter, he raised Thierry to the throne, and had him proclaimed King of Burgundy and Neustria. This exertion of power astonished the nobles*, though it did not give them any kind of aversion to their new monarch. They were even on the road, for the purpose of paying their respects, and doing homage to him, when they received a renewal of the prohibition to appear at court without permission. Enraged at an insult so pointed and gross, they immediately assembled and flew to arms. The crown was unanimously transferred to Childeric, who hastened to join them at the head of a powerful army †. The conspiracy was so general and so sudden, that Ebroin, forsaken by every body, had but just time to escape the fury of the nobles; by taking refuge in a church. His life was spared, but his possessions were all confiscated, and he was constrained to pass the remainder of his life in the convent of Luxeuil.

A. D. 669.] Thierry experienced a similar treatment. They cut off his hair, though without any orders from Childeric, who expressed great compassion for him. He even told him that he was ready to grant whatever he could desire. "I ask nothing," replied Thierry, "I have been unjustly dethroned; and I trust that Heaven will revenge my cause." He retired to the abbey of Saint Denis, not to turn monk, but to let his hair grow. He had not quite completed the first year of his reign.

* Vita S. Leodeg. Diplom. p. 46. † Gest. Franc. c. 45.---Continuat. Fred. c. 94.

CHILDERIC THE SECOND.

THE commencement of this reign was devoted to acts of gratitude, and to the support of the laws. Childeric made a point of rewarding such of the nobles as had contributed to his elevation; and as Leger, bishop of Autun, had been greatly instrumental in effecting this revolution, he entrusted him with the administration of affairs, and declared him his principal minister. The great credit which this prelate enjoyed with his sovereign, has made some writers believe*, that he was created mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy: but they did not reflect, that an office which gave the command of armies, and the power of judging in matters of life and death, was incompatible with the character of a priest and a prelate. However that may be, to the prudent councils of this great man was the king indebted for the reformation of numerous abuses that had crept into the state. It was ordained, that judges should be guided in their decisions by the ancient laws and customs of each province. One law in particular was made, [A. D. 670.] which might have redeemed the kings from a state of subjection, had they possessed sufficient firmness to enforce it—it enacted, that no children should succeed their fathers in any of the great offices of state. But all these flattering symptoms of a wise and virtuous reign speedily vanished. The nobles, seeing that this reformation would effect a diminution of their own enormous power and undue consequence; adopted every means they could devise for corrupting the mind of their young sovereign. Having acquired a perfect ascendancy over him, they led him into every kind of excess; debauchery soon gave way to indolence,

* Vita S. Leod.

and indolence, to cruelty*. He suffered all those ordinances which he had so properly renewed to be violated with impunity; and authorized a contempt of the laws by his own example, in contracting an incestuous marriage with his cousin-german. In vain were the solicitations and remonstrances of his minister exerted to induce him to the pursuit of a different course of life. His representations, though at first they were listened to with some degree of attention, soon became insupportable; and it was resolved to embrace the first opportunity that should occur for effecting his ruin.

A. D. 671.] It was customary in ancient times for bishops to invite their sovereigns to celebrate the festival of Easter in their cathedrals: Leger requested Childeric to do him that honour, and the king still retaining some degree of respect for him, accepted his invitation, and repaired to Autun. He there found Hector, patrician or governor of Marseilles, who had a favour to ask of him. That nobleman, whose merit was equal to his birth, was intimate with the minister †, and knowing the credit he enjoyed with his sovereign, had frequently conferred with him on the subject of his present application. It was insinuated, however, to the king, that there was some mystery in this interview, and that the two friends had formed a design to interrupt the tranquillity of the state. Thus prejudiced against the prelate, instead of going to the cathedral on the night of Easter Sunday, which the early Christians always passed in prayer, he repaired to the church of Saint Symphorien, where he received the sacrament from the hands of bishop Prejectus. The next morning, after a grand repast, he went almost intoxicated to the cathedral, swearing and blaspheming, and threatening Leger in the most indecent manner. From thence he repaired to the episcopal palace, where the bishop joined him as soon as he had said mass. Childeric loaded him with reproaches and insults; and Leger, finding from his conduct that his ruin was inevitable if he remained any longer at Autun, left the city with his friend Hector: but they were very speedily pursued;—Hector after a vigorous defence, was killed, and Leger was brought back to the king, who sent him into confinement at the monastery of Luxeuil. There the prelate met with Ebroin, the deposed mayor of the palace, who earnestly besought his friendship.

A. D. 673.] Childeric, being now deprived of the advice of his minister, fell into the extremes of vice, and finally became an object of universal contempt ‡. A nobleman, named Bodillon, venturing to represent to him the danger that would arise from an oppressive impost that he was on the point of establishing ||, the king ordered him to be tied to a post, and had him severely flogged. The nobles, enraged at such an insult to a man of rank, conspired against his life. Childeric was then with the royal family at a seat in the forest of Leuconia, supposed to be the forest of Livri, near Chelles. Thither the conspirators repaired; and, forcing his palace, massacred him, with his queen

* Vita S. Leod. † Ibid. c. 5. 6. ‡ Gest. Franc. c. 43. || Continuat. Fred. c. 94.

Bilihilda, who was pregnant, and, their son, Dagobert, an infant. Another son, named Daniel, had the good fortune to escape, and afterwards reigned, under the title of Chilperic the Third. Childeric was in the twenty-third year of his age; the length of his reign is not precisely known, but the most probable opinion seems to be that he reigned nineteen years*.

This prince was destitute both of courage and conduct. He neither possessed sufficient knowledge to govern a great kingdom, nor sufficient discernment to appreciate and pursue the wise councils of a prudent and virtuous minister. He was not interred at Saint Peter's at Rouen, as the author of the life of Saint Ouen † affirms, but at the abbey of Saint Vincent, now Saint Germain des Prés.

We are told by some writers, that Childeric overcome by the prayers of Imnichilda, whom he always esteemed, allowed her to recal Dagobert, to whom he ceded a part of Aufrasia. Others assert that this prudent princess took advantage of the interregnum which ensued on the death of Childeric, to win over the Aufrasians, by whom she was tenderly beloved, and to prevail on them to proclaim her son king. Be that as it may, it appears certain, from a variety of circumstances, that this young prince re-ascended the throne, from whence he had been unjustly deposed, and reigned several years ‡.

* P. Anselme Hist. Geneal. de France, t. i. p. 10. † Fred. in vita S. Andoen. ‡ Henschenius, lib. de tribus Dagobertis.

THIERRI THE THIRD.

A. D. 673.] **LEGER**, who, as well as Ebroin, had left the convent of Luxeuil, on the death of Childeric, was received at the court of Thierry as a tutelary deity. His first care was to procure the election of a mayor of the palace; and the choice fell upon Leudesic, son of Archinoalde*. The news of this election disconcerted Ebroin, who retired into Austrasia, where his friends were numerous †. Wlfoalde, who governed that kingdom under Dagobert the Second, supplied him with troops, with which the presumptuous rebel advanced as far as Nogent-les-Vierges, near Verneuill, where the king then held his court. The alarm was so sudden and unexpected, that every one had recourse to flight; Thierry, the mayor of the palace, and all the noblemen of their retinue, fled, first to Baifieu, between Amiens and Corbie, and then to Crecy in Ponthieu. The royal treasury was plundered, the churches were pillaged, and the whole country was laid waste. The conqueror, however, despairing of succeeding by force, had recourse to stratagem; and, inviting Leudesic to a conference, which that credulous nobleman accepted, he there put him to death.

A. D. 675, 676.] This murderous deed only served to render Thierry's hatred of Ebroin more inveterate, and to show that monarch the danger of entrusting such a man with any considerable degree of authority. Ebroin, sensible that that the conjuncture was not favourable to his designs, again retired into Austrasia ‡, but with the determination to put his plans in execution whenever an opportunity should occur. He had the audacity to produce a pretended son of Clotaire the Third; and possessed sufficient credit to get him crowned, under the title of Clovis the Third. In this infamous project he was

* *Gesta Reg. Franc.* c. 45. † *Continuat. Fred.* c. 96. ‡ *Vita S. Leodeg.* c. 8.

assisted by two prelates, who had been deprived of their episcopal dignity on account of their crimes: these were Didier, bishop of Châlons-upon-Saone, and Bobon, bishop of Valentia. All the provinces that refused to acknowledge this phantom of a monarch were exposed to the most cruel and destructive depredations. Leger was the first who felt the effects of Ebroin's resentment*. Vaymer, duke of Champagne, was sent to besiege him in Autun, and the place was on the point of being carried by assault, when the good prelate having distributed his effects among the poor, surrendered himself to the enemy, that the inhabitants might not be exposed to the fury of a military mob.—Didier was so inhuman, as to order his eyes to be put out.

A. D. 678, 679.] The king, having lost his best friend, and most prudent adviser, found himself reduced to the necessity of treating with his rebellious subject. Ebroin was declared mayor of the palace, and the pretended son of Clotaire sunk into his original nothingness. The new minister at first published a general amnesty †; but soon after, affecting a profound respect for majesty, he ordered a strict enquiry to be made into the conspiracy against Childeric. The crime was certainly deserving of the severest punishment; and had Ebroin been really actuated by motives of justice, his conduct on this occasion would have merited the highest commendation. But the inquisition which he established was solely for the purpose of sacrificing such of the nobles as had hitherto escaped his resentment. Count Guérin, Leger's brother, though a nobleman of unimpeached fidelity to his sovereign, was stoned to death; and the virtuous prelate himself, after being inhumanly tortured, was sent in disgrace to the monastery at Fécamp. Some years after this period, the tyrant assembled a council of slaves, rather than of bishops, at which Leger was first degraded, and then delivered to Chrodobert, count of the palace, who had him beheaded in a forest in the diocese of Arras, not far from that of Amiens, where he was buried at a place that still bears his name. Two years after his body was conveyed into Poitou, and honourably interred in the church of Saint Maixant.

A. D. 680.] About this time Dagobert the Second, king of Austrasia, was assassinated, in an insurrection of his subjects. The cause of the revolt, and the names of its authors, are not mentioned in history. He was interred at Saint Peter's, at Rouen. This prince had, by his queen Matilda, one son, named Sigebert, who died before him, and four daughters, Irmina and Adella, who were afterwards canonized; and Rotilda and Ragnetrude.

The death of Dagobert ought to have re-united the whole monarchy under the authority of Thierrî; but the aversion of the Austrasians to the government of Ebroin deterred them from acknowledging that monarch. Martin and Pepin being declared dukes or governors of the kingdom ‡, they took up arms; but their new leaders being defeated near the forest of Leucosao, on the

* Vita S. Leodeg. c. 9. † Ibid. c. 12, 13. ‡ Gest. Franc. c. 46.

frontiers of Neustria, were compelled to fly * ; the first to Laon, where he perished by the perfidy of the mayor of the palace; and the second to the farthest part of Austrasia, where he exerted all the endowments with which nature had favoured him for the purpose of undermining the royal authority. This nobleman was descended, on his father's side, from Saint Arnaud, bishop of Metz, and on his mother's, from Pepin, surnamed *the Old*, or of Landen. He is sometimes called, in history, *Pepin the Fat*, from his corpulence; sometimes *Pepin of Heristal*, from the name of a palace which he had on the banks of the Maese, a little above Liege; sometimes *Pepin the Young*, to distinguish him from his grandfather; and sometimes *Pepin the Old*, to distinguish him from his grandson, who reigned under the appellation of Pepin the Short.

A. D. 683.] Ebroin did not long enjoy the fruits of the victory at Leucoufao. A nobleman, named Emanfroy, attacked him as he came from church, clove his head asunder with a broad sword, and delivered his country from a monster who merited universal execration †. The mayors who succeeded him made war on Pepin at different times but without success ‡; and Bertaire, the last of them, a man wholly destitute of every good quality, was doomed to be at once the witness and the victim of his elevation.

A. D. 687.] A great number of noblemen, who were discontented with the government of Neustria, had retired into the kingdom of Austrasia, where Pepin, as well from policy as generosity, supported them. He even sent deputies to the king to beg he would pardon these unfortunate men, whom a violent spirit of persecution had compelled to quit their country. The monarch || proudly answered, that he would save him the trouble of sending them back, by going to fetch them in person, at the head of a powerful army. Preparations for war were immediately made, and the two armies met at Testris, a village situated on the small river Daumignon, between Saint Quintin and Peronne §. The battle was fought with great obstinacy; but victory at last declared in favour of the Austrasians. The king obliged to fly, retired with precipitation to the capital of his empire. Bertaire also had the good fortune to escape from the enemy, but he was assassinated by his own soldiers. The conqueror took possession of the royal treasury, forced the gates of Paris, seized the person of Thierrî, and, causing himself to be declared mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy, reduced the whole kingdom under his own domination.

Pepin, when he had secured this enormous extent of power, conducted himself with so much prudence, moderation, and propriety, that he attracted the attention of foreign powers, many of whom honoured him with particular marks of esteem; enforced respect from the nations dependant on France; and ex-

* Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 97. † Gest. Fr. c. 47. ‡ Idem Continuat. Fredeg. c. 98.

|| Gest. Franc. c. 48. § Idem Contin. Fred. c. 100.

cited the benediction of his countrymen, by the destruction of tyranny oppression*. He re-established the bishops, who had been deposed, in their sees and possessions; he restored to the nobles their dignities and estates; to the orphan and widow, their lawful rights; and to the laws their primitive vigour: he established order in the finances, introduced discipline among the troops, and vigilance and regularity in the police. So many objects of public utility, conceived and effected in so short a space of time; excited universal astonishment; and men began to be persuaded that the ambitious duke had only taken up arms to promote the happiness and welfare of the nation.

A. D. 689.] While duke of Austrasia, he had subdued the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the Suevi; and he now proposed, at an assembly of the nobles, to march without delay against the rest of the German rebels†. This proposal was accepted with joy; but, before he set out on this expedition, he left a man, of the name of Norbert, in whom he could confide, to watch the motions of Thierrî. Victory followed his steps. Radbode, duke of the Frisians, having offered him battle, was attacked and defeated; Pepin took from him a part of his dominions; and made him pay tribute for the rest. On his return to Neustria, he assembled a council, in which some excellent regulations were adopted for the reformation of manners, the assistance of the poor, and the protection of the widow and orphan. By this artful system of policy, and by a thousand actions of piety, justice and valour, he conciliated the affections of the people, and attempted to overcome their settled aversion to acknowledge any other masters than the descendants of their ancient monarchs.

A. D. 692.] Such was the state of France when Thierrî died, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. By his wife Clotilda, whom some writers call Doda, he had two sons, Clovis and Childebert. He was buried at Saint Wasst, at Arras, which he had founded‡. Without entering into the character of this prince, of which we know but little, since all the writers of that age were devoted to the family of Pepin, we may observe, that he was continually the sport of fortune, and a victim to the ambition of his nobles. Excluded from the succession in his infancy, and dethroned by an ambitious brother, he only recovered his rights to become the slave of those whom he was born to command. The battle of Testris finally decided the fate of his empire, and left him but the shadow of royalty.

* Gest. Fr. Contin. Fred. c. 100. † Paul. Dia. l. xvi. c. 37. ‡ Gest. Franc. c. 49.

CLOVIS THE THIRD.

CLOVIS, the eldest of Thierry's children, was proclaimed king of Neustria and Burgundy. Austrasia, still detached from the crown, acknowledged no other authority than that of Pepin, who continued to reign under the name of the new monarch*. No event of importance occurred during the life of Clovis, the length of whose reign is not ascertained, though, from some public acts still extant, it appears that he reigned at least four years †. One of these is an account of an assembly of the states of the kingdom, holden at Valenciennes ‡ [A. D. 693.] Clovis presided, and after him twelve nobles or prelates are mentioned in the act, and the title of Illustrious is given to them, the same as to the kings who had no other distinction than the epithets *most glorious, most pious, most merciful, or most excellent*, annexed to their names. The next on the list are eight noblemen of inferior rank, who are simply denominated *Counts*; eight *Graffons*, who were magistrates appointed to try causes relating to the exchequer or public finances; four domestics, or governors of royal mansions; four referendaries, whose business it was to affix the royal signet to all public acts; and four seneschals, who were inferior officers subordinate to the mayors—they were in those times only entrusted with the administration of the revenue of the king's household, but in the sequel the office of seneschal became the first dignity in the realm. The Count of the Palace is mentioned the last. He, perhaps, had a separate place at the king's feet, or what is more probable, as he was obliged to give an account of his decisions, he was not seated among the judges. The sentence of the assembly is signed by the chancellor, who was the person appointed to write or subscribe those acts which the referendary was to seal.

* Secund. Cont. Fred. c. 101.

† Gest. Fred. c. 49; 50.

‡ Ann Metens;

It does not appear, that Pepin attended this assembly, since his name is not inserted in the list. He was probably employed in some expedition. It was in one of these assemblies, holden during the preceding reign, that he issued a command, in the king's name, for every duke to hold himself in readiness to march on the first order of the mayor of the palace; and on the second, to lead his stipulated quantum of men without delay to the place of rendezvous. Regular troops were then unknown; each province had its militia: and that was generally commanded to march, which was nearest the scene of action. All who held *benefices* of the prince or church, all who possessed *Salic lands*, all the French, in short, were obliged to serve the king in person*. Even the bishops were not exempted from personal service. Such of the prelates as were of a martial disposition armed themselves cap-a-pie, and mixed with the throng: while those who were averse to shedding blood, contented themselves with invoking the benedictions of Heaven on the arms of their countrymen; and the most prudent among them bought off the obligation with a sum of money. In that case they sent their vassals under the command of an *avoue* or *vidame*, who was a brave and powerful nobleman, appointed by the church to defend their patrimony. Such as were incapacitated from attending through age, obtained letters of dispensation; and those who failed to appear at the general rendezvous of the army, were sentenced to pay a heavy fine.

In the different provinces, and particularly on the frontiers, there were magazines established, for providing the troops with subsistence. It does not appear that the soldiers had any pay; their sole reward consisted in the booty they made, which it was customary to collect into one common mass, and then to divide it equally. The prisoners were condemned to slavery; and the hostages experienced the same fate, when those who gave them, failed to perform their engagements. The French armies, during the reign of the Merovingian princes, were wholly composed of infantry. If there were some few horsemen, it was only for the purpose of escorting the commander in chief, and carrying his orders. During the same period too, the only banner used by the French troops, was the *cope* of Saint Martin; it was a kind of veil made of silk, and bearing the image of the Saint, from whose tomb it was brought with great pomp, whenever it was wanted. It was kept under a tent; and just before the battle began was carried round the camp in triumph. The early kings had such confidence in the protection of their saint, that, with this standard, they thought themselves sure of victory.

[A. D. 694, 695.] The assembly of Valenciennes was the last memorable event of the reign of Clovis, who died in the fourteenth or fifteenth year of his age, and was buried at Choisy upon the Aisne, near Compiègne.

* Baluze Capit. t. i. p. 146, 155, 190.

CHILDEBERT THE THIRD.

A. D. 695.] CHILDEBERT succeeded to the dominions of his brother, and became equally a captive with that monarch. He was but in his tenth or eleventh year when he ascended the throne; and his minority gave Pepin a fresh opportunity of acquiring a considerable augmentation of authority*. His court was attended by all the chief officers—the count of the palace, the grand referendary, and the attendant of the royal mansions. He only placed about the person of his youthful sovereign a few faithful servants of his own, who were less studious to serve him than to watch his motions †. The ambitious regent had two sons, Drogon and Grimoald, the first of whom he created duke of Burgundy, and the second he appointed mayor of the palace of Neustria. The eldest dying soon after, the youngest succeeded to his *principality*, as it is called by the author of the annals of Metz ‡; whence it appears that this dutchy was a kind of sovereignty.

A. D. 706, 707.] Pepin did not suffer his whole time to be occupied by projects of ambition; he devoted a part of it to the softer pursuits of love. Some writers pretend that he repudiated Plectrude, in order to marry Alpaïda, by whom he had a son, afterwards so well known by the name of *Charles Martel*. But there are several acts still extant, which prove that the former was never separated from her husband: so that the second only enjoyed the title of mistress ||; or else the Austrasian duke, like many of the first kings of France, and according to the custom of the ancient Germans §, had two wives at the same time. This offence against the sacredness of the marriage rites excited the zeal of Lambert, bishop of Liège, who openly inveighed against it, as a public instance of adultery, that merited the severest reprobation.—The prelate was assassinated by Odo, brother to Alpaïda.

* Gest. Franc. c. 49. † Second. Contin. Fred. c. 104. ‡ Annales Metenses, ad Annum 712.

|| Id. Con. c. 101. § Ann. Met.

Some military expeditions took place during this reign. War was declared against Egica, king of the Visigoths; but no accounts of its progress or termination have been preserved. Radbode, duke of the Frisians, revolted a second time*, and was again defeated and reduced to subjection. The Germans, or Allemani, in union with the Suevi, shook off the French yoke; and Pepin, marching against them, defeated Williare their duke; but yet he could not subdue the spirit of that nobleman †, who, in a short time again took up arms, and experienced a similar check. Still his courage was unabated, and it was found necessary to send a third army against him, which was on the point of entering on the German territories, when the death of Childebert superinduced its recal.

This prince died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth or seventeenth of his reign. He was buried, with his brother, at Choisy upon the Aisne. Childebert had a wife whose name is unknown; and one son, who succeeded him under the appellation of Dagobert the Third. But few monarchs have paid a greater attention to the precepts of Christianity than Childebert. His strict observance of justice, and his efforts to enforce a due administration of it, throughout his dominions, procured him the surname of *Just*.

* Gest. Reg. c. 49, 50.

† Ann. Metens.

DAGOBERT THE THIRD.

A. D. 711.] DAGOBERT, on ascending the throne, was destined to experience the fate of his predecessor. He was shewn to the people, received their homage and their presents, and was shut up in a country seat, to lead a life of indolence, unworthy his birth and station. He was not more than twelve years of age; so that Pepin continued to enjoy his usual extent of authority*.

That nobleman renewed his design of subduing the Germans and Suevi; and, in the course of the war that he waged against them, so many of them were killed, that they were disabled, for some time, from the pursuit of hostile measures. But Radbode, duke of the Frisians, continued to give him serious cause for apprehension †. In order to avert the effects of his enmity, Pepin asked the hand of his daughter Theudilinda, for his own son Grimoald ‡. The marriage was accordingly concluded, though it was not attended with any of those advantages which Pepin expected to derive from it.

A. D. 714.] Some time after this, Pepin fell dangerously ill at Jupil, one of his country-houses, on the banks of the Maefe, opposite his castle of Heristal. Grimoald immediately left the capital, in order to visit him, and as he passed through Liege he entered the church of Saint Lambert, where he was assassinated by a man, named Rangaire §. He left an infant son, called Theodald, whom Pepin appointed mayor of the palace of Dagobert. Such an appointment was a gross encroachment on the privileges of the nobles who had always enjoyed the right of chusing the mayor; it was also an injury to the state, by

* Second. continuat. Fredeg. c. 104.

† Ann. Metens.

‡ Ges. Re. Fr. c. 50.

§ Ann. Met. ad. Ann. 714.

giving it a child for a governor; and an insult on the king by placing him under the tuition of an infant. But as the duke's authority was absolute, no one dared to murmur.

This was the last ambitious attempt of Pepin; his disorder encreasing, he expired at Jupil, after having reigned, with despotic authority, for twenty-seven years and an half. He certainly possessed many of those qualities which are essential to the formation of a hero; his mind, though capacious and enterprising, was ever regulated by the laws of prudence; he possessed a boldness of spirit, which rose superior to every impediment, though it never betrayed him into unnecessary peril; he had wisdom and penetration to foresee and surmount dangers, with courage to face them whenever it was necessary; and he possessed in a super-eminent degree, the admirable talent of keeping turbulent spirits in awe, and of so managing them, always to turn them to his own advantage. He proved useful to his country, by the re-establishment of order, piety, and justice. But, at the same time, he must be considered as an usurper and a tyrant, because he deprived his sovereigns of their lawful authority, and kept them in a state of ignominy and oppression.

He had four sons, Dragon and Grimoald, who died before him*; *Charles Martel*, to whom according to Eginard, he bequeathed the office of mayor; and Childebrand, from whom, it is pretended by some, the third race of monarchs descended. Theodald had succeeded his father Grimoald in the office of mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy, and discharged the duties of his office under the tuition of his grandmother Plectrude †. This ambitious woman, in order to regain all the power which her husband had possessed, caused Charles Martel to be arrested and put in confinement at Cologne, where she generally resided.

A. D. 715.] But the Austrasian nobles, soon becoming disgusted with a female government, applied to Dagobert, who was then in his eighteenth year, and excited him to war ‡. The young prince, roused by their representations, took the management of affairs upon himself, and marching against the Austrasians, came up with their army in the forest of Guise §, and obtained a complete and decisive victory. The slaughter was so dreadful and universal, that Plectrude's grandsons could with difficulty escape. But the king wanted firmness to profit by his success; he submitted to a renewal of his captivity, by suffering the election of another mayor of the palace. This important post was given to Rainfroy, one of the bravest and most powerful noblemen at the court of Neustria. He carried the war into the heart of Austrasia, and according to the ferocious ideas of those times, he signalized his valour by the extent and cruelty of his depredations.

* Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag. † Gest. Re. Franc. c. 51. ‡ Ibid. § In Cotia Sylva;-- it is now called the Forest of Compiègne

A. D. 716.] It was during these troubles that Charles Martel escaped from prison. The Austrasians received him with every demonstration of joy; and, as he possessed all the brilliant qualities of Pepin, they looked on him with a kind of adoration, and with an unanimous voice, chose him their duke. Such was the state of affairs, when Dagobert died, in the fifth year of his reign*. He was buried at the monastery of Choisy, upon the Aisne. This monarch left one son, Thierry, by a wife whose name has not been preserved in history. Rainfroy, thinking the prince too young to hold the reins of government, took Daniel, son to Childeric the second, from the monastery in which he had assumed the habit of an ecclesiastic, and placed him on the throne, under the title of Chilperic the Second

* Gest. Reg. Franc. c. 52.

CHILPERIC THE SECOND.

A. D. 716.] THIS monarch was in the forty-sixth year of his age when he ascended the throne. Scorning the spiritless indolence of his immediate predecessors, his reign was distinguished by activity and vigour. Accompanied by Rainfroy, he marched into Aufrasia to oppose the pretensions of Charles Martel. Radbode, duke of the Frisians, who was in alliance with him, had passed the Rhine, and advanced to the very gates of Cogné †. Charles attacked him before he could be joined by the royal army: but though that nobleman displayed the most intrepid courage, he was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retire.

After this victory the Frisians formed a junction with the Neustrians; and the two armies, having ravaged the whole country from the Ardennes to the Rhine, laid siege to Cogné. But Plectrude averted the storm by the payment of a considerable sum of money which was no sooner received than Radbode and Chilperic returned home. Charles in the mean time had collected the scattered remains of his army, and thrown himself into the forest of Ardenne with five hundred men, in order to profit by any favourable circumstance that might occur ‡. He had not been long in this situation, when the king fixed his camp at Amblesſ, a royal mansion, situated on a river of that name near the Abby of Stavelo. An Aufrasian soldier applied to Charles, and offered to throw the Neustrian army into disorder, provided he should be permitted to attack it alone. He accordingly marched towards the camp, and found the Neustrians unarmed and defenceless. He attacked them sword in hand; and exclaiming with a loud voice, *Here is Charles with his troops!* bore down all resistance. The whole camp became a scene of confusion; and Charles, observing the consternation that prevailed among them, advanced with his men, and put the Neustrians to flight; they fled with so much precipitation, that Chilperic and Rainfroy had scarcely time to escape.

* Secund. Contin. Fred. c. 106. † Idem. c. 53 and 107. ‡ Ann. Met.

A. D. 717.] This victory increased the reputation of Charles, and revived the hopes of his party. The Austrasians flocked to his standard in crowds, and he soon found himself enabled to carry the war into the enemy's country. As soon as the season would permit, he opened the campaign; and, passing the Carbonerian forest, pushed his destructive march as far as Cambrai, where he was met by Chilperic *. A battle ensued, at the village of Vinchy, and was long disputed with equal spirit; but Charles, though inferior in numbers, at length obtained a complete victory, put the Neustrian army to flight, and pursued the king to the gates of Paris †. Finding that capital prepared for a vigorous resistance, he suddenly changed his course, and marched to Cologne, which opened its gates to him. Plectrude was obliged to give up the treasures of Pepin, and to surrender her grandsons, Theodald, Hugh, and Arnould, whom the conqueror secured. By this means Charles became master of all that part of the French empire and again caused himself to be proclaimed duke of Austrasia.

A. D. 718.] But notwithstanding his recent success, he was still of opinion that his power required a more solid support. He knew the secret attachment of the Austrasians to the descendants of Clovis, and their desire to have a monarch who was sprung from that prince: he, therefore, resolved to gratify them; and accordingly raised up a phantom of royalty, in the person of Clotaire the Second, who, according to some, was the son of Thierry the third; and according to others, of Clovis the Second ‡. Rainfroy, justly alarmed at this stroke of policy, formed an alliance with the Gascons, who, having quitted their native mountains, had, during the preceding reigns, taken possession of that country which now bears their name. They were commanded by duke Eude, a man of talents and address, who, profiting by the troubles which prevailed in the kingdom, extended his conquests, and seizing all the country beyond the Loire, refused to acknowledge the authority of the king or kingdom of France ||. To this daring rebel did the court of Neustria apply for assistance; and, on condition of being confirmed in the independent possession of what he had usurped, he consented to grant the succour required.

Chilperic, thus reinforced, marched against the Austrasians in full hopes of success. But the intelligence that Charles was advancing towards Soissons produced such a consternation among his troops, that they refused to face the enemy; Eude returned with precipitation to Aquitaine; Chilperic followed him, with as much of his treasures as he was able to carry with him; while Rainfroy fled to Angers, where, four years after, he capitulated, and submitted to the authority of Charles, who left him the possession of that country for the remainder of his life.

A. D. 719.] The conqueror pursued the fugitives: and passing the Seine took Paris over-ran the Orleanois and Touraine, compelled the nobles to pro-

* Ann. Met. † Ann. Met. ad. An. 717. ‡ Gest. Franc. c. 53. || Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 107.

claim Clotaire king of Neustria and Burgundy, and to elect him mayor of the palace of both kingdoms*. But the new monarch did not live long to enjoy his newly-acquired dignity; he died either this, or the following year, at the age of forty-nine, according to father le Cointe, who says he reigned three years and a half; but the majority of writers are of opinion that he only reigned seventeen months. His tomb is still to be seen at Coucy, in Vermandois.

The death of Clotaire was followed by an interregnum, occasioned by the policy of Charles, who wished to found the spirit of the people. But finding they still cherished the title and authority of a king, he at length dispatched ambassadors to the duke of Aquitain to demand Chilperic, whom Eude sent to Paris, loaded with magnificent presents. On his arrival at the capital, that prince was proclaimed king of the whole monarchy, and the duke of Austrasia declared mayor of the palace of the three kingdoms.

A. D. 721.] Having completely established internal tranquillity, Charles made a successful expedition against the Saxons, who persecuted with extreme violence the Brueteri, the Attuarian, the Celti, and the Thuringians, people who strictly preserved their attachment to the Christian faith, and to the French monarchy. Soon after his return, Chilperic died at Noyon, where he was buried. This prince did not complete the sixth year of his reign: though he was unfortunate in most of his undertakings, his merit was conspicuous. His wisdom, goodness, courage, activity and prudence, have procured him an honourable exemption from the list of *Faineans*, or indolent princes; an epithet which has justly been bestowed on the latter monarchs of the Merovingian race. As he had no children, Charles raised to the throne Thierry the Fourth, (son of Dagobert the Third) surnamed of *Chelles*, because he had been brought up at that place.

* Sec. Cont. Fréd. c. 107.

THIERRI THE FOURTH.

A. D. 722] THIERRI was in his eighth year, when he was proclaimed king of Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia. That is the title by which he is distinguished in two of his charters, still extant, both of which were drawn up in Austrasia, one at Zulpic, and the other at his castle of Heristal*. Charles continued to reign under the name of this infant prince†. The remainder of that nobleman's life, was one continued succession of wars, battles, victories, and triumphs‡. He had no sooner subdued the Saxons, and recovered possession of all the country, as far as the Weser, than his attention was called to the Germans, who had revolted. [A. D. 723] Having reduced them to submission; he waged war against the Bavarians, whom he also subdued.—[A. D. 725] The duke of Aquitaine, who took up arms about the same time, was overcome by Charles in two general actions, [A. D. 730] and compelled to sue for mercy. But he had now a more formidable enemy to encounter; as the Saracens had entered France with a powerful army.

This people, the conquerors of the East, and of Africa, had been invited into Spain, [A. D. 714] by Count Julian; from a wish to revenge himself of Rodrigue, king of the Visigoths, who had dishonoured his daughter; or, as some say, his wife. At an interview with the Emir Muza, lieutenant to Valid, caliph of the Saracens, he offered him his country, on condition of receiving immediate succour||. Eager to embrace so fair an opportunity of extending their conquests they entered the dominions of Rodrigue, and committed the most dreadful devastations. A battle was fought on the banks of the river Guadaletta, in

* Le P. Labbe Melanges curieux, p. 439. † Ges. Reg. Fr. C. ultim. ‡ Second. Contin. Fred. c. 107, 108. || Rodoric, l. iii. c. 11.

which the king of the Visigoths was overcome; and he was afterwards slain in the pursuit. This victory decided the fate of the empire. The kingdom of the Visigoths, which had existed for more than three centuries, was extinguished, and the nation almost annihilated. A small part of them, indeed, took refuge in the mountains of the Aufrasiens, of Galicia, and of Biscay, where they founded a new monarchy, under the conduct of Pelagus, from whom the kings of Castille are descended. Some of them retired into France; and such as submitted to the Moors preserved their religion, under the name of Mozerabian Christians.

The conquest of Spain was followed by that of Languedoc, and of other territories which the Visigoths still possessed in France. The Saracens first took Albi, Rhodes, Castres, and then besieged Toulouse. They were compelled, indeed, to raise the siege; but they returned some years after, under the conduct of Abderame, when they entered Aquitaine, passed the Garonne*, took Bourdeaux and Poitiers, burnt the church of Saint Hilary, and threatened that of Saint Martin at Tours, which was said to contain immense riches. Eude, alarmed at the rapidity of their progress, applied to the French monarch for assistance. Charles was aware of the duke's designs; he knew that, in order to secure his independence, he had formed an alliance with Munuza, governor of Cerdagna, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage; but his concern for the public good rising superior to the dictates of private resentment, he marched against the Infidels, with the united forces of Aufrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria.

A. D. 732.] The two armies met between Tours and Poitiers, and the battle lasted a whole day; at the close, the superiority of courage and conduct over numbers was evidently manifested. On that memorable occasion, the weighty strokes of Charles first acquired him the surname of *Martel*, the *hammer*; Abderame himself was killed, and the bloody field was strewed, if the monkish writers may be credited, with the bodies of three hundred and seventy-five thousand Mahometans. The camp of the Saracens, filled the spoils of conquered provinces, was pillaged, and the plunder divided among the troops.

It is said, that Charles after this victory instituted the celebrated order of *the Genet*, which consisted but of sixteen Knights, who wore a gold collar with three chains, to which was suspended a *Genet* of solid gold. Favinus and the Abbé Justiniani† assure us, that this order was much in vogue under the second race of kings: it does not, however, appear, that military orders were in use before the twelfth century; which occasioned Father Menestrier to fix this institution of *the Genet* at the reign of Charles the Seventh.

* Roderic. l. iii. c. 11. † Justiniani, t. i. c. 13.

A. D. 734, 735, 736, 737.] A second eruption of the Mussulmans into Provence revived the laurels of Charles, who, in a decisive battle, again subdued the Frisians, and slew their duke with his own hand. On the death of Eude, Charles granted Aquitain to Hunalde, the son of that prince, reserving to himself and his heirs the claim of homage, without even mentioning the name of his sovereign.

A. D. 738.] A new war against the Saxons, equally successful with the former, terminated the reign of Thierry the fourth, who died in the twenty-third year of his age. It is supposed he was buried at Saint Denis.

INTERREGNUM.

THE interregnum which ensued on the death of Thierrî, lasted six or seven years, according to the general opinion; though the Abbe Conrad, in his Chronicle, fixes its duration at five; and M. de Valois at four or five. Charles thought that the services he had rendered the state ought to have procured him an offer of the crown. Possessed of sovereign authority, he might, without impediment, have placed it on his head; but knowing that the French were firmly attached to the royal family*, he did not dare to assume a title which would have excited such general envy†; and the nobles, who would have been sorry to see him on the throne, had not sufficient resolution to desire he would choose them a king from among the descendants of Clovis. Still he continued to exert an absolute sway, under the title of duke of the French. Pope Gregory the second, in one of his letters, styles him Duke and Mayor of the Palace of France, which appears to confirm the idea that he always considered himself as an officer of the kingdom, and not of the king.

A. D. 740, 741.] The emperor Leo having published an edict prohibiting the worship of images, which he condemned as idolatrous, and accordingly ordered the objects of such adoration to be taken from the churches, and broken in pieces, he was excommunicated by the popes, who excited an insurrection in Italy. The Lombards, profiting by the opportunity, took possession of Ravenna, and threatened Rome itself. Gregory the third, a man of an inflexible temper, then filled the chair of Saint Peter, and was the first of the sovereign pontiffs who took a decisive part in the temporal concerns of princes: a pernicious example, that was attended with fatal effects both to the church and the empire‡. He wrote several affecting letters to the duke of the French, to entreat his protection; but Charles, either from regard to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, or from the hope that more advantageous offers might be made him, was in no haste to comply with his urgent solicitations§. This affectation of neglect, however, did not discourage Gregory, who sent ambassadors¶ to him,

* Second. Contin. Fred. c. 109. † Ann. Meten. ‡ Idem. Cont. Fred. c. 110. || Ann. Meten. ad Ann.

§ The ancient French writers remark, that this was the first embassy sent by the popes to the court of France.

with the keys of Saint Peter's tomb, and some links of the chains with which that apostle had been fettered. The ambassadors had orders to offer him the consulship of Rome, on condition that he should grant them assistance immediate and effectual. Charles agreed to accord the protection required; but, unwilling to break with Luitprand, he remonstrated with him on the impropriety of his conduct, in usurping the patrimony of the church, and urged him to restore what he had taken from the pope:—The king of the Lombards, either from fear or conviction, complied with his request. To this application from Gregory, says the Abbe Velly, was Rome indebted for her temporal greatness, and the family of Charles for its elevation to the empire.

Charles, more debilitated by fatigue than by age, had been for some time afflicted with a disorder that insensibly preyed upon his constitution; he therefore began to think of settling his family concerns. By his first wife, Rotrude, he had three children, Carloman, Pepin, and the princess Hildetrude. By Sonnichilde, his second wife, who was niece to Odilon, duke of Bavaria, he had another son, named Grippon or Grifon. Having convened an assembly of the nobles at Verberie, a country seat near Compiègne, he obtained their consent to make the following division of the French empire:—to Carloman he gave Austrasia, Germany, and Thuringia; to Pepin, Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence: but a very small portion of territory was assigned to Grifon. This division gave rise to some commotions in Burgundy; but they were soon appeased by Pepin and his uncle Childebrand.

A. D. 741.] Soon after he had made these arrangements, Charles died at Querri-upon-Oise, in the fifty-first year of his age; and was interred with great pomp, at the abbey of Saint Denis. Although his victories over the Saracens most probably preserved Europe from the impending yoke of Mahomet, yet has his character been impeached by the legends of the monks; and the clergy, who resented the freedom with which he applied the revenues of the church, to the defence of the christian religion, have not scrupled to enrol him among the damned. In a letter addressed to Lewis the grandson of Charlemagne, it is asserted, that on opening the tomb of Charles Martel, the spectators were affrighted by the smell of fire, and the aspect of an horrid dragon; and that a saint of the times was indulged with a vision of the soul and body of the founder of the Carolingian race, burning in the abyss of hell.—But the story is of a very clumsy construction, for Saint Eucher, of Rheims, to whom this wonderful vision is ascribed, certainly died before Charles Martel.

Charles was undoubtedly right in seizing the ecclesiastical property, for the purpose of defending the church, so long as the clergy were able to defray these expenses. Their revenues at this time were immense: the augmentation was owing, first, to their own industry, in cultivating the barren lands that had been granted; secondly, to the indiscreet liberality of those who impoverished their families to enrich the ministers of the gospel; and lastly, to tythes, which had now been paid for nearly two centuries. These were at first a mere voluntary

gift, though they were afterwards exacted as a tribute. Saint Augustin recommends their payment as a work of charity—the council of Tours inculcates the same idea; and the second council of Macon renders it obligatory. But though Charles was so far justifiable, yet some part of his conduct to the church merits reprehension. Not content with taking to himself the most considerable benefices, he distributed the bishopricks and abbies among the principal noblemen in his army, and gave the livings to the subaltern officers, which opened a door to very flagrant abuses.

The great fees, such as Rheims, Vienne, and Lyons, were soon destitute of pastors. Their ecclesiastics, that they might not be dispoiled of their livings, made no scruple to bear arms. Benefices became hereditary—they were converted into an article of commerce, and divided among children like any other possessions. Inventories have been seen*, in which churches, altars, bells, ornaments, communion-cups, crosses, and relics have been exposed to sale.—The abuses were carried still further—when a girl was married, her fortune frequently consisted of a church living, of which her husband received the tythes and chance-perquisites. Some law-writers have regarded this liberality of Charles to his officers, as the true epoch of *feudal tythes*—that is, of tythes holden as fiefs by noblemen, or others of the laity.

The death of Charles occasioned great confusion. His daughter Hildetrude, retired from court; and, passing the Rhine, repaired to Bavaria, where she married duke Odilon. Carloman and Pepin, being persuaded that she was induced to the adoption of this measure by the intrigues of Sonnichilde, who was discontented with the trifling inheritance of her son Grifon, resolved to secure both the prince and his mother. The queen, aware of their intentions, retired to Laon, which was reduced after an obstinate siege. Sonnichilde, was by the victors dismissed to the abbey of Chelles, and Grifon was confined in the castle of Neuchatel, near the forest of Ardenne. Theodald, the son of Grimoald, did not experience an equal degree of indulgence; his pretensions were powerful, and he was accordingly sacrificed to interest and ambition.

A. D. 742.] The two princes next marched against Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine, who, in violation of his oaths, refused to acknowledge their authority. He was speedily subdued, his country laid waste, and a renewal of homage exacted from him. During this expedition, they fixed the boundaries of their respective dominions; and Carloman, then passing the Rhine, advanced to the banks of the Danube, and constrained the Germans to sue for peace. About this time, Charles, the eldest son of Pepin, who afterwards acquired the name of Charlemagne, from the splendour of his actions, was born at the castle of Ingelheim, near Mayence.

* Council of Chalons.

But the French were by no means satisfied with the long continuance of this interregnum; and those princes who paid tribute to the crown, though willing to acknowledge the authority of a monarch, refused to pay obedience to men who, they said, had annihilated royalty, and now oppressed the nobles.—Influenced by these considerations, Pepin restored the regal title in Childeric the third.

CHILDERIC THE THIRD.

A. D. 743.] CHILDERIC, according to an ancient genealogical table of the kings of France*, was son of Thierry of Chelles. He only reigned over Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence; Carloman reserving Austrasia as an independent principality, which he governed himself.

The tributary princes still obeying, with regret, the children of Charles Martel, entered into a fresh league, in order to shake off the authority of Pepin and Carloman. But the Alemanni, Bavarians, and Saxons, were successively reduced to obedience; as well as Hunalde, duke of Aquitaine. [A. D. 744.] This last prince, entertaining some suspicions of his brother's fidelity, ordered his eyes to be put out; and being afterwards stricken with remorse for the barbarous act, resigned his dominions to his son Gafre, and retired to a convent.

A. D. 747.] Far different were the motives which influenced Carloman to embrace a life of religious solitude; even in the moment of triumph, in the midst of successive victories, he conceived the design of secluding himself from the follies and vices of the world, in the silent gloom of a cloister. He accordingly repaired to Rome, where he received the monastic habit from the hands of pope Zachary, who assigned him a place in the Benedictine abbey on Mount Cassin.

A. D. 748.] Pepin, now become sole master of the monarchy, released his brother Grifon from confinement, loaded him with careffes, and assigned him an apartment in his palace, with a pension suitable to his rank. Intent on promoting the happiness of the people, he established tribunals in every part of the kingdom, for the more speedy and effectual redress of grievances; and he sought to conciliate esteem, by protecting religion, rewarding merit, defending innocence, and punishing oppression. In this state of grandeur, of glory, and of

* Chronique de Fontenelle. See p. 792, of the first vol. des Hist. Franc. de Duchesne.

power, Pepin entertained serious thoughts of uniting in himself the authority and title of king. But his schemes suffered a temporary interruption from the ambition of Grifon, who suddenly withdrew from court, accompanied by a number of young nobility, and taking refuge among the Saxons, once more excited that people to revolt. The army of Pepin, however, again proved triumphant; the Saxons were routed, and the duke, Theodoric, was taken prisoner.

On the death of Odilon, duke of Bavaria, his sceptre had devolved on his infant son, Tassilon; and his widow Hildetrude readily offered an asylum to her half-brother, the fugitive Grifon. Assisted by a strong body of malcontent French, the perfidious suppliant seized his sister and her son, and usurped the dukedom of Bavaria. But his transient power vanished on the approach of Pepin; Tassilon was restored to his dominions: and Grifon again pardoned by his brother, again endeavoured to awaken the dormant embers of faction; and, escaping from the city of Mons, sought protection in the court of the duke of Aquitaine.

As this last attempt of Grifon, was followed by an interruption of the public tranquility, Pepin renewed his project for ascending the throne. The chief obstacle to his elevation arose from the oath of fidelity which the French had taken to Childeric. This impediment Pepin undertook to remove; though the means which he adopted for this purpose are variously related. The generality of writers pretend, that being assured of the favour, esteem, and suffrages of the nation, he proposed to them to consult pope Zachary, [A. D. 750.] who replied, that being already in possession of the regal authority, he might certainly assume the title of king. The people were accordingly persuaded that this declaration was sufficient to release them from the obligation of their oath*; and Pepin was proclaimed king. There are others, on the contrary, who affirm that Childeric, impressed with an earnest desire of embracing a religious life, voluntarily, and with the consent of his principal vassals, abdicated the throne; by which means, the right of electing a new sovereign reverted to the people, who unanimously conferred that dignity on Pepin. This last account, if not the most true, is, at least, the most honourable to the pope, the new monarch, and the nation. It exculpates Zachary† from the charge of prevarication, in taking advantage of the religious prejudices of the people, in order to sanction an act of injustice; it clears Pepin from that of usurpation and oppression of his lawful sovereign; and it fully acquits the nation of the crimes of perjury and treason. Whatever was the real state of the case, it is certain that Childeric descended from the throne, and retired to the monastery of Sithieu‡. He did not survive his deposition more than three or four years. He had one

* Eginard. in *Annal. add Ann.* 750.

† *Father le Cointe's Ecclesiastical Annals of the year 752.*

‡ Now the abbey of Saint Bertin, at Saint Omer.

son, named Thierrî, who lived and died in a state of obscurity, at the abbey of Fontenelle, now Saint Vandrille.

A. D. 751.] Thus finished the Merovingian race, which had reigned three hundred and thirty-three years from Pharamond, and two hundred and seventy from the accession of Clovis. It gave six and thirty monarchs to France, one and twenty of whom reigned over Paris. The four first were pagans, the others christians, but rather in name than in manners. Till the reign of Clotaire the second, cruelty, ferociousness, and barbarism, were generally prevalent: more mildness, religion, and goodness appeared under the later monarchs; and to those qualities, indeed, may be ascribed the destruction of the race—the daring projects of ambition being encouraged by meekness, and only repressed by exertions of severity. The characters of the Merovingian princes, as portrayed by those who wrote at the commencement of the second race of kings, must be read with caution and mistrust. In order to justify the usurpation of Pepin, to the Merovingians have been ascribed all the calamities of the empire; while they have imputed to the Carolingians every national improvement, and all the good that was done during their government of the kingdom under the title of Mayors of the Palace.

T H E

SECOND, OR CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

P E P I N.

A. D. 751.] THE deplorable end of the Merovingian race affords one of those examples (which are not less common than dreadful) of the instability of human affairs. The antiquity of its origin, traced to the very earliest times; the splendor of its exploits; the number of its victories; the extent of its conquests; the habitual respect of the nation, and the natural attachment of the French to their lawful sovereigns, all proved insufficient to insure its duration.

Pepin was crowned at Soissons, in a general assembly of the nation. A contemporary author* observes, that queen Bertha was, according to ancient custom, placed by his side on the throne. But it is remarkable, that this is the first mention of such a custom to be found in history; whence we are induced to believe that it was an innovation adopted either for the purpose of rendering his inauguration more memorable, or else to inspire the people with a greater degree of respect for the children which that prince had borne him. Actuated by the same principle, he resolved to receive the sacred unction from the hands of Boniface, archbishop of Mayence, and the pope's legate; by which means he led the people to regard his election as an order from heaven, and acquired additional veneration to his person, and respect to his power. This ceremony, hitherto unknown in France, was performed in the cathedral at Soissons, and it was found to be productive of so many advantages, that all the successors of

* Sec. Cont. Fred. c. 117.

† Eginard, in Ann. ad An. 750.

Pepin followed his example, except Lewis the *debonnaire* or *gentle*, who, being ordered by his father, Charlemagne, to go and take the crown from the great altar, in the church of Aix-la-Chapelle, put it on his head, and without any farther consecration, was acknowledged king of the whole monarchy.

The ceremony of consecration was formerly performed by the metropolitan of the province in which the new monarch was crowned. Phillip, the first of his name, was also the first king who was consecrated at Rheims; the right of consecration was afterwards claimed by the bishops of Rheims; but it was not confirmed to them till the reign of Lewis the young.

A. D. 752.] The commencement of this new reign was distinguished by a signal defeat of the Saxons, who had again revolted, and were again reduced to submission, and compelled to pay an annual tribute of three hundred horses. The Britons experienced a similar fate. During this expedition* he was delivered from the active enmity of an implacable relation, by the death of Grifon, who was slain in the valley of Maurienne†. It was not known whether he was killed by the emissaries of the duke of Aquitaine, in revenge of a criminal intercourse which he maintained with his wife; or by assassins hired by Pepin himself, who was fearful that if he passed into Italy, he would induce the Lombards to espouse his quarrel.

A. D. 753, 754.] The kingdom of the Lombards, which, from the royal residence of Pavia, extended to the gates of the ancient capital, oppressed the waning strength and feeble age of Rome. Astolphus, the sovereign of that hostile nation, had possessed himself of Ravenna, and extinguished in Italy the nominal authority of the emperor of the east. Rome was menaced by the victorious Lombard, and the life of each citizen was fixed at the annual tribute of a piece of gold. The Roman pontiff had in vain endeavoured to deprecate the injustice of his enemy: with fearful speed he traversed the Pennine Alps, and implored the protection of the French monarch. He was lodged in the abbey of Saint Denis, and treated with every possible mark of respect. At the request of Pepin, Stephen solemnly placed the diadem upon his head, bestowed the regal unction on his sons, Charles and Carloman, and conferred on the three princes the title of Patrician of Rome.

Pepin's first care after his new consecration, was to assemble a parliament at Crecy-upon-Oise, in order to declare war against the Lombards. But he was extremely surprised to see his brother Carloman attend the assembly, who, after having abdicated the throne, had assumed the monastic habit. The king of Lombardy, who was afraid that Stephen would prevail on the French monarch to espouse his cause‡, had persuaded this prince to counteract his projects||. The pious monk accordingly obeyed the orders of his sovereign in opposing the interests of the pope. A recollection of his former dignity, his birth, and his virtues,

* Ann. Metens.

† Idem, Contin. Fred. c. 118.

‡ Ann. Metens.

|| Eginard, in Annal.

gave a great weight to his arguments. He spoke in favour of Astolphus with such strength and eloquence, that it was determined to send ambassadors to that monarch, to engage him to the adoption of pacific measures, before the nation should arm. This proof of the influence which Carloman still possessed, gave umbrage to Pepin; who, having conferred on the subject with the sovereign pontiff, sent him into close confinement at a monastery at Vienne, where he died that same year*. The subsequent seizure of his children, who were immediately shaved, and immured in a convent, gave birth to strange suspicions on his sudden death; and it was generally supposed, that he had fallen a sacrifice to the fears and ambition of his brother.

A. D. 755.] Astolphus received the French ambassadors with proper respect, and offered to forego his pretensions to Rome; but he refused to restore either the Exarchate, or the Pentapolis, which the pope claimed as the spoils of a heretic. Pepin, not content with this proposal, sent a second embassy†, which did not prove more successful than the first. He then, accompanied by his two sons, made, with the consent of his nobles, that celebrated donation to the church of Saint Peter, which gave rise to the temporal power of the court of Rome‡. It comprised, under the name of Exarchate—Ravenna, Adria, Ferrara, Imola, Faenza, Forli, and six other towns, with their dependencies; and, under that of the Pentapolis—Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigaglia, and Ancona, with several places of inferior note. Pepin's generosity in thus disposing of territories which did not belong to him, is truly curious: he resolved, however, to acquire by conquest a right of disposal; and for this purpose he marched into Italy. Astolphus, besieged in Pavia by the French army, renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of Rome, and restored to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. The king of the French, exulting in the success of his expedition, re-passed the Alps in triumph.

A. D. 756.] The satisfaction of Pepin was but of short duration; the retreat of the French dissipated the fears of Astolphus; he rejected the conditions which had been extorted from him, and already pressed with menaces and arms the independence of Rome. On the receipt of this intelligence, the son of Martel again resumed his armour; and the rapidity of his march was only to be equalled by that of his success. The distress of Stephen was relieved, and the perfidy of Astolphus chastised. The Lombard was a second time compelled to sue for peace; and to the former terms was added the stipulation of an annual tribute of twelve thousand sols of gold.

It was on Pepin's return from this expedition that he postponed the general assembly from the first of March to the first of May. As cavalry began to be introduced into the French armies, during his reign, the necessity of finding forage caused the diet to be thus delayed till a more commodious season of the year.

* Secund. Continuat. Fred. † Annal. Fuld. ad Ann. 756. ‡ Anast. in vita Stephan. Pap.

A. D. 757.] Pepin had now attained to the summit of glory: the crown of Lombardy had, on the death of Astolphus, through his intervention, been conferred on Didier; the pope was indebted to him for a considerable extent of territory; and the emperor courted his favour, and spared no pains to secure his friendship. At this period he convened a parliament at Compiègne, at which some regulations were adopted with regard to marriages. The leprosy was adjudged a sufficient cause for dissolving a marriage*; and the party who sued for the divorce was allowed to marry again. It appears from hence, that this disorder was then very common. When the assembly were about to separate, ambassadors arrived from Constantinople, loaded with magnificent presents, among which was an organ, the first that had been seen in France†. Pepin gave it to the church of Saint Corneille, at Compiègne. All these advances, however, on the part of Constantine Copronymus, were attended with no effect; the French monarch returned attention with attention, but persisted in securing to the pope the possession of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis.

On the death of Stephen, his brother Paul succeeded to the chair of Saint Peter, and experienced from Pepin an equal degree of protection with his predecessor. The repose of France was again disturbed by a general revolt of the impatient Saxons; but their endeavours to break only served to rivet their chains; they were speedily subdued, and reduced to unconditional submission‡. The news of this success filled with consternation all the enemies of Pepin. The king of the Slavonians sent him an offer of tribute, and acknowledged himself the vassal of France. The king of Lombardy, too, who had recently made an irruption into the papal territories, followed his example.

A. D. 759, 760, 761.] This victorious monarch was every where successful. Narbonne, after resisting the terrors of a blockade, during three years, submitted to his domination, on the sole condition of preserving the Roman laws, which its inhabitants had constantly followed, and which still prevail in Septimania. Gaifre, duke of Aquitaine, was the next that experienced his resentment: that prince, having usurped the possessions of several churches|| that were under the protection of France, Pepin summoned him to restore them, and on his refusal marched an army into his country, and reduced him to submission. Gaifre, however, had again recourse to arms; and this second revolt produced a war which lasted some years, and at length terminated [A. D. 768.] in the death of Gaifre, and in the re-annexation of the duchy of Aquitaine to the crown of France. During this contest, Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, renounced his homage to the French king, and prepared to assert by arms his claim of independence. But intimidated by the misfortunes of Gaifre, he was induced to seek a reconciliation; and, by his ready submission, disarmed the resentment of the victor.

A. D. 768.] Soon after these achievements, Pepin was seized with a slow fe-

* Continuat. Fred.

† Ann. Metens.

‡ Eginard.

|| Id in Annales.

ver, at Xaintes, was conveyed with difficulty to Saint Denis, and there expired of a dropsey, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He was interred at the place where he died; and was buried, according to his own orders, at the church-door, with his face downwards, and in the posture of a penitent. By his wife Bertha, or Bertrude, daughter of Charibert, count of Laon, he had four sons—Charlemagne, who succeeded to the kingdom of Neustria; Carloman, who governed Austrasia; Pepin, who died in his infancy; and Gilles, a monk, in the monastery of Saint Sylvestre. He had also three daughters—Rothade, Adelaide, and Gisele: the two first died young, and the third took the veil at the abbey of Chelles.

Pepin possessed great martial abilities, and great political talents; hence his skill and success were equal in the cabinet and the field. Under his auspices, France attained that strength and consequence, which enabled his son to pursue his triumphant career of greatness. But amidst the splendour of his virtues his vices and defects have been totally forgotten. Not one of his biographers has, in the delineation of his character, noticed the assassination of Theodald, son of Grimoald; the despotic authority which he exerted over his lawful sovereign; the violation of his oath, in deposing Childeric, and taking possession of the throne; or the tyrannical confinement of his brother Carloman in a convent.—These are weighty defects; and, though opposed by many great and glorious actions, are surely sufficient not only to preclude indiscriminate commendation, but to command a considerable degree of censure.

Pepin acquired the surname of *short* from his diminutive form, which became a subject of pleasantry to some of his courtiers. The king, being informed of their remarks, determined to convince them of their error: with this view, he caused a combat to be exhibited, at the abbey of Ferrieres*, between a lion and a bull. The former, having thrown down his adversary, Pepin turned to the noblemen, who were present, and asked, which of them had courage enough to separate or kill the furious combatants. The bare proposal made them all shudder—not a soul replied.—I will do it then myself, said the monarch calmly.—He accordingly drew his sabre, leaped into the *arena*, attacked and killed the lion, and then turning to the bull, aimed so severe a blow at his head, that he separated it from his body. The whole court were astonished at this prodigious exertion of courage and strength. The nobles, who had indulged their wit at the expense of the king, were confounded. Pepin, turning towards them, exclaimed in a lofty tone—“David was small, but he overthrew the proud giant who had dared to treat him with contempt.”

This ferocious kind of amusement was common in these times. The kings not only exhibited combats of wild beasts to the people, but they frequently indulged themselves with this favourite diversion within the precincts of the palace.

* Monach. San—gal. l. ii. c. 23.

The plenary courts, (*cours plenieres*) also formed one of their principal amusements; these were those famous assemblies, which all the nobles were obliged to attend, on an invitation from the king. They were holden twice a year, at Christmas and Easter, generally for the celebration of a marriage, or some other great rejoicing; they lasted a week; the place in which they were holden was sometimes the royal palace, sometimes a celebrated city, and sometimes a vast plain; but always in a spacious place, capable of affording convenient accommodations for all the nobility in the kingdom: the ceremony commenced by a solemn mass*; and the priest who performed it, before he read the epistle, placed the crown on the king's head, which the monarch wore till he went to bed. During the whole time of the festival, the king always dined in public, and the most distinguished dukes and prelates sat with him at table: there was a second table for the abbots, counts, and other noblemen; profusion, rather than delicacy, was the leading characteristic of both. On the removal of each course, the flutes and obois played. When the *entremets* were served, three heralds at arms, each with a rich cup in his hand, cried out three times, "Bounty of the most powerful of kings!" and then threw gold and silver to the people, who collected it with loud acclamations of joy. This distribution was announced and accompanied by a flourish of musical instruments.

The amusements of the afternoon consisted of fishing, gaming, hunting rope-dancing, juggling, farce-playing, and pantomimical representations. The pantomimes, or buffoons, are represented as possessed of admirable skill in training dogs, bears, and apes, to acts of imitation and mimicry. These animals had parts assigned them in their different performances. Such was the taste of the times. Plenary courts were particularly in vogue during the reign of the Carolingian monarchs; they were supported with unusual magnificence under Charlemagne, when they were attended by dukes and counts, who came from the farthest extremity of this vast empire, each accompanied by a brilliant court, and incurring an expense equal to that of his sovereign.

This magnificence began to diminish from the time of Charles the simple, the revenues of whose immediate successors were inadequate to support the expense of such splendid festivals. They were revived, however, by Hugh Capet, continued by Robert, and maintained in their pristine splendour by Saint Lewis: Charles the seventh, finding them extremely burthensome to the state, finally abolished them. The abolition was prudent, since they led the nobility to ruin themselves at play, and the monarch to exhaust his treasures. At each of these festivals the king was obliged to give new dresses to the officers of his household, as well as to those who belonged to the queen and the princes. Thence came the word *livery*, because these dresses were *delivered* at the king's expense. In short, the whole expenses attending the plenary courts, amounted to an im-

* Ducange Dissert. iv. sur le Regne de S. Louis.

menſe ſum. If there was any veſſel on the ſide-board of great value, or any ſcarce and curious jewel in the crown, cuſtom required that the king ſhould make a preſent of it to ſome one. In the room of theſe plenary courts, feſtivals were eſtabliſhed, which, though devoid of that cumbrous magnificence that marked the former, were diſtinguiſhed by the ſofter and more pleaſing allurements of gallantry, politeneſs, and taſte.

C H A R L E M A G N E.

A. D. 769.] PEPIN, aware of the superior talents of his son Charles, had bequeathed him Aufrasia; from a consciousness that the restless spirit of the German nations, and the unsettled state of affairs in Italy, would afford him an ample field for the display of his courage. According to this division, Carloman was to have Burgundy, Provence, Languedoc, Alsace, a part of Germany, and of Aquitain*. But such is the neglect of ancient authors, that not a word is said of Neustria, one of the most valuable portions of the French empire. The last will of the deceased monarch, however, was not fulfilled†. The nobles, paying no attention to it, assembled in order to proceed to a new division of the realm; by which Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, were given to Charles; and Aufrasia, with all French Germany, to Carloman. The two brothers were crowned the same day; the eldest at Noyon, and the youngest at Soissons.

A. D. 770.] But the harmony that subsisted between them was speedily interrupted by the dictates of ambition. The first year of their reign a rupture took place, and Charles obtained possession of part of Aufrasia. Carloman was preparing to resent this injury, and the flames of war were on the point of desolating the empire, when their attention was attracted by another object of their mutual enmity. This was Hunalde, the old duke of Aquitaine, who, suddenly bursting from the fetters of a monastic life, which he had patiently borne for more than twenty years, assumed the garb of royalty, and was received by his subjects with the most unequivocal demonstrations of joy. The most important cities freely opened their gates to their long-lost sovereign; and a conquest, the laborious achievement of several years, was threatened to be overturned in a few

* Continuat. Fredeg.

† Egin, in vit. Carol. Mag.



J. Bours sc.

CHARLEMAGNE

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[The text in this section is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a letter or a report, but the specific content cannot be discerned.]

weeks. Charles was sensible how much his own reputation was concerned to oppose the torrent: his entreaties persuaded the reluctant Carloman to take the field; but the forces of the royal confederates had scarcely formed a junction, before the fickle prince withdrew, with the troops immediately attached to his standard, and left his brother to support alone the weight of the war*. The commanding genius of Charles supplied the deficiency of his numbers; the duke of Aquitaine, defeated in a decisive battle, escaped with difficulty to the territories of Lupus, duke of Gascony, who surrendered him to his enemy; and the captive Hunalde was dismissed to a prison.

The success of Charles induced Didier, king of the Lombards, and Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, who had planned hostilities against him to forego their designs. The former endeavoured to secure the friendship of the youthful monarch by a double alliance. He had a son and a daughter; the former he proposed to marry to the princess Gisele, sister to Charles, and the latter to Charles himself, though he was already married to Himiltrude, by whom he had a son. This consideration, however, was inadequate to make him desist from the pursuit of a plan whence, he conceived, so many advantages must ensue. A negotiation was accordingly entered into; and, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the pope, who, in his holy invective against the Lombards, reproached them with the first stain of leprosy†, terminated in the repudiation of Himiltrude, and the conclusion of the projected marriage. But Charles soon rejected his new wife, on account of some secret infirmities‡, which prevented her from bearing children; and transferred the title and rank of queen to Hildegarde, who was descended from a noble Suevian family.

A. D. 771.] In the midst of these transactions, Carloman died at Samancy, near Laon, and was interred at the abbey of Saint Remi, at Rheims. He left two sons, Pepin and Siagre; but neither of them was permitted to succeed him; the Austrasians, impressed with respect for the talents of Charles, acknowledged him for their sovereign. Gerberga, the widow of Carloman, trembling for the fate of her children||, fled with them into Lombardy, where they were received with great affection by Didier, who was eager to embrace any opportunity of revenging the insult offered to his daughter. The court of Lombardy soon became an asylum for all the enemies of the French monarchy; Hunalde, having escaped from prison, repaired thither; and several of the Austrasian nobles, disgusted with the government of Charles, took refuge with his enemy.

A. D. 772.] Charles was not ignorant of these proceedings; but his immediate attention was called to another quarter. A revolt of the Saxons engaged him in a war, which, with some short intervals, exercised his persevering valour during thirty-three years. From the Rhine, and beyond the Elbe, the mar-

* Egin. in Ann.

† Epist. 45. in cod. Carol.

‡ Monach. San—gal. l. ii. c. 26.

|| Egin. in vit. Carol. Mag.

tial inhabitants of the north of Germany were still inimical to the government and religion of the French; they rejected with contempt the servile obligation of tribute; and, in successive engagements, displayed a ferocious courage, which could only be repulsed by the veteran intrepidity of the troops of Charles. This first war was occasioned by an irruption of the Saxons into the territories of France.

Charles entered their country, and laid waste all before him; still, far from being intimidated, they offered him battle; but fortune proving unfavourable, they were obliged to bend beneath the yoke of the victor*. Town after town was taken; their temples were demolished, and their idols broken in pieces. Finding their inability to resist, the Saxons sued for mercy, and obtained it. Charles having exacted from them twelve hostages, as a pledge of their future submission, returned home, and prepared for an expedition into Italy.

A. D. 773.] Pope Stephen was dead, and had been succeeded by Adrian, who was no sooner in possession of the papal dignity, than he sent to the king of Lombardy, to demand restitution of some places belonging to the patrimony of Saint Peter, which he still retained. That prince, instead of sending an answer to his requisition, advanced towards Rome, at the head of a powerful army, and took with him the two sons of Carloman, on whom he wanted the pope to confer the crown of Aufrasia. But Adrian, being convinced that the only means of escaping from the domination of the Lombards was by securing the protection of the king of France, persevered in his refusal to crown the young prince†; and, profiting by this pretended mark of his attachment to Charles, he wrote the most pressing letters to that monarch, to entreat he would march to his assistance. Charles, averse from engaging in this war, made such advantageous proposals to Didier, that he began to imagine he was become formidable to the French monarch. Impressed with this idea, he rejected the proffered terms; and was soon surpris'd to hear that Charles was advancing at the head of such a powerful army, that it was evident he not only meant to assist the pope, but to conquer the whole kingdom of Lombardy. He had skilfully evaded the fortified posts of the Alps; his presence dispersed the army of the Lombards; and, while Didier, with the old duke of Aquitaine, who had escaped from prison, took shelter in Pavia, his son Adalgise, with the widow and children of Carloman, fought immediate safety in Verona. Both cities were besieged at the same moment by the impatient activity of Charles. Verona was soon compelled to surrender; Adalgise escaped to Constantinople; the widow, and two sons of Carloman disappeared, and none of them were ever heard of after, till an account of the fate of Siagre, the eldest son, was received by the celebrated Bouffet, bishop of Meux, in an ancient manuscript, sent him from the abbey of Saint Pons, at Nice. This manuscript contained the life of that prince, written by

* Egin. in vit. Carol, Mag.

† Anast. in Adrian.

a contemporary author; by which it appears, that he persuaded his uncle to found the said convent, where he assumed the monastic habit, and lead such a life of sanctity, that pope Adrian was induced to take him from the convent and make him bishop of Nice. He was afterwards canonized.

A. D. 774.] Didier displayed great courage in the defence of his capital. The strength of the place, the abundance of every thing that was necessary for a vigorous resistance; the number and bravery of the troops it contained; and, lastly, the presence of the sovereign, who was fighting for his crown—all conspired to persuade Charles, that its reduction would prove a work of considerable time. This determined him to convert the siege into a blockade, and to pay a short visit to Rome. He was received by Adrian with the most grateful marks of attention; but that artful pope, in the midst of his civilities, did not forget his interest. The king having accompanied him to the church of St. Peter, Adrian conjured him to remember the donation which his father made to it*. Charles immediately ordered it to be read to him, and afterwards confirmed it with his *mark*—for though one of the most learned men of the age, he could not write. The only return which the king received for this pious offering, was that code of the holy canons which was used by the Roman church. It comprised all those which Dionysius the Little had collected in the sixth century, that is to say, the fifty-first of those which are falsely attributed to the apostles; those of Nicæa, Ancyra, Neocesara, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Chalcedon, Sardis, and of some African councils. To these were added the epistles of the popes, from Siricius to Hormisdas. This code, with the letters of Gregory the second, and the false decretals composed by Isidorus, was all the ecclesiastical law which the French had, till long after the commencement of the third race of kings. It is dedicated to the Liberator of Rome. The preliminary epistle, composed by Adrian, is a poem in praise of Charles: each verse begins with a letter of his name.

The king, on his return to Pavia, pressed the siege with great vigour; the arms of the French were seconded by an internal enemy, and the ravages of the plague determined the inhabitants to implore the clemency of Charles. The old duke of Aquitaine fell a sacrifice to his constancy in opposing the tumultuous clamour of the people; the gates were thrown open—the kingdom of the Lombards was finally extinguished, and their unhappy monarch, Didier, was sent to a convent in France, where he assumed the habit of a monk. At Milan, the victor was crowned king of Lombardy.

On the ruins of Lombardy a new monarchy was raised, which afterwards assumed the appellation of the kingdom of Italy. It comprised not only Piedmont, the duchy of Montserrat, the republic of Genoa, the duchies of Parma and Modena, Tuscany, the Milanese, Bresciana, Verona and Friuli, but all that country

* Egin. in Vita Carol. Mag.

which Charles had given to the pope—that is, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, the Terra Sabina, Terracina, the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, the March of Ancona, the districts of Ferrara and Bologna; and, if Anastasius, the librarian, may be credited, the island of Corfica, the provinces of Venice and Itria, Mantua, and the duchy of Reggio. But though Charles extended the papal dominions*, he was careful to restrain the temporal authority of the pope within due bounds. All affairs were conducted in Rome by the king's orders. The money coined there bore his impression; the public acts were dated according to the years of his reign; an appeal lay to his officers from all the sentences pronounced by the popes with regard to their vassals; the sovereign pontiffs themselves had recourse to the justice of the French monarch in their own personal concerns.

A. D. 775.] Such was the state of affairs in Italy when Charles was summoned to repass the Alps, in order to restrain the destructive incursions of the Saxons, who had already re-assumed their arms, and recovered Eresbourg, near the Weser, which they had lost in the former campaign. That city, at the appearance of the French monarch, was again compelled to change its master; but a considerable detachment of French troops, appointed to guard the passages, and separated from their companions by the broad stream of the river, was, in the moment of heedless confidence, overwhelmed by the crafty barbarians. This check, with new disturbances in Italy, induced Charles to receive, with hostages from the different tribes, the doubtful professions of the Saxons; and, after strengthening the fortifications of Eresbourg, he directed his march to the west.

A. D. 776, 777, 778.] The clouds which obscured Italy, and which had been swelled by the intrigues of the emperor of the east, and the fugitive Adalgise, the son of Didier, were dispelled by the presence of the monarch: but the storm still shook the north with unabated violence, and the boasted works of Eresbourg were swept away by the fury of the tempest. Charles, by his rapid return, surpris'd the Saxons in the siege of Siebourg, and his unexpected appearance once more renewed their professions of loyalty. The fortifications of Eresbourg were restored, new forts were constructed along the Lippe; an assembly of the barbarous chiefs was holden at Paderborn, in Westphalia; and Charles having received their homage, prepared, at the solicitation of Ibinalarabi, lord of Saragossa, to march into Spain, and to restore the suppliant Emir.

The authority of the exiled Arabian was restored by the prowess of the christian monarch; who reduced Pampeluna, traversed the Ebro, and successfully invested the city of Saragossa. The rebellious followers of Christ and Mahomet were impartially punished by the defender of insulted sovereignty; and the March of Spain, which the victor instituted, extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro. Barcelona was the residence of a French governor; he obtained

* In Cod. Carolin. Epist. 51, 52, &c.

the counties of Rouffillon and Catalonia; and the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon were subject to his jurisdiction. But, on his return, his rear-guard was attacked and defeated in the Pyrenean mountains; and this action, which has been so much celebrated in romance for the death of the famous Roland, seems to impeach the military skill and prudence of Charles.

The return of Witikind a Saxon chief, who had twice retired from the victorious arms of Charles, to the friendly court of Denmark, again roused the latent spark of independence in the martial bosoms of his countrymen. They advanced as far as the Rhine, ravaged the whole country from Duitz to Coblentz, plundering the churches, burning the monasteries, violating the sacred persons of the nuns, and putting all who fell in their way to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.* Charles was at Auxerre, when he received intelligence of this new revolt; he immediately dispatched such troops as were nearest the frontiers, in search of the enemy, whom they came up with at a place called Lihest, situated on the banks of the Eder, in the principality of Hesse. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but victory at length decided in favour of the French, who, in revenge of the excesses committed by the barbarians on the Rhine, gave no quarter, but left the whole army dead on the field.

A. D. 779.] The lateness of the season not permitting the French to pursue their advantage, the king assembled a parliament at his palace of Heristal, where several excellent regulations, or capitularies, were adopted, both ecclesiastical and secular.† The most remarkable of these relate to theft, and the franchises of the church. The right of asylum was subject to a thousand abuses. Charles did not dare to authorise violence in order to force the criminal from his sacred asylum; but a canon was passed ‡ to prohibit such as should take refuge on account of any capital crime, at the foot of the altar, from receiving any food or nourishment whatever. This was a serious attack on the privilege of ecclesiastical immunity, of which the bishops were extremely jealous. But all their attempts to elude it proving unavailing, it was decreed—That theft should, the first time, be punished by the loss of an eye; the second time, by that of the nose; and the third time, by death.§

The assembly was no sooner dissolved, than Charles passed the Rhine, at the head of a numerous army. The Saxons had the courage to wait for him on the banks of the Lippe; where their army was cut in pieces. The victor then advanced as far as the Weser; where deputies from the nation came to renew those oaths which they had so repeatedly violated. He again pardoned them; but on condition that they should admit priests and prelates to reside among them, || and engage to attend the diet, which he appointed to be holden the ensuing spring, at Horheim, on the banks of the Onacre. The Saxons were faithful to their promise. Every means which prudence could suggest was adopted

* Ann. Metens. † Tom. xi. Concil. Gall. ‡ Can. 8. § Can. 9, 11, 12, 24. || An. Moissiac.

to prevent a repetition of revolts, and several of the barbarians received baptism. The king was sensible of the insincerity of their conversion, but being under the necessity of repairing to Italy, he assumed an appearance of content and satisfaction.

A. D. 781.] The Greeks had, for some time, stopped the revenues of certain possessions belonging to the pope, which was situated in the province of Naples; and the sovereign pontiff, in order to make reprisals, had seized Terracina. The affair was submitted to negotiation; but, in the mean time, the Imperialists retook all the places that had been taken from them. The conferences, therefore, were broken off; and the court of Constantinople refused to listen to any proposals, either of restitution or accommodation. The sovereign pontiff requested the king would send him one of his generals,† with orders to raise an army of militia, to enable him to exact justice from his enemies. He gave him notice, at the same time, that the duke of Benevento continued to hold a correspondence with prince Adalgise. Charles, who had the establishment of his children in view, sent him word that before the end of the year he would visit Italy himself. The French king had four sons—Pepin, by his first wife; and Charles, Carloman, and Lewis, by queen Hildegarde. Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia were destined for the two eldest; and he had a scheme in contemplation for insuring a part of his succession to the two youngest, whom, for that purpose, he took with him into Italy. They left Worms, attended by a numerous and splendid court, and arrived in Lombardy towards the end of autumn. His presence sufficed to dissipate the clouds of faction; and the pope's dispute with the empire was terminated to the satisfaction of Adrian.

Having passed the winter at Pavia, he went to celebrate the festival of Easter at Rome; where the pope, at his request, baptized Carloman by the name of Pepin, crowned him king of Lombardy, and consecrated prince Lewis as king of Aquitaine. The first of these kingdoms extended, as we have before observed,‡ from the Alps to the Offanto; and the duchy of Bavaria was afterwards annexed to it. The last comprised Poitou, Auvergne, Perigord, the Limousin, and Gascony. The new Italian monarch remained in his own dominions; of which Milan became the capital, and Ravenna the place of his residence. Young Lewis was carried back to France in a cradle; he was then only in his fourth year. At Orleans, cloaths and arms, suitable to his age and stature, were made for him; he was then mounted on a horse, and conducted to Aquitaine, where he received the homage of the nobles and people.

The abbe Velly, tells us, that it was during this journey to Italy that Charles held many conferences with Alcuinus, a celebrated Englishman, who had been induced to visit the king, from the high character which he had heard of him. The fact is true, but the motive is mistated.

† Epist. 64, in Cod. Carolin.

‡ Annal. Eginard. et alii.

Alcuinus was librarian* to Egbert, archbishop of York, and brother to Eadbart, king of Northumberland. Being highly distinguished for his talents, he was selected by Offa, king of Mercia, as a proper person to send on an embassy to Charles. This was the motive of his journey to the continent, where Charles conceived so great an esteem and friendship for him, that he earnestly solicited, and at length prevailed upon, him to settle at his court, and become his preceptor in the sciences.† Alcuinus accordingly instructed him in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity; and he acquitted himself of his task in so able a manner, that he became one of the king's chief favourites. "He was treated with "so much kindness and familiarity," (says Muratori, a contemporary writer) "by the emperor, that the other courtiers called him, by way of eminence, "—*the emperor's delight*."‡ Charles engaged his learned favourite to write against the heretical opinions of Felix, bishop of Urgel, in Catalonia, and to defend the orthodox faith against that heresiarch, in the council of Francfort, holden in 894; which he performed to the entire satisfaction of the king and council, and even to the conviction of Felix and his followers, who abandoned their errors.¶ An academy was established by Charles, in the royal palace, over which Alcuinus presided, and in which the princes and chief nobles were educated; other academies were also established in the principal towns of Italy and France, at his instigation, and under his inspection.§ "France" (says Cave¶) "is indebted to Alcuinus for all the polite learning it boasted of in that and the "following ages. The universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soissons, and many others, owe to him their origin and increase; those of which he was neither superior nor founder being, at least, enlightened by his doctrine and example, and enriched by the benefits he procured for them from Charlemagne."—Alcuinus, at length, with great difficulty, obtained permission from Charles to retire from court to his abbey of Saint Martin at Tours. Here he maintained a correspondence by letters with the king, (whom he styles king David, according to the custom of that age, of giving scripture names to princes) by which it appears, that both Charles and his learned friend were animated with the most ardent love of religion and learning, and constantly employed in contriving and executing the noblest designs for their advancement.**

A. D. 782, 783.] But to resume the thread of our history—Charles having settled his affairs in Italy, returned to Saxony, where he held a parliament in his camp, on the banks of the Lippe. The attention of this assembly was chiefly directed to the adoption of means for stifling the spirit of revolt; and they imagined that they had effectually fulfilled this object of their convention: but

* See a poetical account of the contents of Egbert's library, at York, then one of the best collections in the world. Alcuinus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Ebor. apud Gale. t. i. p. 730.

† W. Malmf. l. i. c. 3. ‡ Murat. Antiq. t. i. p. 131. § Du Pin. Hist. Eccles. Cent. 8. ¶ Cave Hist. des Univers. de Paris, t. i. p. 26, &c. ¶ Cave Hist. Literar. sec. viii. p. 496. ** Epistolæ Alcuini apud, antiq. lectio. Canisii, t. ii.

the French troops had scarcely passed the Rhine, when Witikind again excited that martial people to assert their native claim of independence. Charles, engaged in other projects, sent three of his lieutenants to chastise them. These were joined by count Teuderic, a French nobleman, nearly allied to the royal family. The count's military talents were holden in high estimation; but, from the jealousy with which they inspired the other leaders of the French army, they proved fatal to the cause they were calculated to promote. The three generals, fearing that the victory would be solely ascribed to Teuderic; resolved to engage without giving him notice of their intention. They accordingly broke up their camp in great haste, and marching towards the Saxons, who had pitched their tents at the foot of a mountain near the Weser, attacked them with all that confidence which troops long accustomed to success are apt to feel. The Saxons, however, sustained the first onset with successful vigour; and by a rapid extension of their wings, contrived to take their enemy in flank, when the disorder became general, and the slaughter dreadful. The few that escaped took refuge in the camp of Teuderic. Many officers and persons of distinction were killed, and among others Gellon, the king's constable.

The office of *Constable* began to acquire importance at this period, although it had not yet arrived at that degree of grandeur and power which it afterwards enjoyed. The constable was originally entrusted with the care of the king's stables—his post was equivalent to that of *master of the horse*; he had two officers under him, who were called *mareschals*. Some of the constables distinguished themselves so highly by their courage and conduct, that they were employed by their sovereigns in the most important affairs of state, and entrusted with the command of fleets and armies; but they only acted under a temporary commission. It was Matthew the Second, lord of Montmorency, who made the dignity of constable the first military rank, under the reigns of Philip Augustus, Lewis the Eighth, and Lewis the Ninth. That of *mareschals* was raised in proportion; and at last, took the place of the former. The constable was chief of the army and council; he took rank of the chancellor, even in the parliament; he appointed the officers, and gave orders to the troops. The king himself, if an ancient deed in the chambers of accounts at Paris may be credited, *could not undertake any military enterprize without his consent*. This post having become vacant by the death of constable Lefdiguieres, was suppressed by Lewis the Thirteenth.

A. D. 784, 785.] The defeat of his army proved a source of uneasiness to Charles, who was little accustomed to the reception of similar intelligence. He immediately marched into Saxony, with a full resolution to inflict exemplary vengeance on men, whose sole crime consisted in repelling the attempts of a foreign invader. At his approach their troops dispersed, and their nobles flocked to him with protestations of innocence and fidelity; but though he met with no

95 = 2

opposition, he seized four thousand five hundred of the insurgents, and ordered them to be beheaded, as an example to their countrymen. After this unprecedented execution, by which he relinquished his claim to humanity, without attaining the submission of Saxony, he went to pass the winter at Thionville. There he lost his queen Hildegarde, who was highly regretted by the nation; and some time after he married Fastrade, the daughter of a French nobleman.

The consternation occasioned by the recent slaughter of the Saxons, was soon converted into rage and despair. Witikind, that brave warrior, whom no threats could intimidate, no dangers appal, accompanied by duke Albion, again roused his countrymen to arms. The insurrection was so general, and the spirit of the insurgents so determined, that three bloody defeats were inadequate to restrain their attempts, and reduce them to submission*. But clemency effected what force could not operate. Charles, filled with esteem for the untameable courage of Witikind, offered him an unconditional pardon, with hostages for the performance of his promise. The noble Saxon, subdued by this instance of generosity, repaired to the assembly at Paderborn, and from thence to the palace of Artigny, on the river Aisne, where Charles received him with so much kindness, that he became a convert to his government and faith. He was accordingly baptized, and after his admission into the bosom of the church, he led a life of exemplary piety. Some authors pretend, that the illustrious family which now govern France are descended from him. Albion followed his example:—they both returned to their own country, where they kept the people in a state of submission, and remained faithful to God and their king.

The expedition into Saxony had nearly proved fatal to Charles. As he was in pursuit of Witikind and Albion, who had retired beyond the Elbe, he received information of a conspiracy against his life. It has been supposed that the new queen was the authoress of it; Eginard speaks of her as a woman addicted to cruelty; and says, that Charles was too condescending to her†. Whoever gave rise to the conspiracy, it appeared formidable from the number and rank of those who were concerned in it: fortunately, however, it was attended with no bad consequences. On its discovery, count Hastrade, one of the leaders, had his eyes put out; and the other conspirators were sent into exile.

A. D. 786, 787.] The empire of France was, at this period, doomed to experience a continual interruption of its tranquility. A revolt of the Britons now called the attention of Charles, who had no sooner chastised the insurgents, than he repaired to Italy, and, by his presence, disconcerted the hostile projects of his enemies in that part of his dominions. Aregise, duke of Benevento, who was disposed to resist his authority, gave up his plan, and sent him his second son as a pledge of his submission. The court of Constantinople, on the point of coming to a rupture with France, sent ambassadors to compliment the king on

* Annal. Egin.

† Anal. Egin. & in vita Carol. Magn.

his arrival, and to assure him of their friendship. Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, uneasy under a state of dependance, was ripe for revolt; he now threw himself at the feet of Charles, took a new oath of fidelity, and gave his eldest son as an hostage. But being afterwards induced to renew his intrigues, his hostile negotiations were extended to the barbarian Huns, the emperor of the Greeks, and the fugitive Adalgise; he fomented the discontents of the factious nobles of Aquitaine and Lombardy, but his subjects dreading in his rash designs their own destruction, revealed the secret of his perfidy to Charles; and Tassilon, as he fearlessly entered the diet of Ingelheim, [A. D. 788.] was arrested by the command of the French monarch. The evidence of his guilt was incontestable; he was condemned, with his two sons, to loose his head; but the punishment was commuted into monastic confinement, and the principality of Bavaria was annexed to the dominions of Charles.

The fate of Tassilon could not avert the effects of his intrigues with the enemies of the state. The Huns had raised two powerful armies to assist the duke, one of which they led into Bavaria, to ravage the territory of France, and with the other they marched to Friuli, in order to support prince Adalgise, who, assisted by the emperor, was preparing to invade the duchy of Benevento.

The empress Irene, fearing that Charles might wrest from the Greeks their remaining possessions in Italy, had, some time before, sent him a celebrated embassy, to ask the hand of his eldest daughter Rotrude for young Constantine. The marriage was accordingly settled, and the princess betrothed. An eunuch named Elisee, was sent to superintend her education, to teach her the Greek language, and to instruct her in the manners of the country over which she was intended to reign. But this alliance never took place; though who was the means of preventing its completion is not ascertained. Theophanes, a contemporary writer, pretends that it was Irene, who was afraid that such an union might inspire her son with a spirit of independence, and a desire of holding the reins of government. Eginard, Charles's secretary, assures us, it was Charles himself (who, from excess of affection, could not bear to part with his daughter) that prevented the connection from taking place. Be that as it may, the emperor, after the marriage was broken off, made no scruple openly to assist the Lombards, who, in conjunction with the Greeks and Huns, now conspired to promote the expulsion of the French from Italy. But the king, without leaving Ratibon, issued his orders, and dispelled the storm which threatened him.

The Huns were entirely defeated both in Bavaria and Friuli:—A second time they returned to the charge, and again experienced a similar fate. The Greeks were not more fortunate; and the Lombardian prince was compelled to return to Constantinople, where he passed a life of indolence and ease.

[A. D. 789, 790.] Charles took advantage of a short interval of repose to send envoys into Africa, Egypt, and Syria, in order to distribute considerable sums to those christian churches, that were oppressed by the tyranny of the infidels.

These envoys were entrusted with magnificent presents for Aaron, caliph of the Saracens,* to induce him to treat with humanity the christians that were established in his dominions. That prince had conceived so high an idea of the French monarch, that he sought to purchase his friendship by giving him up the sovereignty of the Holy Land, reserving to himself the title of his lieutenant. Among other presents which Charles sent him, was a pavilion made of fine linen cloth, of various colours;† it was so lofty that an arrow shot from a bow could not attain its summit,‡ and so large, that it contained as many apartments as the most spacious palace. But what particularly attracted the attention of the curious, was a clock worked by water. The dial was composed of twelve small doors,|| which represented the division of the hours; each door opened at the hour it was intended to represent, and out of it came the same number of little balls, which fell one by one, at equal distances of time, on a brass drum. It might be told by the eye, what hour it was by the number of doors that were open; and by the ear, by the number of balls that fell. When it was twelve o'clock, twelve horsemen in miniature issued forth at the same time, and marching round the dial, shut all the doors.

It was about this time that Angibert, so well known in the king's academy, under the name of Homer, retired from court, and assumed the monastic habit. He was a young nobleman of great talents;§ and Charles's daughter Bertha was so stricken with his personal accomplishments, that she listened to his addresses, and had two children by him—Nitard, who wrote the history of his own times; and Harnide, whose fate is unknown. Eginard assures us, that the king would never suffer his daughters to marry,¶ which imprudent resolution gave rise to some unpleasant circumstances, that he was prudent enough to conceal. This adventure, and Hiltrude's intrigue with another nobleman, named Odilon, caused him no small uneasiness. Rotrude, another of his daughters, also maintained an amorous intercourse with count Roricon, by whom she had a son, named Lewis, who was abbot of Saint Denis, and chancellor of France.

A. D. 791.] Charles had now resolved to chastise the Huns, who had renewed their incursions; he accordingly entered their country, forced their entrenchments, after an obstinate engagement, and penetrated as far as Raal, on the Danube; an epidemic disorder, with the approach of winter, compelled him to retire; and his transient exultation was soon interrupted by a calamity of a domestic nature.

A. D. 792.] His eldest son, Pepin, impatient to taste the joys of empire, and envious of the establishment of his younger brothers, conspired against the life of his father. The unnatural project was revealed by a priest, named Fardulfe,

* Egin. in vit. Car. Mag. † Idem in Annal. ‡ Ann. Metens. & Moissiac. || Poeta Saxon. l. iv.
§ In vit. poster. Angilbert. ¶ In vit. Carol. Mag.

who had accidentally fallen asleep in the church where the conspirators assembled; he was awakened by a number of voices, and found the associates deliberating on their last measures. Charles was summoned from his bed to learn the guilt of his son; the parliament was assembled, and the criminals were condemned; but the feelings of a father checked the hand of justice, and doomed Pepin to expiate his crime by a life of religious penitence. Fardulfe was rewarded with the abbey of Saint Denis.

A. D. 793.] The two monarchs, Charles's other sons, hastened to Ratibon on the first news of the conspiracy, which was totally stopped, however, before their arrival. They were received with all the tenderness which their zeal deserved*; and with all the honours that were due to them for the recent defeat of the rebels in the duchy of Benevento. Pepin staid but a short time, as the jealous disposition of the Greeks rendered his presence necessary in Italy. Lewis remained with his father the whole winter, with an intention of accompanying him in his next expedition against the Huns. But that project was suspended by the news which Charles received from Saxony and Spain. Count Theuderic had marched with an army of Frisians into Saxony, where he expected to find every thing in a state of perfect tranquility and submission; but he was suddenly attacked at Rustringen, and sustained a total overthrow. The Saracens, on their side, had taken Barcelona by surprise, forced the passage of the Pyrenees, burned the suburbs of Narbonne, defeated the duke of Toulouse, who had attempted to impede their progress, and ravaged the whole province of Languedoc. The revolts of the Saxons, when left to their own exertions, were never considered of much importance†; but an excursion of the Moors, about the same time, excited more serious apprehensions.

Charles sent young Lewis back to Aquitaine, in order to oppose the Saracens; while he assembled his own army, with a view to terrify, though not immediately to attack, the Saxons. He had a grand project in contemplation: it was to open a communication between the ocean and the Euxine sea. This would have been an object of great utility, as well for internal commerce, as for his intended expedition against the Huns; nor was it very difficult of accomplishment, as he had only to form a junction between the Rednitz and the Athmul. The first of these rivers mingles its waters, near Ramberg, with those of the Mein, which empties itself into the Rhine, near Mayence, and the Rhine flows on to the ocean: the last, joins the Danube at Kelheim, and the Danube falls into the Euxine or Black Sea. The canal, by which this junction was to have been effected, was intended to be three hundred feet in width, and about two leagues in length. The whole army was employed in digging it; they completed two thousand yards of their work, but the softness of the soil, the continual rains, the falling in of the earth, and the want of a

* Eginard. in Annal.

† Chron. Moissiac.

thousand inventions, which are so common in the present age, compelled them to desist; and the little hope that remained of success, caused the scheme to be totally abandoned.

A. D. 794.] About this period, Charles received intelligence that Iffem, king of Cordova, having been defeated in a bloody battle, with Alfonso, surnamed *the Chaste*, had recalled the Saracens from Languedoc. Released, therefore, from his fears on that side, he determined to pursue his hostile plans in Saxony. But before he commenced his expedition, he assembled the famous council of Francfort,* one of the most celebrated of the western church. It was attended by more than three hundred bishops, from France, Germany, Lombardy, England, and Spain. The monarch appeared seated on his throne, with all that authority which the christian emperors had formerly enjoyed in these religious assemblies.—The heresy of Felix, bishop of Urgel, had superinduced the convention of this council; it was consequently the first affair that occupied its attention. That prelate, supported by Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, publicly maintained, that Jesus Christ, considered in a natural view, was but the adopted Son of God; by which he admitted two sons, and consequently two persons. This doctrine, already condemned at Ephesus, was unanimously proscribed at Francfort.

The next object of discussion, was the decision of the second council of Nice on the worship of images: The abbe Velly, in defending that decision, which tended to establish both the use and adoration of images, has been obliged to have recourse to those frivolous and incomprehensible distinctions, of which the Nicene fathers availed themselves,† probably for the purpose of obscuring what they were unwilling to elucidate, and what they foresaw would prove equally repugnant to religion and common sense. In contradiction to the abbe's assertions, though we have, in most cases, the greatest respect for his opinion, we must contend, that a perusal of the canons of the council of Nice is sufficient to convince any man, of the plainest understanding, that they were meant to enforce both the use and adoration of images. In this light were they considered at the time by the prelates of England, who met for the purpose of examining them, by the orders of Offa, king of Mercia, who had received a copy of the canons, from Charles his friend and ally. They condemned them, “as containing many things contrary to the true catholic faith, especially *the worship of images, which the catholic church utterly detested and abhorred.*” This sentence of the English bishops had been transmitted to Charles, prior to the convocation of the council of Francfort, and the prelates who attended that council were convinced of its justice; they adopted the same opinion of the canons of the council of Nice, an elaborate confutation of which they drew up in four books, which were published in the king's name, and are commonly called,

* Eginard in Annal.

† Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. Cent. 8.

‡ M. Westminster, ad Ann. 793.

“The Carline Books*.” The abbe Velly is of opinion, that these prelates were mistaken with regard to the interpretation of the condemned canons, and that this mistake was owing either to their ignorance of the Greek language, or to the introduction of false canons, instead of those which were enacted by the second council of Nice. The first supposition appears to us to be highly frivolous. Why are we to suppose that the fathers of Francfort were less learned than the Nicene fathers? Independent of their equality in point of rank, the former had a vast superiority of numbers—there were three hundred prelates at the council of Francfort, and but one hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, at that of Nice—among the former too, was Alcuinus, who is confessed by the abbe himself to have been a man of great learning, and profound erudition. The second supposition is still more untenable; for the interval between the two councils is so short—that of Nice having met in 787, and that of Francfort in 794—that it is grossly improbable the fathers of the latter, could have been imposed on by a forgery, which must imply a total ignorance of the canons enacted at the former, when it is notorious too that a copy of the acts of that council was sent into France. The members of the council of Francfort, therefore, were perfectly justified, in condemning what really tended to encourage a species of idolatry.

Tassilon, the deposed duke of Bavaria, appeared at the assembly in the habit of a monk, to implore the clemency of Charles. He publicly confessed his repeated violation of oaths, and formally renounced, as well for himself as his sons, all his pretensions to the duchy, which he had forfeited by the treachery of his conduct. The king assigned him a pension, and ordered him to be removed to the monastery of Junieges, where he passed the remainder of his days in company with his two sons.

Queen Fastrade died about this time. Charles, who had loved her to excess, lamented her loss with great bitterness. But her pride and cruelty had rendered her odious to the nation. Twice had she exposed the life of her husband, as a reward for the superabundance of his kindness towards her.

As soon as the council of Francfort was dissolved, the king marched against the Saxons; but the presence of a monarch, who had so frequently signalized his prowess to their cost, spread such a consternation among them,† that, instead of flying to arms, they hastened to prostrate themselves at the feet of their master. Charles again received their submission, and contented himself ‡ with taking from them one third of their army, which he distributed in different parts of his dominions.

A. D. 795.] But even this diminution of their force proved inadequate to restrain them from farther attempts. Charles had advanced, at the head of his troops, to the banks of the Elbe, in order to give audience to the king of

* Du Pin. Eccles. Hist. Cent. 8.

† Chron. Moissiac.

‡ Ann. Fuldens.

the Abodrites, when he learned that that prince, who was a firm friend as well as an ally of the French, had been killed in an ambuscade prepared for him by the Saxons.* He was so enraged at the news, that he abandoned the whole country to the fury of his soldiery, who extended their depredations from one end of it to the other, and slew above thirty thousand inhabitants.

A. D. 796.] Charles, in the course of this expedition, gave audience to the ambassadors of Theudon, a powerful chief of the Huns, who sent to assure him of the submission of that part of Pannonia over which he presided. From these envoys he learned that the Huns were considerably weakened by domestic commotions; he therefore judged it a proper opportunity for attacking them. He sent orders for this purpose to Henry, duke of Friuli, who fulfilled his commission with alacrity and success. Having forced the capital, he found in it immense treasures, the spoils of all the nations of Europe, which these barbarians had been accumulating for the space of two centuries. They were all sent to the king, who out of them distributed rewards to his nobles and his soldiers, and, in short, to all that had served him with fidelity. A part of the spoils were destined for Adrian, but that pontiff died about this time, and his loss was deeply lamented by Charles,† who ordered prayers to be read for the repose of his soul, in all the churches of his dominion‡, and wrote his epitaph in Latin verse, which is engraven on his tomb, at the entrance of Saint Peter's church. Leo the Third, Adrian's successor, sent legates to the king, to make known his elevation to the chair of Saint Peter, to carry him the standard of the city of Rome, and to beg he would send some one to receive from the Romans the oaths of fidelity and allegiance||; which sufficiently proves that when the French kings ceded to the pope the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, they by no means intended to give up the sovereignty of those territories.

The Huns, in the mean time, sacrificing private interest to public good, had chosen a prince, and, under his conduct, had taken possession of one of their principal forts. Charles on this news, caused the king of Italy to collect the united forces of Lombardy and Bavaria, and march against the new monarch, before he was in a situation to oppose him. Pepin§ accordingly traversed that part of Pannonia, which is now called Austria, and passed the Danube, not far from the capital of the country. The prince hastened to meet him, at the head of an army which was chiefly composed of the principal nobility of the kingdom¶; the battle was long and bloody, but the Huns were at length, defeated, and their brave commander slain; the city of Ringa was next reduced, pillaged, and levelled with the ground; the garrison were put to the sword, and the inhabitants driven beyond the Teisse. This destructive expedition marked

* Ann. Egin. et alii.

† Egin. in vit. Carol. Magn.

‡ Tom. ii. Concil. Gall.

|| Idem.

§ Egin. in Ann.

¶ Ann. Fuldens.

with the same cruelty which too frequently dishonoured the French arms, at this period, extinguished the power of the Huns; a republic of warriors, distinguished for their bravery and their wealth. All their nobility fell in the course of those numerous battles which they fought in defence of their liberty. Such of the people as escaped the fury of the conqueror, either submitted to the yoke of France, or retired to the neighbouring states. The few commotions that afterwards occurred, are less to be considered as the efforts of a powerful nation struggling for its independence, than as the last convulsions of expiring liberty.

Pepin, loaded with the spoils of Pannonia, directed his march to Aix-la-Chapelle, whither his father, after having ravaged Saxony, had repaired with Luitgarde, whom he had recently espoused. The young prince's march resembled a triumphal procession; his cloaths, and those of his soldiers, shone with gold and silver; such magnificence had never before been seen in France. He passed the winter with his father at Aix, where they celebrated the festivals of Christmas and Easter, in a superb chapel* which Charles had just raised in honour of the blessed virgin. This chapel gave the name of *Aix-la-Chapelle* to the town, which Charles afterwards made the capital of his empire. It was adorned with the finest marble that Rome and Ravenna could produce. The dome was embellished with a globe of solid gold. The gates and ballustrades were of bronze; the vases and chandeliers of gold or silver, and all the ornaments displayed a richness and magnificence hitherto unexampled.

The palace which the king constructed at the same place was equally grand and superb. Some of its porticos, we are told by contemporary writers, were so spacious, that all the troops and attendants of the king could dine in them.† Over these porticos were apartments for the nobles who attended the court. This grand edifice was so contrived, that the king, without leaving his room, could see every person that entered the other apartments.‡ The *thermae*, or warm baths, were sufficiently large to contain a hundred persons. In short, from the account of Eginard, the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle appears to have been a work of uncommon extent and magnificence.

A. D. 797.] The season was far advanced, and the king was preparing for an expedition to Saxony, when the emir Zara arrived, who, having taken Barcelona, came to do homage to Charles, and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the French monarchy. The king received him with kindness; and in order to quell the commotion which, he learned from Zara, still prevailed in Spain, he sent orders to the king of Aquitaine to repair thither with an army and lay siege to Huesca. Lewis obeyed, but the success of his efforts is not known.|| Zara's example was followed by Adalla, uncle to the new king of Cordova. That prince, eager to obtain possession of his inheritance, had recourse to the protection of the

* Egin. in vita Carol. Magn.

† Idem.

‡ Monach. San. Gal.

|| Egin. in Ann.

French monarch, who was then regarded by the generality both of christians and infidels as the arbiter of Europe. Charles promised to redress his grievances, and took him with him into Saxony, where he had determined to pass the winter.*

A. D. 798, 799.] Having fixed his camp on the banks of the Weser, he surrounded it with fortifications, and erected so many houses, that a town was speedily formed, to which was given the name of Heristal, which it still bears. But all his efforts to subdue the spirit of the Saxons were fruitless: having sent them some commissaries to administer justice to such as should ask for it, they were all massacred†.

This act of cruelty was followed by a prompt and decisive punishment—Charles laid waste the whole country between the Weser and the Elbe. But, far from being dispirited, they prepared to retaliate, and entering Mecklenburgh, began to commit the most dreadful devastations, when they were attacked by the governor of the country, and four thousand of them put to the sword. Weakened, though not discouraged, by such repeated losses, they were compelled to give hostages for their future fidelity; and Charles, disdainful to pursue his advantage, returned to his capital.

The cares of government did not prevent the king from attending to the conduct of his children. He had ordered the king of Aquitaine to meet him at Heristal, in order to give an account, not only of his expedition to Spain, but of the administration of his finances‡. That prince, preyed upon by a set of needy and rapacious courtiers, had been obliged, on his last visit to the court of France, to borrow money for the purchase of those presents which it was customary to make to the king. Charles being informed of it, represented to him, in the most urgent manner, the evil consequences arising from the prodigality of monarchs, which not only led to the ruin of their people, but reduced them to a state of dependence incompatible with the majesty of the throne. He had the satisfaction to find that his remonstrances were not ineffectual, and that Lewis had paid his debts, and lived with dignity, without oppressing his subjects. The king of Aquitaine had four royal mansions—Doue, on the confines of Anjou; Poitiers; Casseneuil, in Agenois; Andiac, in the diocese of Xaintes; and Ebreuil, in Auvergne.§ He made it a rule to pass a year at each of these successively; (for the ancient kings of France scarcely ever resided in towns) whence they were only burdened with the support of the monarch and his court once in four years. The revenues, being duly administered, afforded a considerable surplus; by which means Lewis, without exacting anything from his subjects, was enabled not only to defray the expenses of his household, but to pay his troops; whom, for that reason, he forbade to exact forage from the country people. Charles was so well pleased with this

* Ann. Fuld. † Egin. in Ann. ‡ Vita & Act. Ludovic Pii. § Lib. tert. de Re Diplom. Vol. I.

conduct, that he adopted it himself, and ordered his troops to be paid, in future, out of his own revenue.

It appears to have been at this period, that Lewis obtained his father's permission to give the title of Queen to Ermengarde, daughter to count Ingramme, one of the most powerful noblemen in Aquitaine. He had previously married this lady; but though a prince was allowed to take a wife without the consent of his parents, he could not raise her to the dignity of queen.

The dissensions of the Moorish chiefs invited Charles to the conquest of the islands of Majorca and Minorca; but the satisfaction attending this expedition was more than balanced by the tumults which reigned at Rome. Two nephews of the deceased pontiff, Pascal, and Campule, jealous of the elevation of Leo, formed a design to take away his life. The day of a solemn procession was the time fixed upon for the execution of their project:* they accordingly made a furious attack on the person of the pope, and shut him up in a convent, whence he had the good fortune to effect his escape during the night; and hastening to the residence of the French ambassadors, was by them conducted to Spoleto. From thence he wrote to the king, who invited him to repair to his camp at Paderborn, in Westphalia, where he was received with all the honours due to his station. Charles appointed a certain number of prelates to accompany him to Rome, and to examine the different accusations that had been preferred against him: for Pascal and Campule had already presented a request to the king, charging Leo with the commission of several enormous crimes. The commissaries, after the most careful investigation, assured the monarch of the pope's innocence, and his two accusers were immediately arrested. But as they had still many friends at Rome, Charles, in order to restore perfect tranquillity to that city, resolved to repair thither in person.

A. D. 800.] In a few days after his arrival, he assembled the clergy and nobles of both nations in the church of Saint Peter; where, after hearing the accusers of Leo, he declared them guilty of gross calumny, and pronounced the justification of the sovereign pontiff. As a testimony of his gratitude, Leo resolved to confer on his benefactor the dignified title of Emperor of the West. It was on the festival of Christmas, after Charles had devoutly assisted at the celebration of mass, in the church of Saint Peter, that the pope suddenly placed a crown on his head, and the dome resounded with the acclamations of—“Long life to Charles the August, crowned by the hand of God!—Long life “and victory to the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!” The pope immediately consecrated his head and body by the royal unction, and conducting him to a throne, paid him those marks of respect which had been only claimed by the ancient Cæsars. In his familiar conversation with his secretary

* Ann. Egin.

Eginard,* Charles, who indissolubly blended in the name of *Charlemagne* the appellation of *Magnus*—Great—protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo; and declared, had he known them, he would have disappointed them by his absence on that memorable day. But the preparations for the ceremony must have disclosed the secret; and though the son of Pepin affected to despise a title which was accompanied by no real advantages, yet, in his correspondence with the emperors of the east, he exacted, with a scrupulous jealousy, their acquiescence in the dignity which he derived from the gratitude of the successors of Saint Peter.

A. D. 802.] The high degree of power now enjoyed by Charlemagne (by which name we shall hereafter distinguish this monarch) might have enabled him to conquer that part of Italy which was possessed by the Greeks. Of this, the empress Irene was aware, and therefore spared no pains to avert the misfortune she dreaded. By putting her son to death, she had acquired the government of the eastern empire; and she now endeavoured to secure the protection of Charlemagne—at this time a widower—by a proposal of marriage. The emperor encouraged the plan, and two of his ambassadors had been sent to Constantinople, to settle the preliminaries, when that princess was deposed by Nicephorus, who, being crowned Emperor of the East, banished Irene to the island of Lesbos.

The first care of the usurper was to send ambassadors to the French court for the purpose of establishing a friendly intercourse between the two empires. Charlemagne, on their arrival, was at his palace of Seltz, where, in order to give them an idea of French magnificence, and to humble the arrogance of the Greeks, he resolved to receive them in such a manner as should equally surprize and embarrass them. They were led to their first audience through four spacious apartments, superbly decorated, in which the officers of the king's household were distributed, all richly cloathed, and standing, in a respectful manner, before the chief their respective offices. In the first apartment, in which the constable was seated on a kind of throne, the ambassadors were about to prostrate themselves before him, but were prevented, by an assurance that this was only one of the officers belonging to the crown. The same error occurred in the second, which contained the count of the palace, attended by a splendid retinue of courtiers. The third, in which was the master of the king's table, and the fourth, where the chamberlain presided, by encreasing their uncertainty, gave rise to fresh mistakes: the farther they advanced, the greater magnificence was displayed. At length two noblemen approached, and conducted them to the emperor's apartment. Charlemagne was standing near the window,

* It has been pretended that Eginard was son-in-law to Charles. The fact is, that this secretary had an intrigue with this sovereign's daughter, Emma; but he certainly did not marry her. Had that been the case, would he not have been the first to have boasted of the honour of such an alliance? Yet not a syllable can be found in his writings to authorize the supposition.

surrounded by his children, and by a great number of dukes and prelates, with whom he was engaged in familiar conversation. He was leaning on the shoulder of bishop Hétton, to whom he appeared to pay a greater degree of attention than to the rest of his nobles, because he had been treated with greater contempt on his embassy at the court of Constantinople. The ambassadors alarmed, threw themselves at his feet; but Charlemagne, perceiving their embarrassment, raised them up, and dispelled their fears, by telling them that Hétton forgave them, and that he himself, at the solicitation of the bishop, was willing to forget what had passed.

The treaty which they came to negotiate was speedily signed. It was agreed that Charlemagne and Nicephorus should both retain the appellation of Augustus;* that the former should take the title of Emperor of the West,† and the latter that of Emperor of the East;‡ that all that part of Italy, which extends from the Ofanto and the Voltorno to the Sicilian Sea, should remain subject to the eastern empire; and that all the rest should belong to the western empire, together with the two Pannonias, Dacia, Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia. This treaty was followed by the submission of Grimoald, duke of Benevento, [A. D. 803.] who had revolted at the instigation of the Greeks.

A. D. 804.] The Saxons were now the only people who resisted the authority of Charlemagne. Though they had so often suffered for their obstinacy, they now took up arms again under the conduct of Godfrey, king of Denmark, a prince of great power, both by sea and land. The emperor immediately marched to attack them, and advancing as far as the Elbe, drove them from their most inaccessible retreats. The Danish prince, who was on the frontiers of his dominions with a numerous body of cavalry,§ proposed an accommodation, and promised to meet Charlemagne, but he suddenly changed his mind, and retired with precipitation. The rebels, deprived of his support, had recourse to the clemency of their sovereign; who, in order to prevent any future insurrection, sent one half of them into Switzerland, and the other into Flanders; and gave their country to the Abodrites, who had always preserved their fidelity. But a change of climate seldom produces a change of manners.|| These emigrants, to the number of ten thousand families, far from losing their ferociousness with their country, infected their new allies¶ with that spirit of revolt which always resided in their own bosoms. It became a proverb, during the troubles in Flanders, under the reign of Philip of Valois, that Charlemagne, *by mixing the Saxons with the Flemings, of one devil had made two.*

From this time, however, Saxony was free from commotions; and that proud nation, which had hitherto resisted the yoke with such persevering courage, was at length induced, partly by force, and partly from inclination, to submit to the rites of baptism, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of Charlemagne.

* Theophan. † Eginard, ‡ Aventin, l. iv. § Annal. Egin. || Jacob. Myer. Annal. rerum Fland. ¶ Joan. Isaac, — Pontan, Hist.

A. D. 805, 806.] The emperor, after the total reduction of Saxony, repaired to Rheims to wait for the pope, who had asked his permission to make a journey to France. The pretended motive for this excursion, was to discourse with him on the subject of a miracle, said to have occurred at Mantua; but its real object was to confer on the affairs of Venice.* The result of the conference is not mentioned by the historians of those times; but the return of the sovereign pontiff by the exarchate of Ravenna; the numerous army raised at this period, by Wilhaire—an effort which greatly exceeded the power of an individual; the sudden irruption of that Tribune into the island of Malamauc, which he reduced; the capture of Heraclea, from Maurice and John, who favoured the party of Nicephorus; the re-establishment of the patriarch Fortunatus, who, notwithstanding the protection of Leo, had been expelled from his church at Grado;—all these circumstances occurring at this conjuncture, seemed to authorise the opinion, that they were occasioned by the late interview between Charlemagne and the pope. The ancient annalists are strangely confused in their accounts of the government of the state of Venice. It appears, however, that that district which lies on the continent, on the northern coast of the Gulph, was holden of the western empire; while the neighbouring isles were submitted, in appearance, to the domination of the East, but were in fact independent.† There are several historical records, which tend to prove that those islands, in imitation of some of the sea-port towns in Dalmatia, were inclined to acknowledge the authority of Charlemagne, and that with this view they sent envoys to him at Thionville. Eginard, in speaking of this deputation,‡ formally says, *every thing which regarded the dukes and people of Venice and Dalmatia was subject to his orders*.—Such a declaration evidently implies a sovereign authority, and must effectually destroy the system of those who maintained that, at this early period, Venice was a free and independent state.

While a momentary calm allowed him a suspension from the labours of the field, Charlemagne settled, at an assembly holden at Thionville, the final distribution of his dominions. Aquitaine and Gascony, with the Spanish march, he assigned to his son Lewis;|| his possessions in Italy he confirmed to Pepin, and added to them the best part of Bavaria, with the country at present inhabited by the Grifons; the rest of his dominions he left to his eldest son Charles, whom he destined for the empire; and after publicly subscribing the royal donation, he rendered it, in a superstitious age, more authentic by the sanction of the Roman pontiff.

He did not confine himself to merely settling the quantum of territory which each was to possess; but his foresight extended to every future ground of disquiet, and subject of discontent. In order to secure a lasting peace and firm

* Ann. Egin. Met.—Mosfiac. & alii. † Adelmus in Chron. ‡ In Annal. || Annal. Metens et alii.

union between the brothers, he stipulated, that in case any difference should arise, which the testimony of men should prove inadequate to settle, recourse should be had—not to the general mode of decision, by duel—but to the judgment of the cross. This was a custom then in vogue, which, though ridiculous in the extreme, was still regarded as a solemn appeal to the Almighty.* In the decision of doubtful matters, two men were chosen, who being conducted to the church, stood erect, with their hands lifted up in the shape of a cross, during the celebration of divine service; and the cause was determined in favour of him whose champion remained motionless for the longest space of time.

Soon after the determination of this grand affair, the three princes were summoned to defend their new dominions by the force of arms. In Aquitaine and Italy, Lewis and Pepin triumphed over the infidels, whom the former expelled from the island of Corsica, and the latter defeated in Catalonia. The revolted Sclavonians, who had ravaged Bohemia, were crushed by the power of Charles;† and the declining age of Charlemagne listened with paternal fondness to the martial achievements of his sons.

A. D. 808.] The king of Aquitaine was recalled from the pursuit of his conquests in Spain, by intelligence that a fleet of Normans had entered the channel, and was directing its course towards the maritime parts of his dominions. These *Normans*, or *Men of the North*, were a body of ravagers, composed of Norwegians, Swedes, Frisians, Danes, and adventurers of all nations, who, being accustomed to a roving, unsettled life, took delight in nothing but war and plunder. Charlemagne, foreseeing the evils they were likely to bring upon France, exclaimed with a sigh, “If, notwithstanding the extent of my power, they dare insult the coasts of my empire, what will they not attempt when that power shall be disunited?” The event fully justified this prediction.—The king, however, adopted the most prudent measures for restraining their incursions: he visited all the sea-ports, and caused such a prodigious number of vessels to be constructed, that, according to Eginard, no part of the coast was unprovided with them, from the mouth of the Tiber to the extremity of his German dominions. All these vessels he ordered to be kept constantly armed and equipped; and he obliged the nobles to serve on board them in case of attack, in the same manner as they were bound to serve by land. His grand marine arsenal was established at Bologne, where he erected an ancient pharos, that had been constructed by the emperor Caligula, and gave the most positive orders, that a fire should be kept burning in it during the whole night. It is that which is now called the *Tour d'Ordre*.

Of all the western empire, Godfrey, king of Denmark, was the only prince that still refused to acknowledge the authority of Charlemagne. The emperor

* Vide Glossar. Ducauge, verbo Crux. † Ann. Egin. Met. & alii. ‡ Monach. San—Gal. l. ii. c. 2.

|| Eginard, in Annal. et in vita Car. Mag.

now prepared to invade his dominions; and the Dane, aware of his hostile intentions, and unawed by the extent of his power, threw down the gauntlet of defiance, and made incursions into the territories of the Abodrites. Having formed a league with some of the neighbouring people*, he extended his depredations into the province of Meckelbourg, whose inhabitants, alarmed at his approach, and terrified at the rapidity of his progress, threw down their arms, and submitted to the imposition of an annual tribute. The conqueror then marched forward to the banks of the Elbe, and reduced several fortified places. One fort, however, withstood his most vigorous efforts; and he was compelled to raise the siege, after having lost a great number of men, and many of his principal officers. This check, and the news of Charles's approach, hastened his return; and, afraid of encountering the superior force of the French, he totally demolished the port of Rieric, from which he derived a considerable revenue. He carried his precautions to a still greater height, and in order to secure his dominions from hostile irruptions, he erected a high wall, defended by strong towers, which extended from one end to the other of that neck of land which lies between the German ocean and the Baltic sea. Such was the situation of affairs when young Charles reached the banks of the Elbe. He immediately passed that river, and advancing far into the country, spread terror and devastation around him. At length, finding no enemy to encounter, and the season being far advanced, he marched back to France, after having erected two forts on the confines of Saxony.

A. D. 809.] While these transactions were passing in the western empire, the truce that had been concluded between the Venetians and the emperor of the East expired, and both parties prepared for the renewal of hostilities. The fleet of Nicephorus appeared in the gulf of Venice, under the command of Paul, who detached a part of it to surprize Comachio, a town situated in a bay near the mouth of the Po. But the garrison made a sally, in which the Greeks were repulsed, and compelled to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. They then directed their course towards Populoni, now Piombino, which they took and pillaged. Paul, nevertheless, caused proposals for an accomodation to be made, to which the king of Italy was inclined to listen; but it was the interest of the Venetians to widen the breach between the two empires. The dukes, Wilhaire and Beot, who had three years before placed themselves under the protection of the French, took such effectual pains to prevent the conclusion of peace, and to encrease the subsisting animosity, that the commander of the Grecians, thinking his life was in danger, retired without coming to any arrangement. The following year, it appeared, that these noblemen were not more faithful to Charlemagne than to Nicephorus; Pepin, enraged at their duplicity, attacked the forces they had collected by land and sea, defeated them

* Annal, Egin, Loifel.—Metens, & alii.

in several engagements, and compelled them to sue for pardon. This exploit put an end to the war between the two empires; peace was concluded—Venice restored to the Greeks, and Dalmatia to the French*.

The capture of Piombino was not the only disgrace which attended the French arms during this campaign. In Spain they were tarnished by the loss of Tortosa, which the king of Aquitaine in vain endeavoured to retake. At the siege of Huefca, too, that monarch was equally unsuccessful: but in Germany, the situation of affairs was more pleasing and prosperous†. The king of Denmark, notwithstanding the strength of his entrenchments, was anxious to appease the resentment of Charlemagne. A conference was appointed for that purpose, but it passed in mutual complaints; and no plan of accommodation being adopted, duke Trasicon, by the orders of Charlemagne, renewed hostilities, and in a short time retook all the places which Godfrey had subdued. The Danish monarch threatened the Abodrites with destruction, and talked of invading both Saxony and Friesland. The emperor, informed of his threats, sent a body of troops to seize the principal passages of the Elbe, and to erect a fortress at Ellesfelt‡. This precaution disconcerted the projects of the Dane, and obliged him to direct his efforts to another quarter.

A. D. 810.] Godfrey having assembled his troops, embarked them on board a fleet of two hundred sail, and made a descent on Friesland, where he defeated an united body of French and Frisians, took many places of importance, and compelled the inhabitants to pay tribute. The emperor no sooner received intelligence of his motions, than he passed the Rhine, and advanced as far as the Weser; but he had scarcely pitched his tents when he was informed that the enemy was retiring in disorder, and that the Danish Prince had been assassinated by one of his guards. This event put an end to the war. Hemming, the son and successor of Godfrey, humbly sued for peace, and obtained it by a renunciation of all his father's conquests. Peace was also concluded on the same conditions, with the Saracens of Spain. The king of Cordova either openly surrendered, or secretly favoured the re-capture of all the places which had been taken from the French. The river Ebro was fixed on as the limits of the two states. The Gascons had recently received a severe chastisement; and the Navarrese began to grow accustomed to the French yoke; so that a perfect submission prevailed throughout that vast extent of country, which was distinguished by the appellation of the *Spanish March*.

The satisfaction experienced by Charlemagne on the re-establishment of peace and tranquillity, was embittered by the death of Pepin, king of Italy; an infant son of that prince, named Bernard, was appointed, by the disconsolate emperor, to succeed to the Italian sceptre.

* Sigón. l. iv. de Regu. Ital. † Vit. Ludov. Fii. ‡ Idem in vit. Carol. Mag.

A. D. 811, 812.] In a few months after this severe loss, he had fresh cause for lamentation in the death of his eldest son, Charles, who died in the thirty-fifth year of his age. All his hopes were now centered in his remaining child, Lewis, king of Aquitaine, a prince who bore the highest reputation for prudence, economy, and valour. Indeed, the extraordinary accounts that were given to the emperor of the valuable qualities of this youthful monarch, were such, as to stagger even paternal credulity. Resolved, however, to ascertain what degree of credit was due to them, he dispatched Archinbaud, a person on whose veracity he could depend, to the court of Aquitaine, with orders to watch, with the strictest attention, the conduct of Lewis. The report of this courtier was favourable to the wishes of Charlemagne; who, finding that his son supported the dignity of a monarch, without oppressing his subjects, exclaimed—“O! my companions, let us rejoice that this young man is already wiser and more skilful than ourselves.”

A. D. 813.] The aged emperor, feeling his strength decay, and the weight of public cares becoming too burthensome for him to bear without assistance, now determined on the association of Lewis to the empire. Arrayed in his imperial robes, with a crown of gold upon his head, and supported by his son*, he repaired to the magnificent chapel which he had built at Aix-la-Chapelle; and, after inculcating in the mind of his youthful colleague the duties of a monarch and a man†, he commanded him to take the crown, which had been placed on the altar, and put it on his head.

A. D. 814.] The encreasing infirmities of Charlemagne soon warned him to prepare for his end. About the middle of the month of January, which succeeded the association of Lewis, he was attacked by a fever, and conscious of his danger, he beheld with firmness the approach of death. On the twenty-seventh, a fainting fit announced his speedy dissolution; and, on the twenty-eighth, after uttering, in a low and faltering voice, these words—“Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit”—he immediately expired, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign.

Most of the biographers of Charlemagne appear to have considered themselves as panegyrist, and not as historians; and even such as have refused him indiscriminate commendation, have injudiciously bestowed their censures where they were not deserved, and withheld them where they ought to have been applied. The splendid qualities of this brave emperor are, indeed, well calculated to fascinate the mind and dazzle the judgment; nor, were they only obscured by *trivial* defects, should we think it proper to dwell on the partial diminution of their splendor, when their general glare would justify admiration. But fatal, as a deep flaw to a diamond of the first water, is the cruelty of Charlemagne to the general excellence of his character. The silent extinction of the sons of

* Egin. in vita Carol. Magn.

† Theogan. c. 6.

Carloman is a gross impeachment of his humanity; and, even could he elude the doubtful fate of his nephews, the wanton massacre of four thousand five hundred Saxons, who were beheaded on the same spot, bespeak the unfeeling hero of a barbarous age. That spirit of ambition, too, which inspired him with an inordinate thirst for conquest, and led him to invade the rights and destroy the independence of his neighbours, is surely no theme for praise.

On the other hand, we contemplate with pleasure his numerous virtues. In the infancy of legislative skill, his regulations for the preservation of order and public tranquility throughout his extensive dominions, together with his strict and impartial administration of justice, merit the highest commendation. Of his valour we say little:—it is a gift of nature that forms, perhaps, a just theme of gratitude to the possessor, but is not a fit subject for historical praise. Of a different description are his zeal to protect, and his anxiety to cultivate, the arts and sciences; his studious attention to the duties of religion; his fervent piety; rigid temperance; unbounded charity; and, finally, his extreme earnestness to improve and mollify the manners of his subjects, and to promote their welfare and felicity.—His counsels to his son and colleague, Lewis, which exhort him to consider the people as his children; to be gentle in his administration, but firm in the execution of justice; to reward merit; to promote his nobles gradually; to choose his ministers deliberately, but never to remove them capriciously;—are maxims that cannot be too strongly recommended, nor too easily adopted.

The authority of Charlemagne embraced that part of Spain which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro, and comprehends Roussillon and Catalonia, Navarre and Arragon; in Italy his power was acknowledged from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. To the sceptre of France he united that of Germany; and the schools which he established in the barbarous regions, on either side of the Weser, in some measure atone for the cruelties he perpetrated in the pursuit of dominion.—The empire of the Franks stretched between East and West from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula, and between the North and South from the duchy of Benevento to the river Eyder, which still separates Denmark from Germany.

The body of this monarch was deposited in a vault, in his chapel at Aix, where he was seated on a throne of gold, arrayed in the imperial robes, and in the hair-cloth which he commonly wore*; with his sword at his side—the crown on his head—the bible on his knees, and his shield and sceptre at his feet—these last were of gold, and deemed highly valuable in a superstitious age, less from the precious metal of which they were composed, than from the benediction which had been bestowed on them by pope Leo. Beneath the regal mantle was placed the large pilgrim's purse, which he always carried with him on his

* Egin. in vita Carol. Mag.

journey to Rome. The whole sepulchre was scented with perfumes, and filled with a vast quantity of pieces of gold. Over the entrance was erected a superb triumphal arch, on which the following epitaph was inscribed:—*Here rests the body of Charles, the great and orthodox emperor, who gloriously extended the kingdom of the French, and governed it happily, during forty-seven years.*

Charlemagne had four wives, who were honoured with the appellation of Queen—Hermengarde, Hildegarde, Fastrade, and Luitgarde. From the first, who was daughter to the last king of the Lombards, he was divorced, by the advice of the bishops. By the second, he had four sons, Charles, Pepin, Lewis, and Lothaire, who died young; and five daughters, Adelaide, Rotrude, Bertha, Gisele and Hildegarde. Bertha was mother to Theodrade and Hiltrude, both abbeesses; the first of Farmoutier, and the last of Argenteuil. The emperor before his marriage with Hermengarde, had taken a concubine, named Himiltrude, by whom he had Pepin, surnamed *The Hump-backed*, and the princess Rothais. After the death of Luitgarde, having three sons who were capable of swaying the sceptre, he resolved to have no more wives, who could enjoy the title of Queen or Empress; he therefore took, successively, four concubines, who gave birth to several children. By Madelgarde he had Rothilda; by Gerfwin-da, Adeltrude; by Regine, Hugh, the abbot, Dragon, bishop of Metz, and Adalinde; and by Adelaide, or Adelvide, he had Thierris, who took orders.—He had also another daughter, named Emma, who, it has been pretended, was wife to Eginard.

So great a number of wives and concubines has given occasion to some modern authors to pollute the memory of Charlemagne with the charge of incontinence and immorality. It is needless to repeat what we have before urged in favour of concubinage; which was then regarded as a connection equally lawful with the present *left-handed marriages* of Germany, and the French *marriages of conscience*. But a few reflections, on the subject of this unjust accusation, we must not withhold. Is it probable that a prince who was frank, open, and sincere in all his actions, should descend to the little arts of hypocrisy—that offspring of a mean and contracted mind; and prove faithless to those laws which he openly professed to support and protect? Would he, in that case, have dared to promulgate that famous ordinance, in which he places fornication and adultery in the list of those heinous sins* which draw down the vengeance of heaven on such as practise them? Had he himself been guilty of a crime which in others he punished with imprisonment and confiscation, instead of exciting esteem, and conciliating affection, he must inevitably have become an object of contempt and indignation to his subjects. Eginard, though his secretary, is not sparing of his reproaches where he thinks they are due; he accuses Charlemagne of a culpable want of firmness, in forbearing to repress the cruelties of

* Incall. Stephan. Baluz. Col. 412, 528.

Fastrade, and the licentious conduct of his daughters, who, it seems, were most of them endued with very amorous dispositions. He would not therefore have failed to notice the moral incontinence of his sovereign, had it really existed. The historian of Lewis the gentle, speaking of the emperor's death, says—*Mortuus est vir justus**. The councils of Verneuil and Rome rank him in the number of those great monarchs whom they dignify with the appellation of great saints: and all contemporary writers mention him in the same terms. It was not till many centuries after his death that any doubts arose as to the purity of his manners; as if it were impossible that a man, who had attained the age of seventy-two, should have married nine wives, successively. From these considerations we must pronounce the accusation of immorality, with regard to his intercourse with the fair sex, to be wholly unfounded; though we can by no means assent to the indiscriminate commendation of the eloquent Bossuet, who says, that *he was a most christian prince in all his actions*.†

The first sumptuary laws known in France were enacted during this reign‡. They regulated the price of stuffs, and the sorts that were to be worn by each class of citizens. The emperor himself was extremely plain in his dress, and, except on particular occasions, was scarcely to be distinguished, in that respect, from the meanest of his French subjects ||;—still, however, he was fond of novelty. At first, he wore a long cloak that reached to his feet; but having seen some of the short cloaks of various colours, that were worn by the Gauls, he preferred them to the others, which he then began to think were too troublesome. The conquest of Italy gave him a taste for silk cloaths, adorned with rich furs, which the Venetians imported from the East. The emperor, says the monk of Saint Gal, at first suffered his subjects to follow their own inclinations in point of dress, from a persuasion that the example he set them would soon bring them back to the primitive simplicity of their ancestors; but finding that his courtiers paid no attention to him, he at length determined to exert his authority, and accordingly enacted those laws abovementioned.

The tumult of war is ever unfavourable to commercial intercourse. Commerce had flourished in Gaul while under the dominion of the Romans: but the first monarch of the Merovingian race found it almost totally neglected; and the continual hostilities in which they were engaged, did not permit them to re-establish it in its ancient splendour. The depressions, however, which it experienced at the commencement of the monarchy, did not effect its annihilation, it even appears to have acquired a degree of vigour under the reign of Gontran§, who, being displeased with the conduct of his nephew Chilbert, forbade all communication between Burgundy and Austrasia¶. Under Clotaire the second, there was

* In vita Ludovici Pii. † See his sermon on the opening the general assembly of the clergy of France, in 1681. ‡ Capitul. Triplex, ann. 808, Art. v. t. i. p. 468. || Memoires de L'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 726. § Greg. Tur. hist. l. ix. c. 32. ¶ Fred. Chron. c. 48.

a company of merchants, who went from the territory of Sens, under the conduct of Samon, to trade with the Slavonians*. During the reign of Dagobert the first, there was a number of markets established for the purpose of facilitating commercial intercourse. From a capitulary of the ninth century, we learn, that the French, in the time of Charlemagne, went in troops to traffic with the Slavonians, the Avars or Huns of Pannonia, and the Saxons; on these trading excursions they were forbidden the use of arms. From the Chronicle of Fontenelles, it appears, that even at the commencement of that emperor's reign, a regular commerce was established between the French and English.

All trade was conducted, at this period, in markets or fairs; there only could be procured the chief necessaries of life: artists and merchants, dispersed about the country, had not yet fixed their residence in towns, which were principally inhabited by priests and a few workmen. Neither monks nor nuns were to be seen in them; the generality of convents being built in the open country, or else in the vicinity of cities. The nobility either resided on their own estates, or followed the court. In order to remedy the inconveniences naturally arising from this separation of the members of the community, numerous fairs were established†, at which they attended for the purpose of buying and selling such articles as could not otherwise be procured or disposed of. That of Saint Denis was one of the most celebrated‡.—It was frequented by people, not only from the most distant parts of the French empire, but from Friesland, Saxony, England, Spain, and Italy;—as appears from the charter of Dagobert the first, by whom it was established||, and by an ordinance of Pepin the short, which confirms the right of exacting toll for the passage of goods through the district of Paris, to the monks of the abbey of Saint Denis.

But though all commercial business was, generally speaking, confined to these fairs, yet were there some few towns that were famous for their trade and manufactories. The city of Arles was celebrated, at a very early period, † for its embroidery, and for its works of gold and silver inlaid§; all the vessels from the East came to this port, to Narbonne, and Marseilles. From Arles, a part of the riches imported in foreign bottoms, was sent to Treves; they were conveyed by the Rhone to Lyons; from thence they were forwarded by the Soane and the Doux, and then landed and carried in carts to the banks of the Moselle. The prosperity of these commercial towns was interrupted by continual wars, which deterred the Asiatics and Africans from frequenting their ports. But under the Carlovingian monarchs, they again began to flourish; they then kept a certain number of vessels that were employed in trading to Constantinople, Genoa, and Pisa. The inhabitants of Lyons, in conjunction

* Apud Dublet. in hist. Abbat. Sancti Dion. p. 655. † Capit. Carol. Calv. tit. xxxvi. c. 19.

‡ Apud Dublet. ante cit. || Apud Felibian in prob. hist. ejusd. p. 24. § Huet, Traite du Com. des An. c. 39, n. 8.

with those of Marfeilles and Avignon, were accustomed to go, twice a year, to Alexandria, to purchase perfumes and other objects of merchandize, which they sold in Provence and in different parts of the kingdom. But commerce never flourished so much as under the reign of Lewis the gentle, the son and successor to Charlemagne*—who established a company of merchants, with particular privileges, and adopted such regulations, as ensured protection to their persons, and success to their operations.

Hence it appears, that under the two first races of the French monarchy, the commerce of France was of little importance. It was chiefly abandoned to foreigners, who imported but few objects of value into the kingdom. Spain supplied the French with horses and mules†; Friesland, with various articles of dress; England, with corn, iron, tin, lead, leather, and sporting-dogs; Africa and the East, with wine, gauzes, *papyrus*, or Egyptian paper, the only paper that was known in France, till the eleventh century‡, and sweet-oil, which was then so scarce, that permission was given to the monks, at a council holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, to make use of oil extracted from bacon.—The exports from France were not of much greater value than the imports; they generally consisted of earthen-ware, copper-veffels, wine, honey, madder and salt.

The collection of capitularies contained many regulations, as well with regard to trade in general, as to the particular commerce of slaves, silver coin, rich vases, and precious stones||, which were then very common objects of traffic in France. Some of the capitularies forbid the establishment of markets without the king's permission§, and prohibit the holding them on Sundays.—By others, rigorous punishments are decreed to those who shall sell slaves in a clandestine manner, or deliver a christian into the hands of Jews or Pagans¶. Some forbid all sales by night; others enjoin the use of equal weights throughout the empire** : by one, it is ordained, that a Jew merchant shall pay the tenth part of his profit, and a christian the eleventh part††. These imposts, with the tolls exacted on passing through particular districts, over bridges, and on entering or leaving the kingdom, formed a considerable part of the revenue of the crown.

* Vales Not. Gal. v. Massilia. † Monach. San. Gal. l. ii. de reb. bell. Car. Mag. c. 24. ‡ Greg. Tur. c. 6. l. v. c. 5. l. iv. c. 44. || Tit. 36. c. 39. Capitul. an. 819. § Capit. l. vi. c. 424. ¶ Capit. an. 803, c. 2. ** Baluz. in c. 279, l. vi. cap. †† Capit. Carol. Calv. Tit. 53, c. 3.

LEWIS THE FIRST,

SURNAMED THE GENTLE.

A. D. 814.] LEWIS was in Aquitaine when he received the news of his father's death, but he instantly repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was proclaimed king and emperor. At first he acquired a great reputation for piety, by his scrupulous attention to enforce the last will of his deceased parent;—though, at the same time, he created many enemies by attempting to reform several abuses, which had either escaped notice, or met with toleration during the preceding reign. He had seven sisters, not one of whom was married. They were all supported in regal splendour; and many of them being endued with exquisite sensibility, and with those impetuous passions, that reason in vain attempts to subdue, yielded, with fewer struggles, perhaps, than virtue required, to the pleasing impulse of nature. The effects of these amorous indulgences had given no small uneasiness to Charlemagne; and his son Lewis, more rigid in his disposition, refused to connive at frailties of which he had never been guilty himself. His first care * was to repress the familiarity of his sisters' favourites; some of which were banished, and others—to the disgrace of this *pious* prince be it spoken—had their eyes put out. One of the most powerful, named Hedoin, slew count Garnier, who was sent to arrest him, and was himself massacred. The princesses immediately received orders to retire to the different houses which their father had left them. The five daughters of Pepin, king of Italy, were involved in the same disgrace. Lewis only suffered Drogon, Hugh, and Thierrî to remain in his palace, and them he brought up with great care, placing them always at his own table.

* Eginard in vita Car. Mag.

† Vit. Lud. Pii.

While Lewis was employed in these domestic regulations, the duke of Benevento sent to demand a confirmation of the treaty which he had concluded with Charlemagne, by which he had agreed to pay a tribute of twenty-five thousand sols of gold; but Lewis reduced it to seven thousand: Grimoald did homage to the new monarch, and received from his hands a new investiture*. Bernard, king of Italy, was also summoned to pay the same mark of subjection; he obeyed, but his obedience wore so strong an appearance of constraint, that it was evident he only waited for an opportunity to assert his independence. Lewis took from him Adelard and Vala, two grand-sons of Charles-Martel, who were the friends of his heart, and the leaders of his council. The first of these was transferred from his abbey of Corbie to the monastery of Noirmoutier; and the last, being banished from court, assumed the monastic habit, and succeeded his brother, as abbot of Corbie. The degradation of two men, who had enjoyed all the confidence and esteem of Charlemagne, greatly injured the reputation of his successor†. That part of his character which had hitherto been considered as meekness of disposition and goodness of heart, was now regarded as weakness and timidity. His conduct was such as rather marked the monk, than bespoke the monarch‡; he passed whole days in reading the scriptures and singing psalms. He sent to Aquitaine for an abbot named Benedict, who, though a man of piety, was wholly unfit to be entrusted with matters of state. To him was allotted the office of receiving petitions and requests, and the manner in which he discharged his trust proved the rectitude of his intentions, but the unlimited and almost exclusive confidence reposed in him by the emperor, excited murmurs and complaints.

Lewis had three sons by the empress Ermengarde—Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis. The first he sent to Bavaria, and the second to Aquitaine, but gave them no titles; so that in fact, they could only be considered as governors of those territories. This was a prudent policy, which it would have been happy for him had he always observed. But he was afterwards induced, either from a desire to procure more time for reforming the clergy||, or for his own private devotions—or, perhaps, merely from a love of repose, to consent to an imprudent participation of that authority of which he now appeared so jealous. A council of prelates and nobles was holden at Aix-la-Chapelle, soon after his accession to the throne; and some instances of oppression in the provinces being discovered, Lewis sent several of his courtiers, in capacity of envoys from the prince, *missi dominici*, to investigate and redress them. That name (which is as old as the monarchy) was given to the commissioners who were sent by the French kings into the provinces, to superintend the publication and enforce the execution of their ordinances§. The people were obliged not only to find

* Vit. Lud. Pii.—Chron. Moiss. † Annal. Bertin. ‡ Libellus Ardonii de vita S. Bened. videt
 Secul. iii. part. 1. p. 215. || Thegan. c. 26. § Chron. Moiss.

them lodgings, but to supply them with a certain quantity of provisions. They were authorised to receive complaints, and to redress such as admitted of an immediate decision, and to report those which required a more minute investigation to the king: they were also empowered to inflict punishments on any counts or prelates who had been guilty of prevarication; and to repeal any unjust sentence which they had pronounced—in short, it was their duty to enforce a strict observance of the laws. They made their tour four times a year—in the months of January, April, July, and October. Their assizes were always holden in an open place, which every body had a right to enter; the judges were summoned thither, and their conduct underwent a close examination. An establishment of this nature, when rigidly observed, must have been attended with the most beneficial effects.

A. D. 814, 815.] Immediately after the separation of the assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, Herold, who governed a part of the kingdom of Denmark, came to claim the protection of Lewis, as his liege lord, against the children of Godfrey, who had despoiled him of his dominions. The emperor, convinced of the justice of his petition, ordered the Saxons to arm in his favour, and that brave people, having recently been restored by Lewis to certain rights, of which his predecessor had deprived them, evinced their gratitude by the alacrity with which they obeyed his commands. Having traversed the Elbe and the Eyder, they entered Denmark, laid the whole country waste, and restored the exiled monarch to his lost inheritance.

A. D. 816.] Some commotions of the Gascons and Slavonians threatened to interrupt the tranquility of the empire; but the latter were speedily reduced to submission by the Saxons; and the former, after losing two pitched battles, were compelled to acknowledge the authority of the duke whom Lewis had appointed to govern them. In the mean time, pope Leo died*, and was succeeded by Stephen, who assumed the pontificate, without waiting for the emperor's confirmation of his election†. He made the Romans, however, take an oath of fidelity to that monarch, to whom he paid a visit at Rheims; and Lewis desiring to be consecrated by the hands of the sovereign pontiff, that ceremony was performed in the church belonging to the abbey of Saint Remi, when Stephen placed a rich crown on his head, which he had brought with him from Rome, and another of inferior value on that of the empress Ermengarde, on whom he also bestowed the appellation of *Augusta*.

A. D. 817.] Pope Stephen died soon after his return to Italy, and Paschal the First, without deigning to solicit the consent of the emperor, in imitation of his predecessor, seated himself in the apostolic chair. Lewis expressed great resentment at this presumptuous invasion of his rights, and all Rome was alarmed at his threats; but the humble excuses of the artful priest soon appeased

* Walf. Strab. de Reb. Eccles. c. 21.

† Anast. Thegan, de Gest. Ludov. c. 16, et alii.

his indignation; and he was induced to confirm his election; protesting, however, at the same time, that any similar infringement on his just prerogatives should be severely punished*. This same year Lewis assembled a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which several regulations were adopted, with regard to canons—*canonesses*, and monks. The last, in the ninth century, inherited from their parents, and had property of their own, which at their death, belonged to their convent: The canonesses were, in fact nuns, bound by a vow of chastity, cloistered, veiled, and clothed in black; they kept their patrimony, and were permitted to have servants. All prelates were forbidden to wear any dress that favoured of worldly pomp†—a prohibition that appears to have been necessary, since most of them wore gaudy vestments, very unbecoming their station; they had rich girdles, from whence hung a small knife decorated with stones, a cross-belt and spurs—the martial embellishments of the early ages. Many of the prelates were highly offended at being obliged to renounce these appendages of vanity, and their resentment was, in the sequel, attended with fatal consequences to their sovereign. It was at this assembly, that Lewis associated Lothaire with him in the empire, declaring him his sole heir, and subjecting Pepin and Lewis to his authority, though they were both proclaimed kings—the first of Aquitaine, the last of Bavaria.—This partition of the empire proved a source of domestic division, and gave rise to the commission of a thousand crimes. [A. D. 818.] Bernard, king of Italy, son to the emperor's eldest brother, conceived himself to be treated with injustice; he was a young man of nineteen—handsome, well-made, brave, liberal, and beloved by his subjects‖. All the malcontents, who were very numerous, and some of the bishops, enraged at a reform that was contrary to their inclinations, promised, if he would oppose the measures of the king, that they and all their vassals would openly espouse his cause. Lewis, apprised of the conspiracy, immediately prepared to repel it, and marched, without delay, to Chalons-upon-Saone, at the head of a powerful army. This dispatch surpris'd the rebels, who fled on all sides; while Bernard, forsaken by his troops, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and with the principal conspirators submitted to his mercy. They were all tried, and their guilt being confirmed by their own confessions, Bernard and the nobles were condemned to die, and the bishops were degraded and confined in a monastery. But, as a great mark of *indulgence*, the sentence of the former was mitigated, and they were permitted to purchase their lives with the loss of their eyes; this cruel operation proved fatal to the king of Italy; and when we reflect, that the punishment was inflicted by an uncle, and on a youth of the greatest accomplishments and most amiable mind¶, we cannot but think that it was greatly disproportioned to the offence, and betrayed a want of feeling and hu-

* Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 4, p. 173.—l. v. c. 3, p. 441.

† Pref. pour servir à l'Histoire ecclésiastique & civile de Bretagne.

‡ Vit. Lud. Pii.

§ Thegan, c. 21.

¶ Eginard.

Vit. Lud. Pii.—Annal.

¶ Nithard, l. i.

manity in Lewis, that accorded but ill with his avowed respect for the doctrine and precepts of christianity. Though the three princes, Drogon, Hugh, and Thierrî, the youngest sons of Charlemagne, took no part in this revolt, yet Lewis, afraid that they might one day be tempted to follow so pernicious an example, ordered them to be shaved and confined in different convents.

[A. D. 819.] Bernard's revolt was succeeded by several other insurrections, which, though they indicated a radical weakness in the government, were attended with no bad consequences. Brittany, reduced to submission in less than six weeks, received a duke from the hands of the emperor. The king of the Abodrites was taken in the first campaign, and deprived of his crown. The duke of the Gascons experienced a similar fate; and the governor of lower Pannonia, though more determined, was not more successful. But the most disastrous events which distinguished the year, were the death of Ermengarde, and the marriage of Lewis with Judith, descended from the nobles of Bavaria, and the dukes of Saxony, but whose beautiful form and splendid accomplishments concealed an ambitious mind, the source of equal calamities to her consort and the empire. His son, Lothaire, soon after married Ermengarde; daughter to count Hugh; and Pepin, king of Aquitaine, espoused the daughter of Theodebert, count of Madrie—a district which comprehended that extent of country which is now bounded by Evreux, Vernon and the Seine.

[A. D. 822.] The rejoicings which attended the celebration of these nuptials were inadequate to stifle, in the mind of Lewis, the rising distates of remorse. The cruelty and injustice of his conduct to his nephew, his brothers, and to Adelaar and Vala, the friends of his father, preyed upon his spirits, and proved a continual interruption to his repose. A national assembly was convened at his palace of Attigny*, and there, in presence of his prelates and nobles, he became his own accuser; asked forgiveness of his brothers, who were all present; granted a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him; recalled those whom he had banished, and restored them to their estates and possessions; and finally entreated the bishops to suffer him to atone, by public penance, for the crimes he had committed. By a misplaced condescension of this nature, Vamba, king of Spain, had lost his throne; but Lewis was more fortunate—he regained the affection of his subjects, which his late severity had tended to estrange. About this time Judith gave birth to Charles, surnamed the Bald, whose fatal pretensions afterwards shook the throne of his father, and involved the empire in the calamities of civil war.

[A. D. 823, to 829.] Already that empire was assailed by the fury of its foreign enemies; the Britons once more resumed their arms, and violated their recent oaths of allegiance; the Normans renewed their incursions; a torrent of Moors deluged the face of Catalonia; the revolt of Navarre may be considered

* Egin. in Ann.

† Vit. Lud. Pii.—Thegan.

as the foundation of its future independence; and the dark scene of domestic discord closed the gloomy prospect.

Charles, the son of Judith, having, as yet, no allotment of empire, Lewis proposed to dismember the possessions of his other children, in order to form a separate kingdom for him. The three princes, at first, refused to consent to their father's proposals; but Lothaire, being gained over by the caresses of the empress, withdrew his opposition, and as he had holden the young prince on the baptismal font, he promised to become his protector, and swore to defend him against all his enemies. Lewis, being thus assured of the support of his eldest son, convoked a general assembly at Worms*, where he gave to Charles, with the title of King, that part of Germany which is bounded by the Danube, the Maine, the Neckar, and the Rhine; the country of the Grifons, and the district of Burgundy, which comprehends Geneva and the Swiss Cantons†.

A. D. 830.] This partition operated as a signal of revolt. Lothaire, at first, adhered to the promise he had recently made, but being unable to conceal his discontent, he speedily forsook the court, and retired to Italy. The kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine also retired to their respective dominions. The prelates and nobles murmured at being obliged to violate the oaths they had taken to admit of no change in the first partition of the empire, without the consent of the parties concerned; an oath which the emperor himself authorized by his example. Their complaints were loud, and their declamations violent, against the empress, and her minister, Bernard, count of Barcelona, a nobleman highly distinguished by the lustre of his rank, and by his brave and enterprising spirit; though, if contemporary writers may be credited, his birth was superior to his virtue, and his courage better than his principals. His attachment to the interest of prince Charles, and his close attention to the duties of his office, as chamberlain to the empress, gave birth to suspicions inimical to the virtue of Judith‡. The empress was, at this time, intrusted not only with the care of the wardrobe, but of the money destined for the pay and support of the troops; and it was the chamberlain's business to receive and execute her orders||. The frequent interviews which he had with his royal mistress, for this purpose, were, by the calumnious and disaffected, represented as amorous assignations; and a report was industriously propagated, that a criminal intercourse subsisted between them. They went still farther—and maintained that Bernard had formed a project for putting the emperor and his three children to death, that he might marry the object of his guilty passion.

The abbot Vala was one of the first dupes to this injurious calumny; impressed with a conviction of Bernard's guilt, which existed but in the brain of Pascale Rathbert, his friend, his biographer and successor: he did not give himself the

* Egin. Ann.—Bertin, G. Fuld.—Vita et acta Lud. Pii.
in. vita Valæ Abbatis.

|| Hincmar. de ordine Palatii.

† Thegan c. 5.

‡ Pascale Rathbert.

trouble to investigate the odious charge, but openly declared against the minister, in favour of a prince whose honour he affected to revere, and whose safety he pretended to consult, by exciting his subjects to revolt. He was joined by the abbot of Saint Denis, with the bishops of Lyons, Vienne, and Amiens—three prelates whose merit gave a degree of credit to the faction—by a great number of the nobles; and in short by all the malcontents in the kingdom. The king of Aquitaine was the first who hoisted the standard of rebellion; having advanced as far as Verberie, at the head of a powerful army, he seized the person of the empress, who had taken refuge in the church of Notre-Dame, condemned her to perpetual exile, and forced her to take the veil in the convent of Radegonda, at Poitiers.

At this critical conjuncture, the emperor desired a diet might be convened at his palace at Compiègne. Thither this timid prince repaired; and, instead of ascending the throne that was prepared for him, he meanly descended to acknowledge his faults, and to commend the zeal of those who had obliged him to reform his conduct*. An acknowledgement of this kind was little expected; and from the temper of the times, it might naturally have been supposed, that it would rather tend to encrease than to allay the spirit of discontent: it had, however, a contrary effect, and produced some transient gleams of returning loyalty; but the arrival of Lothaire gave a new aspect to affairs; and Lewis, with his son Charles, was compelled to surrender at discretion to the rebels, who affected to treat him with profound respect, but were particularly careful to secure his person. He was surrounded by people who had secret orders to persuade him to assume the monastic habit: though averse to the plan, yet he pretended to favour it, and asked but for a short delay to give the matter a more mature consideration.

During this interval a monk, named Gombaudo, who possessed a bold and enterprising spirit, undertook to release his sovereign from that state of captivity in which he was kept by his sons. With this view he talked to the bishops, and reminded them of the different privileges that had been secured to them by the emperor. To the nobles he employed the same arguments; and they proved equally successful with both. He then waited on the kings of Bavaria and Aquitaine, and expatiated with such energy and effect, on the goodness of their father, on their own ingratitude, and on the extreme pride and arrogance of their brother, that those monarchs consented to do whatever he required. To Lothaire, whose confidence he enjoyed, he artfully intimated the necessity of holding a parliament, (in imitation of his predecessors) by whom his authority might be fully and formally acknowledged; and Lewis declared incapable of swaying the sceptre. The young prince listened to him with attention; and it was, accordingly decided, that the diet should be holden at Nimeguen, and that every one

* Vita et acta Ludov. Pii.

should repair to it unarmed. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the abbot of Saint Denis went accompanied by a number of armed men; but he was immediately ordered to leave both the palace and the town; and the severity he experienced alarmed the factions, whose schemes were entirely frustrated by the steady zeal of the Germans. These declared themselves so openly in favour of their old master, and their numbers were so great, that Lothaire began to think his person was in danger; stimulated by his fears, he threw himself at the feet of his father, and invoked the protection of him whom he had so recently oppressed*. In the breast of Lewis, the resentment of the sovereign gave way to the tenderness of the parent, and, overcome by the submission of his son, he publicly pronounced his pardon. The principal conspirators were tried by the assembly, and received sentence of death; but the emperor contented himself with confining them in different monasteries. Jesse, bishop of Amiens, one of the most factious, was deposed by an ecclesiastical council, and Vala, who refused to accept a pardon, on condition of acknowledging that he had acted in opposition to his duty, was imprisoned in a castle, situated on the summit of a rock which hung over the lake of Geneva.

A. D. 831.] Lewis was no sooner established on his throne, than he recalled his empress from her religious retirement; and the monastic vows of Judith, having been extorted by force, were absolved by the indulgence of pope Gregory the fourth. She appeared before an assembly of nobles at Aix-la-Chapelle, where she swore to her innocence of the crimes that were laid to her charge; and the accusations preferred against her were declared to be false and calumnious.

A. D. 832, 833.] Tranquility now appeared to be restored; but the establishment of Charles, the rebellious disposition of the emperor's sons by his first wife, with the implacable enmity of Judith, again involved the empire in trouble and confusion.—Pepin again hoisted the standard of revolt, and engaged his brothers to join him; but the vigorous resistance of Lewis soon disconcerted their projects, and compelled them to sue for mercy. The kings of Italy and Bavaria received an unconditional pardon; and Pepin, who was the most guilty, was ordered to repair to Treves, and there wait till he should have permission from the emperor to return to his dominions. But he escaped from the guards who were appointed to escort him, and once more excited a war as impious in its object, as detestible in its effects. Lewis thought to stop its progress by revoking his grant of Aquitaine to his rebellious son, and transferring that kingdom to Charles; but this only increased the general discontent, and doubled the number of his enemies. The apprehension of a similar chastisement induced the kings of Italy and Bavaria to take up arms in defence of their brother—troops were levied on all sides—and the forces of the confederate princes effect-

* Thegan. c. 57.

ed a junction near Rotsfeld, between Basle and Strasbourg, in a plain since called—"The Field of Falshood."

Pope Gregory the fourth, delighted with an opportunity of becoming arbiter in a dispute the object of which was a crown, was base enough to espouse the cause of children who were fighting against their parent. Repairing to the camp of the rebels, he menaced with the thunders of the church, all those who, preserving their loyalty, should refuse to take up arms against the emperor. Several prelates, men of known piety, either seduced by the intrigues, or intimidated by the threats of the sovereign pontiff, insisted that Lewis should submit to his decisions*. Others, however, remained faithful to their sovereign, and, with becoming spirit, wrote to the officious priest†, expressing their concern that a man of his character and profession should appear at the head of a party, who had violated the laws of nature, of honour, and religion. They reminded him of the oath which he had taken to the emperor, after his exaltation to the chair of Saint Peter; an oath which he could not break without incurring the guilt of sacrilege. They assured him that should he dare to pronounce a sentence of excommunication against them, he should return to Rome branded by the anathema of the French and German churches‡. Finally they warned him, that affairs might take such a turn as to produce his deposition from the papal throne, of which he had proved himself unworthy by a conduct so repugnant to the sacred canons, and to the spirit of christianity. This firmness astonished Gregory, and made him repent his hasty engagement in an enterprise that might be attended with such fatal consequences to himself; but the abbot Vala, Pascale Rathbert, and some other monks, who frequented his court, dissipated his fears, by giving him to understand that the holy see was superior to any earthly jurisdiction. Thus encouraged, Gregory answered the French prelates in terms of arrogance and severity||; he dared to assert that the imperial was inferior to the papal power; openly declaring against the emperor, censuring his conduct, and disclaiming all obligation, except that of reprehending him whenever he should forget his duty.

Lewis, in the mean time, assembled his troops, and marched to meet his sons in the hope either of reducing them to submission, or of bringing them to an engagement. The two armies were in sight of each other, when the three brothers, by a stroke of policy consistent with their perfidious projects, engaged the sovereign pontiff to negotiate an accommodation with their father. The pope accordingly repaired to the emperor's camp, where no honours of any kind were paid him; but where Lewis reproached him with the irregularity of his conduct, and particularly with his presumption, in daring to enter the French dominions without his permission. He kept him, however, some days in his camp, which

* Vit. Lud. Pii. † Thegan. c. 42.—Vita Valæ Abbot.—Nithard. Ibid.—Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.

‡ Si excommunicatus adveniret, excommunicatus abiret, cum aliter se haberet antiquorum canonum auctoritas. Vita Ludov. Pii ad Ann. 824. || In Agobard. t. ii. p. 53. Edit. Baluz.

were employed by the insidious pontiff in debauching his troops:—The whole army went over to the rebels; and the unhappy monarch was hastily deposed by an obsequious assembly of the dependants of the confederates; and Lothaire, by the same authority, was raised to the vacant throne. The empress was dismissed to a nunnery at Tortona, Charles was strictly guarded in the monastery of Saint Medard, at Soissons, and his son Charles in the abbey of Prum, in the forest of Ardennes. The victorious princes, after solemn professions of mutual attachment, separated, and each retired to his respective dominions; the pope to Rome, and Pepin and Lewis to Aquitaine and Bavaria.

A. D. 834.] It had been formerly settled by pope Leo, and confirmed by a solemn decree of the twelfth council of Toledo, that no man who wore the habit of a penitent could discharge any civil or military functions. For this reason, Ebbon, archbishop of Rheims, a prelate of the most profligate manners, condemned his sovereign to submit to the degradation of a public penance in the church of Saint Medard; after which ceremony, they stripped him of his imperial vestments, and clothed him in a dress stigmatized by the church, and incapacitating him from exercising the duties and prerogatives of royalty. But his submissive resignation to the insults of an unnatural son, obliterated all his past errors and imprudence: the misfortunes of their lawful sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever discontented with the ruling powers—and the active diligence of his adherents soon opened the road for his restoration. Drogon, bishop of Metz, awakened Lewis of Bavaria to a sense of his interest and duty; he armed in the cause of a sovereign and a parent;—the nobility of France followed his example. The king of Aquitaine, through the persuasions of the abbot Hugh, joined him with his forces—the Saxons espoused their cause. The aged emperor was at length restored at Saint Denis; his son Charles was released from confinement; and Lothaire, after a fruitless resistance, was compelled to acknowledge his crime, and throw himself on the mercy of his father.

A. D. 835, 836, 837, 838.] Lewis was now advanced in years, and the natural infirmities of age were greatly increased by the calamities he had experienced. The empress, aware that his death at this period, would leave her son unprovided for, offered to cede to the king of Italy one-half of the empire, on condition that he should secure the other half to prince Charles. To this Lothaire consented, but as he was on his road to the French court, he was attacked by an infectious disorder, that proved fatal to his principal councillors; and being deprived of their support, Judith conceived him to be an object of insignificance no longer to be dreaded, and consequently no longer to be courted. She therefore cast her eyes upon the king of Aquitaine, and by promising to render the crown hereditary in his family, induced him to espouse the interests of her son*. An assembly was accordingly convoked at Chierfi-upon-Oise,

* Nithard. lib. i. Annal. Bertin.

in which the emperor declared Charles king of that part of Germany which is bounded by Saxony and Switzerland, and of all Neustria—that is, of the whole country between the Seine, the Loire and the Sea, together with the territories of Toul, Bar, Auxerre, and Sens: This partition met with the approbation of the nobles, and was highly acceptable to Pepin; but the death of that monarch; soon after his return to Bourdeaux, rendered it necessary to adopt some new arrangements.

The emperor, when he assigned different kingdoms to his sons, reserved to himself the right, in case they should die before him, of disposing of them at his pleasure. At the solicitation of the empress, he now consented to despoil the two sons of Pepin of their inheritance, in order to augment the appanage of Charles. Lewis of Bavaria, displeas'd with the late decisions of the assembly at Chierfi, had taken up arms; and though this revolt had been stifled in its birth, it nevertheless excited a degree of resentment in the emperor, that induced him to curtail his dominions by confining him solely to the possession of Bavaria. Lothaire was now re-called from Italy, and a new division of the empire took place. All the southern and western provinces of France, which formed nearly the present kingdom, were assigned to the son of Judith; and the rest, with the exception of Bavaria, was secured to the king of Italy, who took an oath to become the guardian and protector of Charles.

A. D. 839, 840.] An insurrection in Aquitaine, for the purpose of placing the eldest son of Pepin on the throne of his father, induced the emperor to march thither with a numerous army: but he had no sooner reduced the insurgents to submission, than he received information, that Lewis of Bavaria had embraced that opportunity to make an irruption into Germany. Thither he accordingly repaired; and, by his presence, dispelled the gathering clouds of rebellion. Having restored tranquillity to his dominions, he assembled a parliament at Worms, in the hope of establishing a perfect harmony between his children; but he did not live to accomplish this desirable object. Finding his strength fail him, he was conveyed to an island in the Rhine, near Mayence, where he languished for six weeks, and then expired, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign. A few days before his death, he sent a crown, a sword, and a sceptre of gold, enriched with precious stones, to Lothaire, as a proof that he meant him to govern the empire; at the same time, he exhorted that prince to remember the solemn promise he had given to the empress and her son Charles.—Being pressed by the bishop of Metz to pardon Lewis of Bavaria, he replied—“I pardon him with all my heart; but tell him from me, that he ought to think seriously of obtaining pardon from God, for bringing my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.”

The mind of Lewis exhibited a strange mixture of virtue and weakness; intrepid in the field, but irresolute in the cabinet;—humane from inclination, from timidity cruel; he had sense enough to promulgate good and wholesome

laws, but not sufficient spirit to enforce their observance. Injudicious in the choice of his ministers, he conferred favours on the unworthy, and was involved in calamities from vices not his own. Superstitiously devout, his close attention to the *minutiae* of a religion, in which substance is but too frequently sacrificed to forms, led him to neglect the most essential duties of government, and entrust to favourites what he should have executed himself. Hence the factious and turbulent derived encouragement; and, profiting by the meekness of the executive power, spread anarchy and desolation throughout the empire.—In short, the virtues of Lewis might have procured him distinction in a cloister, but were by no means calculated to embellish a throne.

This monarch was interred in the church of Saint Arnoul, at Metz. By Ermengarde he had three sons—Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis; and four daughters, Adelaide married to Conrad, count of Paris; Gisele, mother to Berenger, king of Italy; Alpaide, wife to count Begon; and Hildegarde, who was married to count Thierry. By Judith of Bavaria, he had Charles, surnamed *the Bald*. Some of the capitularies of this prince regulate the quantum of contribution to be paid by certain convents towards the support of the state. The monks had become so rich, that the celebrated Alcuin is said to have had upwards of twenty thousand slaves; and so powerful, that some of them had the audacity to stand forward as the leaders of a party, and in that capacity to assemble troops. The abbots, a title that was confined to the heads of monasteries, from that time assumed the pastoral staff, which was the symbol of pontifical dignity with the ancient Romans.

CHARLES THE SECOND,

SURNAMED THE BALD.

A. D. 840.] THE ambition of Lothaire, which had frequently silenced the dictates of nature, scorned to be confined by the feeble barrier of an oath. On the first news of the emperor's death, he resolved to effect the deposition of his two brothers; and, with that view, levied a powerful army, and directed his march towards the frontiers of Germany. He hoped to take Lewis of Bavaria by surprise, but was greatly astonished to find him prepared with a formidable body of troops, to dispute the passage into his dominions*. A reception so unexpected disconcerted his plan; and, not daring to advance†, he proposed an interview, in which a suspension of arms, till the following year, was mutually agreed on. Each party had his views in consenting to a truce; Lewis was anxious to secure the Saxons, and the rest of his German subjects; while Lothaire was intent upon an invasion of France, whither he had been invited by some of the principal nobility. He accordingly passed the Meuse, and laid waste the possessions of all who refused to espouse his cause. Charles, having assembled a small army to oppose the progress of his perfidious brother, fixed his camp at Orleans; and the dispute was on the point of being decided by a battle, when Lothaire, who had vainly endeavoured to seduce from their duty the troops of his opponent, suddenly proposed an accommodation. Though he insisted on the cession of a part of Neustria, Charles thought it more prudent to purchase a peace, even on these hard terms, than to risque an action with an enemy whose forces were so greatly superior to his own. Lothaire, however, promised to abide by the decision of a general assembly, which was immediate-

* Nithard. l. i.

† Annaï. Bertin.

ly summoned to meet at the palace of Attigny upon the Aisne, in the month of May, in the following year; till which time no hostilities were to be attempted against Charles. This revived the hopes of the young monarch, who placed a firm reliance on the affection of his subjects, and the equity of the nation, which began to evince a strong attachment to his interests.

A. D. 841.] The diet assembled at the appointed time; but Lothaire neglected to attend it, though it was convened by his orders. This violation of his word, together with a second irruption into Germany, and some new efforts to gain over the nobles of Neustria, at length convinced the two kings that it was necessary they should unite their utmost endeavours to restrain the ambition of their eldest brother. A junction of their forces was accordingly effected, on the confines of Lorraine; where, though greatly superior in number to Lothaire, they made the most equitable proposals of accommodation. To these the Italian monarch pretended to listen; but he only waited till the son of Pepin had joined him with a strong reinforcement, from Aquitaine, when he suddenly put a stop to the negotiation, and advanced to the plains of Fontenay, a village in the Auxerrois; where a most bloody and obstinate engagement took place*. The cause of justice prevailed; and Lewis and Charles were left masters of the field. It has been pretended, by some modern writers, that one hundred thousand men fell in the battle; but this must be a gross exaggeration, as Nithard, a contemporary author, who was present at the action, takes no notice of a circumstance, that, if true, could not have escaped his attention,

Lothaire, compelled to fly, took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he exerted his utmost efforts to give new strength to his declining party. As the Saxons had been partly compelled to embrace christianity, he sought to secure their assistance by permitting them to renew their ancient laws and customs†. When, by his intrigues, he had collected a sufficient force, he made an unsuccessful attempt on the borders of Bavaria; then, directing his march towards Paris, he laid the whole country waste; till, being stopped by an inundation of the Seine, he was compelled to return, without accomplishing the object of his expedition.

A. D. 842, 843.] Lothaire's design was to effect a division between the two kings, but all his efforts for this purpose proved fruitless. Charles and Lewis, convinced that their common safety depended on their union, solemnly confirmed the league that subsisted between them, and renewed their alliance, by an oath drawn up in their respective languages: Lewis swore in the *Roman* language, that he might be understood by the French, to whom his oath was addressed; and Charles in the *Tudescan*, or, as it was indiscriminately called, the *Frank-Teutch*, *Theotiste*, *Theotique*, or *Thiois*, to render himself intelligible to his brother's subjects‡. The Roman language was spoken in Neustria, and was a

* Annal. Bertin et Fuld. † Annal. Bertin. ‡ The oath of Lewis being considered as a curious monument of the ancient Roman language, from which the present language of France is derived, we have, for the gratification of our readers, extracted it from Nithard, a contemporary writer.—“ Pro don amur et

corrupt mixture of the Latin with the Celtic; the latter wa a kind of German, nearly resembling the present dialect of the Frisians.

The two princes, though of superior force, again sought to bring the emperor to an accommodation; but he proudly refused to admit their ambassadors to an audience, and even dismissed them with ignominy. An insult so gross, excited universal indignation; the troops of Lewis and Charles loudly demanded to be led against the man whom they justly considered as the author of those troubles, to which the empire was exposed. Their leaders cheerfully complied with their request; the army was put in motion; and, on its approach, the bishop of Mayence, who had been appointed to guard the banks of the Moselle, deserted his post, and fled with the utmost precipitation. Lothaire, unable to resist the torrent, left his palace at Sinsik, and took refuge at Aix-la-Chapelle; but, hearing that his brothers were advancing; he stripped his father's magnificent palace of all its most valuable effects, and retired towards the Rhone, with the intention, if pursued, to pass on to Italy.

A doubt now arose in the minds of the conquerors, from the uncertainty whether they ought to take possession of a country which there was nobody to dispute with them, or to restore it to a brother who had left it only from his inability to defend it. This knotty point was referred to the decision of the bishops; the episcopal character, according to the prevailing superstition of the times, being gifted with superior knowledge, as well on political and martial affairs, as on ecclesiastical matters. From this absurd idea was derived that enormous extent of authority possessed by the prelates, who, being empowered to decide on all questions, of whatever nature, found the means of turning every thing to their own advantage. Princes themselves encreased, by their conduct, the ambition of the heirharchy; and, by accepting crowns from the hands of the bishops, gave them the power to dispose of them. Such prelates as followed the court, assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to decide on the fate of Lothaire; and

“pro christian poplo et nostro comun salvament, dist di en avant, in quant Deus favir et potir me dunat, si salvarai eo cest meon fradra Karlo, et in adjudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum hom per dreit son fradra salvar dist, inoquid il imi altre si faret; et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradne Karle in damno sit.” The following is a literal translation of it: “For the love of God and of the christian people, and for our common safety, from this day forward, so long as God shall give me knowledge and power, I will save (DEFEND) my brother Charles, and will assist him in every thing, as a man by right ought to save his brother, because he would do as much for me; and I will enter into no treaty with Lothaire, that by my inclination shall prove prejudicial to my brother Charles.”—When the Romans first invaded Gaul, the Celtic was the prevailing language of the country: but the conquerors wishing, agreeably to their usual policy, to accustom the people they had subdued to their own laws, manners, and customs, were studious to promote the use of the Latin language, as the best mode of facilitating the accomplishment of that desirable object: and the Gauls themselves, despairing of ever recovering their native independence, considered Rome as their native country, and aspiring to the attainment of honours, were anxious to please their conquerors by learning their language. Hence, the Celtic became corrupted, and by degrees was totally lost in that mixed jargon denominated the ROMAN.

See Origine et Revolutions des Langues Celtique et Francoise.

they all declared, with one voice, that he had forfeited his right to the crown, and that his subjects were consequently absolved from their oaths of allegiance. They next asked Lewis and Charles, if they would promise to govern with greater justice than Lothaire; to this the monarchs, of course, replied in the affirmative; and the bishop, who presided, then said—"We permit you, by divine authority, to reign in the place of your brother, to govern his kingdom according to the will of God—We exhort you, we command you so to do."—In virtue of this arbitrary decision, which established a most dangerous precedent, and shewed, in the monarchs who submitted to it, an astonishing degree of imbecility, the provinces which Lothaire had abandoned, were equally divided between the brothers. But this partition was speedily changed; for the emperor, conscious of his own inability to maintain a war against forces so superior to his own, made his pride subservient to his interest, and now humbly solicited that accommodation which he had so recently rejected with disdain. His brothers, sincerely wishing for the restoration of tranquillity, listened to his proposals with joy; and the three monarchs meeting at Verdun, a new division of the empire took place. Charles the bald was secured in the possession of Neustria, Aquitaine, and Septimania; to Lothaire was confirmed, with the title of emperor, all Italy, Provence, Franche Comte, the Lyonnois, and all that country which lies within the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Saone; the Meuse and the Scheld: and Bavaria, with the rest of Germany, was assigned to Lewis—whence he acquired the appellation of "Lewis the German."—by which he will hereafter be distinguished. To this territory were annexed the cities of Mayence, Worms, and Spire, with their dioceses, merely for the purpose of supplying him with wine, no vineyards, having been yet planted, in any part of his German dominions*. Adelaar, a nobleman of Aquitaine, whose grand-daughter Ermentrude Charles had recently married, acted as a mediator between the contending parties, and promoted the conclusion of the present treaty, by which the flames of civil war were, for the present, extinguished.

The attention of Charles and his brother was now directed to some commotions of inferior consequence, which prevailed in different parts of their dominions. A revolt of the Abodrites was speedily quelled by Lewis the German; and count Bernard, who maintained a correspondence with the enemies of Charles, paid for his disloyalty with his life. But William, the count's son, seized the city of Thoulouse, and raised up the whole country that borders on the Pyrenees, in favour of young Pepin. In vain did the king lay siege to his new conquest; a considerable detachment of his troops were attacked by the rebels, and totally defeated. In this action fell the abbots Hugh and Rikbole, two noblemen equally distinguished for the dignity of their birth, and the excellence of their character—they were both descended from the blood royal—the first being

* Regino in Chronogr.—Marfan, Scot. Chron.—Sigebert Gemblacensis Chron.

uncle, and the second cousin-german to the king. From this circumstance, it appears, that the prohibition to bear arms was not much attended to by the dignified clergy. Charles was now compelled to leave William in possession of Thoulouſe, in order to quell an infurrection in Brittany, of which count Lambert was the principal inſtigator and conductor. That nobleman, having been expelled from Nantes by duke Nomenoe, had called in the Normans to his aſſiſtance, who diffuſed terror and diſmay through the whole country.

Theſe ſavage hordes had made their firſt incurſions on the French territories, about the commencement of the ninth century; when all the power of Charlemagne had proved inadequate to prevent them from ravaging the countries of Frieſland and Saxony. During the reign of his ſucceſſor, Lewis the gentle, they returned; and, landing at Antwerp, reduced that city to aſhes. The troubles which prevailed in the empire after the death of Lewis, revived their avidity, and induced them to renew their depredations. They entered France by the Seine, [A. D. 842.] and ſacked the city of Rouen*, which they had taken by ſurpriſe. Another fleet of the barbarians, under the conduct of Lambert, ſailed up the Loire as far as Nantes, which experienced a ſimilar fate. From hence they made irruptions into Anjou and Touraine, and laid waſte the whole province of Guienne. The monaſteries and churches were all plundered, and ſuch as reſuſed to pay an exhorbitant ranſom were burnt. All the nuns were firſt raviſhed, and then divided among the ſavage plunderers; the prieſts, the monks, and all ſuch as were enfeebled by age, were maſſacred; but the young men and children were either condemned to perpetual ſlavery, or deſtined to become the companions and accomplices of theſe lawleſs barbarians. When they had collected as much booty as they could carry off, they either returned to their own country, or elſe repaired to ſome other coaſt, where they converted it into money.

Encouraged by the ſucceſs of their firſt incurſions, they were ſpeedily induced to renew them. In 844, the ocean was covered with their ſhips. It was no longer a band of thieves ſailing without order or regularity in purſuit of plunder, but a formidable fleet of ſix hundred veſſels, commanded by a king, and containing a numerous army. This prince, whoſe name was Eric†, took Hamburg by ſurpriſe, then advanced into the interior parts of Germany, committed the moſt horrid deſtroyations, defeated the natives in two pitched battles; and, returning to his dominions laden with plunder, diſpatched Regnier, one of his captains, into France. Entering the Seine with a hundred and twenty veſſels, he attacked Rouen; which was again taken and pillaged; he then continued his courſe up the river, till he came to Paris||, which being unprovided with the means of defence, became a prey to the barbarians. Charles the bald had retired to Saint Denis, where he had thrown up entrenchments for the

* Annal. Bertin.

† Reginio in Chron.

‡ Ann. Met.

|| Ann. Bertin.

purpose of defending the sacred relics that were there deposited. Not daring to risk a battle, he was compelled to listen to the degrading proposals of the Norman, who exacted, as the price of his absence, seven thousand pounds weight of silver.

This contemptible policy defeated the end it was meant to answer; since the money thus given to purchase a peace supplied the invaders with the means of renewing the war. Nor did they fail to profit by the advantage they had acquired. Every year of Charles's reign was signalized by some new irruption; Bordeaux, Ghent, Rouen, Nantes, Touraine, Angers, Blois, Saint-Valery, Amiens, Noyon and Beauvais, were successively and repeatedly attacked, reduced, and plundered. To see a descendant of Charlemagne in league with these lawless depredators, was the only occurrence that could increase the horror of the scene. Young Pepin, abandoned by the people of Aquitaine, [A. D. 857:] did not blush to solicit their friendship, and to forward their schemes*. Encouraged by this accession of force, they speedily over-ran the whole kingdom of France; though attracted, at first, by the mere prospect of plunder, they now began to conceive more important designs, and to seek for a place of settlement. They seized the island of Oisel upon the Seine, and making that their head-quarters, sent out detachments to ravage the surrounding country; nor could the king dislodge them from their important post, [A. D. 861.] which opened them a passage into the very heart of Neustria, till he had procured the assistance of their own countrymen;—though sometimes conquered, they speedily returned with fresh forces.

It was not long before they re-appeared on the beautiful banks of the Loire, where they committed the most horrid excesses. In 864, Orleans and Poitiers, being taken by escalade, were pillaged and burnt. Another band of adventurers forced the passages of Pisté on the Seine, and defeated a body of French that were sent to defend them. Charles, apprehensive that they meant again to establish themselves on that river, made proposals for an accommodation, and was mean enough to submit to terms still more hard and degrading than those which were imposed on him by the treaty of Saint Denis. He gave them four thousand weight of silver; engaged to pay a stipulated sum for every Norman that had been killed by the peasants in their own defence, and consented to ransom even such of the French prisoners as had effected their escape. On these conditions the barbarians retired to Jumieges, where they remained till the year 865; that is, till every article of the treaty was literally fulfilled. Some time after, another detachment, in conjunction with the Bretons, surprised and sacked the town of Mans. These were pursued by Robert the Strong, who was unfortunately killed by an arrow, when on the point of forcing their entrenchments. This nobleman, with regard to whose origin so many different opinions have

* Ann. Bertin.

† Ibid.

prevailed*, had been honoured with the government and ducal title of what was then called the duchy of Paris; he was the great-grandfather of Hugh Capet, from whom all the monarchs who have reigned over France for these last eight hundred years were descended. His loss was universally lamented, and he received the appellation of the Macabeus of the age.

A new incursion of the Normans into Anjou, at length awakened the king from his lethargy, and determined him to exert every effort, to expel the formidable ravagers from his dominions. Solomon, duke of Brittany†, was persuaded to join his forces to those of Charles. The principal leaders of these daring adventurers were besieged in Angiers, [A. D. 873.] and, after being reduced to the last extremity, submitted to purchase their retreat, and ransom their ships, by surrendering the spoil they had acquired. They were permitted to retire to an island on the Loire, on condition that they would leave it in the month of February in the following year. But when the time came for their departure, they refused to comply with the terms of capitulation; and as Charles had not ships sufficient for the purpose of dislodging them, they remained there some time longer; during which they continued their usual depredations.

Such were the calamities to which the kingdom was exposed, under the reign of Charles, by the dreadful incursions of the Normans. We judged it expedient to relate them together, that the attention of the reader might not be divided; and that, by bringing them, as it were, to a point, he might be the better enabled to appreciate the weakness of the government, which was incapable of adopting the necessary means of defence; and the ignorance of the age, which neither possessed the art of fortifying towns, nor the precaution of providing resources against the time of misfortune.

A. D. 844.] Lothaire's first care, after the accommodation with his brothers, was to regulate the affairs of Italy. Pope Gregory the fourth was dead; and Sergius the second, being elected to succeed him, had been consecrated without waiting for the emperor's confirmation. That prince, in order to prevent any future infringement of his authority, sent his son Lewis into Italy, accompanied by his uncle Drogon, bishop of Metz. The prelate was enjoined to assemble at Rome as many bishops as he could collect, and to investigate the circumstances attending the election of Sergius. The new pontiff thought to avert the impending storm‡ by loading the young prince with caresses, and by paying him extraordinary honours and respect. When Lewis went to the church of Saint Peter, he waited for him at the top of the steps||, and after embracing him with great tenderness, placed him at his right hand, and conducted him to the sanctuary. Some days after his arrival, the Italian bishops assembled to try Sergius; Drogon presided, as uncle to the prince. The sovereign pontiff appeared before them, and answered all the accusations preferred against him.

* *Gesta Norman.* † *Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.* ‡ *Severinus Binius.* || *Annal. Bertin.*

The verdict of the prelates cleared him from the imputation of misconduct; his election was confirmed, and he took the oath of fidelity to Lothaire. It was settled that, in future, the popes, according to ancient custom, should never be ordained without the consent of the emperor, and always in presence of his envoys. This affair being terminated, Sergius crowned Lewis king of Lombardy, and made Drogon his vicar-general in Gaul and Germany. The French clergy, assembled at the palace of Verneuil, found themselves greatly embarrassed, with regard to the creation of this extraordinary office: they were loth to refuse any thing to a prelate who was respectable from his age, his piety, and his birth, but, on the other hand, they were afraid to suffer the court of Rome to assume an authority that might be attended with dangerous consequences*. It was determined, therefore, to refer the matter to the decision of a national council. The intentions of Drogon were good; he modestly regarded this determination as a delicate refusal, and forbore to make use of the power entrusted to him.

[A. D. 845.] The French empire had never been exposed to so many calamities as it now experienced; Germany was laid waste by the Normans: an insurrection had taken place in Provence, at the instigation of duke Fulcrade, which was not quelled till the rebels had sustained a total defeat. Young Pepin had collected a fresh army, and compelled Charles to grant him peace, and to cede to him all the kingdom of Aquitaine, except Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois†, to be holden as a fief of the crown. A revolt of Nomenoe, duke of the Bretons, induced the king to march an army against him; but falling into an ambuscade, his troops were defeated, and he himself obliged to fly; returning, however, with a strong reinforcement, the duke solicited a pardon, and returned to his duty.

[A. D. 846.] The king of Lombardy, having attacked the Saracens, who had pillaged the church of Saint Peter, was defeated, and with difficulty escaped to Rome. The bishops, at this period, as depositaries of the faith, thought that no limits should be assigned to their prerogatives; and the nobles, as defenders of the country, imagined that their will should be law. Charles, pressed by the ecclesiastics, was constrained to swear that their persons and their order he would ever hold sacred; that he would levy no undue impost, nor exact from the church any other tributes than those which had been paid during the reigns of his father and grandfather‡. The prelates, emboldened by success, dared to present certain canons, or statutes, to the assembly at Epernay, which were calculated to render them sole arbiters of the state. But they were strongly opposed by the nobles||; and the dispute growing warm, the bishops displayed such insolence and pride, that the king expelled them from the assembly. Things were in this situation, when a nobleman, named Gilbert, had

* Canon 12,

† Annal. Crim.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

the presumption to carry off the emperor's daughter, and to marry her in public. Charles, who was his sovereign, either did not dare, or had not the power, to punish him; the three princes met at Mersen upon the Meuse, where an assembly of the nobles was convened, but they had not sufficient credit to procure the condemnation of the culprit; they were fain to content themselves with ordaining that, in future, the crime of seduction should be punished according to law.

A. D. 847.] At a subsequent assembly, holden at the same place, divers regulations were adopted, all of which tended to strengthen the friendship that subsisted between the brothers, who were, by this time, convinced that the preservation of the empire depended on their union. It was decreed, that the children of him who should die first should succeed to the dominions of his father, without any hindrance or molestation from his uncles; provided, however, they treated them with all becoming respect and submission*. By this decision, *that* became a law which had hitherto been a matter of doubt. When France was divided into different kingdoms, if one of the sovereigns died, the nation thought itself entitled to dispose of the vacant throne, with the sole restriction of confining their choice to the princes of the blood. We have seen Pepin succeed his brother, to the exclusion of his nephews, whom he confined in a monastery.—The Austrasian nobles, on the death of Carloman, excluded his children, to give the throne to Charlemagne. That prince himself, in the division of his empire, seems to have acknowledged this elective power. “If any one of my children,” says he, “should die, and leave a son whom the people wish to appoint as his successor, his uncles must give their consent.” The recent example of young Pepin, whom Lewis the gentle despoiled of his father's dominions, in order to give them to prince Charles, affords another proof that, hitherto, there had been no fixed rule of succession to the throne. This question, then, was first decided by the assembly of Mersen; and had the rule there laid down been strictly adhered to, many commotions and much bloodshed would have been prevented; but it did not long preserve the force of a law.—The same noblemen who had adopted it will presently be seen to reject or recall, to enthroner or depose their king, according to the dictates of caprice; under the influence of this principle—that *the people have a right to chuse their own sovereigns*—a principle which, though it be true in the abstract, if generally received without those restrictions and modifications that are indispensably requisite to render it applicable to civilized governments, will ever be found pregnant with destruction to the welfare and good order of society. Were a monarch subject to deposition, whenever the caprice of his people might urge them to wish for a change, who would be found willing to take upon himself

* Aubert Miræus, Codice Donat. piar. c. 15.

† Charta Divisionis Imperii Carol. Mag.

the burden of royalty?—Certainly no one, who was competent to bear it either with honour to himself, or advantage to the nation.

Without entering the labyrinth of *legal* disquisition, or raking up the embers of political fires, the end and object of *government* may be easily discerned. Its object is evidently to protect the weak from the violence of the strong; the simple, from the snares of the crafty; and, in short, to render all those *distinctions*, which are inherent in the *nature* of man, and are given him for the wisest purposes, subservient to the general good, by placing a salutary check on those passions, the perversion of which disturbs and empoisons the very stream they are intended to sweeten and purify. Its end is, consequently, to promote the happiness of mankind. But, will it be contended that when the strong and the crafty become the most numerous and powerful, they have a right to overturn the fabric, erected for so glorious a purpose?—It would be a libel on human nature to admit the supposition.

The throne is not holden *durante bene placito*.—In every *monarchy* there is a compact, either express or implied, between the sovereign and his subjects.—So long as the former complies with the terms imposed on him, whatever they be, he is as much entitled to the possession of his throne, as a landholder is to a copyhold estate, on observance of the conditions annexed to his tenure. If the monarchy be hereditary, the same *right*, of course, extends to the heirs of the reigning sovereign; and unless some violation of the original compact be proved, no disinheritance can take place without the most flagrant injustice. A deviation from these plain rules, which are founded in truth and justice, ever have been, and ever will be, found productive of anarchy, confusion, and general infelicity.

A. D. 848.] Of this the French empire now exhibited a striking example; incursions, revolts, and depredations prevailed throughout the kingdom. The nobles of Aquitaine, discontented with Pepin, submitted to Charles; but a second gust of caprice soon induced them to forsake their new master, and to recall their lawful sovereign. The territories of Lewis the German were laid waste by an irruption of the Slavonians, who defeated the troops that were sent to oppose their passage*. Marfeilles was pillaged by a band of Greek pirates†. The Saracens took Benevento by surprize; and becoming masters of Sicily, and the town of Berri, they kept the whole coast in perpetual alarm, and made even Rome herself tremble for her safety.

A. D. 849, 850, 851.] Nomenoc, who had been created duke of Brittany by Lewis the gentle, taking advantage of the general confusion, seized the towns of Rennes and Nantes‡, together with the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and shaking off the yoke of France, openly assumed the title of king.—The troubles that prevailed in Aquitaine, prevented the French monarch from

* Chron. Fonten.

† Annal. Fuld.

‡ Chron. Nannetens.

chastising this rebellious vassal; and while he was engaged in the reduction of Thoulouse, which had revolted, and in the capture of Charles, the brother of Pepin, whom he compelled to assume the monastic habit, the duke of Brittany died, and bequeathed his principality to his son Herispoc, who with the crown inherited the ambition of his father. Charles imagined that the death of the duke would facilitate the conquest of the Bretons, but the event proved the fallacy of his expectations. The French were defeated with great slaughter, and Charles flying to Angers was there met by Herispoc, when a peace was concluded greatly to the advantage and glory of the latter, who obtained a confirmation of the title his father had assumed, on the simple condition of paying homage to the crown of France*.

[A. D. 852, 853, 854.] These misfortunes seemed to be overbalanced by the capture of Pepin, who being taken about this time, was shaved, and dismissed to the abbey of Saint Medard, at Soissons. But the satisfaction experienced by Charles on this fortunate event, was speedily allayed by a fresh revolt in Aquitaine, where the inhabitants, instigated by the relations of a culprit who had been recently executed, deposed their sovereign, and called the son of Lewis the German to the throne. As Charles was advancing to oppose the usurper†, he learned that Pepin, having effected his escape from the monastery, had made his appearance in Aquitaine, where a strong party had declared in his favour. The French monarch, however, pursued his plan of hostilities, and was so fortunate as to overcome both his adversaries. The son of Lewis was compelled to abandon his enterprise; and Pepin, being again taken, was sent into confinement at Senlis, and his children were constrained to become monks.

[A. D. 855.] When things were in this situation, Lothaire was seized with a dangerous disorder. Alarmed at the prospect of death, he resigned the imperial sceptre, and assumed the monastic habit, in the abbey of Prum, where he expired, before the conclusion of the week, in the sixty-first year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Before his death, he had divided his dominions between his three sons. Lewis succeeded him in the empire; to Lothaire he bequeathed the kingdom of Aufrasia, which from him took the name of Lorraine; and to Charles, Burgundy and Provence. Their uncles, faithful to the engagements they had contracted at Merfen, suffered them to take possession of their respective dominions, without opposition.

[A. D. 856, 857.] The death of Lothaire, by multiplying the number of French monarchs, gave birth to new systems of policy. The young emperor concluded a treaty of alliance with Lewis the German; and the king of Lorraine entered into a league with Charles the bald, who had recently dispatched his son Charles into Aquitaine, where he was proclaimed king by the unanimous

* Chron. Fontanel, Regino. † Annal. Fuld. et Bertin.

fruffrages of the people. But this unanimity was of fhort duration; deposed one month, and reftored the next*, the new fovereign became a victim to the caprice and ambition of his nobles. His father's feverity gave additional ftrength to the fpirit of revolt, which was prefently communicated to the Neuftrians, and in a fhort time the infurreftion became general. Lewis the German was invited to depofe his brother, and having entered the French territories with a powerful body of troops, a great number of Neuftrian noblemen paid him homage at the palace of Saint Yon. From thence he advanced to Sens, into which town he was introduced by Venilon, a prelate, ftigmatized for his ingratitude and treachery to a monarch, who, from a fimple clerk, had raifed him to the archiepifcopal dignity. An afsembly of bifhops was now convened at the palace of Attigny, where Charles the bald was formally deposed, his fubjects being abfolved from their oath of allegiance, and the crown declared to be devolved to Lewis the German†. The infolent temerity of thefe rebellious prelates, could only be exceeded by the puftillanimous weaknefs of their fovereign, who, in answer to their decifion, publifhed a manifefto unworthy the majesty of the throne. "They fhould not," faid the fpiritlefs monarch, "have deposed me without hearing what I had to fay in my defence; or, at leaft, without a regular fentence of the bifhops who confecrated me, who are—the *thrones on which God reposes*—whom he employs to promulgate his eternal decrees; to their paternal correction I have ever evinced a readinefs to fubmit, and I am ftill endued with the fame difpofition." To render this humiliation complete, the culprits remained unpunifhed; and their perfidious prefident, Venilon, was fuffered to retain poffeffion of his dignity, which he enjoyed in peace till his death:

A. D. 858.] When the news of his brother's invafion was firft brought to Charles, he was engaged in the fiege of Oifel, which he immediately raifed, and failing up the Seine and the Marne, haftened to Chalons, and from thence to Brienne, where he fixed his camp, and was joined by fome of the Burgundian nobles. But his brother found means to feducer his troops from their duty; and had he known how to purfue his advantage, the ruin of Charles had been inevitable. But Lewis, inftead of marching forward to fecure the moft important places, amufed himfelf by diftributing money to the leaders of the faction, and by iffuing orders to convene an afsembly of all the prelates in France. He was even prevailed upon to difmifs a part of his army, under a pretence that the diforders committed by his troops might render him an object of averfion to the people. Charles, apprifed of his conduct, did not fail to profit by a circumftance fo favourable to his caufe.

A. D. 859.] Collecting his fcattered troops with the utmoft expedition, he contrived, by forced marches, to reach his brother's camp, before Lewis had

* Annual. Bertin.

† Libellus Proclamationis, adverfus Venilonem, t. ii. Concil. Gall.

any intelligence of his approach. The consequence was a complete defeat of the rebels, and a restoration to that authority which Charles had so recently lost. This event was followed by an attempt which shews to what a pitch of degradation the weakness of the government had reduced the majesty of the throne. The prelates of France, assembled at Metz*, deputed three of their body to Lewis the German, with orders to inform him that he had incurred the penalty of excommunication, by the calamities which he had brought on the kingdom, from the introduction of his army. They exhorted him, therefore, to beg pardon of God, to confess his sins, to repair the damages he had committed, to reject all bad counsel, to send back such of the king's vassals as had taken refuge in Germany, and, finally, to restore to the clergy their privileges and authority. If he would faithfully fulfil these conditions, they promised him absolution; but should he persist in his errors, he was threatened with all the anathemas of the church. This attempt appeared the more extraordinary, as these prelates had no kind of jurisdiction, either temporal or spiritual, over Lewis—it afforded a fresh proof that the clergy arrogated to themselves the right of deciding the fate of kings and kingdoms. But the pusillanimity of monarchs seems to have kept pace with ecclesiastical arrogance. To these audacious proposals Lewis replied, that, if he had given them offence, he asked their pardon; and with regard to the concessions required of him, he would consent to refer the decision of the matter to the prelates of Germany. A state must be verging apace towards its destruction, when the monarch who rules it is forced to hold such language as this. The proud pretensions of the prelates were fortified by the mildness of the answer; and, at the council of Savonnières, they vowed to preserve a strict union between themselves—“In order to correct the kings, the nobles, and the people of France.” Such are the terms of the decree.

[A. D. 860, 861, 862.] The extensive authority established by Charlemagne was now nearly extinguished. Nobles, prelates, and princes, all treated the royal authority with contempt. Baldwin, grand-forester of Flanders, had the presumption to carry off Judith, the daughter of Charles, who had been already twice married, first to Ethelwolf, and then his son Ethelbald, both monarchs of England. The king was extremely enraged, and had his daughter, as well as Baldwin, brought to trial; when a sentence of excommunication was passed upon them; but they found means, after some time, to obtain forgiveness, and being formally married, Baldwin was created count of Flanders‡. Prince Lewis, Judith's brother, having assisted the count in carrying her off, was deprived of the abbey of Saint Martin at Tours, which had been assigned him as a fortune. Incensed at this punishment, he fled to Brittany, and, notwithstanding the king's prohibition, married Ansgarde, the daughter of count Hardouin.

* Concil. Gall. tom. iii.

† Ibid.—Ann. Bertin.

‡ Ann. Bert. et Fuld.

The loss of a battle, however, induced him to solicit forgiveness, which he obtained on condition of future amendment.

Charles, king of Aquitaine, had followed the example of his brother, in marrying the widow of count Humbert without his father's knowledge, and in imitation of him he now submitted to the king's mercy, and on his renewal of homage was received into favour. Lewis the German was equally tormented with his eldest son, Carloman, who retired to Carinthia, where he excited a revolt, that required both time and trouble to quell. Thus were these princes, who had set an example of disobedience to their children, severely punished for the uneasiness they had occasioned their father. They too had first taught the prelates to arrogate to themselves a power superior to that of their sovereigns; and they were now convinced of their mistaken policy, by becoming the victims of that inordinate authority to which they had given birth.

The king of Lorraine had repudiated his wife Theutberga, the daughter of a Burgundian noble, under pretence that she had committed incest with her brother duke Hubert, a crime of which she had been formally acquitted; but being afterwards induced to confess it, either from weakness or fear, the prelates assembled at Metz, pronounced it unlawful for the king to hold any farther commerce with her. Another assembly of the clergy, seduced by Gonthier, archbishop of Cologne, whom the king had flattered with the hopes of raising his niece to the throne*, declared, at Aix-la-Chapelle, that in case of infidelity on the part of the wife, the husband might not only procure a divorce, *a mensa et thoro*, but *a vinculo matrimonii*†. After this declaration, the ambitious prelate immediately sent his niece to the court of Lothaire, who seduced her, and then sent her back to her uncle.—Such is frequently the reward of vice.—The prince, profiting by the prevarication of the pontiff, dishonoured his family, and to complete the downfall of his pride, publicly married Valdrade, the first object of his love, from whom he had formerly been compelled to part.

A. D. 863.] Nicholas the first, who, from the boldness of his enterprises, had acquired the appellation of *great*, then filled the papal throne. He wrote to Lothaire, informing him that the christian religion would neither permit him to repudiate his wife, nor to marry his concubine; and he threatened him with the thunders of the church, if he did not quit Valdrade. The monarch, who had every thing to fear from the united powers of his uncles, humbly answered, that he had done nothing without the advice of the bishops; that even during his father's life he had married Valdrade, whom he had been compelled to leave in order to espouse Theutberga‡; but that he left the matter entirely to the decision of the sovereign pontiff. The pope, eager to profit by the weak condescension of the prince, sent two legates, with orders to assemble a coun-

* Ann. Bert.

† Hincmar, de divortio Loth. et Theutb.

‡ Ann. Bert.

cil at Metz, where the affair was examined according to the rules prescribed by the canons. But, whether from fear, ignorance, or seduction*, the pope's envoys, in concert with the bishops of Lorraine, condemned the marriage with Theutberga, and confirmed that with Valdradet. Nicholas, being informed of their prevarication, convened an assembly of prelates himself, annulled the sentence pronounced at Metz‡, deposed the two archbishops of Treves and Cologne, and dispatched a legate to the court of Lorraine, with letters replete with menaces||, conveyed in a tone of arrogance very different to that style in which the popes had been accustomed to address the monarchs of France.

A. D. 864, 865, 866, 867.] The papal envoy, whose name was Arsene, proved himself worthy of his ambitious master. He had the insolence to tell the king, that unless he took Theutberga again, he should expel him from the bosom of the church. Though his threats had but little effect on the mind of Lothaire, yet the peculiar situation of that monarch, surrounded by kinsmen who were ready to profit by any commotions that might take place in his kingdom, induced him to comply with the imperious mandate, and again to part from his beloved Valdrade. But the indignation of his subjects at the daring interposition of an insolent priest, speedily enabled him once more to pursue the dictates of his inclination: Theutberga was accordingly dismissed, and Valdrade recalled. The inflexible pontiff, enraged at this open contempt of his authority, excommunicated the two lovers§: but his turbulent spirit was fortunately checked in its dangerous career, by the hand of death. His successor, Adrian the second, consented to annul the sentence of excommunication, on condition that Lothaire, who had repaired to Rome to ask him for absolution, should, jointly with the noblemen of his retinue, make oath that he had holden no commerce with Valdrade since the pope's last prohibition¶. This was an infamous request on the part of the pontiff, who must know that a compliance with it would involve Lothaire and his followers in the guilt of perjury—the king, however, was weak enough to sacrifice his conscience to the love of tranquillity, and his nobles followed the example of their master. Lothaire, and all who swore, dying within the year, the contemporary historians ascribe their death to the violation of their oath.

A. D. 868, 869.] During these transactions, Solomon, king of Brittany, waited on Charles the Bald, whom he acknowledged for his lawful sovereign, and taking the oath of allegiance, engaged to pay him tribute, *according to ancient custom***. Charles profited by this interval of peace to have his wife Ermentrude crowned; the ceremony was performed in the church of Saint Medard at Soissons††, where the king had assembled a council; and at the

* Epist. lviij. Nicol. Pap. † Concil. Gal. tom. iii. ‡ Concil. Roman. c. iii. p. 217. || Epist. Nicol. Pap. xiii. § Append. et Epist. lv. ¶ Concil. Gal. tom. ii. ** *Annal. Bertin.* †† Concil. Suefs. Apud. Hincmar. tom. i.

same time his eldest son Lewis received consecration as king of Aquitaine, in the place of his brother Charles, who had recently died.

During the tranquillity that now prevailed, some useful regulations of police were adopted. The edict of Pistes* is the most curious record that remains of the ancient coins of France. It points out the only places that enjoyed the privilege of coining. These were the Palace; Quentovic-upon-Cange in Ponthieu; Rouen; Rheims; Sens; Paris; Orleans; Chalons-upon-Saone; Melle in Poitou; and Narbonne. On the first of July, all the counts or governors of those towns were ordered, by the above edict, to send their viscounts or deputies to Senlis, each accompanied by the masters of the mint, and some men of responsibility, to receive *five livres* from the treasury, in order to begin to coin good money.

The smallness of this sum is apt at first to excite astonishment, but a few reflections will suffice to remove the cause of surprise—all payments were not made in money, in the early ages of the monarchy; the gold and silver received from the people was, after being refined, deposited in lumps, in the royal treasury, from whence it was distributed by weight. This custom, which was taken from the Romans, was followed by the people even so late as the reign of Philip the Fair. Nothing is more common in the acts of those times, than payments and fines made and levied by the pound or by the mark of gold or silver. A thousand examples of this may be found in the works of the learned father Mabillon†. Money, then, was only wanted for the more trifling articles of commerce; whence it was that so little was coined. Thus the fourteenth article of the ordonnance of Pistes is by no means calculated to convey an unfavorable idea of the power of Charles the Bald. It appears indeed from several records that there was nearly as much money in France then as now. The mistake arises from confounding the value of money at different periods.—It is thought strange that the council of Thoulouse should fix the price of three bushels of wheat, as much barley, a measure of wine, and a lamb, (the contribution paid by every curate to his bishop) at two sols; and that twenty-four pounds of bread, under the reign of Charlemagne, should be only worth one denier of silver. But the sou then was very different from what it is now; and the denier would be worth thirty French sols, according to the usual mode of computation; so that that the pound of bread would come to nearly a sou and a quarter, which is not much less than the usual price of that article, in France, in plentiful seasons.

The most common gold coins, under the first race of kings, was the sou, the half sou, and the third of a sou of gold. This sou, equal to forty deniers of silver, was composed of fine gold, and weighed about eighty-five grains and

* Edictum Pistense, Carol. Calv. † M. Le Blanc, *Traite Hist. des Mon. de France*, p. 49.

one third; it would now be worth about fifteen French livres*. It is pretended by some, that the sou of silver was an imaginary coin—but others maintain the contrary. If there really was such a coin, it ought to have weighed, towards the end of the reign of Charlemagne, three hundred and forty-five grains, something more than a modern half-crown. Be that as it may, no traces of it are to be found in the cabinets of the curious; though they contain a great number of the silver denier, and even of the *obolum*, marked with the heads of the kings who were descended from Pepin. These deniers, under the Merovingian monarchs, weighed about twenty-one grains; under the Carolingians, twenty-eight and sometimes thirty-two; and under the first monarchs of the Capetian race, from twenty-three to twenty-four. Their intrinsic value may be appreciated by that of the silver sou, of which they formed the twelfth part.

Besides these real coins there was the *livre*, an imaginary one, invented for the purpose of facilitating calculation. Under the two first races it was worth a *livre*, or pound of twelve ounces, the only pound then in use for weighing gold and silver. Under Pepin, the *livre*, or pound weight of silver, was divided into twenty-two sours. Charlemagne, whose conquests had rendered this metal more plentiful, ordered that only twenty should be made out of a pound,—that is to say, the silver sou was then precisely the twentieth part of twelve ounces. Such is the true origin of the word *livre*, which is still made use of in France, though now only as the representative sign of twenty copper sols, or half-pence.

In order to give a just idea of the comparative value of money at different periods, it will be necessary just to notice the various changes that have taken place. The mark of silver, of eight ounces, has long been worth forty-nine livres. The *livre*, then, which in the time of Charlemagne was the representative sign of twelve ounces, would now be worth seventy-three livres, ten sould; the sou, which was the twentieth part of the *livre*, would be worth three livres, thirteen sols, six deniers; the denier, which was the twelfth part of the sol, would be worth six sols, one denier, and one *obolum*; and lastly, the *obolum*, which was half a denier, would be worth three sols one *obolum*, and one *pitte*. Thus, supposing a town had borrowed one hundred and fifty livres under the reign of that emperor, the loan would be equal to near four

* This computation, it is necessary to observe, was made by the Abbe Velly in 1754. By comparing the price of gold in France at that time with the present price, a correct estimation of the ancient sou may be obtained.

† To make ourselves more intelligible to our readers, we must observe, that the English pound sterling was, at the time of this calculation, estimated at twenty-two modern French livres; hence it appears that the *livre* or silver pound of Charlemagne was worth about three pounds, six shillings and ten pence half-penny.

hundred and sixty louis of the present money. A monastery which received from the treasury of that prince an annual pension of four hundred livres, would now enjoy an income of twenty-nine thousand four hundred livres a year.—From this calculation it appears that the English pound sterling (reckoning it at twenty-two French livres) is less removed from the ancient standard than any European coin whatever.

A. D. 869.] On the death of Lothaire, had the decisions of the assembly of Mersen been respected, his dominions would have devolved to the emperor Lewis; but ambition is neither to be restrained by the force of laws, nor the faith of treaties. The lawful heir being employed in guarding against a projected invasion of Italy by the Saracens, Charles the Bald and Lewis the German divided his inheritance between them: to the latter was allotted Cologne, Treves, Utrecht, Morbel, Strasbourg, Basle, Metz, Luxeu, Aix-la-Chapelle, a variety of places of inferior note, and two thirds of Friesland or Holland. Charles acquired Lyons, Besancon, Vienne in Dauphinne, Tongres, Tullies, Verdun, Cambrai, a portion of the Ardennes, and the remaining third of Holland, with several abbeys and monasteries.*

A. D. 870, 875.] The death of the emperor, Lewis the Second, not only confirmed them in the accession of their new dominions, but induced Charles, under the sanction of the pope, to attempt a farther extension of his power.—With this view he marched, with a numerous and well-appointed army, into Italy. His activity anticipated the designs of his brother Lewis the German; he was received at Rome with the applause of the inhabitants; and the Roman pontiff placed the imperial crown on his head, and saluted him emperor of the Romans. It is worthy of remark, that, in the bestowal of this dignity, the pope, profiting by the present situation of affairs, acted as a sovereign, and Charles received it as a vassal. “*We have judged him worthy of the imperial sceptre,*” said the pope, “*we have raised him to the imperial dignity and power, and we have honoured him with the title of August.*”—From this period may be dated that authority in the election of emperors, which the Roman pontiffs afterwards claimed.

A. D. 876.] It was with indignation that Lewis beheld himself the dupe of his brother; he repented in arms what he deemed a shameless breach of faith, entered Champagne, and discharged his fury on the defenceless country: though he retired on the approach of Charles, he only suspended his hostile measures; his preparations were continued with incessant diligence, and the new emperor had reason to rejoice at the death of the king of Germany, who united in his character the qualities of a statesman and a general, and who, of all the descendants of Charlemagne, most resembled him. His dominions were

* Capitul. Car. Cal. Tit. de divisione regni Lothar.

† Apud Labbeum, tom. ix. p. 295.

divided between his three sons. To Carloman he assigned Bavaria, Bohemia, Corinthia, Sclavonia, Austria, and a part of Hungary. Lewis had Franconia, Saxony, Holland, Thuringia, the Lower Lorraine, Cologne, and some other cities on the Rhine. To Charles, surnamed *the Fat*, was allotted all that country which extends from the Maine to the Alps. The news of his brother's decease no sooner reached the emperor Charles, than his restless ambition tempted him to despoil his nephew Lewis; at the head of fifty thousand men he advanced to seize what he had ceded at the last division of the kingdom of Lorraine. At Meghen he was encountered by his nephew with inferior numbers, but superior courage and skill; the French army was broken by the charge of the German cavalry, and Charles himself with difficulty escaped from the dreadful carnage of his devoted subjects. He had scarcely united his scattered forces before he was confounded with the intelligence that the Normans had entered the Seine, laid waste the adjacent country, and possessed themselves of the city of Rouen.

To complete the distress of Charles, he was summoned by the Roman pontiff to the protection of Italy. That country was still exposed to the desultory attacks of the infidels, whose continual descents were encouraged by the intrigues of the duke of Benevento, and the emperor of the Greeks; and the banners of Mahomet daily insulted the holy seat of the successors of Saint Peter. Charles, after holding an assembly of the nobles, at Chersu-upon-Oise, for the regulation of his domestic affairs, and the security of his kingdom, during his absence, determined to obey the citation of the pope; he accordingly passed the Alps, with a small train of followers, but he had scarce entered Pavia, to which city the Roman pontiff had advanced, in order to confer with him, when he was informed that Carloman, king of Bavaria, was already in Italy with a numerous army, and claimed, by the will of his father, the imperial title. The forces of Charles were still in France; the general to whose fidelity he had entrusted them, conspired against him, and the soldiers, in tumultuary exclamations, declared their resolution not to leave the kingdom. The indignant emperor, astonished and deserted, retired to France, at the same moment that his competitor, Carloman, alarmed at the rumour of his approach, had precipitately re-entered his German dominions.

Oppressed with shame, anxiety and fatigue, the emperor was seized on his retreat from Italy, with a violent fever; and Sedicias, his physician, by birth a Jew, betraying the confidence of his master, administered as a febrifuge, a dose of poison, of which he died in the cottage of a peasant, at the small village of Brios, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, as king of France, in the second as emperor, and in the fifty-fourth of his age.

Charles had six sons by his queen, Ermentrude, of whom only Lewis, his successor, survived him; and three daughters: Judith, first married to two

kings of England, and lastly to Baldwin count of Flanders ; and Rothilda and Ermentrude, both abbeſſes, the firſt of Chelles and of Notre Dame at Soiffons ; the ſecond of Afnon on the Scarpe. By his ſecond wife, Richilde, he had two ſons, Lewis and Charles, who died in their infancy.

Charles, ſays Paſquier, had few virtues, and many defects. He was ambitious and enterpriſing, but weak, timid, and irrefolute ; capable of conceiving great projects, but deſtitute of ſpirit and ability to put them in execution. From his reign may be dated the dangerous augmentation of eccleſiaſtical arrogance, and the rapid decline of the Carlovingian race.

LEWIS THE SECOND,

SURNAMED THE STAMMERER.

A. D. 877.] AS soon as Lewis was apprised of his father's death, he repaired to Compiègne, where he assembled the nobles and prelates of the realm, in order to proceed to the ceremony of proclamation. Though his right to the throne was incontestible, he thought it necessary to secure the attachment of the nobles, by profusely lavishing the honours and estates of the crown. The empress, in the mean time, having received from her husband the crown, the sceptre, and the royal mantle, hastened from Italy, with the deed by which Lewis was declared successor to the throne. She was accompanied by a number of nobles, who were eager to partake of the bounty and munificence of their new sovereign; and as the young prince did not dare to reject their applications, he was proclaimed, consecrated, and crowned, with the unanimous approbation of all parties.

Every circumstance attending this accommodation tended to give birth to suspicions of a dark and sanguinary nature. The great men of the kingdom had refused to march to the assistance of their sovereign—at that very time the emperor was poisoned; and immediately after his death the empress returned to France. Then those same noblemen, who had conspired against the husband, flew to meet the wife, who obtained for them every thing they required, but betrayed not the smallest desire to revenge the death of her lord; nor was any enquiry set on foot into the crime of the regicide, Sedecias. All this combination of circumstances bespeaks a dreadful mystery; and all prove that the vassals of Lewis, too powerful to harbour the smallest apprehension, had left him but the shadow of authority. Boson, brother to the empress Richilde, duke or viceroy of Italy, and governor of Provence, was the most powerful nobleman of the

realm ; he had been entrusted with posts of great importance under the preceding reign. When Charles was crowned king of Lombardy, he was appointed governor of that kingdom, with the power of chusing all the counts. Abusing the authority he enjoyed, he had the presumption to carry off Ermengarde, the daughter of the emperor Lewis ; and that proud princess, who was destined to wear a crown, did not disdain to marry him. An alliance thus splendid, strengthened by immense riches, inspired him with the most ambitious hopes. Besides these fortuitous advantages, he possessed a person the most engaging, and manners the most insinuating. Hence he became an object of universal esteem ; and even the pope, thinking he might be of service to him, appeared disposed to grant him the most distinguished honours. Thus favoured, courted, and caressed, his ambition daily encreased, till at length it led him to aspire to the throne itself.

A. D. 878.] Italy, during this time, remained without a sovereign ; pope John the eighth, who had impatiently expected the aid of Charles to repress the insolence of the Saracens, endeavoured in vain to raise his son to the imperial dignity ; his measures were successfully traversed by Lambert, duke of Spoleto, and Adelbert, marquis of Tuscany : the former, compelled to resign his own pretensions, supported those of Carloman of Bavaria ; and the pontiff, incapable of resisting the arms of the duke of Spoleto, abandoned Rome, and embarked for France.

The reception of John was such as he might naturally expect from a monarch whose cause he had espoused with ardour. In a council assembled at Troyes, the Roman pontiff presided, and the authority and influence of the church, were not neglected by its holy father : among the various canons framed to support the episcopal dignity, it was ordained, that all secular powers, under the penalty of excommunication, should observe the respect due to bishops ; and all persons, how high their rank, were precluded from sitting down in their presence, without obtaining their permission*. But although the pope repeated, at the desire of Lewis, the ceremony of his coronation, and placed, with his own hands, the crown on his head, yet his fervour soon cooled towards a prince whom he discovered to be destitute of power and capacity ; and his interests induced him to seek a more effectual support in the friendship of the factious and independent nobles of his court. The thunders of the Vatican, which he brandished against the rebellious peers of France, were rather intended to deceive the sovereign, than dismay the conspirators ; and John, after having in vain exhorted the nation to respect the distress of Rome, and to unsheath the sword against the presumptuous Saracens, proceeded on his return to Italy.

During the pope's stay in France, the marriage of Carloman, the son of Lewis by his first wife, Ansgarde, daughter of Count Hardouin, with a daughter of Boson, was celebrated at Troyes with great magnificence.

* Canon 1.

After the council was dissolved, Lewis repaired to Compiègne to receive the report of the ambassadors whom he had sent into Germany to negotiate a peace. The answer they brought was favourable to his wishes ; and the two monarchs, meeting at Merfen, a treaty was concluded, which they signed at Foron, a royal mansion, situated between Maestricht and Aix-la-Chapelle. With regard to the kingdom of Lorraine, it was agreed, that the partition which had been made between Charles the Bald and Lewis the German, should be strictly adhered to : in Provence, each party was to keep possession of what he then enjoyed ; and it was determined, that in Italy matters should remain as they were, till the month of February following, when a council should be convened, which the four sovereigns of the house of Charlemagne were to be invited to attend. But the revolt of Bernard, marquis of Septimania, attracted the attention of Lewis to a different quarter.

A. D. 879.] That nobleman, notwithstanding the anathema that had been pronounced against him at the council of Troyes, notwithstanding the sentence by which Lewis had deprived him of his governments and estates, still kept an army on foot, and set the power of the king at defiance. As Lewis advanced at the head of his troops, to chastise the insolence and audacity of this rebellious subject, he was seized at Troyes with a disorder that speedily proclaimed his approaching dissolution. He sent his eldest son, Lewis, into Burgundy, under the conduct of duke Boson, and of Bernard, count of Auvergne, the abbot Hugh, Thierra his grand chamberlain, and some other noblemen ; then ordering his attendants to convey him to Compiègne, he there died—not without suspicions being poisoned—on good Friday, the tenth of April, in the second year of his reign, and the thirty-first of his age. He was interred in the abbey of Saint Corneille.

Lewis had by Ansegarde two sons, Lewis and Carloman ; and he left his second wife, Adelaide, pregnant of a son, who was soon after baptised by the name of Charles, and was distinguished by the opprobrious epithet of *Simple*.

LEWIS THE THIRD, AND CARLOMAN.

A. D. 879.] THE king, on his death-bed, had commissioned Odo, bishop of Beauvais, and count Albrun, to carry the crown and sceptre, with the other emblems of royalty to his eldest son Lewis, whose coronation he ordered them to forward with the utmost expedition. To the accomplishment of these orders no possible opposition could have occurred, had not the kingdom been divided by two powerful factions; one of which was headed by duke Boson, Hugh the abbot, Thierrî the grand chamberlain, and Bernard, count of Auvergne: the leaders of the other were Gauzelin, abbot of Saint Denis, and Conrad, count of Paris*. These last, having met at Creil, invited Lewis of Germany into the kingdom, who accordingly advanced as far as Metz, where he experienced the most flattering reception. Their apology for thus inviting an usurper to fill the throne of their lawful sovereign, was founded on the incapacity and inexperience of the children of Lewis, the defect in their birth, (being sprung from a repudiated wife); and, lastly, on the known prudence, valour, and moderation of the German prince. Such was their pretext—but the real motives of their treacherous conduct were interest, and a desire of revenge. Boson, however, and the other nobles of his party, being determined to fulfil the last injunctions of the deceased monarch, repaired to Meaux, in order to deliberate on the dangers which threatened the state. The news of the invasion by Lewis filled them with alarm; and having no army to impede his progress, they resolved to purchase his forbearance by ceding to him that part of the kingdom of Lorraine which had been allotted to Charles the Bald. This proposal was

* Ann. Bertin et Fuld.

accepted; and the king immediately returned to Germany, where his presence was required.

Carloman, king of Bavaria, having been attacked by a stroke of the palsy, Arnoul, his son by a concubine, profited by his father's illness to seize a part of his dominions. But the presence of Lewis compelled him to resign his conquests, and to content himself with the acquisition of a few bishopricks and abbies. The kingdom was confirmed, by the dying parent, to the monarch who had rescued it from the hands of his rebellious son. Gauzelin and Conrad, in the mean time, not daring to remain in France, repaired to the court of Germany, and complained to the queen of her husband's neglect in refusing to profit by so glorious an opportunity of encreasing his power, and extending his dominions. The ambitious princess, whose name was Luitgarde, entered into all their schemes, and had sufficient influence over the mind of her husband, to persuade him to a violation of the late treaty. He had made every necessary preparation for a second invasion of France, when he was informed that a new enemy had appeared in Lorraine, and committed great devastations. This was Hugh, the hapless progeny of Lothaire and his beloved Valdrade. As he had reduced several towns, the retaking of which would necessarily require much time, Lewis was prevented from entering Neustria; but still he sent Gauzelin and Conrad thither with a body of troops, and promised to follow them as soon as possible.

The report of this second irruption, spread a general alarm throughout the kingdom. The nobles, who had preserved their fidelity to the family of the deceased monarch, saw no other remedy for the calamities which threatened them, than the speedy coronation of the young princes. The king, on his death bed, had appointed his eldest son Lewis his sole successor; but the dread displeasing Boson, by the exclusion of his son-in-law Carloman, induced them to adopt the resolution of placing them both on the throne, and of dividing the kingdom between them, according to the ancient custom of the realm. It was this division, so difficult to make, that had urged them to delay their inauguration so long; and even now they were under the necessity of differing it to a future time. The princes, therefore, were sent to the abbey of Ferrieres, where they were anointed and crowned by Ansegise, archbishop of Sens. At this time they had attained their fifteenth or sixteenth year. The courts of their respective dominions were not fixed till the following year. Aquitaine and Burgundy were allotted to Carloman; and France and Neustria to Lewis. An attempt was made, by a few of the nobility, to assert the rights of Charles the Simple; but his mother, Adelaide, had not sufficient influence to support his claims.

Such was the state of affairs in France when Boson, taking advantage of the minority of the young princes, at length revealed his perfidious designs. Promises, presents, entreaties, and threats, were so opportunely and successfully exerted, that—*by the sacred council of Mante, in the district of Vienne, assembled*

*in the name of our Lord, and by inspiration of his Divine Majesty**, he was elected and crowned king of Provence. This election was made and confirmed by the archbishops of Vienne, Lyons, Tarentaise, Aix, Arles, and Besancon; and by the bishops of Valence, Grenoble, Vaifon, Die, Marianne, Gap, Toulon, Chalons-upon-Soane, Lauzanne, Agde, Macon, Viviers, Marfeilles, Orange, Avignon, Ufes, and Rheims; by which the extent of the new monarchy may be known: it is sometimes denominated in history the kingdom of Arles, from the name of its capital; and at others the kingdom of Provence, as it was called when possessed by one of the sons of the emperor Lothaire. Thus the sons of Lewis beheld themselves with indignation despoiled of the fairest part of their inheritance by the sword of a powerful neighbour, and the intrigues of a faithless kinsman.

A. D. 880.] Their throne indeed was shaken on every side, and its very foundation might possibly have been subverted, had it not been supported by the fidelity and abilities of Hugh the abbot. Lewis of Germany, urged on by his wife, prepared to fulfil his promise to the abbot of Saint Denis, and the count of Paris; but the malcontents were over-awed by the prudent dispositions of Hugh; the Germans in vain penetrated into the heart of France; and the hopes of Lewis were chilled by the languid operations of his partizans. He consented to an interview with his youthful rivals at Orbe, near the lake of Geneva; and a subsequent congress at Gondreville on the Meuse, at which all the descendants of Charlemagne were present, ratified the succession of Lewis and Carloman, and confirmed the possession of Lorraine to the king of Germany.

The royal brothers, delivered from the terror of foreign invasion, prepared to chastise the insolence of domestic rebellion; strengthened by their new alliances, they marched with a numerous army through Burgundy, and entered the revolted territories of their presumptuous vassal. The confederate forces, assisted by those of Charles, king of Italy, formed the siege of Vienne, defended with masculine valour by Hermengarde, the consort of Boson. But the princes were soon compelled to separate, and while the continuance of the siege devolved on Carloman, Charles returned to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and Lewis, with a considerable detachment, directed his march against the Normans.

A. D. 881.] These hardy adventurers, disdainful of the severity of winter, had, in the month December, taken Ghent, where they established their headquarters; surpris'd the city of Tournay; made themselves masters of Courtray, which they fortified; and stormed Saint Omer, which they reduced to ashes. From thence they spread their devastations along the banks of the Scheld, and the Somme. Cambray, Saint Riquier, Saint Valery, Amiens, Cor-

* Concil. Manteneuse, Labbe, tom. ix. p. 391.

The first part of the document discusses the general principles of the project. It outlines the objectives and the scope of the work. The second part describes the methodology used in the study, including the data collection and analysis techniques. The third part presents the results of the study, which show a significant correlation between the variables. The final part concludes the study and offers some suggestions for future research.

The study was conducted over a period of six months. The data was collected from a sample of 100 participants. The results indicate that there is a strong positive relationship between the variables. This finding is consistent with previous research in the field. The study has several limitations, including a small sample size and a cross-sectional design. Future research should aim to address these limitations and explore the underlying mechanisms of the relationship.

In conclusion, the study provides valuable insights into the relationship between the variables. The findings have important implications for the field and suggest that further research is needed to fully understand the phenomenon. The study also highlights the need for more rigorous research methods and larger samples to improve the reliability of the results.

Anno
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The Death of Charlemagne.

Philadelphia Published by J. Stuart & Co. Dec: 9. 1796.

bie, and Arras, were taken and pillaged, and most of the inhabitants put to the sword. At Saucour, in Ponthieu, the rovers of the north were encountered by the maiden valour of Lewis : after a desperate engagement victory declared for the French ; nine thousand Normans, with their leader Guaramond, were left on the field ; the remainder repassed the Somme, and fought their safety in flight. The victory of Saucour had displayed the courage, and the death of Lewis of Germany proclaimed the moderation, of the youthful king of France : he rejected with firmness the crown proffered by the inhabitants of Lorraine ; and yielded to the superior pretensions of the emperor, Charles the Fat.

A. D. 882.] But the promising virtues of this youthful monarch were cut off by a premature death. As he was hastening to assist the duke of Erittany, in the expulsion of the Normans from the banks of the Loire, he was seized at Tours with a fatal disease, that compelled him to return to Neustria. Being conveyed to Saint Denis in a litter, he there expired, in the twenty-second year of his age, and the third of his reign.

The loss of this prince was deeply deplored by his subjects, who admired his virtue, his valour, and moderation.

CARLOMAN.

A. D. 882.] LEWIS the Third dying without children, no opposition was made to the accession of Carloman. That prince was still before Vienne, when a deputation from the nobles brought him the news of his brother's death, and assurances of their fidelity. Leaving the blockade of Vienne to his principal officers, he immediately proceeded to Chiersi, where, after having sworn to observe the capitulary of Charles the Bald, he was proclaimed king of Neustria. This ceremony was no sooner performed than he received intelligence of the reduction of Vienne, and the capture of Hermangarde and her daughters, who were conducted to Autun. He now prepared to execute the plan of his predecessor for the expulsion of the Normans, but their leader, Hasting, suing for peace, his request was complied with, on condition that he and his followers should immediately quit the country.

Another band, however, of these northern plunderers, laid waste the fertile plains of Germany; and, returning to the banks of the Meuse, erected a fortified camp in the environs of Haslou. The emperor hastening his return from Italy, repaired to Worms, and having collected a numerous army, composed of Germans, Bavarians, Lombards, Thuringians, Saxons, Frisians, and French, advanced to attack the Norman intrenchments*. The attempts to dislodge them, though conducted with equal spirit and skill, were vigorously repelled; and after a long and bloody contest, during which victory occasionally shifted from one side to the other, both parties became eager for an accommodation. Sigefroy, one of the Norman leaders, repaired to the emperor's camp, and after a negotiation that lasted two days, a treaty was concluded that reflects infinite disgrace on the memory of Charles the Fat. That monarch agreed to cede to the Normans all the country of which they were then in possession; and to pay them without delay a sufficient sum to defray the expenses they had incurred, and the losses they had sustained during the war; it was farther settled, that Godfrey, the chief of the Normans, should, by his

* Chron. de Gest Norman.

conversion to christianity, obtain the hand of Gisele, the daughter of Lothaire and Valdrade; and that in consideration of this marriage, all that part of Holland which Roric had possessed should be ceded to him by Charles; and finally it was stipulated, that prince Hugh, brother to Gisele, should enjoy the revenue arising from the bishoprick of Metz, on condition of his renouncing his pretensions to the kingdom of Lorraine.

By this ignominious peace, which nothing but a continued succession of defeats could possibly have justified, a dangerous enemy was established by Charles in the heart of his dominions. The churches were plundered in order to raise the stipulated sum; Sigefroy was left in possession of Haslou: Godfrey, after having received baptism, married Gisele, and conveyed his bride to his newly acquired territory; while the emperor retired to Coblentz, where he received an embassy from the French monarch, who demanded the restoration of that part of Lorraine which had formerly belonged to his predecessors. This demand, which indignation had prompted, was received with contempt; and Charles, in order to vex Carloman, released, at the pope's request, the empress Ingelberga, mother-in-law to Boson. The Normans, taking advantage of this misunderstanding, advanced from the banks of the Meuse, spread themselves over Picardy, where they committed the most dreadful devastations, and marched towards Rheims, with the intention of making that city experience the same fate with those they had already reduced. But their progress was impeded by the approach of Carloman, who, having hastily collected a small army, attacked them, and forced them to retire in great disorder. They soon, however, returned, with such an addition of force, as reduced the harrassed monarch to the degrading necessity of rescuing his provinces from pillage, by the payment of twelve thousand livres; which, in those days, was an enormous sum.

A. D. 884.] Carloman did not long survive this disgrace: as he was enjoying the amusement of the chase, an erring javelin, aimed at the boar by one of his attendants, pierced his thigh, and in six days brought him to the grave.— The memory of this prince is endeared to us by the pious deceit which he practised on his death-bed; endeavouring to screen from the mistaken resentment of the public his unfortunate domestic, by imputing his wound to the rage of the animal he pursued.

CHARLES THE THIRD,

SURNAMED THE FAT.

A. D. 884.] HAD a proper respect been paid to the rules of succession, Charles the Simple, the posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer, by his queen Adelaide, would, on the decease of his brother without children, have ascended the throne of France. But the kingdom being incessantly exposed to the depredations of the Normans, it was deemed imprudent to fix the diadem on the brows of an infant, and the emperor, therefore, Charles the Fat, whose age was mature, and whose power extensive, was called upon to succeed the generous Carloman. Prompt to obey the pleasing citation, he hastened to Gondreville*, where he received the homage of the nobles, together with their oaths of allegiance. The son of Adelaide remained under the care of Hugh, the abbot; who was confirmed by the emperor in his government of that part of Neustria which lies between the Seine and the Loire, and which was then called the duchy of France; Paris being its capital. Charles, by this considerable addition of territory, was now become one of the most powerful princes in the world; but his capacity was greatly unequal to the extent of his empire; and that good fortune which ought to have increased his authority only tended to expose his weakness.

A. D. 885, 886.] The son of Valdrade had not yet renounced his pretensions to the kingdom of Lorraine, and his brother-in-law Godfrey, duke of Holland, only waited for a favourable pretext to break with the emperor. But Charles, by a base and treacherous exertion of cruelty, contrived to rid himself of two formidable enemies, whose machinations he dreaded. Godfrey was assassinated by Evrard, an emissary of the emperor's at Lisle de Betau; and Hugh the Bastard, being arrested at Gondreville, a few days after the murder of his

* Annul, Fuld.

brother, his eyes were put out, and he was dismissed to the monastery of Saint Gall; he was afterwards removed to the abbey of Prum, in the forest of Ardennes, where he was compelled to assume the monastic habit.

To revenge the death of Godfrey, Sigefroy entered the Seine, with a fleet of seven hundred sail, and spread his devastations as far as Paris; and after having taken and burned the town of Pontoise he laid siege to that city. The capital of Neustria was then but a small island, comprehending that part of the present metropolis which is distinguished by the appellation of *the city*. It was approached by two wooden bridges, the present *Pont au Change* and the *Petit Pont*, each of which was defended by a strong and lofty tower. The siege was pressed by the barbarians with uncommon vigour; by a skilful exertion of their battering machines a breach was made in the walls*; but three furious attempts to enter it were rendered abortive, by the persevering valour of the Parisians, who were headed by Eudes, count of Paris, son of Robert the Strong, and bishop Gauvain, who not only animated the people by his exhortations, but roused them by his example. This martial prelate was frequently seen on the breach with a helmet on his head, a quiver at his back, and a battle-axe at his girdle, driving back the enemy from a cross which he had planted on the ramparts. He was seconded by many a valiant knight, who signalized their courage on this trying occasion; but his nephew, the abbe Elbe, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner, and by the prodigies of valour he performed excited the astonishment of his friends, and spread terror and dismay through the enemy's ranks. Never was greater fury displayed in attack, nor greater constancy and firmness in defence, than at this memorable siege, which lasted a year and a half, and during which the Parisians experienced all the horrors of pestilence and famine.

The emperor, in the mean time, remained in the vicinity of Francfort, from whence he contented himself with sending such supplies as the capital required. Twice was count Henry dispatched with provision and troops for the relief of the garrison; the first time he succeeded, but in his second attempt he was surprised, and with his whole army cut in pieces. The news of his death at length determined the king to march in person; and the hopes of the Parisians were revived by his appearance on the Mount of Mars, which is now called *Montmartre*. Yet Sigefroy beheld the hostile standards with an undaunted countenance, and steadfastly maintained his station before the gates of the city. The emperor, awed by the firmness of an enemy whom he might have overwhelmed, basely consented to purchase a peace, which he might have commanded. On condition of receiving seven thousand pounds weight of silver, the Normans gladly consented to raise the siege; and as the money could not be immediately paid, Charles allowed them to pass the winter in Burgundy, where they com-

* Abbo Monach. de Bellis Paris. Urbis. Carmen.

mitted the most dreadful devastations. After the conclusion of this shameful treaty, the emperor returned to Germany, loaded with the contempt and hatred of the French. His German subjects were soon impressed with similar sentiments; and they began to look on him as a man wholly unfit for the station he enjoyed. A timid disposition, and an ill state of health, confined him constantly to his palace; incessantly tormented with the fear of the devil, whom he fancied he had seen in his youth*, and conscious of his own inability to support the burden of a vast empire, he gave up the reins of government to Ludard, bishop of Verceil. That minister exerted a despotic sway in the emperor's name, and those who were anxious to dethrone the prince began by attacking his favourite. The bishop was accordingly accused of holding a criminal intercourse with the empress [A. D. 887]; and as Charles was particularly delicate in that point, he was easily induced to believe what he dreaded, and, indeed, what he deserved. The prelate was banished from court, and the princess repudiated, at a general assembly, at which the emperor swore he had never touched her, although they had lived together more than ten years. In vain did Richarda offer to prove, either by single combat or by any other mode of proof then in use, not only her innocence, but her virginity; her offers were rejected by her prejudiced husband, and she was dismissed to the abbey of Andlaw, in Alsace, which she had richly endowed, and where she died, highly respected for her prudence and virtue.

A. D. 887.] Now that Charles was deprived of the advice and assistance of his minister, the native imbecility of his mind became visible to every one. He even became conscious of it himself, and this idea inspired him with the most melancholy reflections. Having convoked a parliament at Tribur, between Mayence and Oppenheim, the nobles and prelates who were present remarked the uneasiness that appeared in his countenance, and the defect in his understanding†, and pronouncing him unfit for royalty, began to deliberate, without delay, on the choice of a successor to the throne. Charles the Simple was indisputably the lawful heir, but his youth being still regarded as a bar to his succession, all the efforts of his friends proved inadequate to procure him the crown of France. The sole descendant (in a direct line) from Charlemagne was thus excluded from the dominions of his ancestors, which were now offered to the bastard son of Carloman, in direct violation of the rules established under the second race of kings, which deprived natural children of all rank in society,

* The bishops, in order to inspire him with a greater degree of horror at the crime he had committed, in revolting against his father, had given him to understand that he was possessed by the devil. This idea made so strong an impression on him, that he begged to be publicly exorcised, in the presence of the prelates and nobles of the realm; his request was complied with, and the recollection of this formidable ceremony was never wholly effaced from his imagination; but had a visible effect on his mind during the remainder of his life. Ann. Bertin. ad. Ann. 873.

† Chron. Hildensheimense.

and consequently placed an effectual impediment in their way to the throne. Arnoul accepted with joy that sceptre, which he was actually preparing to wrest from its lawful possessor; and the revolt was so general that, in less than three days, his authority was acknowledged through the whole extent of Germany.

Charles in the mean time was reduced to the most dreadful situation; driven from his palace without a servant to attend him in his illness*, he was deprived of the mere necessaries of life, and yet was afraid to ask for assistance; nor did any one dare to afford him relief, through fear of incurring suspicions of disaffection to the usurper. Lutbert, bishop of Mayence, was the only person in the kingdom endowed with sufficient humanity to receive the hapless prince, and console him in the midst of his misfortunes†. An application to Arnoul at length procured him the assignment of a few petty fiefs in Germany, whose revenues scarcely afforded him a miserable subsistence. This state of wretchedness, however, was but of short duration—grief, or (as some writers have asserted) *poison* brought him to the grave [A. D. 888.] in three months from the time of his deposal. He was interred in the monastery of Richenoue, situated in an island on the lake of Constance.

Charles is represented by historians, as a just and pious prince, whose sole defect was weakness of mind—but his treacherous cruelty to Godfrey and Hugh, incontestibly prove that he was not exempt from vices, that are incompatible with justice and piety. In the other events of his life and reign, we must indeed confess that he was rather an object of pity than of indignation; but indiscriminate praise is seldom warranted, and the pen of the historian should never be disgraced by conferring it, where censure is due.

On the death of this prince the kingdom became a prey to the ambitious machinations of contending nobles. Though the sovereign authority had been almost unanimously voted to Arnoul, yet numerous rivals now started up to dispute his power, and lay claim to the vacant throne. This confusion was the effect of that property which the weakness of the French kings had suffered their aspiring nobles gradually to acquire, in fiefs, which at first were granted but for life, or during pleasure. These had been imprudently allowed to pass from father to son—the possessors insensibly accustomed themselves to regard as their own, what in fact belonged to their sovereign, and at length attempted to erect each petty government into an independent monarchy. The most plausible and powerful pretenders to the vacant throne were Berenger, duke of Frioul, grandson, by his mother, to Lewis the Gentle; Guy, duke of Spoleto, great-grandson to Charlemagne, by a daughter of Pepin, king of Italy; Lewis, the son of Boson, grandson, by his mother Hermengarde, to the emperor Lewis the Second; Rodolph, son of Conrad, count of Paris, nephew to the empress Judith, wife to Charles the Bald; and Eudes, son of Robert, count of Anjou, and

* Ann. Metens.

† Regino. Sigebert, Otto Frising l. vi. c. 7.

descended, according to some genealogists, from Childebrand, brother to Charles Martel, and uncle to Charlemagne.

The duke of Frioul was the first to assert his pretensions, and to procure an acknowledgement of his sovereignty by a considerable part of Italy. Guy, duke of Spoleto, next entered the lists, and marching to Rome, was there invested with the imperial dignity, and proclaimed king of France. He then hastened to Metz, and from thence to Langres, where the bishop, whose name was Geilon, performed the ceremony of consecration, and declared him king of all Neustria. But finding the people indisposed to receive him, he quickly repassed the Alps, defeated Berenger in two bloody battles, tore the diadem from his brows, and compelled him to take refuge in Germany. Rodolph, in the mean time, attentive to the motions of his formidable rival, had taken possession of the whole country between Mount Jura and the Pennine Alps*, and was actually proclaimed king by the inhabitants. But Eudes, who enjoyed the esteem and affection of the people, bore away the palm from his numerous competitors.

* Hist. Aquit. frag. v. Duchefne, tom. ii. p. 632.

E U D E S.

A. D. 888.] IT was in a parliament, assembled at Compiègne, that the nobles and prelates of the realm proceeded to the election of a new monarch; and Eudes, count of Paris and Orleans, and duke of Burgundy, was declared to be the object of their choice. To the remembrance of his father, Robert the Strong, who had died in defending the state from the depredations of the Normans, and to the glorious feats which he himself had achieved, in the defence of the capital, was this nobleman indebted for the crown. The ceremony of his consecration was performed at Sens, by Vautier, archbishop of that diocese. The prudent precautions adopted by Eudes, on his accession to the throne, were well calculated to secure the possession of it. He publicly protested that having been appointed guardian to young Charles by Lewis the Stammerer, he only accepted the diadem with the view of restoring it to the lawful heir, so soon as he should be sufficiently old to govern the kingdom. Threatened with a destructive war by the Germans, he sent to Arnoul, and assured him, that if his nomination to the throne was likely to disturb the tranquillity of France, he was ready to resign the sceptre. He even went to Worms, where he had an interview with Arnoul, into whose hands he surrendered the crown, solemnly swearing that he would never wear it but with his free consent. The king of Germany, flattered by this mark of deference and condescension, restored the diadem, and promised to forbear from all kind of opposition to the government of Eudes.

A. D. 888, 889, 890, 891.] This prince began his reign by an earnest endeavour to repress the insolence of the nobility, and to humble the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. At the head of one thousand horse he defeated an army of twenty thousand Normans, in the forest of Mont-faucon*; and this glorious victory might have been attended with extensive advantages, had not Eudes been hastily recalled from the pursuit by a revolt in Aquitaine. His presence restored the allegiance of that province; but the Normans had taken ad-

* Chron. de Gest. Norman.

vantage of his absence, and erected their victorious banners on the walls of Meaux, Toul, and Verdun; even Paris itself was again insulted by the licentious arms of these northern adventurers. Their destructive incursions into Lorraine were successfully repelled by the king of Germany; but in France a scene of anarchy and discord presented itself on every side; the nobles of each province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbours.

The princess Hermengarde, in the mean time, having secured the votes of Arnoul and the pope, that is, of two persons who had not the smallest right to dispose of the throne, endeavoured to procure the coronation of her son Lewis; and this strange attempt was at length crowned with success. In a council of prelates and nobles, assembled at Valence, that prince was unanimously proclaimed king. "We have examined," said the members, "whether we could, in prudence and justice, elect Lewis, the son of Boson; and we have unanimously agreed that the sceptre could not pass into better hands*." Such were the attempts—and such the pretensions of an ambitious and ignorant clergy—pretensions, founded on a dangerous assumption of power, which they insidiously extended from spiritual to temporal matters; pretensions authorised by the assembly of Compiègne, and long regarded as just and proper; though at length they are universally acknowledged to be errors, exploded by the Divine Author of our religion, who declared, in express terms, that *his kingdom was not of this world*.

A. D. 892.] The insurrection in Provence was followed by violent commotions, excited by the nobles of Neustria. Count Walgaire, though related to Eudes, was the first to take up arms in favour of the infant Charles; but having seized the important city of Laon, it was besieged by Eudes, who speedily compelled the garrison to surrender, and sentenced Walgaire to lose his head. Aquitaine once more erected the standard of revolt; thither the monarch repaired at the head of his victorious army, and had reduced all the rebels to fly before him, and take shelter in a single town, when he was summoned back to Neustria, where the malcontents, more irritated than terrified at the fate of Walgaire, had openly espoused the cause of Adelaide and her youthful son. The chiefs of this party were the queen-mother, Foulques, archbishop of Rheims, Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Pepin, count of Senlis. Charles, though only thirteen, was conducted to Rheims, and crowned by the archbishop, who published a long apology for his conduct, and exhorted all the sovereigns of the earth to undertake the defence of his pupil against the usurper.

* Concil. Valentin. apud Lab. tom. ix. p. 42.

CHARLES THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE SIMPLE.

A. D. 893.] THE king of Germany was highly displeas'd with the remonstrance of Foulques, and he accordingly wrote to that prelate, threatening to make him feel the effects of his resentment. The archbishop replied—that seeing the kingdom expos'd to the depredations of the Normans, he had thought it his duty to consent to the coronation of Eudes, who was alone capable of defending the state; but that the son of Lewis the Stammerer having now attained an age at which, with the assistance of his ministers, he might safely be entrusted with the reins of government, he could not refuse to comply with the unanimous request of the nobles who called him to the throne of his ancestors; and that, at a time when so many subjects aspir'd to the crown, he deemed it dangerous and improper for him to set an example of infidelity to the lawful heir. These arguments, however, were insufficient to convince the ambitious monarch; but the commotions in Italy, and the revolt of some tributary states, induced him to dissemble. He saw the army of Eudes on the point of attacking the royalists, and he resolv'd to wait the event of the action before he declared himself. Victory decid'd in favour of Eudes, and the youthful king was compell'd to take refuge at the court of Germany.

A. D. 894, 895, 896, 897, 898.] Charles, after remaining some time in exile, return'd to France, and took possession of the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy; and Eudes himself, through the persuasions of the archbishop of Rheims, soon after extinguish'd the torch of discord by acknowledging the sovereignty of that prince, and only retaining, under an oath of homage and fidelity, the country from the Seine to the Pyrenees. Eudes surviv'd to enjoy but a short time the tranquillity establish'd by his own moderation; in the month of January, subsequent to his abdication, he expired at La Fere, in Picardy, in the fortieth year of his age; esteem'd by the Normans whom he had

vanquished, beloved by the people whom he had protected, and hated, yet dreaded, by the nobility, whose oppressions he had firmly opposed. His infant son, Arnold, succeeded to his principality, with the title of king; but his death, in a few days after, united France under the sole authority of Charles the Simple.

A. D. 899 to 912.] This re-union of the kingdom might have been productive of the greatest advantages, had the power of the monarch been sufficient to restrain the daring attempts of his ambitious nobles; but the weakness of the government tended to increase their arrogance, and their audacity was carried to such a height, that in a short time the kingdom was divided into a number of petty sovereignties, each of which asserted its independence of the crown. Hence all was anarchy and confusion, the authority of the king was reduced to a shadow, and the strength of the nation nearly annihilated. Such was the state of France, when attacked by an enemy, who, to the most intrepid courage, united the most extensive views.

Rollo was a powerful chieftain, who had been originally possessed of an independent principality in Denmark, of which the cruelty and perfidy of the reigning monarch had unjustly deprived him. Compelled to take refuge in a remote corner of Scandinavia, he resolved to repair the loss he had sustained by following the example of his countrymen in committing depredations on the more southern coasts of Europe. For this purpose he collected a formidable band of adventurers, composed of Norwegians, Swedes, Frisians, and Danes, who, allured by the prospect of plunder, flocked to him from all quarters; and, having equipped a numerous fleet, he bade adieu to his native country.

His first attempt was made on England, in the latter end of the reign of Alfred; but finding the island in a proper posture of defence, and governed by a wise and courageous prince, he prudently desisted from his enterprise, and repaired to France, where he was suffered to spread his destructive ravages over the greatest part of the kingdom with impunity. He continued his devastations for some years with uninterrupted success, which so harrassed the French, that they at length compelled their sovereign, in the year 912, to sue for peace.

As Rollo was victorious he imposed such terms on Charles as best suited his convenience. A cession of territory was an object he insisted on; and the king was reduced to purchase a peace by the sacrifice of one of his most fertile provinces. A great part of the extensive country of Neustria was yielded to the Dane, which was thenceforward denominated Normandy, from its new inhabitants, and consisted of all the province which now bears that name, excepting the small district of Bayeux, which did not fall under the dominion of the Norman dukes till many years after. For this he was required to do homage to the crown; and repaired to Clair upon Epte (where this disgraceful treaty

was signed) for that purpose, but he obstinately refused to comply with the ceremony of kneeling to the king—a mark of subjection imposed on vassals by the rites of the feudal law, and which appeared to him an indignity that his fierce spirit could not brook; and it was with some difficulty that he could be persuaded even to put his hand within the king's, while he took the oath of fidelity. Besides Neustria, Charles likewise gave him the turbulent province of Brittany, to hold as a fief of the crown; but the Britons, not less fierce and untractable than the Danes themselves, refused to pay homage to Rollo, which occasioned frequent wars between the two provinces.

In order to attach Rollo more firmly to his interest, Charles gave him his daughter Gisèle in marriage; but required his conversion to christianity as a previous condition. This was cheerfully complied with by the Norman, who accordingly received baptism from the hands of Francis, archbishop of Rouen, and was named Robert, from Robert count of Paris, who answered for him at the baptismal font. “The grace of this holy sacrament,” says Mezeray, “operated so powerful a regeneration in Rollo, that he became one of the best princes of the age.” Certain it is that he governed his new acquired territories with great equity and moderation. He treated the French, who submitted to his sway, with justice and lenity; and, reclaiming his followers from those inveterate habits of plunder to which they had been accustomed from their cradle, effected the establishment of good order and salutary laws throughout his dominions. The only flaw in the character of Rollo, was his barbarity to his wife, who died of a broken heart, in consequence of his ill treatment; and when Charles sent two of his officers to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of his conduct, he had them both put to death.

Charles, in the same year, received some compensation for the dominions he had divested himself of, by the death of Lewis, king of Germany. With that prince expired the male line of Charlemagne in Germany; and the vacant throne was, by the free voice of the nobility, filled with Conrad, duke of Franconia; but Lorraine refused to acquiesce in the injurious election, and in Charles sought the protection, and acknowledged the authority, of the last prince of the Carovingian race.

From 912, to 921.] The subjects of the French monarch soon discovered, that the weakness of Charles, under the name of a favourite, required a master; and the obsequious arts of Haganon, a private gentleman, without birth, and without fortune, gained the confidence of the king. The cares of empire were devolved on, and the hours of the prince were devoted to, this new minion of fortune; and it was observed, by Henry duke of Saxony, one of the ablest princes of the age, and whose request of an audience had been continually evaded by the answer that the king was engaged with Haganon, “Either Haganon will seat himself on the same throne with Charles, or Charles will become a private gentleman like Haganon.” Yet the favourite, however un-

popular, cannot be denied the praise of wisdom, penetration, vigour and fidelity; but the times were adverse to the administration he had assumed; and the two Roberts, dukes of Normandy and France, overshadowed, with united influence, the power of the crown. Their formidable confederacy at length compelled the king to dismiss his minister; and their ambition, nourished by success, soon revealed the pretensions of Robert to a throne, which had been occupied by his brother Eudes. The recall of Haganon was the signal of war; Robert was solemnly crowned at Rheims; and, with the forces of the conspirators, encamped under the walls of Soissons. While in ostentatious security he enjoyed the pleasures of the table, he was surprised by the appearance of Charles at the head of a few faithful followers; with undaunted courage he mounted his horse, and endeavoured to restore order to his troops; but, in the tumult of the conflict, he received a mortal wound from the spear of his rival, and was dispatched by his surrounding enemies. Yet his son Hugh, and Hérbert, count of Vermandois*, maintained the battle with more successful valour: and Charles, after having enjoyed the triumph of revenge, was, in his turn, compelled to retreat before superior numbers, with the loss of his baggage, and the bravest of his companions.

After this victory, Hugh could have found no difficulty in placing the crown upon his own head; nor can his forbearance to do so be easily accounted for. An author, who wrote soon after the present period, observes, that he sent to his sister Emma, who was married to Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, to ask her, whether she would rather see himself or Rodolph on the throne; and that she replied, she would rather kiss the knees of her husband than of her brother†. On the receipt of this answer, Rodolph was proclaimed king of France, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed in the church of Saint Medard, at Soissons, by Gautier, archbishop of Sens.

Charles might still have maintained a successful struggle with his enemies, but for the treachery of Herbert, count of Vermandois. This nobleman, being resolved to seize the person of his sovereign, sent the count of Senlis to assure him of his loyalty, and of his readiness to declare in his favour, together with his numerous vassals. Surprized at the news, the fugitive prince at first hesitated‡; but, as the count was his relation, being descended, like himself, in a right line from Charlemagne, he was at length prevailed on to dismiss his fears, and to give him the meeting at Saint Quentin. There the reception he experienced from the perfidious Herbert, tended to confirm his hopes, and diminish his scruples. But, he had no sooner dismissed his followers, than his person was seized, during the night, and secretly conveyed to Chateau Thiéri. Herbert, after this act of baseness, repaired to the court of Burgundy, to congratulate the new monarch on the capture of his rival.

* Chron. Magdeburg.—Chron. S. Medardi.

† Glaber, l. i. c. 2.

‡ Flodoard.

R O D O L P H.

A. D. 924.] RODOLPH was continually employed either in the repression of domestic feuds, or the repulsion of foreign invasions. Having repelled an attempt of the Normans to extend their domains, he repaired to Lorraine, whether he was invited by the nobles; and, having reduced a great part of that kingdom; he compelled the king of Germany to demand a cessation of hostilities. He next turned his arms against William, duke of Aquitaine, who, unable to oppose his superior strength, averted his resentment by a feigned submission, and extorted homage.

A. D. 925.] He had no sooner returned from his expedition to Aquitaine, than his attention was called to the rovers of the north, who had renewed their depredations, and were laying waste the fertile plains of Burgundy. The Normans of Rouen too broke forth into open hostilities; and, having spread themselves over Picardy and Artois, attacked Noyon, from whence they were repulsed with loss. Hugh, duke of France, whose authority extended from the Loire to the Seine, assembled the militia of Paris, and, entering Normandy, destroyed the whole country with fire and sword. He was soon joined by the king, who detached from his camp in the Beauvaisis, the count of Vermandois, with a part of his army, to form the siege of Eu, which was taken by assault, and all the male inhabitants massacred, without mercy or distinction. Herbert, as a reward for his courage and conduct, obtained the archbishoprick of Rheims for his son, an infant of five years*; this was the first instance of the appointment of a child to the possession of ecclesiastical dignities; it established a dangerous precedent, and gave rise to numerous abuses.

A. D. 926.] These advantages were counterbalanced by the loss of Lorraine, which submitted to the king of Germany†. Aquitaine also revolted; Champagne was threatened with an incursion of the Hungarians; and the whole empire appeared in a state of convulsion—a prey to the fury of its enemies, and the feuds of its citizens. It was at this period a crude and indigested govern-

* Hist. Rem. l. iv. c. 19, 20.

† Flooard.

ment, where force, alone, was acknowledged as law ; an heterogeneous mixture of monarchy and oligarchy, where every one proportioned the extent of his power to his ability in acquiring it. Such is the frequent consequence of usurpation, and of a deviation from established rules, and lawful authority. The most formidable of these turbulent vassals was the treacherous count of Vermandois.

A. D. 927.] Herbert, whose ambition was equal to his perfidy, claimed as the reward of his services, the county* of Laon, recently become vacant by the death of Rotgaire. But he received a refusal from the king, who bestowed it on the son of the late count. Herbert, enraged at the failure of his application, resolved on revenge ; and he engaged Henry, king of Germany ; Hugh, duke of France, who had lately married Ethelinda, the daughter of Edward, king of England, and the sister of Charles's consort ; and William, duke of Normandy, to enter into his views. They all swore to assist him, to the utmost of their power, in restoring the throne to its lawful possessor ; and the pope threatened with excommunication whoever should dare to oppose the restoration of Charles. That prince was accordingly released from confinement and conducted to Saint Quentin, where he was received by the same people who had rejoiced at his depofal with every demonstration of joy. From thence he repaired to Eu, where he received homage from the duke of Normandy.

A. D. 928, 929.] Rodolph, in order to avert the impending storm, at length offered the city of Laon to Herbert ; and that perjured traitor, having thus acquired what had alone induced him to take up arms, accepted his proposal. The unfortunate Charles was again sacrificed to the ambition of his nobles, and confined at Peronne, where he died soon after, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he had Gisele, who married Rollo, the first duke of Normandy. By Frederunc, his second wife, he had no child ; and by Egiva, sister to Athelstan, king of England, he had Lewis *d'Outre-Mer*. This monarch was buried at the abbey of Saint Fourcy.

A. D. 930 to 936.] The few remaining years of the reign of Rodolph were passed in restraining the incursions of the Normans, and in quelling the turbulent spirit of the nobles. The friendship of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and Hugh, duke of France, was soon converted into implacable hatred, and war was declared between them. But the former, after being stripped of most of his possessions, at length consented to a truce, that was followed by a peace. This was the last remarkable event that occurred during the life of Rodolph, who died at Auxerre, in 936.

The death of this prince was followed by an interregnum of near six months. Such was the situation of affairs, at this period, that no attention was paid to

* By county is here meant a certain district, giving to its possessor the title of Count.

the established rules of succession. Hugh the Black, brother to Rodolph, who had died without children, aspired to the crown; and his pretensions were favoured by the Burgundians. But he had a powerful rival in the person of Hugh, duke of France, whose dignity of birth, and splendor of talents, render him a formidable competitor. But the nobles, however, were resolved to exclude from the throne, any claimant who possessed sufficient vigour and merit to ensure obedience. Hugh, therefore, was rejected. The conjuncture was favourable to the lawful heir, Prince Lewis, son of Charles the Simple, who had been taken to England by his mother, in order to secure him from the rage of faction. It was from his residence in England that he acquired the appellation of *Outre-Mer*, *Beyond the Sea*, or *Stranger*. Hugh, unable to obtain the regal dignity himself, was glad to see it conferred on a prince whom he hoped to keep in a state of dependence. With this view he recalled Lewis from England; and, meeting him at Boulogne, paid him homage as a vassal, and took the oath of fidelity to the youthful monarch.

LEWIS THE FOURTH,

SURNAMED THE STRANGER.

A. D. 936.] LEWIS was but sixteen when called to the throne of his ancestors; and he had been absent from his native country thirteen years. The example of Hugh was followed by a great number of nobles and prelates, who attended the king to Laon, where he was crowned by Artaud, archbishop of Rheims. To discharge his obligations to the duke of France, and to secure the fidelity of that powerful nobleman, he appointed him minister, and committed to his hands the reigns of government. The duke of Burgundy had presumed on an infant reign to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, and to seize the city of Langres: the insult was resented by Hugh, who, at the head of a powerful army, penetrated into Burgundy, and compelled the brother of Rodolph to purchase an ignominious peace, by the cession of a great part of that fertile duchy. But Lewis soon became tired with remaining under the tuition of this ambitious subject, who wished to keep him constantly at Paris, where he was sole master. The young king had privately secured the duke of Normandy, and the counts of Flanders, Vermandois, and Poitiers, who, jealous of the minister's power, cheerfully united in order to release him from the state of captivity in which he was holden. He accordingly withdrew to Laon, where he was met by his mother Egiva. The duke, more astonished than alarmed at this circumstance, only sought to encrease his power by the influence of fear. He found the means of gaining over the inconstant and perfidious Herbert, who had sufficient influence to make the Normans forsake the interest of the king. They were also joined by Gilbert, duke of Lorraine; and Otho, king of Germany, promised to protect them.

A. D. 937, 938.] As soon as the season would permit, the confederated princes began their march towards those parts where the king's authority was most acknowledged. Lewis advanced to meet them, not with a powerful ar-

my, but with a band of bishops, whose *spiritual* weapons were exerted with greater success than the *temporal* swords and pikes of the troops. These formidable prelates sent to inform the duke of Normandy and the count of Vermandois, that they excommunicated them both—the first, for having burned some towns in Flanders; and the last, for unjustly retaining certain possessions belonging to the abbey of Saint Remi, at Rheims. This extraordinary interference of the ecclesiastical power, and the effect it produced, are strongly characteristic of the spirit of the times. The rebels, alarmed at their threats, remained in suspense. The laws of honour, ever sacred; the obligation of an oath; the firmest bond of society; the love of justice; a regard for their duty—all these potent considerations had proved insufficient to deter them from taking up arms against their sovereign—while the fear of excommunication, the motives for which were probably unjust, checked in a moment the uplifted arm of rebellion. Prince Hugh, for that was the title he assumed*, observing the indecision of his associates; proposed an accommodation; and a truce was accordingly agreed on.

A. D. 939.] Lewis employed this interval of tranquillity in securing the kingdom of Lorraine, whose inhabitants invited him to reign over them. While he advanced to Verdun, an English fleet appeared on the coast of Flanders, in order to protect those maritime towns of Lorraine which had declared for the king. The first offensive and defensive treaty between France and England† was concluded during this reign; till when but little intercourse, except such as was merely commercial, had subsisted between the two kingdoms. Having made himself master of the greater part of Alsace, Lewis compelled several counts, who still remained faithful to the king of Germany, to retire beyond the Rhine; but, receiving intelligence that the bishop of Laon was about to surrender that important city to Herbert, he hastened thither, and expelled the seditious prelate. The tide of success then turned; the dukes of Lorraine and Franconia, to whose care he had entrusted his new conquest, suffered themselves to be taken by surprize; the last was killed by the enemy, and the first was drowned in passing the Rhine, while his widow had taken refuge in the strong fortress of Chievremont, in the county of Liege; whither Lewis repaired with a body of troops, and in order to secure her interest in Lorraine, married her in a few days after the death of her husband‡; but the appearance of Otho speedily reduced all the towns which had declared against him to return to their obedience.

A. D. 940.] The only effect of this war, in which Lewis had signalized his courage and activity, was to make him a new enemy in the person of Otho, who now renewed his ancient engagements with Hugh. That nobleman, in concert with the count of Vermandois, made incursions upon the territories of

* Dudo, l. 2.

† Luitprand, l. iv. c. 14.

‡ Vischind Hist. Saxon. l. ii.

the archbishop of Rheims, to whom the king accorded, by way of recompence for the damage he sustained, the right of coining money. But the prelate did not long enjoy this privilege; for his episcopal city was presently attacked, and, after a siege of six days, reduced*. His troops were better in appearance than in reality; and the prelate himself, being taken from a cloister to head a principality, was but little skilled in the art of defending towns. It is here necessary to remark, that the bishops, in imitation of the nobles, had assumed the government of their episcopal cities and dioceses. Hence the titles of prince, duke, or count, which many of them still enjoy. Hence, too, that bloody and obstinate war, (which lasted eighteen years) undertaken and supported by the count of Vermandois, in order to maintain his son Hugh in the possession of a fee, since become the first duchy in the kingdom; a war during which the two rivals were alternately confirmed or deposed, according to the interest and caprice of the court of Rome, and of the ecclesiastical councils. Artaud, however, strengthened by the king's interest, the ancient canons, and a majority of the councils, at length prevailed; though he was obliged to give up the government of the diocese, and to content himself with the abbies of Avenay and Saint Basle, which were assigned him for his support.

A. D. 941.] From Rheims the rebels marched to Laon, which, by the vigour of its defence, gave the king time to advance to its relief. On his appearance, the factious leaders retired; and, conducting Otho to the palace of Attigny, declared him, by an instance of treachery hitherto unexampled, sovereign of France†. Though some of the French monarchs had before been deposed, yet a prince of the blood had always been appointed to fill the vacant throne, to which no stranger had ever been called. Lewis, in this calamitous situation, shewed himself worthy of the crown he wore. By retreats, attacks, and negotiations, sagaciously planned, and opportunely enforced, he at length succeeded in his attempts to detach Otho from the factious league. But still fortune displayed her usual inconstancy‡: his troops were defeated near Laon, and he himself was so closely pressed by the enemy, that it was with difficulty he effected his escape. This victory was followed by a general defection of the whole kingdom, except the inhabitants of Aquitaine, who alone preserved their fidelity. At last, through the pope's mediation, peace was concluded. Otho, though proclaimed king by the rebels, had the generosity to declare against them: Hugh and Herbert, forsaken by this powerful ally, returned to their duty, and shewed submission to that authority which they were unable any longer to contest.

A. D. 943.] William, duke of Normandy, surnamed Long-Sword, had greatly contributed to the restoration of tranquillity; but that wise prince did not live long to enjoy the salutary effects of his interference, being assassinated

* Hist. Remens. + Flodoard. Chron. ‡ Dudo. l. iii.

at an interview with Arnoul, count of Flanders, on the river Somme. He left an infant son, named Richard, whom Lewis took under his protection, and conducted to Laon, where he kept him in close confinement. According to some authors, he intended to *hamstring* the young prince, in order that, being maimed and lame, he might be deemed incapable of being placed on the throne, and at the head of armies. But two historians*, who wrote at a period nearer to the present, affirm, that he only threatened the prince with that punishment, in case he should leave the city without his permission. Richard, however, was preserved from the danger, by the vigilance of his governor, Osman, who, in the disguise of a groom, escaped with his pupil, concealed in a truss of hay, and, mounting him on a fleet horse, conveyed him in safety to the friendly castle of Bernard, count of Senlis. Prince Hugh promised this nobleman to afford him effectual protection against the resentment of Lewis; but he was induced to break his word, on a proposal made him by the king to divide Normandy between them, on condition that the expence of reducing it should be mutually borne. A treaty for this purpose was concluded in a few days; and Lewis, entering Normandy, advanced to Rouen, with a powerful army, while the duke of France penetrated into the country of Baieux†.

A. D. 944, 945.] The Normans, unable to resist their united forces, endeavoured to sow division between the allies. With this view they offered to acknowledge the sovereignty of Lewis, provided he would compel Hugh to leave their territories. The proposal was accepted by the king, and the duke retired enraged at his perfidy, and vowing revenge. An opportunity for putting his threats in execution speedily occurred. Lewis having advanced to attack Aigrol, king of Denmark, who had landed with an army of Danes‡, in order to support the claims of the infant duke, his troops were defeated with great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner. Hugh, at the solicitation of Queen Gerberge, immediately convened the parliament||, and expatiated largely in favour of the royal authority. By his advice, it was resolved that the king should be released on giving his second son for a hostage, and that young Richard should be established in his duchy. The Normans, on this condition, surrendered Lewis into the hands of Hugh, who refused to set him at liberty till he had ceded the city of Laon.

A. D. 946.] During these transactions, Herbert, count of Vermandois, had died, and his last moments were embittered by the pangs of remorse§. He left several sons, and among others Albert, who was the head of the house of Vermandois. Lewis being determined to revenge the perfidy of the father upon the children, a bloody war ensued, in which that monarch was frequently worsted. But a contest still more obstinate and dangerous was he compelled to

* Dudo. l. iii.—Guill. Gemet. c. iv. + Flodoard. Chron. ‡ Idem. Ibid. || Chron. ii. Breve, Duchesne. tom. iii. p. 321. § Glab. l. i. c. 9.

maintain against Hugh, whose power set his utmost efforts at defiance. Assisted by the king of Germany and the count of Flanders, Lewis marched against the rebels, at the head of an army of one hundred and eighty thousand men; but Hugh prudently declined a combat with a force so superior to his own; and the king reaped no other advantage from this accession of strength than the capture of Rheims, the expulsion of archbishop Hugh, the re-establishment of Artaud, and the devastation of the duchy of France*. Having formed the siege of Rouent, he was foiled in his attempts to reduce it; and, after losing a great number of men, was compelled to withdraw with his troops.

A. D. 948.] Still, however, hostilities continued with unabated ardour, though without any other success than the desolation of fertile provinces. But Hugh at length prevailed so far that the crown was within his grasp, and he was strenuously urged to seize it, by his numerous partizans†. Lewis, in his dilemma, was reduced to the dangerous and degrading necessity of having recourse to the authority of the church. He repaired to the council of Ingelheim||, which had been convened by the pope, where he was met by Otho, his ally; and when the two monarchs had taken their seats on the same bench, the pope's legate read aloud the instructions he had received from his master, who delegated to him the power of crowning and of deposing sovereigns. The French monarch then arose and demanded justice for the daring attempts of an arbitrary subject who had usurped his authority, and left him but the empty title of king. The fathers, moved by his situation, threatened to excommunicate his rebellious vassal, unless he instantly appeared before the council and justified his conduct. The duke refusing to comply with the citation, the sentence of excommunication was issued against him, that same year, by the council of Treves, and afterwards confirmed at Rome. Hugh, alarmed for the consequences of this proceeding, which, though he despised it himself, he knew had great influence on the minds of the people, consented to an accommodation with Lewis, to whom he restored the castle of Laon, and whom he acknowledged for his sovereign. But still he cherished a secret enmity, which lasted till the death of that prince§, who perished by a singular accident.

A. D. 954.] One of his sons, named Lewis, having died at Laon, he determined in future to reside at Rheims: as he approached that city, he saw a wolf, which he immediately followed, on full gallop, when his horse stumbled and threw him. The injury proved fatal: being carried to the archbishop's palace, he there expired, in the thirty-third year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign**; he was interred in the church of Saint Remi.

Lewis was possessed of many good qualities; his courage was undaunted, and his political talents were far from contemptible. The misfortunes of his reign

* Dudo. l. iii.
Edit. Lab. Col. 623.

† Guill. Gemet. Ibid. c. xi.
§ Flodoard, Chron.

‡ Hist. Rem. c. 35.

|| Tom. ix. Conc.

** Chron. Breve Fragm. Hist. Franc. Chron. Floriac.

proceeded chiefly from a facility of disposition, which laid him open to deceit—a defect, not uncommon in virtuous minds, though seldom to be found in those of a contrary description.

Lewis had, by his queen Gerberge, the widow of Gilbert, duke of Lorraine, five sons; Lothaire, Lewis, Carloman, Charles, and Henry; and two daughters, Matilda, married, some time after his death, to Conrad, king of Burgundy; and Albrade, wife to Renaud, count of Roucy. Only two of the princes survived him, Lothaire, who succeeded to the crown; and Charles who was unjustly excluded from the throne of his ancestors. The first was only in his thirteenth or fourteenth year, and the second but a year old. The eldest, whom his father had taken the precaution to associate with him in the empire, had the sole government of the kingdom, to the total exclusion of the youngest, contrary to the custom that had prevailed from the very foundation of the monarchy: perhaps this was owing to the infancy of Charles, or more probably it was a stroke of policy in Hugh, who imagined that a division of the kingdom would effect a diminution of his authority. Whatever was the cause, this example, which experience has proved to be so highly beneficial, has since become a custom, sanctioned by the positive laws of the realm.

LOTHAIRE.

A. D. 956.] HUGH, possessed of power almost absolute, might easily have placed the diadem on his own brows; but, afraid to assume a title which could not fail to ensure him the envy and resentment of the nobles, he chose to confer the regal dignity on the lawful heir, and Lothaire was accordingly crowned at Rheims. Still that imperious nobleman preserved his extensive authority; and, in addition to the dignities he already possessed, he now acquired the duchy of Aquitaine, which was taken from the family of the counts of Poitiers, in order to gratify his ambition. Such was the degree of grandeur to which Hugh had attained, when he expired at Dourdan, little regretted by the king, on whose prerogatives he infringed, though greatly lamented by his numerous friends. It is said of him, that he reigned twenty years without being king. He had acquired the appellation of *the White*, from his complexion; of *the Tall*, from his stature; of *the Prince*, from the extent of his power; and of *the Abbot*, from the three abbeys of Saint Germain-des-Pres, Saint Denis, and Saint Martin at Tours, which he possessed: these he transmitted to his son, Hugh Capet. Besides Hugh Capet, this nobleman left two other sons, Otho, and Eudes or Henry, who were successively dukes of Burgundy; and two daughters, Emma, married to Richard, duke of Normandy; and Beatrix, wife to Frederick the First, duke of Upper Lorraine.

The reign of Lothaire is marked by no event of importance. His authority being almost confined to the city of Laon, he was long a quiet spectator of the wars between his powerful vassals. He made an unsuccessful attempt on Aquitaine; and, after seeking in vain to gain possession of the person of Richard, duke of Normandy, he was at length compelled to secure that duchy to him and his heirs. In Flanders, his efforts were more fortunate; he reduced Arras, Douay, and several other strong places, and obliged count Baldwin the Third, to sue for peace and mercy. On his return from this expedition, he concluded at Cologne, a treaty of marriage with the princess Emma, daughter of Lothaire, king of Italy, and of his wife Adelaide, who was afterwards married to the emperor Otho. The nuptials were celebrated some months after, and were suc-

ceded by a perfect calm in the empire, which lasted several years; and which alone sufficed to prove the great capacity of a monarch, who, possessed only of a few towns, and a very small army, could still repress the ambitious attempts of his nobles, and keep within due bounds those haughty vassals, who had so long preserved a state of independence.

A. D. 965.] But the disputes with regard to Lorraine at length re-kindled the destructive torch of war, and proved fatal to the descendants of Charlemagne. The king had ceded his rights to that kingdom to his brother, prince Charles*, who had hitherto in vain endeavoured to assert them; when Otho, the Second, in order to divide the royal family, offered the duchy of Lower Lorraine to that prince, which comprehended Brabant, and all the provinces between the Rhine and the Schelde, as far as the sea; but on condition that he should hold it as a fief, under the crown of Germany. Charles, whose revenue was small, joyfully accepted the offer; and, taking the required oath of fidelity, established his residence at Brussels. The French were highly enraged at this proceeding, and saw, with indignation, the brother of their sovereign become the vassal of a foreign prince. Such was the motive which operated to the exclusion of Charles from the crown, and made it pass into another family, in which it has remained ever since.

A. D. 977, 978, 979, 980.] When the king was apprised of his brother's conduct, he marched into Upper Lorraine; and, seizing Metz, received homage from the majority of the nobles. He then advanced to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he had nearly surprised the emperor as he was sitting at table. The town was pillaged by the troops. Otho, in his turn, over-ran France with a powerful army, and laid siege to Paris, where he was determined, he said, to sing *Hallelujah*†. Hugh Capet, whom he informed of his intention, prevented him from gratifying his wish; and, by a vigorous resistance, and sallies judiciously planned, and successfully executed, at length compelled him to raise the siege. On his retreat he was attacked by Lothaire, and lost so many of his troops, in different skirmishes, that not one-sixth of his army returned to Germany.

But the vigorous exertions of Lothaire were productive of no solid advantage; he reduced all the towns of Lorraine, but was unable to keep them, not having sufficient troops to supply them with garrisons. Besides, circumstances were unfavourable to long expeditions; as the vassals were only obliged to keep the field for a certain time. Before he dismissed his nobles, he repaired to Compiègne, where he associated his son Lewis, a boy of twelve years old, with him in the empire. A peace was at length concluded between Lothaire and Otho, to whom he ceded the kingdom of Lorraine, on condition that he should hold it as a fief of the crown of France. Notwithstanding this treaty, he soon after

* Guill. Nang. in Chron. Sigeb.

† Glaber. l. i. c. 3.

made an irruption into that devoted country, where he committed great devastations, and took the town of Verdun. This was the last memorable exploit of his reign. He died the following year at Rheims, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign. He was buried in the church of Saint Remi, where his tomb may still be seen. Some authors have affirmed that he was poisoned by his wife Emma*; and this suspicion appears to receive confirmation, from her fears lest the reports concerning her licentious conduct should be investigated; from her ambition to reign, under the name of her son; and from her connections with the imperialists, and the inhabitants of Lorraine. But the mystery in which this dark transaction is involved, renders it impossible to speak with decision on the subject.

Lothaire was distinguished for his courage, activity, and vigilance; his projects were well concerted, and his actions were generally marked by wisdom, spirit, and perseverance. In times of anarchy and revolt, his prudence sufficed to turn to the advantage of the state; and, had his life been prolonged, it is probable that his bold attempts to re-unite the scattered portions of the French monarchy would have been crowned with success. His principal defect was, an occasional versatility of mind, that sometimes led him to a violation his promises. Besides Lewis, who succeeded him, he had two natural sons †, Arnoul, archbishop of Rheims; and Otho, who died in his infancy.

* Ademar Chron. Malleac.

† Glab. l. ii. c. 34.

‡ Mabil. de re diplom. l. ii. c. 26.

LEWIS THE FIFTH.

A. D. 987.] LEWIS, on his accession to the throne, neither possessed the good qualities of his father, nor the esteem of his people. The contempt to which his restless and turbulent disposition had given rise would have excluded him from the succession, but for the interposition of Hugh Capet, who took him under his protection. To this prince was the care of the king's person confided, while the regency of the kingdom devolved on the queen dowager. But Emma, being accused of a criminal connection with Adelberon, bishop of Laon, was soon driven from her station with ignominy and disgrace. She had recourse to her mother, wife to Otho the Great, who pitied her misfortunes, and promised her relief. An army of Germans was preparing to march into France, when the death of the young monarch, in the twenty-first year of his age, gave a new turn to affairs. He was buried in the church of St. Corneille, at Compeigne, where he had been crowned during his father's life. He had acquired the epithet of *Faineant*—not from any indolence of disposition, or attachment to pleasure, but because his short reign was distinguished by no memorable act*: *Juvenis qui nihil fecit*.

It is believed that his death was owing to poison, administered either at the instigation of his mother, whom he had persecuted with great cruelty, or else by his wife Blanche, to whom he was an object of aversion. This princess was daughter to a nobleman of Aquitaine; she had left her husband once to return to her family, which gave rise to reports prejudicial to them both. It is said by some, that Lewis made a will, by which he bequeathed his kingdom to Hugh Capet, to the exclusion of his uncle Charles, or, according to others, to queen Blanche, on condition that, after his death, she would marry Hugh, whom the wishes of the nation at length called to the throne†. But it is certain that Adelaide, the wife of Hugh, lived some years after the coronation of her husband. Besides, it is highly improbable that Lewis should have rewarded his wife's infidelity by the gift of a crown. Be that as it may, this prince was the last of

* Odoran, in Chron.

† Idem Odoran. Gervaf. Tilbert. apud Duchesne, tom. iii.

the Carolingian kings. As he died without children, Charles, duke of Lower Lorraine, was the lawful heir to the throne; but he had alienated the affections of the French, by becoming a vassal of the German crown. In consequence of this conduct, Hugh Capet took possession of the vacant throne, whose descendants have reigned over France, without interruption, for the long space of eight centuries.

Thus expired the illustrious race of the Carolingians, who had filled the throne of France for two hundred and thirty-six years. It had been divided into three branches, who reigned over three separate kingdoms, Italy, Germany, and France. It is remarkable, that the last monarch of each branch was named Lewis. The kings of this family had seldom any fixed residence; but were constantly travelling about on horseback, accompanied by their wives. Charles Martel and Pepin, when not in the field, resided most frequently at Paris; Charlemagne and his son, at Aix-la-Chapelle or Thionville; Charles the Bald, at Soissons or Compiègne; Charles the Simple, at Rheims; and Lewis the Stranger, at Laon, the only place of strength in his dominions. The fall of the Carolingian race may chiefly be ascribed to the division of the empire into a number of independent states. United under one head, the very dread of its power would have maintained its importance; but, divided into small portions, it became impotent, and sunk into a state of insignificance. We have seen as many as five princes at a time, of the blood of Charlemagne, wearing the crown. But what princes?—Unnatural sons, ambitious brothers, and bad parents, who, intent on mutual destruction, taught their subjects to infringe on the sovereign authority, which was too feeble to repress their rebellious attempts.

Hence the encroachments of the sovereign pontiffs, who, considering themselves as entitled to dispose of an empire of which at first they were but subjects, extended an authority, merely spiritual, over all temporal concerns. Hence, too, that enormous authority assumed by the prelates, who, after dethroning a parent at the solicitation of a child, claimed the right of electing, confirming, or deposing their masters. Swayed by ambition, they were better calculated to shine in the field than the pulpit; contemptible from their ignorance—scarcely able to read, much less to write—yet formidable, as well from their spiritual thunders, as from the temporal authority they had usurped over their dioceses and episcopal towns. This gave rise to those principalities, almost independent, which the monks erected, in countries where, a few years before, they had been employed in the cultivation of a small portion of land, the gift of liberal piety. Hence also those usurpations of the nobles, who insensibly made themselves kings, as it were, of the provinces to which they had been originally appointed in the capacity of governors;—usurpations which were soon converted into hereditary rights, at first tolerated through weakness, and the fear of making enemies; and at length, by necessity, from the want of power to repress them. The domains of Lewis, the last of the descendants of Charlemagne,

were confined to Laon, Soissons, and a few other districts, his claim to which was disputed. Many a vassal was more opulent and powerful than his master. Hence those dreadful inundations of Normans, which, for the best part of a century, desolated the empire, thus weakened by division; and who, after establishing a settlement in the heart of France, at length united with her tyrants, for annihilating the royal authority. Such were the chief causes of the decline of the house of Charlemagne; which, under Pepin, possessed all the brilliancy of youth; under Charlemagne all the force and vigour of manhood; and under Lewis the Gentle all the weakness of old age.

There were but few festivals observed under the second race of kings; the nobles were obliged to attend their celebration in the principal city of the diocese, in which they resided; the kings themselves made a point of being present. A list of these festivals may be seen in a famous *constitution* of Charlemagne, where they are marked in red-letters. They were Christmas day; Saint John the Evangelist; the Innocents; the Octave of our Lord (New Year's day); the Epiphany; the Octave of the Epiphany; the Purification of the Blessed Virgin; eight days at Easter; the great Litanies; the Ascension; Whit-funday; St. John the Baptist; Saint Peter and Saint Paul; Saint Martin and Saint Andrew.

THE THIRD, OR CAPETIAN RACE.

HUGH CAPET.

A. D. 987.] FRANCE, on the death of Lewis the Fifth, was no longer in that flourishing state in which it was found by Charles the Bald, on his accession to the throne. Each province formed a sovereignty, and there was scarcely a citizen endued with ambition, and possessed of power, but aspired to a state of independence. It was still a great kingdom, which extended from the Schelde, and the Meuse, to the British Channel; and from the Elbe to the Rhone; but, as Mezerai observes, it was rather governed like a large fief, than as a monarchy; the power of the king bore but a small proportion to the extent of his dominions. Every province had its hereditary counts or dukes; vassals whose power was almost as formidable to their sovereign, as that of the neighbouring princes. In order to convey a just idea of the situation of the kingdom, at this period, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of its various divisions, and to offer some remarks on the nobles or princes who enjoyed those great fiefs, on the accession of Hugh Capet to the throne.

Flanders, which comprehended all that country which lies between the Scheld, the Sea, and the Somme, was then governed by Arnoul, the second of his name. The care of this province had been entrusted by Charlemagne to a count who assumed the title of *Forester*—whether it then became a fief of the crown is not known, but it is certain that the successors of that count enjoyed it, after the feudal manner, from the time of Bawldin, surnamed *Bras-de-Fer*, who married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. When these nobles thus became proprietors of a province, of which, originally, they were but governors, they introduced *sub-infeudations*, and by that means acquired vassals, who were bound in the same duties to them as they themselves were to the king. Such was the origin of the counts of Guinies, Boulogne, and Saint Pol, or Therouane, and of the lords of Montreuil and Lille.



J. Galland Sc^o

HUGH CAPET.

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The house of Vermandois was equally ancient and powerful; it derived its origin from Bernard king of Italy; and possessed, besides the county of Senlis, and several districts in the Isle of France, a great part of Picardy, all Brie, and nearly the whole of Champagne. But its power had experienced considerable diminution from a division of its domains. Robert, youngest son of Herbert the Third, was the first who took the title of count of Troies. He was succeeded by his brother Herbert, who left one son, named Stephen; and Stephen dying without issue, appointed Eudes or Odo, grandson to Thibaut, and to Ludgarde, princess of Vermandois, as his heir. From him sprang the counts of Champagne, whose posterity enjoyed that province, till the reign of Philip the Fair, who, by his marriage with the heiress, Joan, re-annexed it to the crown.

Burgundy had also its dukes; and, so early as the time of Charles the Simple, it was governed by Richard *the Justiciary*, with almost sovereign power. Under Lewis the Stranger, it passed into the family of Hugh, duke of France. At this time it was enjoyed by Henry, on condition of doing homage to his elder brother, Hugh Capet. From several ancient records it appears, that the extent of this duchy was nearly the same as it is at present. That part which lies beyond the Saone was divided between different counts, who are celebrated in history, such as those of Macon, Auxonne, and Chalons, who were vassals to Conrad *the Pacific*, king of *Transjurane* and *Cisjurane*, Burgundy, (so named from Mount Jura, by which they were separated) that had long been dismembered from the crown of France.

The duchy of France was neither less important from its extent, nor less formidable from the number of its vassals. It comprehended, besides, its extensive domains in Picardy and Champagne, the town and county of Paris; the Orleanois; the Chartrain; Perche; the county of Blois; Touraine; Anjou and Maine. This vast fief, which had long been enjoyed by the children of Robert the Strong, rendered its possessors more powerful than the sovereigns whose vassals they were. The custom of sub-infeudations appearing to be attended with advantages, it was adopted by the dukes of France; whence arose the counts of Anjou, Blois, Chartres and Tours. But it is worthy of remark, that these *sub-vassals* were not classed among the nobles of the kingdom. We read, in the annals of Rheims, that *Thibaut le Trichard* was excluded from one of the French parliaments, because he was not a vassal of the crown, but of Hugh the White.

Normandy and Brittany had been ceded to Rollo the Dane; the former as an independent state, the second as a fief of the crown. They were at present governed by Richard the First, brother-in-law to Hugh Capet, who had been brought up at his court. Such was the pride of the Norman princes, that they disdained to consider themselves as vassals of the crown; such their independence, that they pretended they were exempt from the obligation of furnishing

troops for the king; and such their power, that their revenues were infinitely superior to those of their master.

We learn from a deed of foundation, dated in the reign of Hugh Capet*, that the duke of Gascony was still a vassal of the French monarch. That duchy included the whole extent of country between the Garonne and the Dordogne—the Pyrenees and the two seas, except the county of Comminge and Conserans. William Sancho, who was the seventh hereditary duke, now governed that province.

It was some time before the counts of Thoulouse attained to that degree of power which they enjoyed under the reign of Lewis the Stranger. Confined, at first, to the mere province of Thoulouse, afterwards heirs to the principality of Languedoc, they annexed to their ancient title the quality of prince, duke, and marquis of Gothia or Septimania. This family appears to have lost much of its original splendour, under Hugh Capet and Robert. William the Third, who lived under the last of these monarchs, only took the title of count of Albi, Cahors, and Thoulouse. But Raymond the Fourth restored it to all its ancient rights, and became one of the most powerful vassals of the crown, under the title of duke of Narbonne.

Aquitaine would indisputably have been the most considerable fief in the kingdom, had it been united under one chief. We have seen with what difficulty it was reduced under Pepin the Short, and by what means it became a powerful kingdom under Lewis the Gentle and his children. From the time of Charles the Bald it was possessed, as a duchy, by the counts of Poitiers; and William, surnamed *Fier-a-Bras*, governed it in the capacity of a duke, on the accession of Hugh Capet. But though he had succeeded to the rights of his ancestors, he had not succeeded to their power. Aquitaine was, at this time, torn by the intestine commotions of its ambitious nobles, who, taking advantage of the general disorder which prevailed in the monarchy, erected separate, and almost independent establishments. Such were the *Sires* of Bourbon, the dukes of Auvergne, the counts of Bourges, of La Marche, Angouleme, and Perigord, who all enjoyed their territories as *freeholds*, with scarcely any marks of feudal dependence.

To these times of anarchy, tyranny, and confusion, may be traced the origin of that custom, which afterwards became so prevalent among such of the nobles as were neither counts nor dukes, of taking the names of their estates and castles. On reading the ancient authors, we find, that formerly none but proper names were used. Under the second race of kings, an epithet was added, as a more evident mark of distinction; and this was either taken from the dignity or strength of the person, from his complexion, or from some personal quality. Hence those names that so frequently occur in history, of Hugh the

* Marca, Hist. de Bearn, p. 221—225.

Abbot; Robert the *Strong*; Hugh the *White*, Hugh *Capet*. The epithet given to this last prince is said to be derived from the Latin word *Capito*, which literally means a large head, and figuratively a *sensible man*. Some however, affirm, that he was thus named from a kind of hat which he first introduced.

However that may be, it is certain that, from this time, surnames became fashionable. The nobles took theirs from their fiefs or lordships; the citizen his, either from the place of his birth, as *Le Picard*, *Le Normand*; or from his professions, as *Le Charron* (the wheelright); *Le Meufnier*, (the miller); or else from some taunting appellation bestowed on him by his comrades, as *Le Roi*; (the king); *le Prince*, (the princē); *l'Eveque*, the (bishop); or, lastly, from some natural defect, as *le Camus* (flat-nosed); *Bossu*, (hump-backed).

Such was the state of France, at the time when the sceptre was transferred from the family of Charlemagne to the illustrious house which still retains it. These numerous dukes and counts were not only accustomed to transmit to their descendants the principalities they possessed, but to have vassals of their own, from whom they received an immediate homage. The new sovereign suffered them quietly to enjoy their usurpations, and entertained no thoughts of disputing their prerogatives. Nothing can tend better to demonstrate the insignificance of the sovereign authority in these boisterous times, than the answer of Aldebert, count of Perigord, to Hugh Capet, and his son Robert. That nobleman had laid siege to Tours, which belonged to Count Eudes; and the kings, says an ancient author, not daring to have recourse to arms, merely sent to ask him, who had made him a count?—"And pray who made them kings*?" replied Aldebert; with great coolness; and continued the siege till he had reduced the place.

In the present situation of the empire, both courage and address were requisite to remove those impediments which barred the approach of Hugh Capet to the throne. It has been generally asserted, that the crown was conferred on him by the general consent of the nation assembled at Noyon. But if credit may be given to a letter discovered by Duchesne, far from having recourse to the authority of a parliament, he effected, by force of arms, the dissolution of that parliament, which had actually assembled for the purpose of ensuring the succession to duke Charles. This letter was written to Diederic, or Thierrri, bishop of Metz, by the famous Gerbert, who was raised from the dignity of a canon of Rhiems, to the archiepiscopal see of that city, from thence translated to that of Ravenna, and finally promoted to the papal throne, under the appellation of Sylvester the Second. These are his words—"Duke Hugh has assembled six hundred men at arms, and on the report of his approach, the parliament, which was then sitting in the palace at Compiègne, separated on the eleventh of May. All took to flight, the duke Charles, the count Reinhard, and the princes of Vermandois, and the bishop of Laon, Adalberon, who has given

* Hist. Aquit. Frag. tom. iv. Collect. Duchesne, p. 80, 81.

“his nephew as an hostage to *Bardas*, for the execution of what Sigefred and Godfrey have promised*.” It must be observed, that the duke of France is here called *Bardas*, in allusion to what was then passing at Constantinople, where a nobleman of that name had usurped the empire, to the prejudice of the children of his master and benefactor.

It was not to a parliament then, that Hugh Capet was indebted for the crown, but to that by which empires are established and overturned—a fortunate combination of strength and prudence. It is needless to trace the genealogical tree of this prince, or to examine the different opinions with regard to the descent of his ancestor, Robert the Strong. It is sufficient to know, that his grandfather had swayed the sceptre of France, and that his father, without the title, had enjoyed the authority of a king. That his birth was illustrious admits not of a doubt; but still it could give him no possible title to the throne. Had the rules of succession been observed, Charles must have succeeded his nephew. Hugh, sensible of this, chiefly founded his own pretensions on the baseness of that prince in submitting to become the vassal of a monarch, who had formerly been a subject of France. The necessity which induced Charles to the adoption of that measure, in order to obtain an establishment, which the scanty possessions of his nephew were insufficient to afford him, was totally overlooked. Nothing but the degradation of his family was insisted on, and that operated so powerfully on the minds of the French, as to effect his exclusion from the throne. In order to strengthen his claims, Hugh called in the aid of superstition. He caused a report to be propagated, that Saint Riquier—a faint then in vogue—had revealed to him that he should be king, as a reward for his piety in having compelled the count of Flanders to restore his (the faint’s) relics, in order to deposit them in the abbey which bears his name.

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Hugh, having previously given orders to his principal vassals to be ready to assist him in case of necessity, found himself in a situation to assume the title of king, as soon as Lewis was dead. Advancing from Noyon, where he then was, to Rheims, with a considerable body of troops, he was there anointed and crown by archbishop Adalberon.

A. D. 988.] Hugh, conscious that his title was defective, hastened to take every step which he thought could confirm his authority. With this view he convened a parliament, in the month of December subsequent to his coronation, in the city of Orleans, out of the reach of his rival, and in the midst of his own friends and dependents. There, by the unanimous advice of the assembly, his only son, Robert, was associated with him in the government, and was accordingly crowned by Seguin, archbishop of Sens. We have already had occasion to remark, that the most valuable ecclesiastical benefices had passed into

* Epist. 59. tom. i. Collect. Duchesne, p. 803.

† Glaber, Rodolph. l. ii. p. 1.

the hands of noblemen, most of whom were in the army, and married men. Hugh himself had inherited from his ancestors the abbeys of St. Martin at Tours, of St. Germain-de-Prez, St. Denis, and St. Riquier, which had fallen to him on the death of his father, Hugh the Great. He now restored them to the monks, with the liberty of electing their own abbots in such places as enjoyed that privilege, according to the ancient canons. This liberality, which was imitated by all the nobles in the kingdom, secured not only immense riches to the clergy, but a degree of authority that became highly formidable to the successors of this prince. It answered, however, the present purpose, by procuring him the unanimous votes of the clergy, whose gratitude led them to confirm his usurpation.

But the new monarchs were not suffered long to enjoy in tranquillity the dominions they had thus acquired. Charles armed in Lower Lorraine, and with him Arnoul count of Flanders, and Herbert count of Vermandois, who, being both descended from Charlemagne, determined to support the pretensions of the lawful heir. But unfortunately the first died at this critical conjuncture; and the second, who was father-in-law to Charles, was so much exposed to the vengeance of the two kings, that he was afraid to declare himself openly. Charles, however, commenced the campaign; and, with a powerful army, laid siege to Laon. This place was exceedingly strong; and the garrison being encouraged by the presence of queen Emma, and the exhortations of bishop Ascelin an obstinate resistance was expected; but the duke pressed the siege with such vigour, that the town was carried before any succours could arrive.

The queen and the prelate were made prisoners; and the obstinacy of the prince, in refusing to release them, created him many enemies; and the clergy, as much from arrogance, as from respect to the reigning family*, overwhelmed him with the thunders of the church. These ecclesiastical anathemas were then highly prejudicial, as they declared the object of them to have forfeited all his rights to the throne; but in this instance they were by no means deserved, particularly with regard to the prelate, who, far from complaining of his captivity, was proud to become the minister and favourite of his conqueror.

Hugh was sensibly afflicted at the news of the capture of Laon; of the consequence of which, at the commencement of his reign, he was fully aware. As no time was to be lost, he assembled his vassals, and advanced towards the enemy; but the prince defended himself with heroic courage; and, making a judicious sally on the besiegers, he burnt their quarters, put numbers of them to the sword, and obtained so complete a victory, that the whole army was put to flight, and Hugh with difficulty escaped the general carnage.

The news of this victory revived the hopes of the friends of the family of Charlemagne. William, duke of Aquitaine, either from attachment to that il-

* Gerbert, Epist. 12.

lustrious house, or from jealousy at seeing one of his equals become his sovereign, constantly refused to acknowledge the authority of Hugh Capet. In conversation, and by letters, he ventured to reproach the French with the violation of their oath; and detesting, (to use the words of an ancient writer*) the iniquity of those who had attended the assembly at Orleans, he openly declared for the duke of Lorraine, whose birth, together with the wishes of a numerous body of the people, called him to the throne.

Hugh immediately took measures for preventing the progress of this spirit of discontent; and, marching to Poitiers, he formed the siege of that city. But here all his efforts proved equally unsuccessful with his late attempts on the city of Laon; the inhabitants repelled his attacks, and defeated him in several skirmishes. At length, being in want of provision he was compelled to retire, when he was pursued so closely by William, that he was obliged to hazard a battle, which was fought near the abbey of Bourgueil. The contest was maintained with great vigour on both sides, and victory was long doubtful; but at length it declared in favour of Hugh: and William, being defeated, was reduced to the necessity of acknowledging his authority.

Charles, in the mean time, profiting by this powerful diversion, had made himself master of Soissons and Rheims; but, not pursuing the advantage he had thus acquired, with sufficient ardour and alacrity, he gave time to Hugh to march to the assistance of archbishop Adalberon, who refused to give him the royal unction. The prelate's pretence was, that he had no right to dispose of the crown, which could not be lawfully conferred without the consent of the bishops and nobles, who represented the whole monarchy. He had not suffered this scruple to operate as an impediment to the coronation of the duke of France, nor would he now have started it, had not that prince been very near to him. In fact, Hugh soon retook the city of Rheims; and Adalberon dying soon after, he bestowed the vacant see on Arnoul, the natural son of Lothaire, and consequently nephew to his competitor.

The elevation of an enemy to this important post was an instance of short sighted policy, which he shortly had cause to repent. It is true, he took every precaution in his power to avert the ill effects of his imprudence and to ensure the fidelity of the youthful prelate. He required hostages; and, accordingly, bishop Bruno, Gilbert, count of Rouci, Bruno's brother, and Guy, count of Soissons, their cousin-german, were delivered to him. A form of homage was presented, and subscribed by Arnoul, by which he swore an inviolable fidelity to the two monarchs, and imprecated the vengeance of heaven on his head, if he failed in his duty. By entering into these solemn engagements, he not only secured an archbishoprick, valuable from the extent of its revenues, but the temporal dominion of the city, and of some other lands and dis-

* Chron. S. Cybar,

tricts, which the archbishop of Rheims had seized during the troubles that prevailed under the late reigns. He therefore swore an eternal fidelity to Hugh, and made his dependants take a familiar oath; though it was no sooner taken than violated.

The archbishop, unwilling openly to espouse a cause, which he had publicly sworn to abandon, had recourse to stratagem*; and, by the means of a priest, named Adalgar, whom he admitted to his confidence, a body of troops, sent by Charles, was secretly admitted into the town of Rheims, during the night.

The principal clergy were immediately seized; and, in order to favour the deception, the archbishop himself was arrested and conducted to Laon, where they affected to treat him as a state prisoner. From thence the thunders of the church were fulminated, by the artful prelate, against all who had been concerned in the plot; and he ordered his suffragans to issue similar anathemas. Hugh was not deceived by his professions, but, yielding to circumstances, he courted and affected a reconciliation with Arnoul. But the perfidious priest again violated his promise, and fled to Laon. His defection, however, was attended with no bad consequences to the new sovereign. [A. D. 991.] But the treachery of another prelate, Ascelin, proved fatal to his unhappy rival, Charles. Though the favourite of his prince, and the depositary of his secrets, he had long maintained an epistolary correspondence with Hugh, whom he informed of every thing that passed in the councils of his master; and particularly apprised him that the blind security which prevailed in the city of Laon, would render it an easy conquest. Hugh gratefully accepted the invitation; and the treachery displayed at Rheims was revived at Laon. The king was admitted by the perfidious prelate into the palace of his benefactor, in the night of Holy-Thursday, when he was employed in the devotions appropriate to the day; and Charles and his family were immediately conducted to Senlis, and from thence to the tower of Orleans, where that prince, who was worthy of a better fate, died, after a captivity of two years.

Charles left four children—Otho, who succeeded him in the duchy of Lorraine, and who died without heirs; Lewis, who, according to some authors, founded the family of the Landgraves of Thuringia; but, according to others, died childless some years before his brother; Hermengarde, wife to Albert, count of Namur; and Gerberga, married to Lambert, count of Hainault. Queen Isabel, wife to Philip Augustus, sprang from the eldest of these princesses; and the landgraves of Hesse are descended from the youngest.

A. D. 991, 992, 993, 994, 995:] Archbishop Arnoul had been taken with his uncle, and confined in the same prison; but, in order to effect his deposition, the king deemed it necessary to convene an ecclesiastical council, which, accordingly, assembled in the church belonging to the abbey of Saint Basle, near

* Hist. Depos. Arnul. tom. iv. Collect. Duchesne,

Rheims. Some of the members wished to refer the decision of this matter to the pope; but Arnoul, bishop of Orleans, a prelate distinguished for his knowledge and erudition, proved, by various examples from the ecclesiastical history, that bishops should be tried on the spot, where it was more easy to obtain the necessary proofs for establishing their guilt. "We believe," said that prelate*, "that we should always honour the church of Rome, in memory of Saint Peter; and we do not pretend to oppose the decrees of the sovereign pontiffs when they are conformable to the canons, the authority of which should ever remain in full vigour. If the popes are distinguished for knowledge and virtue, we have nothing to fear from them, and if they are led away by ignorance or passion, they are still less to be dreaded." The bishop then entered into a detail of the calamities produced by the see of Rome, and of the unworthiness of several of its pontiffs. He represented John the Twelfth, surnamed Octavian, as a man addicted to the lowest kind of debauchery, and as having excited a spirit of sedition that filled Rome with assassinations and carnage. Boniface the Seventh he painted as a monster, stained with the blood of his predecessor, and, in short, as the worst of men.

"If it be affirmed," said he, "that the church of Rome should judge every other church, and be exempt from judgment itself, let a pope then be chosen whose sentences will not need reformation. We respect the church of Rome, we consult it. If its judgment be just, we receive it in peace; if it be otherwise we will follow the advice of the apostle, not to listen even to an angel, against the gospel. If Rome be silent, as at present, we will consult the laws." The bishops, and the king himself, had in fact written to pope John the Fifteenth, on the subject, but had received no answer.

The council therefore proceeded to the trial of Arnoul. The priest who opened the gates of Rheims betrayed his trust, and acknowledged the orders he had received from the archbishop. That prelate was accordingly condemned, though with reluctance, by a decree of the council; and the favourable inclinations of the president—the archbishop of Sens—and of several other members towards him, were rendered ineffectual, by a voluntary subscription to his own confession and degradation: the vacant see was bestowed on Gerbert, formerly a monk of Aurillac, and afterwards preceptor to the emperor Otho the Third;—a man celebrated, in those days of ignorance, for his learning. But the court of Rome resented with indignation the proceedings which had been adopted without her concurrence. The pope dispatched a legate into France who was commissioned to revise the sentence. A second council was holden at Rheims, and the papal power was gratified by the deposition of Gerbert, and the restoration of Arnoul.

* Acta Concil. Rhem, c. 28.

Gerbert, however, insisted on the illegality of the sentence ; and wrote several letters to the pope, whose interference, he maintained, was an attack on the rights of the kingdom, on the episcopal dignity, and on the king himself. " If," said he*, " the bishop of Rome, sin against his brother, and, after repeated remonstrances, should refuse obedience to the church, he should be regarded as a publican. The higher the rank, the more dangerous the fall. The saying of Saint Gregory, that the flock ought to respect the sentence of the pastor, whether just or unjust, cannot be applied to bishops ; for bishops are not the flock, but the leaders of the flock. We must not give our enemies an opportunity of saying, that the whole priesthood should be so far submissive to an individual, that if he suffer himself to be corrupted by money, favour, fear, or ignorance, no man can be a bishop without insinuating himself into his good graces by similar means. The common law of the church consists of the sacred writings, the canons, and the decrees of the holy see, when conformable to those."

A. D. 996.] This dispute with the pope was the last event worthy of notice in the reign of Hugh Capet, who died the year after the dissolution of the second council of Rheims, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. He is said to have married Blanche, widow of Lewis, the last king of the blood of Charlemagne. By her he had no children ; but by Adelaide, daughter, as it is supposed, of William the Third, duke of Guienne, he had Robert, whom he had associated with him, in the empire ; Hadwige, married to Regnier the Fourth, count of Hainault ; Adelaide, who espoused Regnaud the First, count of Nevers ; and Giselle, wife to Hugh the First, count of Ponthieu.

A mistaken principle of delicacy, founded on respect to the reigning family, has induced the generality of the French historians to *sink* the *usurpation* of Hugh Capet, and to exaggerate his virtues ; as if the former could invalidate the title, or the latter enhance the reputation, of his descendants. Even the abbe Velly, whose spirit and good sense mostly rise superior to the little arts of adulation, and lead him to exert the dignified privilege of an historian, to enforce *truth* without regard to *rank*, has, in this instance, condescended to sanction, by his authority, the general prejudice.—Though he scorns to deviate from veracity, yet has he deigned to *palliate* a fact, by observing—that " in that age, Hugh was, *perhaps*, considered as an usurper."—That his accession to the throne of France was stamped with the most glaring and indelible marks of usurpation, who is there will dare to deny ?—To the crown he could have no possible claim by *descent*—and, with regard to *election*, he dissolved, by force, that parliament which had met for the purpose of conferring it on the lawful heir. Hugh Capet was, therefore, an usurper in every sense of the word ; but that he swayed the sceptre he had thus acquired with dignity, justice, and moderation, is

* Tom. ix, Concil. p. 744. Post. Conc. Rhem. p. 146.

equally certain. From the moment he associated his son to the regal authority, he abstained himself from the use of the ensigns of royalty; and, as a modern writer has justly observed, if some praise be due to the greatness of mind which scorned the pageantry of power, more will always be ascribed to the clemency of a prince who transferred to his family a crown unstained with blood, and who, in an age of violence, preserved the reputation of unblemished humanity.

The high idea which has ever been entertained of the wisdom of Hugh Capet, has led some modern writers to make him the author of various establishments, which owe their origin to the mutual consent of the sovereign and his subjects. Such is the custom by which the younger sons of the crown are excluded from partaking in the succession; such also is that which excludes natural children, even in defect of lawful heirs. An example of the first we have seen in the person of Lothaire, who left no part of his dominions to his youngest son Charles; and the second had become a law under the second race of kings, during whose reigns no bastard succeeded to the throne. The emperor Arnoul may, indeed, be cited as an exception; but he was rather indebted to force and usurpation for the imperial dignity, than to any right of succession. Hugh, then, did no more than comply with an established custom, by excluding his natural son, Gauflin, who was abbot of Fleury, and archbishop of Bourges, from any share in the kingdom.

The institution of the peerage has likewise been ascribed to him; but this is an error that has no foundation whatever in history. The term *peer* (pair) is as old as the monarchy; it is derived from the Latin word *par* (equal). In this sense only was it used under the first and second race. The royal sons of Lewis the Gentle call themselves *peers* in the famous treaty of partition concluded at Verdun. In the time of Charlemagne, Chrodegrand applied the appellation to bishops and abbots; and a century before that, it had been given to monks by Dagobert. Lewis the Gentle, in one of his ordinances, forbids the soldiers to force their *peers* to drink; *ut in hoste nemo parem suum bibere cogat**. It will be seen hereafter, that, when the cities had acquired the right of municipal jurisdiction, by what were called *charters of community*, they conferred on their judges the name of *citizen-peers* (pairs-bourgeois). But insensibly this title became confined to gentlemen who possessed hereditary and patrimonial fiefs.

Peers then, properly so called, were the vassals who held under the same lord, not because they were equal to their feudal lord, but because they were *peers* among themselves, holding their fiefs under the same person, in the same manner, and by the same obligation of paying *faith and homage*, of serving their lord in the wars, of attending him in all great ceremonies, and, finally, of assisting him to hold his court of justice; for the *peers* were judges throughout the extent of that lordship of which their peerage was holden. But tha

* Capit. Ludov. Pii, l. iv. art. 77.

† Loiseau des grandes Seign. chap. 5, et 8.

law did not permit them to sit as judges when they were parties concerned. This prohibition they endeavoured to extend to the king himself, but they could not prevail, as it was deemed that, in defending his own rights, he defended those of the crown.

From these circumstances we may infer, that there were as many peerages in the kingdom as there were fiefs immediately holden of one certain lordship. But all peers were not holden in equal consideration. Those of the king, who paid an immediate homage to the crown, were regarded as men of superior dignity to those of the count of Champagne, who were only sub-vassals. These were excluded from the national parliament, and from a seat among the nobles of the realm; while the former, being judges in all matters of state, composed what was called, the court of France, the king's court, or the court of *peers*.

The number was neither fixed, nor yet confined to the dukes and counts: all barons, who held immediately of the king, were equally *peers* of France, because the immediate dependance always constituted the essence of the peerage. In the history of Saint Lewis we read, that that prince having adopted a regulation with regard to the Jews*, it was ratified and approved by the barons and *peers*, who subscribed it indiscriminately; which seems to prove, that the pre-cedency of the *twelve peers* was not thoroughly established at the commencement of that monarch's reign. It was not till about the fourteenth century that the feudal dignity of barons began to be considered as inferior to that of duke or count.

The appellation of peer was not originally a title of dignity, for which reason it is that we find no ancient deed in which the dukes and counts assume it. They did not take that title till the number of peers were reduced to twelve; though at what period the reduction took place has been the subject of much controversy, and has never been precisely ascertained. Some pretend, that this institution was established so far back as the reign of Charlemagne; but their supposition has no other foundation than the apocryphal tales of archbishop Turpin. Others ascribe it to Hugh Capet; but these can produce no authority for their opinion. Favyn imputes it to king Robert, who, he tells us, formed a secret council, composed of six of the principal nobles and six ecclesiastics, whom he honoured with the title of *peers*†. He, doubtless, did not recollect, that at the commencement of the third race, the cities of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Noyon, and Chalons-upon-Marne, did not belong to their bishops. The *county* of Langres was not united to the bishopric till the reign of Lewis the Seventh. Du Tillet is of opinion that this reform in the peerage was effected by Lewis the Young, at the coronation of his son Philip-Augustus‡. The king, says he, in order to prevent confusion at that splendid ceremony, selected, from among

* Chantereau, preuves du traité des fiefs, p. 209. † Theatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie.

‡ Recueil de Rangs, chap. de Pairs de France.

the vast number of prelates and nobles who attended as immediate vassals of the crown, the twelve who have ever since been distinguished for this illustrious function. The distinction, however, by no means detracted from the dignity of the ancient baronies of the kingdom : these have ever continued to be real peerages of France ; though their possessors no longer enjoy the same privileges as before the reduction took place. The twelve peers, on the contrary, have always possessed, in virtue of their peerage, a seat in the parliaments, in the council-chamber, in the beds of justice, and in all great ceremonies.

France, from its dismembered state, was involved, during the reign of Hugh Capet, in poverty and barbarism. While Greece and Italy were famous for their beautiful manufactures, the French were unable to imitate them ; since their cities were unprivileged, and their country disunited. Internal commerce was scarcely known ; and the inhabitants of one province were frequently strangers to the distance and situation of the next. Such was the ignorance which prevailed, that few people could read, and still fewer write. There were no title-deeds of estates, and no deeds or registers of marriages. Hence the danger of contracting an alliance within the prohibited degrees was great ; and this circumstance gave rise to numerous divorces and scandalous separations.

ROBERT.

A. D. 996.] ROBERT, on the death of his father, had just entered his twenty-seventh year. As his subjects were already accustomed to see him hold the reins of government, they acknowledged him for their sovereign without opposition or murmur. But though the commencement of his reign was, by this means, exempt from domestic commotions, his happiness was interrupted by the intrigues of the sovereign pontiff. The court of Rome was highly displeas'd at the treatment of archbishop Arnoul, who, though restored to his see by a decree of the council, was still regarded as a state prisoner. As a mark of his displeasure, the pope evinc'd a disposition to annul the marriage of Robert with Bertha*, widow of Eudes, count of Chartres and Blois, and daughter of Conrad, king of Burgundy. His pretext was, that Robert had stood godfather to a child of that princess; and that he was her cousin in the fourth degree—two impediments to a legal marriage, which a dispensation alone could remove.

A. D. 997.] Robert, who was extremely fond of his wife, took every means to prevent a separation, in which his love and his honour were equally interested. He thought by restoring Arnoul†, a confirmation of that union in which his happiness was centred might be more easily obtained from the pope; but this had no effect on Gregory the Fifth, who was the creature of the emperor Otho the Third, to whom he was related, and was wholly sway'd by that monarch, and by Gerbert, who were both enemies to the reigning family. This pontiff had been expelled from his church by Crescens‡, consul of Rome, who caus'd John the Sixteenth, a Greek monk, named Philagathes, to be elected in his place: but Gregory was no sooner restored to his dignity, than, after ordering the eyes of his competitor to be put out, and his nose and tongue to be cut off, he assembled a council||, in which he annulled the marriage of the French monarch.

Robert, enraged at his insolence, refus'd to submit to a sentence which he justly regarded as an attack upon the majesty of the throne. Gregory, however, per-

* Hist. Franc. Frag. Duch. tom. iv. p. 85.
Ultim. ad. Cadal.

† Abbo. Epist. 1.

‡ Petr. Dam. Lib. i. Epist.

|| Chron. Saxo.

sifted, and by an infamous abuse of power excommunicated the king, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; by which means* the celebration of divine service was stopped throughout the realm, the administration of the sacrament suspended, and the burial of the dead, in consecrated ground, forbidden. This was the first instance of a similar sentence being enforced in France; and the nation was so alarmed, and so blinded by a degrading spirit of superstition, that the monarch was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by his domestics.

The murmurs of the people, the defection of the nobles, and the well-founded dread of a general revolt, at length compelled the king to submit, and to dismiss his wife, who still preserved, notwithstanding, the title of queen. After their separation, Robert being desirous of heirs, married Constance, daughter of William the First, count of Provence, a woman of extraordinary beauty, but whose personal charms concealed a mind polluted by pride, vanity, and caprice. Brought up in a country where the warmth of the climate, by affording a powerful stimulus to the impulses of nature, strongly invited to voluptuous enjoyments, her retinue was composed of dancers, farce-players, and youthful libertines of rank, who insensibly introduced luxury and debauchery into a court, which had hitherto been distinguished for its gravity, simplicity, and modesty†. The arrival of this princess may also be considered as the epoch in which a taste for poetry first prevailed in France; a taste that was afterwards improved by the Troubadours, and which has since attained to as great a degree of excellence as the language will admit. The splendour of her charms, and the ascendancy which they gave her over her husband, rendered the new queen so arrogant, that, in time, she became insupportable to the whole nation, even to her own children. Hugh de Beauvais, count Palatine, and prime minister, enjoyed the confidence of his master; and to him the king communicated the anxiety and uneasiness he experienced from the impropriety of his wife's conduct. This was sufficient to make that nobleman an object of her hatred and revenge; she accordingly had him assassinated in the presence of her husband, who, in vain, endeavoured to save the life of his favourite‡.

The internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed for some time, was interrupted by Eudes the Second, count of Champagne, a son of Bertha, by her first husband. This politic and ambitious prince, being desirous to open a communication between the county of Chartres and La Brie, by securing a passage over the Seine, cast his eyes on Melun, which Hugh Capet had given to count Bouchard. That nobleman kept but a small garrison in the place, under the command of a viscount, named Gautier, who had a pretty and intriguing wife||. Eudes feigned a violent passion for this lady; and being a handsome young man, his suit was successful. By her means he bribed the husband to deliver the town into his hands.

* Hist. Franc. Frag. loc. cit.
39. Duchesne. tom. iv,

† Glaber. l. iii. c. 9. p. 38 and 39.

|| Guill. Gemet, l. v. c. 14.

‡ Idem, Ibid, c. ii, p.

Count Bouchard complained to Robert, who undertook his defence; and, being joined by the forces of Richard the Second, duke of Normandy, Melun was invested, and, in a few days, reduced. Eudes found means to escape; but Gautier and his wife were taken, and hung on a lofty mountain in sight of the town. Gentlemen formerly were not capitally punished for rebellion or felony: treason alone could incur the penalty of death.

A. D. 1000 to 1006.] This war was succeeded by another of greater importance, and longer duration. Henry, duke of Burgundy, uncle to the king, and brother to Hugh Capet, had married Gerberge, countess of Dijon, widow to Adelbert, king of Italy. He died some years after this marriage, and left but one natural child, named Eudes, to whom he assigned the county of Beaune: Robert was the lawful heir to the duchy; but the duke, previous to his death, had adopted for his heir Otho William, the son of his wife by her first marriage, who was already count of Burgundy. That nobleman, supported by Landri, count of Nevers; Bruno, bishop of Langres; and Eudes, count of Champagne; took possession of the disputed territory; while Robert, determined to enforce his pretensions, had recourse to arms; and his forces were strengthened by the troops of his kinsman, the duke of Normandy. Though repulsed in his first attempt on Auxerre, that town afterwards capitulated; its example was followed by Sens; and the walls of Avalon are reported to have fallen before the victor. Yet even the most credulous must allow, that the cruelty of the monarch ill-deserved the interposition of Divine Providence. The favour of heaven was ill-repaid by the inhumanity of the king; and the wretched inhabitants were doomed to expiate their resistance by exile and death.—More than five years were consumed in the gradual reduction of Burgundy; Otho William was at length compelled to abandon his vain hopes, and to relinquish whatever places he had occupied; Eudes acquiesced in the peaceable enjoyment of the county of Beauvais; and Robert, to gratify the Burgundians, who were desirous of an independent prince, and to soothe his own vassals, who were jealous of their power in the aggrandizement of the crown, bestowed the duchy of Burgundy on his second son Henry, with the title of Duke.

A. D. 1006 to 1020.] But few events of importance occurred during the long space of fourteen years. After an expedition into Flanders, where the king promoted an accommodation between the emperor of Germany and the heiresses of Charles of Lorraine, with respect to the territories of that prince, he resolved, with the advice of his ministers, to associate to the throne his eldest son Hugh, who, though but in his eighteenth year, had deservedly acquired the appellation of Great. The ceremony of his coronation was performed at Compiegne, in the year 1007. About the same time a sect of heretics appeared in France, that soon demanded the attention of government.

They held in derision all the mysteries of religion* ; despised the sacraments ; condemned marriage ; treated the accounts of the creation of the world, contained in the Old Testament, as so many dreams ; and neither believed that virtue would meet with any future reward, nor the most criminal pleasures incur punishment. They used to assemble in private houses, during the night, where they recited a kind of litanies in honour of evil spirits†, and did not cease their invocations till they saw a demon appear amongst them, when they immediately put out the lights, and each man, taking the first woman he could lay hands on, proceeded to the enjoyment of those pleasures for which they deemed any lawful permission unnecessary.

For repressing this licentiousness, the king convened a council at Orleans, and the leaders of this voluptuous sect being arrested, they were taken before the bishops, who desired to be informed of their religious tenets. But they studiously avoided any direct answers to the questions proposed to them ; till Arefaste‡, a Norman gentleman, who had revealed the whole secret, reproached them with their cowardice, and explained the impiety of their system. They then declared, that such was their firm belief ; in vain did the prelates advert to the doctrines of christianity ; in vain did they talk of the immaculate conception ; of the birth and death of our Saviour ; the only answer they could obtain from these obstinate heretics, was—" We were not present ; we cannot believe that to be true."

The council, finding them incorrigible, condemned them all to be burnt alive ; as they proceeded to the place of execution they betrayed evident symptoms of gaiety and pleasure ; but when they felt the effects of the flames, their enthusiasm and their courage forsook them, and they exclaimed that they had been deceived. The king and queen attended this cruel exhibition ; during which the latter thrust out the eye of her confessor, who was one of the heretics, with her cane.

Two years after this execution, another set of these heretics appeared at Arras ; but the bishop, Gerard, a man whose fervent piety was regulated by reason, and tempered by charity, instead of having recourse to threats, convinced them of their error by argument and persuasion, and brought them to a public abjuration. " So true it is, that the throne of truth is not erected on a scaffold ; and that mildness will lead where severity disgusts."

The king, finding tranquillity established throughout the realm, resolved on a journey to Rome, in order to visit the tombs of the apostles. He was accompanied by several of the prelates, and every place he passed through experienced the effects of his munificence. On his return, he dedicated the church of St. Agnan, at Orleans, which he had recently built, and to which he afterwards bequeathed the treasures of his own chapel ; and, among a variety of other curi-

* Glaber. l. iii. c. 8.

† Anon, tom. ii. Spicil.

‡ Chron. S. Pet. tom. ii. Spicil. p. 740.

ous articles, an enormous bell, which he had ordered to be solemnly baptised by the name of Robert.

A. D. 1022 to 1031.] In the following year an interview took place between Robert and the emperor, on the banks of the Meuse, for the purpose of settling some trifling matters of dispute, which, if neglected, might have led to a serious rupture. The magnificence displayed on this occasion is spoken of in terms of rapture by the ancient writers; but the conclusion of an amicable treaty between the royal visitors afforded a better theme for national congratulation. This excursion was succeeded by a circumstance that threatened the kingdom with all the calamities of a civil war: Hugh secretly withdrew from court; and, being joined by several of the young nobility, erected the standard of revolt. His motive for this retreat was the pride and severity of his mother, who obstinately refused to establish his household, or to let him have any share in that government to which he had been formally associated. Fortunately the insurrection was speedily quelled; and Hugh, returning to his duty, was pardoned by his father, and admitted to a participation of his throne and authority.

The prince never after transgressed the rules of propriety, but observed the most perfect submission to the will of his parent and his sovereign. If the authors of these times may be credited, (and there is no reason for impeaching their veracity), he was a father to the poor, a protector of the church, an advocate for the people, and the friend of virtue. The possession of these numerous perfections rendered his name so celebrated throughout Europe, that Italy, at the death of Henry the Second, invited him to wear the imperial crown. But, in a short time after this flattering offer was made, Hugh, to the great sorrow of all France, was taken off in the flower of his youth. He was interred in the church of St. Corneille at Compiègne.

On the death of Hugh, it was natural that Robert should associate his next son, Henry, to the dignity which he had imparted to his deceased brother; but the justice of this nomination was opposed with indecent warmth and determined obstinacy, by Constance; and her partiality for her younger son, Robert, agitated the court with all the fury of contending factions. Yet neither the secret arts of intrigue, nor the open violence of the offended queen, could subdue the inflexible integrity of her husband. In an assembly at Rheims, Henry received the crown from the impartial justice of his father; and Robert, his younger brother, refusing to join in the daring measures of Constance, became equally the object of her hatred and persecution.—The two princes, harrassed by the incessant enmity of their implacable mother, retired from court, and entered into an alliance for their mutual defence; the eldest possessed himself of the castle of Dreux, and the younger seized Avalon, in the duchy of Burgundy. The unnatural passions of a female, had already enkindled the torch of civil commotion; and the gloomy flame was beheld with horror throughout the kingdom of France. But an explanation ensuing between the king and his children, the

princes, returned to their duty, were again restored to the confidence of their father, and the force which had been assembled to extinguish the dissensions of his family, was happily employed by Robert in humbling the haughty nobles of Burgundy, who had presumed to withhold the homage due to their sovereign.

The remainder of this reign, during which the kingdom enjoyed more years of peace and prosperity than it had known for some centuries, was employed by Robert in the erection of pious edifices, in reforming the manners of the clergy, and in other works of devotion, private and practical. In the year 1031, this virtuous monarch was seized, at Melun, with a violent disorder that soon brought him to the grave. He expired in the sixty-first year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Saint Denis, where it was deposited in the royal vault, without an epitaph, or any other sepulchral embellishment.—Robert had three wives:—Ludgard or Rosale, widow to Arnoul, count of Flanders; Bertha, widow to Eudes, count of Chartres and Blois; and Constance, daughter of William count of Provence. By the last he had Hugh, who died before his father; Henry, who succeeded to the throne; Robert, to whom was allotted the duchy of Burgundy; Eudes, who, according to some writers, was bishop of Auxerre; Adelaide, wife to Renaude, count of Nevers; and Adela, first married to Richard the Third, duke of Normandy, and afterwards to Baldwin, count of Flanders.

Robert was equally distinguished for his piety, moderation, and prudence; wisely studious to avert the calamities of war, and anxious to promote the felicity and welfare of his subjects, who were never disturbed by the oppressions of domestic tyranny, or the devastations of foreign armies. The rigour with which he punished, in the reduction of Burgundy, the spirited resistance of the inhabitants of Avalon, had cast a slight shade on a reign of unprecedented clemency; yet a people, whose annals have hitherto displayed almost a constant succession of sanguinary and ferocious princes, might well exclaim, on the death of Robert, “We have lost a father, who governed us in peace, beneath whose authority we dwelt in security; who suffered not in others that oppression which he himself disdained; who commanded our affections, and who banished our fears.”

In his conduct to the poor; his humanity and his charity were eminently conspicuous; the latter, indeed, almost degenerated into weakness, since, by encouraging a spirit of indolence in the lower class of people, it must certainly have tended to mar industry, and to impede those agricultural improvements, which an enlightened monarch should ever attend to, and the necessity of which was never more evident than in the reign of Robert.—He daily distributed food to three hundred poor people, and sometimes a thousand. Every Holy Thursday he served them on his knees; and, being clothed in sackcloth, washed their feet*. Hence originated the custom that has ever since been observed by the

* Helgal. p. 72.

French monarchs, of washing the feet of twelve poor people on Holy Thursday, and of waiting on them at table, assisted by all the princes of the blood, and the principal nobility. Robert's compassion for the poor would sometimes betray him into acts of injustice; for, we are told, that when he had no money to give them, he would tell them to go and steal, and be angry if they were prevented from so doing. Helgaud, the monk, says, that rogues, under pretence of begging, would frequently follow him into his apartment, and take from him whatever was worth taking, either in his pockets or in his clothes. One of them having cut off the half of a piece of gold fringe, was about to take away the rest, when the king mildly requested him to be contented with what he had, and to leave the rest to satisfy the wants of his companions.—The disposition of his queen, Constance, being very different from his own, he was under the necessity of performing his acts of charity in secret;—and his gifts were generally accompanied by this caution: "*Be sure you don't let Constance know it.*" As he was going one day to church, he surprised two persons in the act of fornication; the horror, says the abbe Velly, which he experienced at the sin, did not extinguish his compassion for the sinner; he threw his cloak over them, and went strait to the altar to pray for their conversion; he then sent one of his attendants to fetch another cloak, *forbidding him, under pain of his displeasure, to mention the circumstance to any one, but more particularly to the queen.*

Notwithstanding the efforts of this prince to render his subjects happy, he had the misfortune to see his kingdom a prey to the horrors of famine, at several different times. The first was general throughout Europe; but the second was confined to France, where it was attended with circumstances peculiarly horrid. There were people, raging with hunger in such a dreadful degree, that they dug up the dead bodies to eat; others seized upon the children in the streets, or way-laid the travellers in the fields and woods*. At Tournus, in Burgundy, a butcher exposed human flesh to public sale; but this inhuman traffic was put a stop to, and the brute who carried it on, justly condemned to the flames. Another man, who kept a public house in a forest near Macon, murdered his guests and eat them. He was detected by two passengers, a man and his wife, who were lucky enough to effect their escape; and when his house was searched, eight-and-forty human heads of men, women, and children, whose bodies he had devoured, were found. The barbarous wretch experienced the same punishment as the butcher. Such was the scarcity of food that people were reduced to the necessity of making bread with a kind of white earth, resembling pipe-clay, mixed with a very small portion of flour or bran. This dreadful famine was followed by a pestilence, during which the people were so weak from want of sustenance, that they were unable to assist each other. Thus the sick remained without relief, and the dead without burial.

* Glaber, l. iv. c. 4. p. 44.

It is in vain that we seek for the probable cause of these calamities in any of the French historians, either ancient or modern; the former, instead of attempting to account for what must have had a natural cause, recite the superstitious tales of the times, and tell us of showers of blood, and other dismal tokens of divine vengeance, by which they were preceded; while the latter repeat these tales, and, though they treat them with the derision they merit, yet withhold the information we seek for. Had any violent drought, or other extraordinary circumstance occasioned the famine, it could not, we apprehend, have escaped the attention of contemporary writers: we are therefore of opinion it must have been occasioned by a shameful neglect of agriculture, which appears the more probable, as the kingdom was evidently infested with crowds of beggars, from the numbers which the king himself maintained, and consequently encouraged. Perhaps the early Franks, like the ancient Germans*, deemed the cultivation of their lands too ignoble and laborious employment for them; yet the monks, we find, set an example of agricultural improvement, in the lands belonging to their convents; and the time was peculiarly favourable for such exertions, as the nation enjoyed a perfect state of tranquillity for a long series of years.

From the custom that prevailed with the first monarchs of the Capetian race, of associating their eldest sons with them in the empire, we must not infer, either that the crown was elective by the nobles of the realm, or that it was necessarily entailed on the eldest son of the king†; under the first race we have seen the crown invariably hereditary in the family of Meroveus, and all his descendants succeed to it without interruption, for upwards of three hundred years. It is true, indeed, that sometimes the kingdom was divided between all the sons, and, at others, one reigned alone, to the prejudice of the rest; sometimes even a prince of a distant branch was preferred to the children of the deceased monarch. But what inference must we draw from these facts? That the crown, always hereditary in the reigning family, was only elective with regard to the different princes of that family.

Under the second race we will find the same custom and the same form of government prevail‡. “*Such is the custom of the French nation,*” says Foulques, archbishop of Rheims, in a letter to the emperor Arnoul, “*that the nobles, without any dependance, chuse a prince of the royal family to succeed the king, when he is dead.*” Though Robert and Rodolph acceded to the throne without any previous election, no conclusion is to be drawn from thence, any more than from the elevation of Gondebald on a shield, during the first race. The storm was soon dispelled: Lewis the Stranger was recalled from England; “*and all the nobles,*” says a contemporary writer||, “*electd him to reign over them*

* Tacit. de Morb. German. c. 15.
Rhem. l. 4.

† Mem. de Litterat. tom. iv. p. 672.

‡ Flod. Hist. Eccl.

|| Glaber. l. 1. c. iii. p. 5.

“by the hereditary right which he had to the crown.” This is an apparent contradiction of terms; but the difficulty is solved by referring to the *double right* by which the ancient monarchs of France held their crown;—viz. by their royal birth, and by the choice of the nation.

The circumstances attending the association of Henry the First to the regal dignity, prove, that, at the commencement of the third race, the monarchy was still governed by the same spirit, and the same maxims. They prove, that the hereditary right was incontestably established in the family that had been recently placed on the throne. This then was the general law, and the invariable custom of the realm.

Still an election always took place: but, as during the two first races, the choice was confined to the children of the king. With regard to the coronation of Henry the First, *The king*,” says Glaber*, “after the death of prince Hugh, began to consider within himself which of his three surviving sons would be most capable of succeeding him in the throne.” This could never have been an object of deliberation, had the throne devolved by right, to the eldest son of the reigning monarch. The bishops, influenced by the queen, who did not like her eldest son, whom the king betrayed an inclination to favour, “demanded,” says another contemporary writer†, “that no decision might take place, on this important affair, at least, during the life of Robert.” She flattered herself with the idea that, after the king’s death, her interest would prove superior to that of her eldest son, “whom she affected to represent as a weak, effeminate, and cowardly prince.” But what became of these her hopes, if the laws of the realm had necessarily influenced the decision of the electors in favour of the eldest of the royal family? Notwithstanding her opposition, prince Henry’s party prevailed, and, continues Glaber, “The king’s choice, supported by the concurrence of the nobles, at length placed him on the throne of France.”

These remarks solve all the difficulties that present themselves with regard to the hereditary right of the reigning family to the throne of France. On one side, they show, that a succession, which was always hereditary, did not exclude a real right of election; and, on the other, that this right of election, though *passive* with respect to the family, was *active* with respect to the different members of that family; in other words, the nation had reserved to itself the power of choosing, from among the children of the last monarch, that prince which should appear to it the most capable of holding the reins of government, without regard to primogeniture.

Thus, in associating their eldest sons to the throne, the six first monarchs of the Capetian race were not influenced by any views of fixing the crown in their family, but merely by a desire of avoiding those dissensions which were but too common at elections. By degrees, these associations led to the establishment of the right of *agnation*, lineal and hereditary, which insensibly annihilated the elec-

* Glaber. l. 3. c. v. p. 37.

† Inter. Fulbert. Epist. 50. Duch. tom. iv. p. 191.

tive power. In short, the crown appeared to be so well secured in the family of Hugh Capet, that Philip Augustus did not think it necessary to crown his son. The right of primogeniture became a fundamental law of the realm, and has been observed for more than seven centuries without the smallest interruption, either from the youngest children, or from the eldest of the younger branches.

Several ecclesiastical councils were holden during the reign of Robert. By that of Selingstad*, priests are ordered not to say more than three masses in a day, and all men, except crowned heads, forbidden to enter the church with their swords. The fathers of Limoges decreed, *that nobody could receive penance and absolution from the pope without the leave of his bishop*. The council of Anse was still more strenuous in defence of the liberties of the Gallican church: it declared a bull of the pope's, by which the monks of Cluny were exempted from the jurisdiction of their ordinary, to be null and abusive. The archbishop of Vienne having, in consequence of that bull, ordained some of the monks of Cluny, without the permission of the bishop of the diocese, thought it necessary to make an apology, and to promise, that, in future, he would never deviate from the rules of the national church.

But the most remarkable of these ecclesiastical assemblies was that which was convened at Saint Denis, on the subject of tythes, offerings, presentations, and churches. We have already observed, that ecclesiastical property, even tythes and church livings, had passed into the hands of laymen, who could not sell them without the king's consent, to which was always annexed the condition, that curates and bishops, if they chose to become purchasers, should have the first offer. At length the impropriety of these proceedings was universally acknowledged: Hugh Capet and Robert were the first to set the example of restitution; which was speedily followed by the nobility, who hastened to restore those possessions which their ancestors had usurped from the church. The bishops wished to monopolise the advantages arising from this pious resolution, and exerted their utmost endeavours to exclude the monks from any participation in them†. Abbo, abbot of Fleury, resisted these ungenerous efforts, and finding that the clergy, assembled at Saint Denis, were about to issue a sentence to the prejudice of the monastic state, he excited the monks and dependants of the abbey to rise up against them, and they accordingly attacked the prelates, who were obliged to decamp without coming to any decision. Seguin, archbishop of Sens, a venerable old man highly respected for his virtue, was wounded between the shoulders, by a blow from an axe, and with difficulty escaped, all covered with mud. Such scandalous proceedings could scarcely obtain credit, were they not attested by contemporary writers; but what must appear still more monstrous, is, that a riot of this nature should pass unpunished and unnoticed, even by the church.

* Concil. c. ix. p. 884.

† Concil. c. ix. p. 771.

HENRY THE FIRST.

A. D. 1031.] THOUGH Henry had the choice of his father, and the suffrages of a majority of the nobles, to secure and confirm his succession, yet Constance, to whom he was an object of aversion, had neither lost the desire, nor the hope of effecting his deposition from that throne to which he had acceded in spite of her machinations. Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Eudes, count of Champagne, entered into her views; and, being joined by many noblemen of France and Burgundy, supplied her with forces for the execution of her plans*. Dammartin, Senlis, Melun, Sens, Poissy, Coucy, Puiset, and several other fortresses declared in her favour, and hoisted the standard of revolt. These were places of great strength in those days, and their importance was considerably increased by their vicinity to the capital, which waited for the event of the contest before it would come to a decision.

Henry, astonished and incapable of resisting the torrent, left Paris, and escaped, with only eleven faithful followers, into Normandy; and, deserted by his subjects, threw himself on the generous friendship of duke Robert. That prince received him with all possible honour, supplied him with a powerful army, and sent orders to his uncle, count Mauger, who commanded in Corbeil, to declare war against the insurgents, and lay waste their possessions with fire and sword. Similar orders were likewise issued to all the governors of the frontier towns. It was a maxim with the duke, to shew no quarter to rebels; to which severity he was probably indebted for the name he acquired, of Robert *the Devil*.

The king fixed his camp before the walls of Corbeil, where he was joined by a great number of his vassals, accompanied by a formidable body of troops. He then proceeded to Poissy, which he retook; he next reduced Puiset, and thrice defeated the count of Champagne, who escaped with difficulty the pursuit of the victor. This vigorous conduct disconcerted the projects of the queen-dowager and her partisans, who were compelled to acknowledge that the young monarch had been grossly misrepresented to them. But Constance, ever implacable

* Frag. Hist. MS. Apud. Duch. tom. iv. p. 148.

ble in her hatred, refused to listen to any proposals for an accommodation. In vain did her uncle, the count of Anjou, exhort her to be reconciled to her son; she had long since abjured all the sentiments of nature, and she now obstinately rejected the remonstrances of reason. At last, however, finding herself forsaken by her friends and allies, she was, reluctantly, persuaded to enter into a secret treaty with the king: fortunately she had no time to excite fresh intrigues, as she died the following year, at Melun, and was interred at Saint Denis, by the side of a husband whose repose she had incessantly disturbed.

The submission of the queen was followed by that of prince Robert, whom Henry not only pardoned, but generously assigned him the duchy of Burgundy, the investiture of which he himself had received from the king his father. From this prince sprang the first royal branch of the dukes of Burgundy, who reigned over that country for nearly four centuries. They were succeeded by Philip the Bold, son to king John, head of the house of Burgundy, which was extinguished in the person of Charles the *Rash*, who was slain before Nanci, at which period this duchy was irrevocably annexed to the crown.

A. D. 1032.] Henry being now peaceably seated on a throne, of which, by his activity, valour, and moderation, he had shewn himself worthy, directed his attention to the renewal of those alliances which his father had contracted with the neighbouring powers*. For this purpose he had an interview with the emperor Conrad, whose sister, Matilda, he espoused. His next care was to acknowledge and repay the obligations he was under to the duke of Normandy. To that prince he ceded the towns of Gisors, Chaumont, and Pontoise, with all that part of the Vexin which had hitherto belonged to the dominions of France.

A. D. 1033 to 1036.] The death of Rodolph, who, with the title of king, ruled that part of Burgundy which comprehended the countries of Switzerland and Savoy, the counties of la Bresse, Dauphine, and the Lyonnois, kindled a war between Eudes, count of Champagne, and the emperor Conrad, who each claimed the succession, and supported their pretensions by arms; but Eudes was compelled to yield to the superior force of his rival; and, driven out of Burgundy, entered Lorraine, and possessed himself of Bar. Before he could improve this advantage, he was encountered by Gothelon, duke of Lorraine; the defeat of the count of Champagne, was rendered decisive by his death; and king Henry, and the emperor Conrad, had equal subject for rejoicing at the destruction of a turbulent vassal, and an enterprising neighbour.

A. D. 1037 to 1040.] Eudes left two sons, Stephen, count of Champagne, and Thibaud, count of Chartres, Blois and Tours. Both of them resigned all pretensions to Burgundy, and turned their arms against their sovereign. The feudal law required, that before any vassal could enter on possession of his territories, he should do homage to the king. The two counts refused to comply

* Wippo in vita Conrad, Salic.

with this custom*, because the king had not assisted their father against the emperor. In fact, the duty between the lord and his vassal was reciprocal. If the vassal was obliged to serve his lord in the wars; the lord was equally obliged to assist his vassal in defence of that fief which he held of him. But this reason could not operate with regard to the count of Champagne. Conrad had not taken up arms in order to deprive him of those provinces which he held as a vassal of the crown; but to prevent him from usurping a kingdom, to which he himself had been declared sole heir. This then was only a pretext to which the insurgents had recourse for the purpose of concealing another design.

A. D. 1040 to 1044.] Their real project was, to place prince Eudes, the king's brother, on the throne, under whose name they expected to be able to exert a despotic sway. An ancient chronicle, quoted by Duchesnet, says, that this prince was the eldest of the sons of Robert, but that he was excluded from the succession, on the plea of insanity. But all other contemporary writers positively affirm, that he was younger than either Henry or duke Robert. Be that as it may, Eudes, being left without territories or establishment, was willing to listen to any plan which the enemies of his house might propose; and as he was assured of a speedy and effectual support, he summoned the king to admit him to a participation in the domains of his father. This was the signal of war. Eudes, with his confederates, took the field, and committed dreadful devastations on the French territories; but they were soon routed by the royal army; Eudes himself was taken prisoner, and secured at Orleans; the pardon of Thibaud was purchased at the expence of Touraine; the count of Champagne was happy to escape by the cession of a considerable part of his inheritance; but Galoran, count of Melun, who had enlisted under the banners of unsuccessful rebellion, was formally attainted; and the forfeiture of his property and life, the first example of the kind mentioned in history, proclaims the power which the crown had imperceptibly acquired.

A. D. 1045, 1046.] Normandy, in the mean time, being governed by a child, was torn by intestine commotions. The reign of Robert had been greatly distinguished for its wisdom and splendour. After reducing the duke of Brittany to pay that homage which he had long refused to his liege-lord, he was stricken with remorse for the sins he had committed, and undertook a journey of penitence to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, which, according to the superstitious maxims of the age, was the most infallible means of procuring pardon for the greatest crimes. But, previous to his departure, he deemed it necessary to appoint a successor to the throne. He had no children by the sister of Canute, king of England, whom he had married from policy, and repudiated from aversion†. He therefore assembled the states of the duchy; and, informing them of his design, engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural son William, a child of nine

* Frag. Hist. MS. Apud. Duch. tom. ii. p. 148.

† T. iii. p. 361.

‡ Glaber. c. vi. p. 47.

years, whom he had by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise. As he was a prudent prince, he could not but foresee the great inconveniences which must attend this journey, and the settlement of his succession, arising from the perpetual turbulency of the great, the claims of other branches of the ducal family, and the power of the French monarch. But all these considerations were surmounted* by the prevailing zeal for pilgrimages; and, probably, the more important they were, the more would Robert exult in sacrificing them to what he imagined to be his religious duty.

This prince, as he apprehended, died in his pilgrimage; and the minority of his son was attended with all those disorders which might naturally be expected in that situation. The licentious nobles, freed from the awe of sovereign authority, broke out into personal animosities against each other, and made the whole country a scene of war and devastation†. Roger, count of Toul, and Alain, duke of Brittany, advanced claims to the dominion of the state; and the king of France thought the opportunity favourable for reducing the power of a vassal, who had long appeared formidable to his sovereign.

The first expedition of Henry into Normandy spread terror and consternation throughout the country; and the regency established by Robert exerted their utmost endeavours to avert the vengeance of a king, whose enmity might prove fatal to their youthful ward. In consequence of their remonstrances, interest gave way to gratitude; and, mindful of the obligations he had received from the late duke, Henry now resolved to march to the assistance of his son who was threatened with a formidable conspiracy of the nobles. At the head of this rebellion was Guy, son of Renaud, count of Burgundy, by a daughter of Richard the Second, duke of Normandy. This young nobleman, when his family was in disgrace, had retired to Rouen, where he was brought up with duke William, who had just created him count of Vernon and Brienne. But these marks of kindness were insufficient to command a grateful return; he now joined the rebels, and in the valley of Dunes, between Caen and Argentan, was met by the forces of Henry. The rebels maintained their ground with obstinate valour; the king himself was exposed, and thrown from his horse by the powerful arm of Haymon, a celebrated warrior, and was only preserved by the immediate succour of his attendants. But his victory was glorious and decisive; and the battle of Dunes fixed the sceptre in the hands of the duke of Normandy.

The acquisitions of the Normans were not confined to their settlements in France; independent of their exertions in defence of which, they had recently revived their ancient fame, by the most hazardous exploits, and the most wonderful successes, in the other extremity of Europe. A few Norman adventurers, in Italy, had acquired such an ascendancy, not only over the Italians and

* Epod. Neust. p. 462.

† W. Malmf. p. 95.—Gul. Gemet. lib. vii. c. 1.

Greeks, but the Germans and Saracens, that they expelled those foreigners, procured to themselves ample establishments, and laid the foundation of the opulent kingdoms of Naples and Sicily*. Whether their progress in Italy had alarmed the vigilant Henry, or that he had early discerned the lofty genius and unbounded ambition of William; that monarch soon after violated the friendship he had newly professed, and seemed constantly to repent of the assistance he had afforded to the duke of Normandy. William de Arques, count of Tello, and son, by a second marriage, of Richard the Second, the predecessor of Robert the Devil, no longer concealed his pretensions to the ducal title, in which he was strongly supported by his brother Mauger, archbishop of Rouen. The power which this dignity conferred, in those days, on prelates, over their episcopal city, appeared to secure him the suffrage of the capital. William had just married Matilda, daughter to Baldwin, count of Flanders, by Adela, daughter of king Robert, and sister to Henry. As the princess was related to him, it was necessary to have a dispensation, which was then regarded as a violation of the sacred canons; the pope, however, did not scruple to grant it, on condition that the duke should found four hospitals to contain four hundred poor people. Mauger, less moved by zeal for the discipline of the church, than by a desire of exciting sedition, favourable to the designs of his brother, excommunicated the new-married couple. The sovereign pontiff, enraged at his audacity, caused him to be deposed by an assembly of prelates at Lisieux; and the duke banished him to the island of Guernsey.

A. D. 1047.] The count of Tello, in order to facilitate the execution of his project, had erected a strong fortress on the hill of Arques, where, being certain of assistance from the king, he hoisted the standard of rebellion, and refused to pay to William the Bastard that homage which was due to him as his liege-lord. The fortress was accordingly besieged by the duke, and the army which Henry had destined to co-operate with his ally, was compelled to retreat with disgrace; a considerable detachment, in their march towards Rouen, had incautiously pressed before the main body; between Escoucy and Mortimer, their negligence was chastised by the arms of the Normans; and few escaped to relate the melancholy fate of their companions. Henry himself, with the remainder of his forces, retired towards Paris, indignant at his disgrace, and impatient to revenge his defeat by the destruction of his rival; while William, who had triumphed over his revolted subjects; was equally determined to pursue, with eternal enmity, the perfidy of the French monarch.

That prince had formed a new alliance with the duke of Guienne and the count of Anjou, and engaged again to invade the territories of the Norman; his preparations were suitable to the greatness of the enterprize, and two armies, which he had diligently levied, threatened the destruction of the young duke: the one

* Gul. Gem. l. vii. c. 30.

† Wil. Malm. l. i. c. 3.

was led by Henry in person; the other he entrusted to his brother Eudes, whom he released for that purpose from prison. But the superior number of his troops, only served to augment his confusion; those led by himself were continually harassed and repeatedly surprised; while the army commanded by his brother was defeated in a decisive action, in the Pays de Caux, with great slaughter. Pressed or broken on every side, the French were compelled hastily to evacuate a country which they had unjustly invaded; and the terms of peace, which soon after followed, were dictated by the victorious duke of Normandy.

A. D. 1054, 1055.] This unsuccessful war was followed by a general peace, which lasted some years; when it had nearly been interrupted by the conduct of count Thibaut, who, having been deprived of Touraine, sought and obtained the protection of the emperor, Henry the Third, who made him his knight, and gave him the title of Count-Palatine; a title to which no office was annexed, but which has, notwithstanding, been enjoyed ever since by the counts of Champagne. This proceeding of Thibaut was considered as a violation of that duty and submission which a vassal owed to his lord. The king accordingly complained to the emperor, but could obtain no satisfaction or redress. It is said that he sent him a formal challenge to meet him in single combat, but it was not accepted.—If the French monarch shewed the greatest courage, the emperor displayed the greatest prudence.

A. D. 1059.] The constitution of Henry being visibly impaired, though more from infirmities than from age, he thought it necessary to provide for the safety of the kingdom, by the association of his son Philip, a young prince only in his eighth year, to the throne. With this view, he convened a numerous assembly of the nobles and prelates at Rheims. “The king,” says Mezeray, “having reminded the assembly of the services he had rendered the state, requested them all collectively, and each of them individually, to acknowledge his eldest son Philip for his successor, and to take an oath of fidelity to him.” The whole assembly were unanimous in their compliance, and the young prince was immediately crowned by the archbishop of Rheims.

The most remarkable circumstance attending this event, was the attention shewn by the clergy to promote an augmentation of their prerogatives. The legates—Hugh, archbishop of Besancon, and Hermenfroy, bishop of Sion, protested against the coronation, which, they pretended, could not take place without the pope’s consent. Their protest, however, was treated with the contempt it deserved. The archbishop of Rheims also profited by the occasion to insist on a confirmation of all the privileges of his church, as well temporal as spiritual. That artful prelate made a long speech to prove, that the right of anointing the kings of France belonged to the archbishop of Rheims, in consequence of a decree of pope Hormisdas, in the time of Clovis; a decree that

was merely chimerical, since it is certain this pious custom was absolutely unknown during the first race.

The archbishop then administered the following oath to the young prince, which betrays a greater zeal for the private advantage of the prelacy, than for the general good of the nation; though the latter is not totally overlooked.—“I Philip, who, by the mercy of God, am going to be crowned king of France, promise, in the presence of the Lord and his saints, to preserve to every one of you, in particular, and to your churches, your canonical privileges; to observe the laws; to administer justice to you, and, with the assistance of the Almighty, to protect you to the utmost of my power, as far as a prince ought to protect the bishops of his realm, and the churches which are entrusted to their care, according to equity and reason. I also promise the people over whom I am destined to rule, to enforce, by my authority, the observance of the laws*.”

A. D. 1060.] Henry did not long survive the coronation of his son. A dose of physic, administered at an improper time, put an end to his existence at Vitrie in Brie, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was interred at Saint Denis. He was a warlike prince, of heroic valour, and exemplary piety. A friend to virtue—merit was the best recommendation to his esteem; and, being endued with a manly spirit, he knew how to make his authority respected.

By his first wife, Matilda, he had no children. But by his second, whose name was Anne, he had Philip, who succeeded him in the throne; Robert, who died young; Hugh, who, by his marriage with Adelaide, daughter of Herbert, became the chief of the second branch of the counts of Vermandois; and the princess Emma, whose fate is unknown. Queen Anne was daughter to Jaraslau, prince of Muscovy, to whom the Europeans gave the title of Duke, and who was called by the Russians *Tzaar*, since corrupted into *Czar*.

It is remarkable that the regency was not entrusted to the queen-mother, although there were many precedents in her favour. It is even said that she advanced no claim to that dignity. Finding herself without support, and without authority, in a country where she had scarce any relations, reason more than necessity made her resign her rights without hesitation or repugnance. This honour appeared to be reserved for Robert duke of Burgundy, but he was too powerful. His connections with the nobles of France, his former pretensions to the throne, and the fear of exposing him to new temptations, all operated to his exclusion. Baldwin, count of Flanders, a wise prince, highly renowned for his courage and resolution, was appointed regent of the kingdom, with the title of Marquis of France. The event demonstrated the wisdom of the choice. Baldwin discharged the duties of his station with punctuality and honour; he

* Conv. Rhem. tom. ix. Concil,

took care that his pupil should have a proper education, and governed his kingdom with great prudence.

During a part of this reign, the Roman church was governed by three anti-popes, who had all procured their election either by violence or bribery. These three pontiffs*, by a convention hitherto unexampled, agreed to divide the revenues of the church equally between them, and to live in perfect union. This harmony subsisted as long as they had money to pay for their pleasures; but when that failed, each of them sold his part of the papal dignity to dean Gratian, a man of wealth and quality, whom Glaber, a contemporary writer†, calls a good and pious priest, of known sanctity. It was determined, however, that the gift of Peter-Pence, which was received from England, should be assigned to young Benedict the Ninth, who had been elected to the chair of Saint Peter when only twelve years old and long before the other two.

Simony was extremely prevalent at this period. In a council, holden at Lyons, five-and-forty bishops, and twenty-three priests, publicly acknowledged themselves guilty of that crime, and resigned their benefices. The celibacy of priests, though established in the western church, was but ill observed, particularly in the provinces bordering on Germany, in Brittany and Normandy. Some of the clergy publicly kept women addicted to every species of debauchery; and others had concubines, or *chambrières* as they were then called. There were some who even formed alliances by civil contracts, from the persuasion that it was better to have lawful wives than to live in a state of fornication. In vain did the councils and popes, armed with all the thunders of the church, deprive them of their livings, lay them under an interdict, excommunicate them, and forbid laymen to attend their masses; they could not repress this licentiousness, till they permitted the nobles to seize and sell for slaves all the children who sprang from those illicit marriages. That severity at length had the desired effect; and, if the clergy did not become more chaste, at least they became more circumspect in their conduct.

During this reign the doctrine of transubstantiation was strongly combated in France, and the real presence of Christ in the sacrament formally denied: this opposition the abbe Velly calls—"the sad fruits of the vain subtilities of philosophy."—We, however, must give it a different character, and assert it to be the triumph of reason over superstition. But a disputation on points of faith would be idle, because useless; those whom we believe to be in error are equally certain that the error is with us; and, since all the arguments that have been employed for ages have proved inadequate to produce conviction on either side, we see no good that could possibly accrue from a continuation of the contest; but if a struggle must be observed between the contending parties, let it be a struggle of virtue—whose weapons are benevolence, charity, and brother-

* Caft. l. iii. Dialog. Sæc. 4. acta Bened. t. ii. p. 461. † Glaber, l. v. p. 58.

ly love. Let a spirit of emulation subsist; but let its object be to reconcile principle to practice, and to prove the justice of the one by the rectitude of the other.

The chief supporters of this *heretical* opposition, as it was then called, were Ratramne, a monk of Corbie; Berenger, archdeacon of Angers; and the celebrated John Scott *Erigena**, the friend and instructor of Charles the Bald. The doctrine they attacked was defended by Lanfrance, abbot of Saint Stephen's, at Caen, who afterwards accompanied William the first to England, where he was promoted to see of Canterbury. Fortunately the contest was attended with no serious consequences.

PHILIP THE FIRST.

From 1061 to 1066.] THE first years of the minority of Philip were disturbed by a revolt of the Gascons, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the regent. But the vigour and prudence displayed by Baldwin in reducing the rebels to submission, not only gave new lustre to his reputation, but secured him universal obedience, the more durable, as it was founded on esteem. The territories of Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, were disputed by his two nephews, Geoffrey and Fulk, and the cautious integrity of the former was ensnared by the perfidious artifices of the latter. Baldwin, however, intent on preserving tranquillity in the dominions of his wards, forbore to interfere in their quarrel, on the termination of which, Fulk, the successful competitor, sought to obtain the protection of Philip by the cession of the Gastoins.

But, notwithstanding the attention of Baldwin to the interests of the king, and the general welfare of the nation, his administration has not totally esca-

* The abbé Velly has fallen into the same mistake with William of Malmesbury and Hoveden, with regard to the fate of this learned man. They affirm that, after the death of his patron, Charles the Bald, he came over to England, at the invitation of Alfred; that he taught some time in the university of Oxford, from whence he retired to the abbey of Malmesbury, where he was murdered by his scholars with their penknives. But these writers appear to have confounded John Scott Erigena, with another John Scott, an Englishman, contemporary with Alfred, who taught at Oxford, and was slain by the monks of the abbey of Ethelingsy, of which he was abbot. (*Asterius in vita Alfredi.*) It is most probable that Erigena ended his days in France.

ped censure. He has been accused of neglect, in suffering so dangerous a neighbour as the duke of Normandy to extend the limits of his dominions, and to achieve the important conquest of England. It was scarcely possible however, that Baldwin could foresee the fatal consequences of this event; nor do we think that he could have been justified in exposing the nation to the inevitable dangers of war, by an attempt to prevent the Norman prince from acquiring a new kingdom, which, it was natural to suppose, would render him less anxious to extend his native dominions. Be that as it may, the reduction of England by William gave rise to a series of bloody and destructive contests which always contributed to exhaust, and frequently threatened to subvert, the monarchy of France. As from this revolution the wars and negotiations of the French and English have been indissolubly blended, and form one great and complicated system of politics, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of its rise, progress, and accomplishment.

In England the extinction of the Danes, and the restoration of the Saxon line, had been effected by the accession of Edward the Confessor, who was son to Ethelred, by Emma, sister to Richard, duke of Normandy. This weak but pious monarch had, in the year 1043, married Editha, daughter to the potent earl Godwin; but the hatred which he bore to the father was unfortunately transferred to the unoffending child; and, though Editha is represented by contemporary writers as possessed of all the graces of personal beauty, and endowed with every virtue that can adorn the female mind, she never could acquire the confidence and esteem of her unnatural husband. It is even asserted, that he never consummated the marriage; but abstained from all connection with his wife, in consequence of a pretended vow of chastity, which excited the praise and admiration of the monks, and contributed not a little to procure him the title of Saint and Confessor.

This strange and unjustifiable conduct was attended with fatal effects; Edward having no children, the ambition of the English nobles was roused; and Harold, the brother of Editha, who was equally distinguished for his power and talents, secretly formed the most judicious schemes for securing his succession to the throne. But the king, apprised of his intention, and inexpressibly hurt at the idea of being succeeded by the heir of a family whose power had been built on the ruins of regal authority, adopted a plan which seemed to promise an effectual disappointment to his projects. Though his natural affection for the Normans—among whom he passed his youthful days—had led him to wish that duke William might succeed him, he was now fearful that such an appointment would prove favourable to the pretensions of Harold, by affording the people, who were averse from the domination of foreigners, a specious pretext for supporting the claims of their favourite. For this reason, he judged it more prudent to fix on his nephew Edward, surnamed the Exile, the son of Edmund Ironside, for his successor, who was the only remaining heir of the

Saxon line, and whose title could not have admitted of a dispute, since it was preferable to that of Edward himself. This prince, indeed, would have succeeded to the throne on the death of Hardicanute, had he not, by his continual residence, from his infancy, in a country so remote as Hungary, so entirely estranged himself from the English, that they regarded him as a foreigner, and therefore gave the preference to Edward the Confessor. He arrived in his native country in the year 1057, after an absence of forty years, but unhappily died within a month after his arrival, leaving an infant son, named Edgar Atheling.

Thus the fears of the king, which had been dispelled by the arrival of his nephew, were renewed by his death, and he was constrained to look out for another successor, as he plainly perceived that the youth and inexperience of Edgar would be able to form but a feeble opposition to so popular and powerful a rival as Harold. In this extremity, he again cast his eyes on William, duke of Normandy, whose talents and power, he was induced to hope, would enable him to surmount every obstacle that might be opposed to his succession.

At this period, William had, by his valour and perseverance, expelled all daring pretenders to the ducal crown, and reduced his turbulent and imperious barons to due submission; compelled them to sacrifice their mutual animosities to the public tranquillity, and established his sovereignty on the firmest basis. In a most rigorous administration of justice he displayed the natural severity of his temper, which was well adapted to restrain the impetuosity of subjects whom lenity could not soothe to obedience: but, from the success which attended this plan of government in his Norman dominions, William was unfortunately led to believe, that its excellence was not local, but universal; and therefore established, as a maxim, that inflexibility of conduct was the first duty of a sovereign.

Though Edward was fixed in his determination that William should succeed him, yet, fearful to promote disturbances by an open avowal of his intentions, he never put them in execution. Harold, whose hopes, which had been damped for a time, were now revived by the death of the lawful heir, openly proceeded to pursue the most effective measures for the increase of his popularity, and the establishment of his power. There was one obstacle, however, in his way to the throne, which it seemed difficult to remove. Earl Godwin, when restored to his fortune and honours, had given hostages for his peaceful and loyal demeanour; and, among the rest, was a son named Ulnoth, and a grandson named Haquin, whom Edward, for greater security, had consigned to the custody of the duke of Normandy, at whose court they were still detained.

Though Harold did not know that the duke was his competitor, yet he was still anxious to procure the liberation of his brother and nephew, from an apprehension, that William might, in favour of Edgar Atheling, retain these pledges to operate as a check on the ambitious pretensions of any other claimant. He

therefore represented to the king, that as Godwin was dead, there could be no reason for their farther detention; particularly as his own conduct had afforded the strongest testimony of unfeigned submission to royal authority, and the most perfect attachment to his prince, and devotion to the service of his country. But Edward, though incessantly importuned on the subject, steadily refused to comply with his entreaties, alledging, that his application should not be addressed to him, but to the duke of Normandy, in whose possession the hostages were; and Harold, at length, perceiving that all attempts to obtain a more satisfactory answer would prove unavailing, desired the king's permission to make a voyage to the continent, that he might have an opportunity of soliciting the duke in person, and endeavour to obtain from him the release of his kinsmen. The request was perfectly consonant with the king's wishes, who did not doubt that William would find some specious pretext for detaining him in Normandy, or at least that he would take such measures as would effectually prevent Harold from opposing any obstacle to his design.

Having obtained the king's consent, Harold, wholly ignorant of his intentions in favour of William, and consequently unsuspecting of the danger he was about to incur, made immediate preparations for his departure, and embarked for Rouen, with a numerous and splendid retinue; but, being driven by a tempest on the coast of Picardy, he was compelled to take refuge in a port, situated in the territories of Guy, Count of Ponthieu; who, being apprised of his quality, ordered him to be detained as a prisoner, and demanded an exorbitant price for his ransom. Fortunately Harold found means to convey intelligence of his situation to the duke of Normandy; to whom he represented, that the avaricious disposition of the count of Ponthieu had compelled him to take an unfair advantage of a misfortune which had befallen him, as he was proceeding to the court of Normandy in execution of a commission from the king of England.

The importance of this incident immediately struck William in the most forcible point of view. He foresaw, that, if he could once gain Harold, either by threats or promises, he should encounter no farther obstructions in his way to the throne; and Edward might then execute, without fear of danger, or dread of opposition, those intentions which he entertained in his favour; he, therefore, dispatched a messenger to the count of Ponthieu, to demand, in a peremptory tone, the liberation of his prisoner; and that nobleman, not daring to incur the displeasure of so powerful a prince, delivered Harold into the hands of his emissary, who conducted him to Rouen.

William received Harold with every possible demonstration of respect, and the most cordial marks of friendship; but, being acquainted with his ambitious projects, he was at a loss in what manner to proceed; whether to destroy him as a dangerous competitor, or to secure him as a powerful friend. By the adoption of the first measure, he must have made a premature declaration of his own views, which

it was his interest to conceal: besides, the destruction of a nobleman, so universally esteemed, might have occasioned a rupture between the English and Normans, which must have entirely frustrated any measures the king might wish to pursue, in order to ensure him the succession; and had Edward died, during a war, it was even impossible he should leave the kingdom to a prince by whom it was actually attacked. Harold, moreover, being entrusted with the government of Wessex and Kent, all the forts in the southern parts of the island were in possession of his immediate dependants, who would doubtless defend them to the last extremity against his assassin; a circumstance alone sufficient to create a formidable obstruction to the designs of the duke.

These considerations, added to the uncertainty of the advancement which Harold had made in the affections of the English, and, consequently, of the probability that existed of succeeding in his attempts, induced William to adopt the less desperate mode of endeavouring to ensnare his friendship, though it was liable to objections equally valid, and was attended with equal danger: for, by communicating his intentions to Harold, he afforded him an ample opportunity of defeating them. He was willing, however, to believe, that, by so extraordinary a proof of his confidence, he should excite the generosity of Harold to make a suitable return; and, therefore, after evincing a disposition to comply with his request, in delivering up the hostages, he took an opportunity of disclosing to him the important secret of his pretensions to the crown of England, and of the will which Edward intended to make in his favour. This discovery was followed by the expression of an earnest desire that Harold would assist him in establishing his claims; and by a solemn assurance that, in return for so great an obligation, he would comply with the suggestions of unbounded gratitude in supporting the present unrivalled grandeur of Harold and his family; which, he remarked, would with difficulty sustain itself against the jealous and inveterate aversion of Edward, but could not fail to receive a considerable increase from a successor who would be so highly indebted to him for his elevation. He gave him to understand, at the same time, that he was not unacquainted with his own ambitious views; and endeavoured to impress his mind with a just sense of the extreme difficulty with which an attempt to obtain his ends would be infallibly attended. To divert Harold from his purpose, he expressed to him, in the strongest terms, the determined opposition he must naturally expect to incur, as well from Edgar Atheling, as from the English nobility, who would not fail to regard his ambition with an eye of jealousy. He made use of an argument still more forcible, by plainly telling him that, should fortune prove so far favourable as to enable him to surmount every other obstacle, he would still find a resolute enemy in himself, who was amply possessed of every requisite for undertaking a long and obstinate contest, and whom no consideration of danger or difficulty could deter from enforcing a claim which he conceived to be founded in justice. In short, he observed to him, that by affording his assistance he might secure an

extent of power equalled by none but the royal authority; whereas, if he rejected his proffered friendship, he hazarded the loss of a certain and established advantage, for an uncertain and precarious prospect of aggrandisement.

Harold, though infinitely surpris'd at the duke's declaration, possessed sufficient presence of mind to be sensible of the danger he should incur by a peremptory refusal to favour his pretensions; he therefore feigned to be convinced by the reasons which the duke had alledged to deter him from the pursuit of his project; and, assuming a tone of hypocrisy justly adapted to the occasion, confessed to William, with a plausible appearance of candour, that, before the arrival of prince Edward, as the king was without heirs, he had indeed entertained hopes of succeeding to the crown, from a consciousness that there was no nobleman in England whose wealth and services could give him so just a claim to the affection and obedience of the people: that, in consequence of such hopes, he had even proceeded to take certain measures, which had afforded him the fairest prospect of success; but that the arrival of the lawful heir to the throne had induced him to change his intentions, as he had been anxious to receive the crown as the free gift of the people, and not to seize it as an usurper. He added, that, since he was acquainted with the pretensions of William, and the pleasure of his sovereignty, he should think it his duty to promote them; as he would much rather that the kingdom should fall under the dominion of a prince who was able to defend it, than under that of a child, whose infant imbecility gave but little hopes of improvement.

William, to attach him more firmly to his interest, offered him one of his daughters in marriage; but the princess not being yet arrived at years of maturity, the consummation of the marriage was deferred to a future period. He also required Harold to take a solemn oath to adhere strictly to the promise he had made; and, in order to render it more sacred and binding, had recourse to an artifice which conveys a just idea of the ignorance and superstition of the times—he ordered the relics of some of the most revered martyrs and saints to be privately conveyed beneath the altar on which Harold had consented to swear; and, when the oath was taken, exposed them to his view, with an earnest exhortation to observe most religiously an engagement contracted under such auspices, and ratified by so tremendous a sanction: the duke then dismissed him, with great professions of friendship and future protection; having first delivered to him his nephew Haquin, and promised to bring over his brother Ulnoth, when he should go to England himself.

Harold was no sooner at liberty, than he conceived himself authorised to violate an oath, which had been extorted by fear, and which, if fulfilled, might tend to operate the subjection of his native country to the domination of a foreigner. He determined to take advantage of the confidence that had been reposed in him, the more effectually to frustrate the designs of the duke of Normandy. He exerted the utmost diligence and assiduity in increasing the number of his partizans,

and spared no pains to secure the esteem of the people. If, hitherto, he had really experienced any scruples of conscience from an attempt to usurp the crown, to the exclusion of the lawful heir, he now conceived himself to be totally exempt from any imputation of injustice to Edgar Atheling; as, even should he forego his pretensions, the succession of that prince would be effectually impeded by the interposition of William. He, therefore, strenuously endeavoured to reconcile the minds of the English to his own elevation to the regal dignity: he revived their ancient aversion to the Normans, and, by an ostentatious display of his influence and power, sought to deter the wavering and timorous Edward from executing his intended will in favour of his Norman competitor.

The king, advanced in years and oppressed with infirmities, made no attempt to counteract his projects. Accordingly, on his death, which happened at the commencement of the year 1066, the crown was, by the unanimous voice of the people, conferred on Harold, who proved himself worthy to wear it, by a display of wisdom, vigour, moderation, and justice, that promised to secure the happiness of his subjects, and the welfare of the state. The duke of Normandy, enraged at the success of his rival, made a vow, that he should experience the most dreadful effects of his indignation; but, that his attempt might be sanctioned by some colour of justice, he sent ambassadors to England, to reproach Harold with a violation of his oath, and to demand, in a peremptory tone, the immediate resignation of the throne which he had usurped, threatening him with immediate war in case of a refusal. To this insolent summons, Harold justly replied, that William could have no possible pretensions to the crown of England; that, if the late king had really made a will in his favour, it could be of no effect, as the laws of the land expressly forbade him to dispose of the liberties of his subjects according to the suggestions of his own caprice; and that they had expressly provided against the succession of a foreigner: that, for his part, the crown had been conferred on him by the unanimous suffrages of the people, whose favour he should deserve to forfeit, were he capable of betraying the dearest interests of the nation, which had been consigned to his care; that, with regard to the oath, with the violation of which his ambassadors had dared to upbraid him, it had been extorted by a well-grounded fear of personal violence, and could, therefore, never be regarded as obligatory. Finally, he gave the duke to understand, that, if he made any attempt to enforce his claim, he would find the English ready to defend their liberties to the last extremity, under a monarch who, conscious of the importance of the trust reposed in him, was determined that his reign should end but with his life.

William, on receiving this resolute answer, made the most formidable preparations for war. Though fully aware of the dangers that must inevitably attend this important enterprise, he suffered the voice of prudence to be silenced by the dictates of resentment; and, substituting ambition for justice, determined to surmount every obstacle that should be opposed to his progress.

He found his hopes of success on the consideration, that the long period of tranquillity which England had enjoyed, for the space of near half a century, must have essentially enervated its inhabitants; that the English soldiers must be consequently devoid of discipline, and the officers of experience. He knew that the kingdom was wholly unprovided with fortified towns, which afforded an opportunity of prolonging a war; and that one decisive action must, therefore, determine its fate. He was, moreover, willing to believe, that, as Harold had ascended the throne in direct opposition to the will of the late monarch, he was not so firmly seated on it, but that the least commotion might occasion a revolt that would prove fatal to his authority.

Impressed with these ideas, he hastened the equipment of his fleet; and the fame of the intended invasion being already diffused over the neighbouring kingdoms, great numbers of powerful noblemen, allured by the reputation which William had acquired by his military conduct, repaired to his standard, accompanied by their vassals and dependents. But Conan, count of Brittany, who was the avowed enemy of William, embraced this favourable opportunity of advancing a frivolous claim to the duchy of Normandy, which he prepared to enforce by marching a powerful army into the Norman territories.

The duke, aware that a defeat at the present critical period must effectually frustrate his designs upon England, proposed terms of accommodation to the count; but these being rejected with disdain, William was compelled to prepare for deciding the dispute by the sword; and as the two armies were nearly equal in numbers, a desperate engagement was expected to ensue, when the death of Conan, who died suddenly, very opportunely prevented the effusion of blood.

Some historians affirm that this nobleman was poisoned by his chamberlain, at the instigation of William; an assertion which acquires a great semblance of probability from a due consideration of all the relative circumstances; though it is not sufficiently ascertained to enable us to vouch for its authenticity.

Hoel, the brother-in-law, and successor of Conan, deviated from the prudent policy of his predecessor, and not only concluded a peace with the duke of Normandy, but sent his eldest son, Alain Fergeant, to join him with a body of five thousand Bretons. The counts of Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Boulogne, also engaged to supply him with troops and transports, on condition of being repaid for their services by a stipulated portion of land, after the conquest with England.

William had even the audacity to apply for assistance to France; and Baldwin, rather through fear than friendship, permitted him to levy troops in the dominions of Philip, and even supplied him with a sum of money. Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany, not only gave permission to his vassals to embark in this expedition, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, but solemnly engaged to protect the duchy of Normandy from insult or invasion during the absence of William, who was thereby enabled to employ his whole force in the enterprise.

But an ally of still greater importance, whom William had found the means of winning over to his interest, was the pope, whose influence on the minds of the people, in those days of darkness and superstition, was immense. Far from confining his cares to the due performance of his spiritual duties, and the salutary regulation of his church, this aspiring prelate assumed the right to interfere in all secular transactions, and to act as a despotic arbiter in the disputes of monarchs; not merely with a laudable view of enforcing harmony, but, too frequently, for the malignant purpose of lighting the torch of discord, and affording a sanction to injustice. Alexander the Second, who now enjoyed the papal dignity, highly pleased by William's appeal to his tribunal, and his offer to hold the kingdom of England as a fief of the apostolic see, determined to espouse his quarrel; hoping too, by that means, to extend his influence to England, which still maintained a certain degree of independence in its ecclesiastical government, and had, hitherto, strenuously resisted those exorbitant claims by which the grandeur of the papacy was supported. Urged by these potent considerations, without giving himself time to investigate the justice and validity of William's claim, he openly declared in favour of it; and, to inspire the Normans with confidence, sent the duke a consecrated banner, a golden Agnus Dei, and one of Saint Peter's hairs set in a ring; while, on the other hand, he attacked his adversary, Harold, with the artillery of the church, denouncing excommunication against him and all his adherents.

Though this concurrence of favourable circumstances had removed many obstacles which had opposed themselves to William's designs, by affording a colour of justice to his proceedings, and thereby dispelling the doubts of some, who were deterred, by scruples of conscience, from engaging in his cause; yet one essential difficulty still remained to be obviated: this consisted in the means of raising a sufficient sum of money to defray the enormous expences of so vast an undertaking. He, at first, had recourse to the ordinary mode of convening an assembly of the states of Normandy, which, accordingly, met at Lillebonne; but, when he demanded their permission to raise the necessary supplies by means of a general impost, they unanimously refused to comply with his request, from a judicious preference of the happiness and repose of their country to the dangerous gratification of their sovereign's ambition; for they plainly foresaw, that, if William succeeded in his designs, Normandy would infallibly become a province of England; and that, if he failed in his attempt, the duchy must long feel the effects of his defeat. They therefore represented to him that the late wars having nearly exhausted the principality, both of men and money, they were so far from being able to attempt new conquests, that they should even find great difficulty in defending their own territories against the attacks of any powerful invader. They added, that though the claims of William might be founded in justice, they were not aware of any advantage that could possibly accrue to their country from the enterprise; nor were they obliged to serve in

foreign expeditions, in which the interest of Normandy was not immediately concerned.

The duke, finding there was no probability of succeeding with the states, resolved on a separate application to the most wealthy individuals of the province; and, beginning with those in whom he could place the firmest reliance, obtained, by degrees, the requisite sum for the equipment of his armament.

The counts of Longueville and Mortaigne afforded him great assistance in this negociation. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, brother to the duke, fitted out forty vessels at his own expense; William Fitz-Osborne, count of Breteuil, and constable of the duchy, provided a similar number, and the bishop of Mons supplied him with thirty. The example of these noblemen was followed by many others; and the states, finding it in vain to persist in refusing the required assistance, as without it he would be enabled to put his project in execution, at last consented to grant his request.

William had, by this time, collected a fleet of three thousand vessels, and assembled an army of sixty thousand chosen men; among which were more than five thousand noblemen, four hundred and fifty of whom were of the first rank. The most celebrated were Guy, count of Ponthieu; Alain Fergeant, count of Dol; Amaury, viscount of Thouars; the lords of Vetre, Chateaugiron, Gael, and Loheac; all of them Bretons. The chief of the Normans were Odo, bishop of Bayeux; the count of Mortaigne and his son, Geoffry de Rotrou; Roger, count of Beaumont, and his son Robert; the count of Longueville; with the lords of Avranches, Touques, Etouteville, Arques, Gournay, and Saint Sauveur de Cotentin, an old general of eighty, who was resolved to terminate a life of glory in the field of honour. There were also Eustace, count of Boulogne; Hugh, count of Estaples; William Fitz-Richard, count of Evreux; William de Warrenne; Hugh de Grantmesnil; Charles Martel; Roger de Montgomery, and Walter Giffard. To these courageous chieftains William promised the spoils of England, as a reward for their valour; and, pointing to the British coast, told them that was the field in which they must render their names immortal, and procure to themselves honourable establishments.

William had collected his fleet early in the summer of 1066, but was prevented from sailing by contrary winds, and different incidents, till the month of September, when it set sail from the harbour of Saint Valori; and, after a fortunate passage, arrived at Pevensey, in Suffex, on Michaelmas-day, when the army was disembarked without the smallest opposition, as a large fleet, which Harold had assembled, and which had cruized off the Isle of Wight during the summer, had been dismissed, on a false report that William had discontinued his preparations.

After publishing a manifesto, as false as his claims were frivolous, he advanced to the vicinity of Hastings, where he was met by the English army, under the command of Harold and his valiant brothers; the fatal battle was fought on

the fourteenth of October, and, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, which lasted from morning till night, William, by an artifice, secured that victory, which decided the fate of England. The death of Harold left this foreign usurper in possession of the field—and of the kingdom; and the sceptre of Britain, which had been swayed by the Anglo-Saxons for more than six hundred years, was now transferred to the hand of a Norman.

A. D. 1067.] The power which William acquired by this new conquest, afforded just subject of alarm to all the neighbouring princes, who repented, when too late, their own weakness, in not opposing his efforts. King Philip, young as he was, conceived that a crowned vassal was an object of apprehension; and he loudly censured the regent, who had assisted the duke of Normandy with money and troops. But Baldwin did not long survive this event: his death was a great loss to the kingdom which he governed with consummate prudence; and a still greater to the youthful monarch, who now became his own master, at an age when the understanding is generally weak, and the passions are strong. Philip was then but fifteen; and, according to the ancient law of the realm, the king was not of age till he was twenty-one. It does not appear, however, that any other regent was named. The first expedition of the new monarch was into Flanders, whither respect for the memory of Baldwin reduced him to carry his arms.

It had long been a custom with the counts of Flanders to respect the rights of primogeniture, so far as to leave all their dominions to the eldest son, to the total exclusion the younger children. The regent left two sons, Baldwin the Sixth, who succeeded him; and Robert, who, according to the romantic ideas of the age*, was sent to seek his fortune on the Spanish coast. He landed in Gallicia; and, after making a considerable booty, was compelled to retreat to his ships, and return home. He then went, as a pilgrim, to Constantinople, whither he was invited by some Norman gentlemen, who had formed a design of making themselves masters of Greece. But their project being detected, Robert turned back, with a firm resolution of establishing himself in the vicinity of Flanders. He accordingly collected what troops he could, and made an attack upon Friezeland, which was then governed by Gertrude of Saxony, widow to count Florent, and guardian to her infant son, Thierri. The Flemish prince, though twice repulsed, renewed his attacks with such determined courage, that the countess, fearing that he must finally succeed, offered him her hand, with the county of Friezeland; which he accepted, and from thence acquired the appellation of Robert the Frison.

A. D. 1070.] Such was the state of Flanders at the death of the regent of France, a prince of strong talents, and inflexible integrity. Baldwin the Sixth, his successor, either from jealousy, ambition, or antipathy to his younger bro-

* Lambert Affchaff. de reb. Germ,

ther, resolved to deprive him of an establishment, for which he was solely indebted to his courage and good conduct. In vain did Robert sue for peace, and solicit his friendship; bent on war, he had recourse to arms; and a battle ensuing, he paid for his unjust and criminal attempt with his life. His two sons, Arnoul and Baldwin, being still in their infancy, were incapable of stopping the progress of the victor, who easily made himself master of his brother's principality. Despoiled of their inheritance, they fled, with their mother, Richilde of Hainault, to the court of France, and implored the protection of Philip, who received them with kindness; and, raising an army, advanced against the usurper. But, in a decisive battle, near Cassel, the French were defeated; and the young count, Arnoul, perished in the action. Robert, by no means elated with his victory, was still eager to obtain the friendship of Philip; who accepted the proffered alliance, and even consented to marry Bertha, daughter to his wife Gertrude, by Florent, count of Friezeland. Young Baldwin being thus abandoned by France, was compelled to content himself with the district of Hainault, and the title of count, and to leave his uncle in the peaceable enjoyment of Flanders.

A. D. 1073.] The church of Rome was, at this time, governed by the famous Hildebrand, a man of low extraction, formerly a monk of Cluni, afterwards a cardinal, and at length, on the death of Alexander the Second, promoted to the papal dignity, under the appellation of Gregory the Seventh. This turbulent and aspiring pontiff, not content with the arbitrary exercise of his spiritual authority, laid claim to universal dominion; nor suffered his enterprising genius to be restrained by fear, decency, or moderation. His impious zeal engendered more insurrections, and caused a greater effusion of blood, than the ambition of the most sanguinary tyrants. "He neglected nothing*," says Pasquier, "which either arms, the pen, or spiritual censures, could effect, in order to promote the advantage of the papacy, and the disadvantage of sovereign princes." He was the first who dared to advance the dangerous doctrine, that the pope had a right to depose emperors, and to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance†. At least, such is the doctrine, contained in the famous publication known by the name of *dictatus papæ*‡, because it gave the particulars of the pope's instructions to his legates. All the *circular letters* of this pontiff breathe the same spirit of arrogance; they contain repeated assertions

* Pasquier, Recher. de la Fran. c. viii. et xiv. p. 190 et 219. † Epist. 35. Greg. vii. lib. ii.

‡ That candour and impartiality by which an historian should never cease to be swayed, compel us to observe, that many able critics, particularly Pagi and Father Alexandre, have been decidedly of opinion, that the treatise entitled, *Dictatus Papæ*, was not the production of Gregory; but written by some of his enemies, in order to render him odious. At this distance of time, it is almost impossible to verify the fact; but we must remark, that all the circular letters, sent by that pontiff to the different bishops, breathe the same spirit, and contain the same pernicious doctrine of spiritual authority over temporal concerns; and certain it is, that the conduct of Gregory was well calculated to impress a belief, that the publication in question was really composed by him.

that bishops are superior to kings, and are made to judge them; a precept to which his practice was strictly conformable.

He excommunicated and deposed Boleslaus, king of Poland, and even took from that country the title of kingdom. The emperor of Constantinople also received an order from the imperious pontiff* to abdicate a throne which he had usurped. The princes of Calabria, in order to avoid the thunders of the church, were compelled to take an oath of fidelity to the pope, and to hold their territories as fiefs of the holy seat. In his letters to Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, and to some other French prelates, he says—"Your king is a tyrant, unworthy to sway the sceptre: his life is passed in infamy and crime†." These insolent expressions are followed by his usual threat of excommunication. But this was only the prelude to his daring attempts upon France. His legates soon received orders to exact from the French an annual tribute|| of a silver denier, for every house in the kingdom, which was equivalent to the Peter-Pence paid by the English. Philip, however, treated this audacious demand with the contempt it deserved.

Spain was treated with still greater arrogance. "You cannot but know§," said he, in his letters to the christian princes of that country, "that Saint Peter is liege lord of all your petty states, and that they are the sole property of the holy apostolic see. They had better be in the hands of the Saracens, than not pay due homage to the vicar of Jesus Christ. You must have learned from your fathers¶, (speaking to Solomon, king of a country but just converted to christianity) "that Hungary is a domain of the church of Rome. Be assured, you will experience her indignation, unless you acknowledge that you derive your authority from the pope." The duke of Bohemia paid him an annual tribute of a hundred marks of silver, for permission to wear a mitre. Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Russia, were, he maintained, all fiefs of the triple crown. "Your son," says he, in a letter to king Demetrius**, "has declared that he wishes to receive the crown from our hands; this demand appearing to us to be founded in justice, we have given him your kingdom on the part of Saint Peter."

But Henry the Fourth, emperor of Germany, was more harassed by the daring pretensions of this turbulent priest, than any of the other princes. Under a pretence that he sold ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, the pope summoned him to appear at Rome, to answer the accusations that were preferred against him. Henry had just returned from a glorious expedition into Saxony, when he received this strange citation. Instead of answering it, he assembled a synod at Worms, at which the pontiff was condemned and deposed. Gregory, on his part, convened a council, and pronounced the following anathema. "On the part of the Omnipotent God, I forbid Henry to govern the kingdoms of Ger-

* Mabill. Præf. 2, tom. ix. p. 28. † L. viii. Epist. Greg. Post. Primam Epist. ‡ Epist. 32. 35. l. ii.
 || Greg. Epist. 23. § L. i. Epist. 6. 7. l. 6. Epist. 28. ¶ L. ii. Epist. 28. ** L. vi. Epist. 24.

“ *many and Italy : I absolve all christians from every oath they either have taken or may take to him : and I excommunicate whoever shall serve him as a king.*”

This sentence, for which our language can afford no epithet sufficiently strong to mark the infamy of the prelate who pronounced it, had influence enough—such was the darkness and ignorance of the age!—to arm the whole empire against its chief. Henry soon found himself surrounded by an army of rebels, who, with the pope’s bull in their hand, compelled him to promise, that he would retire to Spire, and there live in the capacity of a private citizen, without attempting to discharge any of the functions of royalty, till such time as Gregory should repair to Augsbourg, in order to preside at the court of princes and prelates who were to try their sovereign. To avert a sentence so degrading, the emperor resolved to ask absolution of the pope ; who was then at Canossa, near Reggio, with the countess Matilda, who may be considered as the true cause of the divisions which prevailed between the imperial and priestly dignity*. Henry accordingly repaired to that fortress, wholly unattended, with his feet naked, and his body enveloped in sackcloth. He was stopped at the gate, and ordered to fast for three days. At length he was admitted to kiss the pontiff’s feet, on condition that he would show a perfect submission to his will, and repair to Augsbourg, there to wait his pleasure.

But the Lombards, moved at the state of humiliation to which this young prince, who had frequently signalized his courage and conduct in the field of victory, was reduced by the impious arrogance of an aspiring priest, promised to assist him in the recovery of his dignity, provided he would break the disgraceful engagement he had just contracted. In consequence of this unexpected success, the face of affairs was speedily changed, and Gregory was besieged in the very fortress from whence he had recently given laws to the princes of Europe: Still his courage was inflexible ; he carried on his usual war of words ; was lavish of his threats and excommunications†, and had even sufficient credit to promote the election of a new emperor, in the person of Rodolph of Rheinfeld, duke of Suabia, to whom Gregory sent a crown of gold, with the following Latin verse, containing a stupid play upon words,—

“ *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.*”

As soon as Henry was apprised of this revolt, he hastened into Germany, where, notwithstanding the spiritual thunder of the pope, *who condemned him to have no strength in battle, and to gain no victory*‡, he fought and defeated his rival. The usurper, being mortally wounded by Godfrey of Bouillon, acknowledged, on his death-bed, that he was justly punished for having taken up arms against his lawful sovereign.

* Dambert, p. 240.

† Hist. Ecl. Sax. p. 135.

‡ Tom. x. Conc. p. 384.

The emperor then returned to Italy, and laid siege to Rome. He took with him a new pope, who had been elected under his auspices, at Mayence. This was Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna*, afterwards known by the appellation of Clement the Third. The city was taken; but Gregory escaped and went to end his days in exile at Salerno. Had this spiritual Alexander, whose ambition soared beyond the scanty limits of the world, lived in a more enlightened age, it is probable that he would either have been confined on the plea of insanity, or that his criminal enterprises would have met their just reward on a scaffold.

In times of darkness and superstition, that the most atrocious crimes, when veiled beneath the specious mask of piety, acquire a different complexion, and are considered as worthy of imitation and praise, is a fact that rather incurs pity, than excites astonishment; but, when the film of prejudice is removed, when the judgment ceases to be obscured, and the mind is no longer bound by local ties, or private partialities, that then the infamy, which for ages has attached to vicious characters, should be done away by the mere force of words, and the powers of sophistry, is a matter of deep concern, that leads us to lament the degradation, or, at least, the gross misapplication of genius and ability. Hildebrand and Becket, have both found a champion, in the *eighteenth century*!!! A champion who has devoted his splendid talents, not to the mere task of palliation, but to the conversion of absolute crimes into active virtues. With regard to Hildebrand, it has been urged, that he aimed at universal dominion, for the sole purpose of promoting a reformation of manners, which was generally wanting, and of enforcing and extending the precepts of christianity and the practice of piety. Admitting this to have been his motive, his conduct was *so far* laudable; still, however, the means he adopted for the execution of his plan, were inconsistent with his station, and detestable from their immediate effects. Besides, how can his endeavours to extend a despotic authority over all temporal concerns be reconciled with the express declaration of that Being, whose vicar he professed himself to be—*that his kingdom was not of this world?* or how will the arrogant and presumptuous language of Gregory be made to square with the meekness and humility of Christ? Can treason, perjury, rebellion, and murder, be proper instruments for enforcing obedience to a *God of mercy and peace?* But, we are told, what we now consider as vice had formerly a different denomination, and that in appreciating crimes, we should always consider the age and country in which they were committed—to this we reply—that truth and virtue are fixed and immutable; confined to no age; peculiar to no soil; attached to no party. Their precepts are plain and simple; correctly defined, and easily understood; though sophistry may disguise, it can never subvert them. Their nature ever was, is, and ever will be the same. Were it possible to change it, the firmest bond of social harmony would be dissolved; and every

* Acta ap. Boll. c. iii. tom 17.

crime admit of justification. The abbe Velly has observed, not unjustly, that the misfortunes of Gregory may be chiefly ascribed to his ignorance of the proper boundaries of spiritual authority, and to his having arrogated to himself a power over temporal matters, that Jesus Christ never granted, either directly or indirectly, to any of his disciples. This bold assumption gave rise to numerous wars, that were attended with a vast effusion of blood, and a long train of calamities both to church and state.

The dispute between the emperor and the sovereign pontiff induced all the sovereigns of Europe to take proper precautions against the daring and dangerous power of the pope*. Such precautions, if Pasquier may be credited, had long been adopted in France. "We have had," says that author, "from the earliest times, three propositions which have served us as a shield. The first is, that the king of France cannot be excommunicated by the authority of the pope: the second, that the pope has no jurisdiction or power over the temporalities of kings:—the last, that the general and universal council is superior to the pope†."

An insurrection of the inhabitants of Mans, called William the Norman from England, to reduce the rebels to submission. This task was no sooner accomplished, than he was obliged to turn his arms against Ralph de Guader, a Breton, who had taken refuge in the city of Dol, whither William pursued him, and laying siege to the place, swore that he would not desist till he had taken it, and gained possession of his enemy. But he was compelled to violate his oath, for the king of France, together with Hoel count of Brittany, having sent a formidable body of troops to the assistance of Ralph, he was obliged to raise the siege, and relinquish his enterprise. Nor was this the only repulse which William experienced; an event that occurred about this time was attended with much greater disgrace and mortification.

Robert, his eldest son, surnamed *Gambaron*, or *Court-hose*, from his short legs, was a prince who inherited his father's courage without his dissimulation. Being impatient of controul, he was prompted to aspire to an early independence; and several circumstances had occurred to favour his design. When William received the submissions of the province of Maine, he had promised the inhabitants that he would appoint Robert to govern them; and, previous to his first embarkation for England, while he was soliciting succours from the French, he had expressly declared, that if his designs upon that country met with success, the prince should succeed him in the duchy of Normandy. This artful declaration was intended to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours, who were fearful that he would acquire too great an extent of territory: but when Robert, after the accession of his father to the throne of England, had demanded the performance of his promise, William answered, that the numerous insurrections of

* Pere Daniel, tom. ii. p. 472,

† Recherches de la France, l. iii. c. 16, p. 224.

his subjects, and the threatened invasion of the Scots and Danes, rendered his power in England so precarious and uncertain, that prudence forbade him to part with his hereditary dominions, to which he might, perhaps, be finally, compelled to retire. This evasive answer served his purpose for a time; but all those pretended obstacles being now removed, he was compelled to lay aside his dissimulation, and to confess to his son, that it was his determination not to resign any part of his territories during his life. This explicit avowal increased the discontent of Robert, who made no attempt to conceal his displeasure; and was strongly suspected of having instigated Philip and the count of Brittany to that opposition which had compelled him to raise the siege of Dol with such precipitation.

A. D. 1079.] At length the signal for war was given; the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, together with those of Anjou and Brittany, in general, declared for the prince, who was privately supplied with money by his mother Matilda, and thereby enabled to support an unnatural contest, which, during three years, convulsed the hereditary dominions of William, and totally destroyed his domestic repose. Philip spared no pains to foment the division, and to enlarge the breach which subsisted between father and son.

William, finding his authority in Normandy considerably diminished by the attachment of the Norman nobility to his son, was compelled to have recourse to England, where his tyranny had established his power on a more solid basis, and where the doctrine of passive obedience had been more successfully inculcated. An English army was accordingly transported to the continent; and Robert, unable to withstand so formidable a reinforcement, was compelled to leave his father in possession of Normandy, and to retire to the castle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoisis, a retreat which Philip had secured for him. Here he was joined by a great number of French noblemen, who repaired thither with their vassals, to signalise their courage under the command of a prince who was esteemed one of the best soldiers of his time. From thence they ravaged all the Vexin Normand, and the Pays de Caux.

William, to put a stop to these incursions, pursued his son, and laid close siege to the castle, which was defended with great valour. Before the walls of Gerberoy there passed many rencounters, which more resembled the achievements of chivalry, than the operations of regular troops. In one of the numerous sallies which were made during the siege, Robert, perceiving an officer in the English army who distinguished himself by his vigorous exertions, rode up to him; and, making a furious thrust with his lance, wounded and dismounted him at the first onset. As he fell, he called out for assistance, and his voice immediately discovered him to be the king. Robert, stricken with horror at the crime he was about to accomplish, sprang from his horse; and, falling on his knees, most earnestly entreated his father's forgiveness.

William, stung with shame and indignation, did not answer the virtuous effusions of filial respect with an equal return of tenderness; but, mounting his son's

horse, departed for his camp, bestowing a malediction, where a heart less ferocious must have pronounced a pardon. He soon after raised the siege, and returned to Rouen, where, by the importunities of the queen, and the interposition of his nobles, he was prevailed on to listen to a reconciliation with Robert: but he did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy after his own departure from that country; and therefore took him with him to England, under the specious pretence of entrusting him with the command of an army, which he sent to repel the incursions of the Scots, who had invaded England.

[A. D. 1087.] For some years a perfect peace prevailed between the French and English monarchs; which was at length interrupted by the account received by William of some idle railleries with which Philip had indulged himself at his expence. William, who was become extremely corpulent, had been confined for some weeks to his bed by sickness; which led Philip to express a hope, that his brother of England would be soon delivered of his great belly, and enabled to quit his chamber. This sarcasm being reported to the king, threw him into a violent passion, and made him swear—"by the splendour and resurrection of God," his usual oath, that the first time he should go abroad, he would light up as many torches at Saint Genevieve, to celebrate his recovery, as should give but little satisfaction to Philip; alluding to the usual practice, at that time, of women after child-birth, who, when they were churched, always presented a certain number of lighted candles. Nor did he fail to put his menace in execution; for, immediately on his recovery, he entered the Isle of France, at the head of a powerful army, at a time when the harvest was ripe for gathering, and laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. He laid siege to Mantes; and, having taken it by assault, first plundered the town, and then reduced it to ashes, with all the churches and monasteries it contained. But the destructive progress of these hostilities was impeded by an accident, which soon after put an end to William's existence. His horse, suddenly starting, threw him on the pommel of the saddle, by which he received a dangerous bruise; and being extremely heated at the time, and likewise in a bad habit of body, he began to be apprehensive of the consequences, and ordered himself to be conveyed in a litter to the abbey of Saint Gervais, at Rouen, where he expired on the ninth of September, 1087, in the sixty-third year of his age and the twenty-first of his reign.

[A. D. 1091.] The death of this prince delivered Philip from a formidable enemy, and the dominions of the deceased monarch were contested by his three sons. Of these, the second, William Rufus, by the dying breath of his father, was recommended to the throne of England; but for the possession of it, he was probably more indebted to the attachment of Eudes, the minister of the late king, who delivered into his hands the royal treasures, than to the favourable opinion of a sovereign who had never acquired the affections of his subjects. Robert, the eldest, succeeded to Normandy and Maine; and to Henry was only bequeathed a sum of money. Yet Rufus, not content with the crown which

Robert had a right to expect, invaded soon after the duchy of Normandy. The latter was faintly supported by Philip of France; and by the cession of Eu, Fescamp, and Cherbourg, purchased a disadvantageous peace, which permitted him to retain the remainder of his inheritance.

A. D. 1094, 1095.] While these transactions were passing in France, the kingdom of Spain was a prey to every species of rapine and disorder. The Saracens were in possession of Lusitania, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Granada, and Torbosa; and their territories extended beyond the mountains of Castile and Saragossa. The christians had only Austria, a part of Old Castile, Barcelona, one half of Catalonia, Navarre, and a small portion Arrogon. Too weak to oppose, by themselves, the power of the Musselmans, they frequently implored the aid of France, and Philip sent several armies to their assistance. William, duke of Aquitaine, and Hugh, duke of Burgundy, particularly signalized their zeal and courage in these pious expeditions*, whence they returned laden with wealth and glory. But, of all the French princes who distinguished themselves on this occasion, only one laid the foundation of a lasting establishment. This was Henry, son to Robert, duke of Burgundy, great grandson to Hugh Capet, who displayed so much valour, and rendered such important services to Alphonso the Sixth, king of Castile that that monarch gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and ceded to him the county of *Porto*, which the Spaniards had just conquered from the Moors. From him are descended the present royal family of Portugal, a name which was substituted for Lusitania, and which was taken from the towns of *Porto* and *Cale*, both of which were rebuilt by the French conquerer.

The tranquillity which prevailed in France afforded leisure to Philip to pursue those pleasures to which he was naturally addicted; unfortunately they were not calculated to amuse, but to enervate, the mind. The queen had, by this time, lost her powers of pleasing; and the king, though he had several children by her, was resolved to procure a divorce. A distant and doubtful degree of consanguinity afforded the pretence, and the unhappy princess, banished to Montreuil, expired of a broken heart.

The king of France next demanded in marriage Emma, the daughter of count Roger, brother to Robert Guischar, duke of Sicily†. The lady, richly adorned with jewels, and liberally portioned, was escorted to the French court, but, to the disgrace of Philip does the historian record, that Emma was dismissed, and her fortune retained. His passions had been inflamed by Bertrade de Montfort, the wife of Fulk, count of Anjou, who, with the assistance of the king, had supplanted his elder brother Geoffry. This woman was endowed with a great portion of sense; but her ambition was inordinate: she was imperious or supple, grave or gay, prude or coquette, according to the taste

* Hist. Franc. Frag. apud Duch, tom. iv. p. 88, 89.

† Hist. Robert Guischar, p. 106.

of her lover. It was with the greatest regret that she had consented to sacrifice her youth to an infirm old man, in temper morose, and oppressed with disease. The moment she was apprised of the king's divorce, she sent a person in whom she could confide, with a proposal to her sovereign to carry her off and then marry her. She relied for success on the fame of her charms; and the event justified her confidence. The bishop of Bayeux was base enough to marry them*, and was richly rewarded for the degrading task; but, so flagrant a violation of every moral and civil tie, could not escape the censure of pope Urban the Second. In a council holden at Autun, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the king, unless he parted from Bertrade; his ready promise of submission averted, or rather suspended, the thunders of the vatican. But the death of Bertha induced him to recall Bertrade, who was solemnly crowned by two French bishops. Pascal the Second, who had succeeded Urban in the chair of St. Peter, immediately sent two cardinals into France with orders to assemble a council at Poitiers, for the purpose of renewing the censures of the church. But the face of affairs was now essentially changed†; Philip had recovered his liberty by the death of his wife; the count of Anjou had acknowledged that his own marriage was defective; the prelates exclaimed loudly against the arrogance of the sovereign pontiff, who assumed an absolute authority over the affairs of France; and the nobles began to be aware of the danger that must accrue to themselves, if the court of Rome was permitted to extend her encroachments. William the Eighth, count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine, who publicly kept a mistress, was most violent in his opposition to the proceedings of the legates. He declared, before all the members of the council, that he would never suffer his sovereign to be excommunicated in his presence; and, finding his endeavours to counteract their designs fruitless and unavailing, he left the church, followed by a few of the bishops, several of the nobles, and a part of the people, who treated the pope's ministers with great indignity. They even proceeded to acts of violence: a stone was thrown at one of the cardinals, which broke the head of a priest that sat at his side. All then was clamour and tumult. Most of the bishops fled with precipitation; but some remained, and the legates stayed to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against the king.

It must not, however, be supposed, that, as some authors have asserted, the throne was declared vacant, the French were absolved from their oath of fidelity, or that the kingdom was laid under an interdict. This opinion was probably founded on the mode which then prevailed, of dating public deeds—*done in the reign of Jesus Christ, reigning in France*; but it has been demonstrated by writers of eminence‡, that, long before this divorce, Philip made use of this pious form; and that it was often employed as well before as since his time. Ser-

* Orderic. Vital. p. 669.

† Concil. Pict. tom. x. Concil.

‡ Bessii, Blondel, Mabillon.

vice was performed, as usual, with the doors of the church open; the sacraments were administered in public; and the king had even obtained *permission* from the bishops to have mass said before him. The only effect of this excommunication was, (if a contemporary author* may be credited, who has given a very particular account of it), that the service was read in a low voice, and, when the king was present, with the doors shut; and, on solemn festivals, he was no longer crowned by the prelates of his kingdom, except by those of Belgium, who would never consider him as an excommunicated person†. Still, however, it afforded a plausible pretext for revolt to such of his vassals as were so disposed; for which reason he resolved to associate his son, Lewis, to the throne—a prince of nineteen, possessed of great courage, and endowed with a portion of wisdom that is seldom to be met with at so early an age.

A. D. 1103, 1104, 1105.] While Philip passed his hours in the alternate enjoyments of love and wine, his kingdom was doomed, by her miseries, to atone for the vices of her sovereign. The barons once more assumed the tone of independence; the scenes of anarchy and confusion, from which France had been rescued by the prudence of Hugh Capet, and his successors, were again presented in every province, and the dignity of the crown, which had been degraded by the follies of the father, was restored by the virtues of the son. From their fortified castles the nobles issued forth like a band of plunderers, and committed the most daring depredations on the public roads, laying all passengers, without the smallest discrimination of age, sex, or station, under a cruel contribution. It was no longer possible to travel but in caravans; and even the king himself did not dare to pass from Paris to Etampes, without a strong guard. The capital was in a manner blocked up by seven or eight small towns, the lords of which kept regular bodies of troops that scoured the surrounding country; and these tyrants became more formidable from their union, which was closely cemented by the ties of blood, and the more powerful bonds of interest‡. Lewis deemed it necessary to make every exertion for repressing disorders which threatened the kingdom with destruction. With a small, but well-disciplined force, he continually kept the field, and over-awed the nobles who had disdained the authority of his father. He razed their castles, redressed the injuries of their dependants, and compelled them to relinquish the lands which they had ravished from the church. The banks of the Seine and the Loire alternately attested his indefatigable zeal; and the presumption of a haughty nobility was repressed and chastised by a cautious yet enterprising prince.

These glorious achievements of Lewis not only established his reputation, but rendered him highly formidable to the few barons who still resisted his power. Guy Trouffel, one of the most determined plunderers in the kingdom, dreading the effects of his resentment, offered to cede to him the castle of Montlhéry, on

* Orderic. Vital. An. 1092, p. 699.

† Mezerai, t. ii, p. 517.

‡ Suger, Vita Ludov. Gros,

condition that Philip, the king's son by Bertrade, should do him the honour to accept his daughter's hand. As this fortress was deemed impregnable, and the king had been long anxious to get possession of it, the proposal of Guy was accepted with joy; and Lewis became master of a place which had for years proved the terror of the surrounding country, and broken off the communication between Paris and Orleans.

But of all these petty wars, the most glorious for Lewis was that which he carried on with Guy, count of Rochefort. This nobleman being a great favourite with Philip, had persuaded the king to marry Lewis to his daughter Lucienne; but, before the marriage was consummated, it was opposed on the plea of consanguinity, and declared null, by the Roman pontiff, Pascal the Second, at the council of Troyes*. The father repented the facility with which Lewis acquiesced in the determination of the pope; and, encouraged by Thibaud, count of Champagne, erected the standard of revolt, plundered the traders who were under the king's protection, and secured his spoils in the castle Gournay upon the Marne. Lewis immediately assembled his little army, and advanced with a determination to lay siege to the fortress. Having forced the passage of the river, where he met with considerable resistance, he drove the rebels from their entrenchments, and compelled them to take refuge within the walls of the castle. The garrison, after some time, beginning to experience a scarcity of provisions, treated with contempt the remonstrances of Guy, and had resolved on capitulating, when the count of Champagne hastened to their relief with a numerous army. But Lewis immediately attacked him, and having gained a glorious and decisive victory, returned to the castle, which surrendered; and was transferred by the victor to the lords of Garlande.

Lewis, either from curiosity, or to avoid the dangerous enmity of his mother-in-law, obtained permission to visit England. He was received by Henry (who, on the death of his brother William Rufus, had possessed himself of the sovereignty of that island, to the exclusion of Robert of Normandy, who was absent in Palestine) with every mark of respect. Even here, if we can credit the testimony of concurring historians, the implacable hatred of Bertrade pursued him; and, by a letter subscribed with the name of Philip, and sealed with the royal signet, the king of England was requested to retain his guest in confinement, or extinguish the dread of his return by death. But Henry, however addicted to cruelty and injustice where his interest or ambition was concerned, refused to violate the sacred rights of hospitality, and delivered the letter which contained the fatal secret to Lewis himself. The prince immediately hastened to his father, and throwing himself at his feet, told him he had brought him the criminal whom he had consigned to destruction. Philip was entirely ignorant of what had passed, and expressed his detestation of the horrid attempt. But his love for

* Suger, Vita Ludov. Gros.

Bertrade made him reject his son's demand of justice on her head; and Lewis, by this open display of his resentment, only increased the inveterate enmity of an abandoned woman, who determined, at all events, to procure the gratification of her revenge.

For this purpose, she applied to a faithful servant, who found means to administer poison to Lewis*, the strength of whose constitution for a long time seemed overpowered with the violence of the noxious draught. At length, however, he was relieved from his sufferings by the skill of an obscure physician, who was treated as an ignorant quack by the faculty of Paris, but the effect of whose medicines bespoke the extent of his knowledge. Lewis, justly enraged at this new and desperate attack upon his life, would have immediately inflicted on Bertrade, with his own hand, that punishment which her crimes so justly merited, had he not been prevented by his father, who again succeeded in his attempts to promote a reconciliation between them. In order to appease his rage, the king ceded to his son the town of Pontoise, with all the Vexin Francoise, an advantage so considerable, as engaged him to smother his resentment.

The pope, in the mean time, had come to France; and Philip had sent to inform him, that he was willing to submit to any penance he might think proper to impose; but on condition that he would grant him the necessary dispensation for rendering his marriage lawful and valid. A council was convened, for this purpose, at Baugenci, where the king and Bertrade promised to hold no farther commerce with each other, till the church had come to a decision on the subject of their union†. But the members of the council were afraid to deliver their sentiments; and, after disputing for a considerable time, they separated, without coming to any determination on the business for which they had met.

The king complained bitterly of the insult he had sustained; and many of the French prelates wrote to the pope‡, who dispatched two legates with orders to assemble a new council at Paris, at which Philip was, at length, absolved from all censures, and his marriage confirmed||. Such was the conclusion of an affair that threatened to interrupt the national tranquillity, but which only served to display the wisdom of some of the French prelates, and to shew the good qualities of Lewis.

We now come to an event which occurred during the transactions we have been relating, and which claims our particular notice, as well from its influence on all the nations of Europe, as from the essential part taken in it by the French.

The crusades, or expeditions formed for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels, seemed to be the first event that roused Europe from the lethargy in which it had been long sunk, and that tended to introduce any change in government or in manners§.

* Suger. Vita Ludoy. Gros. † T. x. Concil. ‡ Pascal. Epist. 55. || Chron. Malleac. § Dr. Robertson.

The human mind is naturally inclined to dwell, with a degree of enthusiastic delight that borders on veneration, on those places which are entitled to distinction, either as the residence of some illustrious character, or as the scene of some glorious transaction. Hence proceeded that superstitious devotion with which the christians, from the earliest ages of the church, were accustomed to visit that country which the Deity had selected as the inheritance of his favourite people, and in which the Son of God had accomplished the redemption of mankind.

The great expence, fatigue, and danger, which necessarily attended a pilgrimage to so distant a country, considerably added to the merit of the undertaking, and soon made it be considered as a sufficient atonement for the most flagrant offences. An opinion which was diffused over Europe with an astonishing rapidity, about the close of the tenth and commencement of the eleventh century; and which obtained universal belief, caused a wonderful augmentation of the number of credulous pilgrims, and increased the ardour with which they undertook this useless voyage. The thousand years mentioned by Saint John, in the twentieth chapter of the Revelations, were now supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the world to be, consequently, approaching.

We learn from many of the ancient historians, preserved by Martin Bouquet, a Benedictine monk, in his collection of the historians of France, that, about this period, mankind were seized with a general consternation, that induced great numbers to relinquish their possessions, and abandon their friends and families, to hasten, with the utmost precipitation, to the Holy Land, where they imagined that Christ would very soon appear to sit in judgment upon the sins of the world.

While the Arabians continued in possession of Palestine, their caliphs encouraged the resort of pilgrims to Jerusalem; justly deeming that species of commerce as highly beneficial to the country, which brought considerable importations of gold and silver, and exported nothing but useless relics and consecrated baubles. But the Turcomans, or Turks, a tribe of Tartars who had embraced the tenets of Mahomet, having, about the middle of the eleventh century, taken Syria from the Saracens, and made themselves masters of Jerusalem, pilgrims were exposed to every kind of insult and outrage from these barbarians*.

This revolution occurring at the very time when pilgrimages, from the cause abovementioned, had become more frequent, filled Europe with indignation and alarm. The religious travellers, on their return from Palestine, did not fail to relate the dangers they had experienced in visiting the holy city; and to describe the cruelty and vexations of the Turks, in terms of exaggeration proportioned to the magnitude of their fears.

When the minds of men were thus prepared, the misguided zeal of a fanatical monk, who conceived the idea of leading all the forces of christendom against

* Jo. Dan. Schoepflini de sacris Gallorum in Orientum expeditionibus, p. 4. Argent. 1726. Quarto;

the infidels, and of effecting their expulsion from the Holy Land, was sufficient to enforce the adoption of that wild enterprize. Gregory the Seventh, had, indeed, formed the design of leading all the western christians against the Mahometans; but the overbearing disposition of that imperious prelate had created him such numerous enemies, and rendered every scheme he proposed so suspicious, that he was able to make but little progress in the promotion of his plan; which was left to be completed by an inferior personage, whose station of life prevented him from becoming an object of jealousy or mistrust.

Peter the Hermit (or *Cucupietre*, as he is called in the Memoirs of the princess Anna, daughter of the emperor Alexis Comnena), a native of Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and witnessed the dangers and inconveniencies to which the pilgrims were exposed. This inspired him with the idea of putting the christians in possession of Palestine; and, to urge them to the undertaking, he ran from province to province, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting both princes and people to this holy war; and, wherever he came, he enkindled the same enthusiastic ardour for the expedition as glowed within his own bosom*. The council of Placentia, summoned, at the instigation of Peter, by pope Martin the Second, where four thousand ecclesiastics and thirty thousand seculars were assembled, pronounced the scheme to have been suggested by the immediate inspiration of heaven. In a subsequent council, holden at Clermont, in Auvergne†, which was still more numerous, and attended by the most powerful princes, nobles, and prelates, of Europe, the question was no sooner proposed, than the whole assembly exclaimed with one voice: "It is the will of God—It is the will of God!"

The contagion was speedily diffused over persons of all ranks: not only the martial barons of that age, with their warlike vassals, whom the boldness of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific stations of life, ecclesiastics of every order, even women and children, engaged in an undertaking, which was deemed sacred and meritorious. If we may credit the concurring testimony of contemporary historians‡, six millions of persons assumed the cross, which was the badge of union affixed to the right shoulder by all those who devoted themselves to this holy warfare.

This frenzy, which superstitious enthusiasm had engendered and spread, was rendered durable by those extensive immunities and privileges which were accorded to the crusaders. They were exempted from all prosecutions for debt, during the time of their engagement in this sacred service||; they were exempted from paying interest for the money which they had borrowed§; they were exempted, either entirely, or at least during a certain time, from the payment of all national imposts¶; they might alienate their lands without the consent of the

* Gul. Tyrius, lib. i. c. ii. M. Paris, p. 17. † Concil. tom. x. Concil. Clarom. Mat. Paris, p. 16. M. West, p. 233. ‡ Fulcherius Carnotensis, ap. Bongarsii *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. i. 387. Edit. Han. 1611. || Du Cange, voc. *Crucis Privilegium*, v. xii. p. 1194. § *Ibid.* 3. ¶ *Ibid.*—*Ordonnances des Rois de France*, tom. i. p. 33.

superior lord of whom they held* ; their persons and effects were taken under the protection of Saint Peter ; and the anathemas of the church were denounced against all who should molest them, or carry on any quarrel or hostility against them, during their absence on account of the holy war† ; they enjoyed all the privileges of ecclesiastics, and were not bound to plead in any civil court, but were declared subject to the spiritual jurisdiction alone‡ ; they obtained a plenary remission of all their sins ; and the gates of heaven were set open to them, without requiring any farther proof of their penitence, than their engagement in this sacred expedition, which tended to gratify their favourite passion, the love of war||.

When both the civil and ecclesiastical powers were thus ambitious to outvie each other, and to exhaust their fertile invention, for the purpose of devising expedients to encourage, propagate, and confirm the spirit of superstition, it is not surprising that it should become so universal as to insinuate the stigma of cowardice, and the mark of infamy, on every one who was possessed of sufficient prudence or philosophy to escape the general frenzy, and to decline engaging in the holy war§.

The multitude of the adventurers soon became so great, that their more sagacious leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to Philip ; Raymond, count of Toulouse ; Godfrey of Bouillon, prince of Brabant ; and Stephen, count of Blois¶, became apprehensive lest the greatness itself of the armament should disappoint its purpose ; and they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Gautier the Moneyless. These men took the road towards Constantinople, through Hungaria and Bulgaria ; and, trusting that heaven, by supernatural assistance, would supply all their necessities, they made no provision for subsistence on their march ; they soon found themselves obliged to obtain, by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles ; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, gathering together in arms, attacked the disorderly multitude, and put them to slaughter without resistance. The more disciplined armies following after, and passing the Streights at Constantinople, were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted, in the whole, to the number of seven hundred thousand combatants**.

Amidst this universal phrenzy, which spread itself by contagion throughout Europe, especially in France and Germany, men were not entirely forgetful of their present interests, and both those who went on this expedition, and those who stayed behind, entertained schemes of gratifying, by its means, their avarice or their ambition. The nobles who enlisted themselves were moved, from the romantic spirit of the times, to hope for opulent establishments in the east, the chief seats of arts and commerce during those ages ; and in pur-

* Ordonnances des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 33. † Du Cange, ib. Guibertus Abbas, ap. Bongarsii, i. p. 480—482. ‡ Du Cange ib. Ordon. des Rois, tom. i. p. 34, 174. § Will. Tyriensis, ap. Bongars, vol. ii. p. 641. ¶ Sim. Dunelm. p. 222. ** Mat. Paris, p. 20, 21.

suit of these chimerical projects, they sold, at a very inadequate price, their ancient castles and inheritances, which had now lost all value in their eyes. The greater princes, who remained at home, besides establishing peace in their dominions, by giving occupation abroad to the inquietude and martial disposition of their subjects, took the opportunity of annexing to their crown many considerable fiefs, either by purchase or by the extinction of heirs. The pope frequently turned the zeal of the crusades from the infidels against his own enemies, whom he represented as equally criminal with the enemies of Christ. The convents, and other religious societies, bought the possessions of the adventurers; and, as the contributions of the faithful were commonly entrusted to their management, they often diverted to this purpose what was intended to be employed against the infidels*.

Among the leaders of the crusades was Robert, duke of Normandy, whose intrepid spirit prompted him to embrace an expedition endeared by the prospect of danger. For the trifling sum of ten thousand marks, he mortgaged Normandy, during his absence, to his brother, who had already defrauded him of the crown of England; and the inconsiderable pittance which he had raised at the expence of the scanty remnant of his father's ample territory, was freely dedicated to the service in which he embarked.

The holy wars gave rise (among various other innovations of greater importance both in commerce and manners) to the establishment of the three religious and military orders of knights *Hospitallers*, *Templars*, and *Teutonic knights*. The first of these, which served as a model to the others, had acquired a high degree of celebrity, even before the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders; but a part of them being employed in receiving the faithful who went to visit the holy sepulchre, and the rest attending on the sick, they were solely occupied in works of charity, under the conduct of Gerard, the founder of the order†. Ramond Dupuy, a gentleman of Dauphine, was the first who, to their primitive statutes of hospitality, added the obligation to take up arms against the enemies of the christian religion. He divided his order into three classes‡. The first was that of *knights*, who, on account of their birth, and the rank they had formerly enjoyed in the army, were destined to make war against the infidels. The second class consisted of those, who, neither being descended from a noble family, nor attached to the church, were appointed to serve the poor in the hospitals, and the knights in their military expeditions, these were called *serving-brothers*. They were afterwards distinguished by a different dress from that of the knights. The third class was formed of priests and chaplains, who, besides discharging their functions at church, and with the sick, were obliged to follow the army. All of them took vows of chastity and obe-

* Padre Paolo Hist. delle Benef. Ecclesiast. p. 128.

† Hist. Hieros. Jacob. Vitriaci, c. 74.

‡ Ex Bosio, l. ii. p. 68.

dience. The new members, in order to distinguish themselves from the rest, assumed the appellation of the *Knights of Saint John*, from the name of an hospital which they had in the city of Jerusalem; and they wore a black dress with a white cross. This was that celebrated order, which, under the name of the knights of Rhodes and of Malta, filled the universe with the fame of its exploits, and of its victories over the infidels;—an order, says the abbe Velly, not less esteemed for the peaceful virtues of religion, than for the splendour of its military achievements.

But all the *Hospitallers* did not embrace the new institution. The most ancient, so well known by the appellation of the knights of Saint Lazarus, refused to take the vow of chastity, and separated from the rest, who formerly belonged to the same order, and were subject to the same grand-master. They pledged themselves, however, in imitation of the others, to devote their lives to the defence of the holy city; besides their vows of charity and obedience*, they swore an eternal promptitude to fight the enemies of christianity; distinguished themselves from their former brethren by a green cross; and, like them, rendered signal services to their kings, to the people, and to religion. Lewis the Young, on his return from Palestine, brought some of them with him into France, to exercise their charitable functions; for which purpose he gave them the superintendance and administration of all the *lazarettos* in his kingdom, and ceded to them the castle of Boigni, near Orleans†, which, from that time, became their chief place of residence. The splendor of the order being greatly diminished by the misfortunes of the times, Pope Innocent the Eighth undertook to suppress it, and to unite it, together with its possessions, to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. But all his bulls for that purpose‡, declared abusive by a decree of the parliament, were revoked by the popes Pius the Fourth and Pius the Fifth. It was not, however, till the reigns of Henry the Fourth and Lewis the Fourteenth, that, by the protection of those monarchs, the knights of Saint Lazarus were restored to their primitive splendour. Pope Pius the Fifth united them to the order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel||, which had been recently instituted at the instance of the French king. They then assumed, with their double title, a double cross of gold with eight points, and four *Fleurs-de-Lys*, with the image of the blessed virgin in the middle.

The example of the knights hospitallers was followed by many others. Hugh de Payens, Geoffrey de Saint Aldemar, and seven other French gentlemen, moved by the dangers to which the pilgrims were exposed on their return to Jerusalem§, formed a little society among themselves for the purpose of escorting them¶. They accompanied them on their road to Palestine, beyond the defiles of the mountains and the most dangerous passes; and they met them at the same

* Bul. Alex. 4. Bul. Greg. 9.

|| Bul. Paul. r. 1607.

† Belloy, c. 9.

§ Gul. Tyr. l. xii. c. 4.

‡ Chopin. de sacr. polit. l. ii. tit. 6.

¶ Jac. de Vittr. c. 65.

place on their return. This was at first a simple association, but, by the sanction of the council of Troyes, it became a religious and military order. Saint Bernard prescribed rules for it, and gave it the white habit with a red cross. The most illustrious princes and nobles fought under its banners; they were called *Templars*, or knights of the temple, because king Baldwin had assigned them apartments in his palace that were situated near the temple. In a short time, these knights became so powerful that their wealth exceeded that of the most opulent monarchs. But these riches, the glorious reward of merit, proved the cause of their ruin.

The establishment of the Teutonic knights took place soon after that of the Templars. This new order derived its true origin from the siege of Saint John of Acra. The German soldiers, when either sick or wounded, could not procure relief on account of their inability to speak a language that was understood*. Some gentlemen from Bremen and Lubec, touched with pity at the misfortunes of their countrymen†, made a large tent with the sails of their ships, whither they conveyed such of their acquaintance as stood in need of relief, and attended them with great care and kindness. Being speedily joined by forty noblemen of the same nation, they formed themselves into a religious and military order, which was sanctioned and confirmed by Pope Celestine the Third. They were called *Teutonic knights of Saint Mary*, from the name of an hospital which a rich German had formerly built at Jerusalem for the reception of the sick poor of his own country. Their habit was white with a black cross. They followed the rules of St. Augustine; took the same vows as the Hospitallers and Templars; and observed the same military discipline as the latter. Before they assumed the habit, they were obliged to swear that they were descended from German parents, and born noble.

A. D. 1108.] During these transactions in the east, Philip was busily employed in extending his dominions. Profiting by the superstitious rage of the times, he united several large fiefs to the crown, and, among others, the county or lordship of Bourges, which Herpin sold to him for the purpose of procuring money to defray his expences to the Holy Land. The kingdom enjoyed an uninterrupted state of tranquillity for some years previous to the death of Philip, who expired at Melun, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign. He was buried, by his own desire, at the abbey of Saint Benedict upon the Loire.

Though Philip was generally despised by his subjects, and not without reason; yet he possessed many good qualities and excellent endowments. He was intrepid in the field, and, when he applied to business, not unskilful in the cabinet; his generosity was extensive; his compassion strong; and the courteous affability of his demeanour coinciding with the extraordinary graces of his per-

* Jac. de Vittr. c. 66.

† Beiloy, c. 15.

son; all those who had immediate access to him were apt to forget, in the manners of the man, the vices of the monarch.

Philip was twice married: by his first wife Bertha, whom he basely repudiated, daughter to Florent, count of Holland, he had Lewis the Sixth, surnamed, from his corpulence, the Gros; Henry, who died young; and a daughter, named Constantia, who was first married to Hugh, count of Troyes, and afterwards to Bohemond the First, prince of Antioch. His children, by the celebrated Bertrade, of the illustrious house of Montfort, were Philip, count of Mante and lord of Melun; Fleuri; Cecilia, who was twice married, first to Tancred, nephew to Bohemond, and next to Pons de Toulouse, count of Tripoli; and Eustatia, wife to John, count of Etampes.

Several monastic orders were instituted during this reign. That of the *Chartreux* (Carthusians) was founded in 1086, by Bruno, a native of Cologne, who was first a canon of the church of Saint Cunibert, and afterwards of Notre-Dame, at Rheims, the most learned theologian of the age. A desire of perfecting himself in the study of divinity induced him to retire to a solitary retreat in Dauphene, called *Chartreuse*, whence the order took its name. He was followed thither by six of his companions, who joined him in his studies and acts of devotion*; they led a life of the greatest austerity; wore sackcloth next their skin; seldom spoke to each other; took nothing but bread and water on Wednesday and Friday in every week; wine and vegetables on Tuesday and Saturday; cheese on Thursday; and a small portion of fish on Sunday, and on festival†. They were all *bled* five times a year, and shaved only six. No noviciates were admitted under twenty. As they were precluded from speaking, they were furnished with parchment, pens, and ink, in order to transcribe passages from books of divinity. The founder of the order having been invited to assist the pope, refused the bishopric of Reggio, and died in Calabria, at his monastery of Squillace, which had been founded by Roger, count of Sicily.

The abbey of Moleme, in the diocese of Langres, had been founded five-and-twenty years by abbot Robert, when an evident relaxation of discipline induced the pious founder, with twenty of his monks, to retire into the deserts of Citeaux, five leagues from Dijon‡. The viscount of Beaune having given them a part of the forest, they cleared away the trees, and erected a number of wooden cells, in which they passed ten or twelve years in the exercise of those austerities which had been originally practised by Saint Benedict||. As they had received no novices during this time, they began to dread the extinction of their order, when they were joined, in 1090, by Bernard, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the illustrious house of Chatillon—a man of strong sense and superior eloquence. After this accession the society flourished extremely; and the sanctity

* Mabil. Præf. N. 86.
April, tom. ii. p. 663.

† Guibert de vitâ suâ c. 21.
|| Exor, Magn. Cisterc. c. 1, 2, 10, 13.

‡ Vita S. Rober. Apud. Boll. 29

of its members afforded some degree of excuse for the prodigality of its benefactors. It was soon enabled to erect the four celebrated abbeys of *La Ferte*, *Pontigny*, *Clairvaux*, and *Morimond*, for the *Maids of Citeaux*, or *Cistercian* nuns. The order took its name from the place where it was established; but of late it has been generally distinguished by the title of *the Bernardines*.

The abbey of Fontevrault, in the diocese of Poitiers, was founded about the same time by Robert d'Arbriffel, a man of genius, and a great orator. He was always followed by a multitude of people of both sexes, who flocked together, in order to profit by his pious instructions; but, as this singular mode of preaching the gospel gave rise to calumnious reports* (it being said that Robert, in order to put his virtue to the proof, constantly slept between two of his female pupils), he resolved to lead his followers into some retired spot, where a separate residence might be established for either sex. He accordingly fixed on Fontevrault for this purpose; where he established two monasteries, subject to the rules of St. Benedict; one for women, who were entrusted with sovereign authority; and the other for men, who were entirely dependant on the abbess. Robert set the example of obedience to his fair sisters, and always called himself steward or agent (*homme d'affaires*) to the nuns. This order of Fontevrault was the first over which a woman presided.

LEWIS THE SIXTH,

SURNAMED THE GROSS.

A. D. 1108.] **THOUGH** Lewis had already been crowned, on his association to the throne, the custom of the realm required him to undergo that ceremony a second time, on his accession to the sole authority of the kingdom. It was accordingly performed at Orleans, by Daimbert, archbishop of Sens, on account of a schism which prevailed in the church of Rheims, where the princes of the Capetian race (except Robert) had hitherto been crowned. Rodolph had been elected by the clergy of Rheims, and had taken possession of the archiepiscopal dignity, without waiting for the consent of Philip, who, in order to punish him

* In ejus Vita ap. Boll. 25 Feb. tom. v. p. 393.

for his presumption, had nominated another prelate, named Gervase. Lewis refused to be anointed by the first, because, in conformity to the decrees of the popes, and of the council of Clermont, he refused to do homage to the king; nor would he suffer the last to perform that ceremony, because his authority was not universally acknowledged. Rodolph had the presumption to oppose his coronation, under the pretext that it must be performed in his metropolitan church; and he thought, by this opposition, to engage the king to abandon his rival. But Ives de Chartres undertook to promote his reconciliation with Lewis, and that monarch consented to suffer the archbishop to pay his respects to him at Orleans, and to attend the assembly which he had ordered to be convened in that city. Here the grand question of investiture was discussed*! The whole kingdom was unanimous in rejecting the arrogant pretensions of the sovereign pontiff, and in supporting the opinion of Saint Augustin—that the church, holding its temporalities of the king, could not possibly possess them independent of him. Thus all the members of the assembly conjured the king not to confirm the election of the archbishop, till he had done homage. Rodolph, finding it in vain to resist, at length complied, and submitted to the required mark of subjection.

When Lewis had settled this important affair, he turned his thoughts towards the correction of those internal abuses which sprang from the turbulent disposition of the numerous and powerful vassals of the crown. The royal authority, indeed, was chiefly confined to Paris, Compiègne, Melun, Etampes, Orleans, Bourges, and some other places of little consequence; and many of the nobles were able to bring a more formidable army into the field than the king himself, to whom they paid a vain and sterile homage, while they exercised a despotic sway within their own territories, and assumed almost every mark of sovereignty. But the skill and courage of Lewis were successfully exerted in repressing the inroads and curtailing the power of these dangerous subjects. He reduced numbers of them to submission, destroying their castles, and confiscating their possessions; and among these was his brother Philip, count of Mante.

A. D. 1110.] But the attention of Lewis was soon called to oppose the increasing power of a more formidable enemy. This was Henry the First, king of England, who had usurped the duchy of Normandy, to the prejudice of his brother Robert, and compelled the duke of Brittany to pay him homage. The French perceived, now it was too late, the fault they had committed in not opposing the conquests of William the First; and they accordingly took up arms to suppress the dangerous encroachments of a power that threatened to destroy their own. From this period to the reign of Charles the Seventh, there was a continual succession of war and peace between France and England. During that time more than one hundred and twenty treaties were concluded, which were all broken almost as soon as they were signed.

* Ivon, Carnot. Epist. 60. ad Hug. arch. Lugdun.

The subject of the first dispute between them was the fortress of Gisors, situated on the frontiers of France and Normandy. It had been agreed, that it should be put into the possession of a nobleman, who should not cede it either to an Englishman, a Norman, or a Frenchman; or in case it should fall under the power either of France or England, the fortifications should be razed within the space of forty days. The governor, either seduced by a bribe, or intimidated by threats, surrendered the place to the king of England. Lewis, the moment he was apprised of this circumstance, sent a messenger to the English monarch, desiring he would comply with the terms of the agreement. In vain, however, did he urge his request; it was rejected by Henry, who, to his proposal of deciding the dispute by single combat, replied: "That, if victorious, he could but keep a place he already possessed without fighting; and that the king of France hazarded his life, indeed, to obtain an important acquisition, while his own would be staked against nothing." A battle was the consequence of this refusal, in which the Normans were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Meulan.

Henry, in return, endeavoured to excite an insurrection in France, that the king's attention might be confined to his own dominions. The most formidable of the insurgents was Thibaud, count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne. Enraged with Lewis for having refused him permission to erect a fort on a fief of the crown, he entered into a league with the count of Poitiers, the duke of Burgundy, and several other of the king's vassals, and made a powerful diversion in favour of the English monarch. Lewis, whose activity was ever equal to his courage, levied an army with the utmost expedition, and, assisted by Robert, count of Flanders, one of the bravest warriors of the age, marched to attack the rebels. The count of Blois was defeated in three different engagements, the first at Meaux, the second near Lagny, and the third at a league from Puiset. Henry, in the mean time, having remained in the capital of Normandy, a passive spectator of the slaughter of his allies, Lewis sent a detachment to the very gates of Rouen, whose devastations forced the English monarch to take the field. After a few trifling skirmishes, in which Henry had the advantage, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two monarchs, in which all the rebels were included. The principal condition was, that William, the only son of Henry should do homage to Lewis, in the place of his father, for the duchy of Normandy; in consequence of which the castle of Gisors was ceded to him.

A. D. 1112, 1113, 1114.] No sooner was this war terminated, than Thibaud, count of Blois, again displayed the banners of revolt, and compelled the king to make an incursion into his territories. But in this expedition he did not meet with his usual success; for, being taken by surprise, he sustained a defeat; and his loss was considerably aggravated by the death of Robert, count of

Flanders, who was thrown from his horse, and trampled to death*. The king of England was accused of being the instigator of these insurrections; and Lewis profited by the favourable disposition of Fulk the Fifth, count of Anjou, to retaliate the injury. This nobleman had married Sybilla, the only daughter of Helie, count of Maine, and, by the death of his father-in-law, he had acquired possession of that county. Won by the solicitations of the court of France, and assured of effectual support, he refused to do homage to Henry for his new domain; and engaged several noblemen to espouse his cause; particularly Robert de Bellefme, and Hugh de Medavid.

Henry, alarmed at this powerful confederacy, repaired to the continent, and took every method which prudence could suggest to avert the impending storm. During two years which he passed in Normandy, he was continually engaged either in wars or negotiations. At length, finding that all his endeavours to suppress the insurrection were vain, he sought to allure the count of Anjou, by a proposal of marriage between his own son, William, who was the heir apparent to all his dominions, and the youngest daughter of Fulk. This temptation proved too strong to be resisted; the count, who had before contracted his daughter to William, the son of Duke Robert, now broke that contract, on pretence of their consanguinity, and immediately affianced her sister to the son of Henry, who stood exactly in the same degree of relation to her.—The king of England formed a second alliance, which rendered him still more formidable to the French, by marrying one of his daughters to Conan, son and heir to the duke of Brittany. Their grandson, Conan the Fourth, was father to Constantia, who had, by Guy, count of Thouars, Alix, wife to Peter of Dreux, great-grandson to Lewis the Gros. It was through this alliance that the duchy of Brittany became, at a subsequent period, re-united to the crown, from which it has never since been separated.

A. D. 1115, 1116.] About this time Lewis married Adelaide, daughter of Humbert, count of Maurienne and Savoy. The amiable qualities of this princess endeared her to the nobility, and her good sense and discretion contributed to smooth the rugged path which Lewis, throughout his reign, was destined to tread. The relative situation of the French and English monarchs, and the contrariety of their interests, were such, at this period, as to render the preservation of tranquillity between them a matter of extreme difficulty. The turbulence of their vassals afforded frequent opportunities for the open display of that enmity with which they were mutually impressed. When a French nobleman had any subject for discontent he applied for support to Henry; and if a Norman wished to encourage sedition, in Lewis he was sure to find a ready protector. In this state of mind, the French monarch listened with pleasure to the supplicating voice of a young prince, who, having in vain attempted to rouse the compassion of other monarchs, now sought shelter and support in the

* Olderic. l. ii.

court of France. This prince was William, the son of Robert duke of Normandy, and grandson of William the First; whose filial piety implored the humanity of Lewis to procure the liberty of his father, a prisoner to his brother Henry. The king of France did not long hesitate to comply with a request, recommended by the powerful motives of pity and interest. He advised William to engage the inclinations of the nobles of Normandy, and particularly to attach to his cause the counts of Flanders and Anjou. The negociation of the young prince was successful, but when the treaty was about to be signed by the heads of the confederacy, the count of Anjou refused to confirm his engagement, unless the king would re-establish him in the office of grand seneschal of France, which had been hereditary in his family from the reign of Lothaire.

We have already had occasion to observe, that this office was nearly the same as that of grand maitre-d'hotel, with regard to the royal household; as that of constable in time of war; and as that of count of the palace, in the administration of justice*. The chief vassals of the crown resided so little at court, that it was impossible for the counts of Anjou to perform all the duties annexed to the office of seneschal. For this reason, they appointed a substitute who acted in their name; the custom, indeed, of thus converting the great offices of the crown into fiefs, was not unfrequent. The office of seneschal had been long filled by the Garlandes, ministers and favourites of Lewis the Gross. These noblemen, proud of the protection of their sovereign, took advantage of the defection of the counts of Anjou, to refuse them that homage which it was usual to pay to the proprietors of an hereditary office, and which gave it the complexion and nature of a fief. The present count, at first, took no notice of this mark of disrespect; but, beginning to fear that his right would at length be forfeited, he took advantage of the opportunity that now presented itself, to procure a confirmation of it. This Lewis, who wanted his assistance, could not refuse, and Willaim de Garlande accordingly did homage to him for the office, and after him Stephen his brother, who, although a deacon, succeeded him in a place which gave him the command of armies, and the power of inflicting capital punishments—a circumstance hitherto unexampled.

Every preliminary being now settled, the plan of operations was immediately laid. It was agreed to enter Normandy in three different parts. The king and Amaury de Montfort, on the side of France; the count of Flanders, by the Pays de Caux; and the count of Anjou on the side of Maine. Lewis then sent to demand of the king of England the liberty of duke Robert; and, on the refusal of Henry, war was declared. The armies of the confederates immediately began their march, and were joined by a great number of the Norman nobility and gentry, whom William had engaged to espouse his cause. The

* Du Cange. voce Senescallus.

† Hugo de Cleriis Duch. t. iv. p. 329.

chief of these were William de Gournay ; Stephen, count of Aumale ; Henry, count of Eu ; Eustache de Breteuil ; Richer de L'Aigle ; Renaud de Bailleuel, and Robert de Neuborg ; they all took up arms in favour of the young prince, and proclaimed him duke of Normandy.

The king, in the mean time, took Andeley by surprize ; seized Gue Nicaise, an important fortress on the river Epte, and made himself master of the town of Aigle. The count of Flanders, likewise, advanced into Upper Normandy where he laid waste the country with fire and sword. Henry sent him word, that if he did not discontinue his devastations he would himself carry desolation to the gates of Brugus ; the count replied that he would save him the trouble of so long a journey. He accordingly marched straight to Rouen, where Henry was, and sent that monarch a formal challenge to meet him in the field ; but this being declined, and the town being too strong to be easily reduced, he contented himself with burning the suburbs, and then retired. The count of Anjou, in the mean time, laid siege to Alencon, and took it in the presence of Henry and the count of Champagne, who had hastened to its relief. Amauri de Montfort engaged the governor of Evreux to surrender that town with its castle ; which were entrusted to the care of Philip and Fleuri, brothers to Lewis.

No augmentation of danger, however, could depress the mind of Henry, who exerted his wonted courage to extricate himself from his difficulties ; which he at length effected, not by pusillanimous concessions, but by vigorous resistance. Hitherto he had chiefly acted on the defensive, as, from the superior force of the confederated princes, he had no hopes of success from the adoption of a contrary line of conduct, and he thought it possible that some favourable change might take place, and that his attempts to sow division amongst his enemies might finally succeed. Nor was he deceived in his conjectures. Baldwin, count of Flanders, one of his most formidable adversaries, received a wound at the attack of the castle of Bures, in the Pays de Caux, of which he soon after expired. But the defection of the count of Anjou was a circumstance of much greater importance to the king of England, and gave a more fatal blow to the interests of the French monarch. That nobleman, seduced by the bribes of Henry, violated those solemn oaths by which he was attached to Lewis, as a vassal, as an officer of the crown, and as an ally, and declared for his rival.

The contest being now rendered more equal, Henry determined to take the field ; and, having received intelligence that Lewis had formed a plan for surprizing the castle of Noyon, near Andely, he marched to the relief of that place, and took the king of France, by surprize, on the plain of Brenneville. A sharp conflict immediately ensued, in which prince William, the son of duke Robert, who led the van-guard of the French, displayed the greatest bravery ; he broke through the first ranks of the English, and penetrated to the spot where his uncle was posted, whose life was in imminent danger, having received a wound on the head from William Crispin, a gallant Norman officer, who had followed the

fortunes of the young prince. The French, however, thinking the victory was already gained, broke their ranks in search of plunder; while Henry, profiting by their confusion, restored order to his troops, and attacked the enemy with irresistible fury. The whole army fled with precipitation: William, being unhorsed, made his escape with difficulty; and Lewis himself had nearly been taken prisoner. It is said that an Englishman, seizing the bridle of his horse, exclaimed—“*The king is taken!*”—“*Do not you know,*” replied that prince, smiling, “*that at chess the king is never taken?*”—at the same time aiming a blow at him with his sabre, which laid him dead at his feet. He then galloped towards a forest, where he wandered about for a considerable time, when he met with a woman who conducted him to Andely.

This skirmish was rendered famous by the dignity of the combatants; two kings; two princes, and many noblemen of the first rank, being engaged in it. The slaughter was trifling; only three men being slain. This was partly owing to the heavy armour which was worn by the cavalry in those times, and partly to the earnest desire of making prisoners, in order to enrich themselves by their ransom.

A. D. 1117, 1118, 1119.] Lewis, finding himself unable to wrest Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of making application to the spiritual power, and of affording the ecclesiastics a specious pretence for interposing in the temporal concerns of princes. He prevailed upon pope Calixtus the Second, who was then in France, to convene a general council at Rheims, whither he carried William, the young Norman prince; and, having presented him to the assembly, expatiated largely on the manifest usurpation and flagrant injustice of the English monarch, craved the assistance of the church, for re-instating the true heir in his dominions; and represented the enormity of detaining in captivity so valiant a prince as Robert, one of the most distinguished champions of the crusade, who, by his powerful exertions against the infidels, was placed under the immediate protection of the apostolic see.

Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown with vigour, and yet with address. He had sent over the English bishops to attend this synod; but, at the same time, had cautioned them, that if the sovereign pontiff, or the ecclesiastics, should be induced to advance any farther pretensions, he was fully determined strictly to adhere to the laws and customs of England, and to maintain, undiminished, those legal prerogatives of royalty which had been transmitted to him by his predecessors. “Go,” said he to the prelates at their departure, “salute the pope in my name; pay attention to his apostolic precepts; but be careful to bring back none of his new inventions with you into my dominions.” Finding, however, it would be a matter of greater facility to him to elude than to oppose the efforts of Calixtus, he gave his ambassadors private instructions to gain the pontiff and his favourites by liberal presents and tempting promises. By a sagacious application of these convincing arguments,

they found means to prevail on the council to treat with neglect the well-founded complaints of the Norman prince.

Some time after, Calixtus went to Gisors, where he had a long conference with Henry, in which he intimated, that it was the desire of the council, that Robert should be restored to his dominions. Henry replied, that it was not from his brother he had taken Normandy, but from a nefarious band of depredators, who were consuming the inheritance of his ancestors, which the imprudence of Robert had delivered into their hands; he likewise added, that, in taking possession of that duchy, he had not acted in compliance with the dictates of avarice or ambition, but in consequence of the earnest and repeated solicitations of the nobility, clergy, and people of Normandy, who had besought him, with the most strenuous supplications, to prevent the utter desolation of the church. These ridiculous reasons he took care to strengthen with the same arguments which had been employed by his ambassadors at the council of Rheims; and they had so powerful an effect upon the pope, and the cardinals who attended him, that they declared, on their return, that, of all the men whom they had conversed with in the whole course of their lives, the king of England was the most eloquent and persuasive.

Calixtus having, by this means, been prevailed on to relinquish the interests of the Norman prince, exerted himself to effect an accommodation between the two monarchs; and, his endeavours being crowned with success, a peace was concluded at the commencement of the year 1119. The terms of this treaty were, that all the castles and fortified places which had been taken in the course of the late war, should be restored on both sides, and that Henry should do homage for Normandy, to the French monarch. But Henry, esteeming it a degradation of his royal dignity to do this homage in person, sent his son, prince William, to do it for him, who then received the investiture of that duchy from the hands of the king of France.

A. D. 1120.] When Henry had restored tranquillity to his continental dominions, he embarked at Barfleur, on his return to England, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of November, and arrived on the English coast the next morning.

One of the finest vessels in the fleet, called the White Ship, was allotted to his son, prince William, and his numerous retinue; who, being detained by some accident, ordered three casks of wine to be distributed to the ship's crew, by which means many of them became intoxicated; and the captain himself, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, was induced to exceed the bounds of sobriety. They sailed about sun-set, and, being in a hurry to overtake the king, crowded all their sails, as well as plied their oars; when, through the carelessness of the pilot, the vessel struck on a sunken rock, called the *Catte-razze*, with such violence that she started several planks, and was almost over-set. The boat was immediately hoisted out, and the prince, with some of the chief nobility, entered it, and, having got clear of the ship, might have reached the shore, which was not

far distant ; but, affected by the shrieks of his natural sister, Maude, countess of Perche, he commanded the sailors to row back, and attempt to save her. When the boat, however approached the ship, where terror and despair had destroyed all distinction, and every one was actuated by a natural impulse of self-preservation, such numbers leaped into it, that it instantly sunk, and all on board perished.

On this occasion, besides the prince and his natural brother Richard, there were lost eighteen ladies of the highest rank, one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, with all their attendants, and fifty sailors. A butcher of Rouen, named Bertoud, was the only one who escaped from this dreadful disaster ; being a robust man, and warmly clothed, he climbed to the top of the mast, which remained above water, and there staid till the next morning, when he was taken up by some fishermen while he was in that perilous situation, Fitz-Stephens, the captain, swam up to him, and laid hold of the mast ; but, being informed by Bertoud, that prince William had perished, he expressed his determination not to survive him and instantly plunged into the sea*.

A. D. 1121, 1122, 1123.] This tragical event revived the hopes of the friends of William, the son of Robert ; and the Normans, justly regarding Henry as an usurper, were anxious to transfer the ducal dignity to a prince whom they now considered as the last representative of their ancient dukes. A conspiracy was accordingly formed to put him in possession of Normandy, and was joined by many of those noblemen, in whom Henry had reposed the greatest confidence, and whose fidelity he had attempted to secure by a profusion of honours and rewards ; among these were Gualeran, count of Meulan, and his brother Robert. The conspirators, too, received considerable encouragement by the accession of Fulk, count of Anjou, who, being released, by the death of his son-in-law, from those ties which had attached him to the interests of Henry, now embraced the party of William, and again promised to bestow on him in marriage his daughter, Sibylla, who had formerly been contracted to him.

Henry was no sooner apprised of the revolt, than he hastened to suppress it. He sailed from Portsmouth in the summer of 1123, and, arriving safe on the Norman coast, marched to attack the insurgents, before they were prepared to receive him ; took several of their castles, and defeated them in different skirmishes.

A. D. 1124.] In the spring of the succeeding year, the English monarch had the good fortune to take the leaders of the conspiracy by surprise, and to secure their persons. Discouraged by this unlucky accident, all the other barons, who had joined in the revolt, hastened to return to their allegiance, and to make peace with him, on the best terms they could procure. Henry, too,

* Orderic. Vital. p. 868, 869, 870.

soon after found means to detach the count of Anjou from the league; that nobleman, seeing the confederacy in a great measure dissolved, consented to be reconciled to him, and to dissolve the contract of marriage that had been lately formed between prince William and his daughter, who, though twice affianced, had never consummated the marriage.

Still, however, the king of France continued to make the most formidable preparations for war; and troops were collecting on every side. Henry, aware of his intentions, was resolved to anticipate him, and therefore began hostilities, by making incursions on the domains of his rival. He also engaged his son-in-law, Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany, to make a powerful diversion in his favour, on the side of Champagne: that prince accordingly raised a numerous army for the purpose of forming the siege of Rheims; while Lewis, apprised of his plans, ordered all the vassals of the crown to meet him under the walls of that city on a particular day.

It is necessary to remark, on this occasion, the difference which subsisted in the times we are now delineating, between the forces of the kingdom, and those of the king. When the sovereign went to war for the promotion of his own private interest, he had no more troops than what he could collect on the immediate domains of the crown; but, when the general welfare of the nation was at stake, all domestic dissensions instantly ceased; every man flew to arms, and every vassal marched with a certain number of troops, proportioned to the extent and dignity of his fief. But the kingdom had not, for a long time, witnessed so numerous an assemblage of armed men as now appeared in the field. Noblemen, citizens, priests, and monks, all became soldiers: the districts of Rheims and Chalons alone supplied more than sixty thousand men; Laons and Soissons furnished an equal force; the countries of Orleans, Etampes, and Paris, sent the same number into the field; even the counts of Champagne and Troyes joined the other vassals of the crown, preferring the interest of their country to any advantage they might reap from an alliance with the king of England—these noblemen commanded the fourth division of the army; the fifth, consisting of the Burgundians, was placed under the orders of their duke and of the count of Nevers. Rodolph, count of Vermandois, a prince of the blood-royal, divided his troops into two bodies: those of Saint Quentin, and Vermandois, armed *cap a pie*, were placed on the right wing; and those of Ponthieu, Amiens, and Beauvais, took their station on the left. The count of Flanders, too, hastened to the defence of the kingdom, followed by ten thousand experienced soldiers, who formed in the rear.

Never, says Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, who attended the expedition with the dependants of his abbey, had the kings of the third race seen themselves at the head of such a numerous army. The quota furnished by the Isle of France, Champagne, and Picardy, are alone said to have amounted to more than two hundred thousand men. The emperor, alarmed at the immensity of these pre-

parations, repassed the Moselle and the Rhine, with the utmost precipitation. The soldiers, enraged at what they conceived to be a symptom of cowardice, loudly demanded to be led into the German territories, that they might chastise an enemy who had dared to interrupt the repose of the kingdom. But Lewis, at the solicitation of the clergy, checked their impetuosity, and disbanded the army. He would most willingly have employed it against the king of England; but the interests of the prince and his vassals were essentially different, as what tended to aggrandise the one, must of necessity weaken the other. Those very nobles who had taken up arms with so much zeal against a foreign prince who had threatened to invade the kingdom, would have refused to march against a vassal whom it was their interest to support, in order to balance the power of the crown. In that age they made a material distinction between the wars of the nation and the wars of the sovereign. On this memorable occasion the celebrated *oriflamme*, the banner of Saint Denis, was first unfurled.

A. D. 1125, 1126, 1127.] While Lewis was thus engaged in Champagne, the incursions of the English monarch, on the side of Normandy, were successfully opposed by Amauri de Montfort, supported by the troops of the Vexin; and Henry, having appeased the troubles in Normandy, was constrained to listen to terms of accommodation, and a durable peace was at length concluded.

But no sooner had Lewis arranged the terms of accommodation with the king of England, than he was obliged to march to the assistance of the church of Clermont, whose bishop having been forcibly expelled from his see by the count of Auvergne, claimed protection and redress from his sovereign. He speedily reduced to obedience his rebellious vassal, and restored the injured prelate to his just rights. But though he was ever eager to defend the privileges and possessions of the church, he could neither secure the gratitude nor respect of the clergy. They loudly complained that the king interfered in the nomination to vacant benefices, and infringed on their revenues. Their murmurs were carried to such a dangerous height, that Lewis, in order to reduce them to submission, was constrained to have recourse to violence; and to seize upon some lands belonging to the archbishop of Sens, and the bishop of Paris. The last, whose name was Stephen, employed the thunder of the church against that very sovereign who had proved himself its most zealous protector*. But Honorius the Second, who then filled the chair of Saint Peter, declared the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Stephen to be abusive, and accordingly annulled it. The French prelates were highly offended at an interference thus hostile to the authority they wished to assume; and Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, warmly remonstrated with the sovereign pontiff on the impropriety of his conduct. "We hoped," said he, "that the severity of the prelate would have effected the conversion of the prince. Your misplaced indulgence has destroyed those hopes. All is lost, the prelacy dishonoured, and religion exposed to the insults

* Art. de verifier les dates, p. 499.

“of libertines*.” But as this pompous epistle produced no effect on the mind of the sovereign pontiff, he wrote a second in a more peremptory style. The zealous abbot there observes, that Lewis is “always ready to attack religion, which he regards as the pest of his dominions, and the enemy of his crown. He is a second Herod, who seeks to destroy Jesus, no longer an infant in the manger, but triumphing in his church; he is a persecutor, in short, whose malignant shafts are not so much directed against the prelates of his kingdom, as against the spirit of God, by which they are animated†.” This spirit of fanaticism was, in those days of ignorance, dignified by the appellation of religious zeal; but Lewis, notwithstanding this dangerous display of priestly arrogance, conducted himself with temper and moderation, and by that means speedily concluded a peace between the mitre and the crown.

Charles of Denmark, who had succeeded his cousin Baldwin in the principality of Flanders, fell a victim to the discontents of his subjects, and was assassinated at Bruges. Lewis hastened to punish the assassins, and inflicted on them the most exemplary vengeance. As Charles had left no children, the vacant earldom was disputed by various claimants. The chief of these were, Baldwin, count of Mons, one of whose ancestors had been unjustly deprived of this country; Arnold of Denmark, son to the sister of Charles; Thierrî, count of Alsace, the son of Gertrude, sister to Robert the Frisian; Stephen of Blois, brother to the count of Champagne; and William, son to Robert duke of Normandy. The king was to decide the matter, because Flanders was a fief of the French crown; he therefore transferred the dukedom to William, probably with the view to render him a more formidable enemy to the king of England.

A. D. 1128.] Henry was fully aware of the designs of Lewis; and, in order to strengthen his own influence on the continent, and to diminish that of his rival, he determined to secure the friendship of the potent but fickle count of Anjou. With this view he proposed an alliance between his daughter Matilda, widow to the emperor of Germany, and Geoffry, surnamed *Plantagenet*, the eldest son of Fulk; which being cheerfully accepted by a nobleman, who was too apt to sacrifice his honour to his interest, the nuptials were celebrated at Rouen with great pomp and magnificence, in the summer of 1128. But the Norman barons were highly displeased that, a step, in which the interests of their country were so essentially concerned, should have been taken without their previous consent, and Henry had too sensibly experienced the turbulence of their disposition, not to dread the effects of their resentment. It seemed probable that the party of his nephew might gain a considerable accession of strength from the increase of the malcontents; and the important addition of power which William had recently acquired rendered his pretensions still more

* Epist. S. Barnardi. 13 and 14. ad. Honor. 2.

† Ejsd. Epis. 49. ad. cumd.

alarming. Impressed with these ideas, Henry resolved to support the claims of Thierri of Alface, to the county of Flanders, which gave rise to a war in which William was generally victorious; but having received a wound in the hand in a trifling skirmish, a mortification unfortunately ensued, which put an end to his existence, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1128, at the abbey of Saint Bertin.

Ordericus Vitalis says*, that, when he found his death approaching, he wrote to Henry, to express his concern for the trouble he had caused him; and to request, with an earnestness which evinced the goodness of his heart, that he would receive into his favour Helie de Saint Saen, and a few other friends, whom no reverse of fortune had ever induced to forsake him. The death of this unfortunate prince, whose urbanity of manners and undaunted courage had secured him the love and esteem of all who knew him, released his ambitious uncle from those jealous fears and anxious inquietudes, which, since his usurpation of Normandy, had never ceased to disturb his tranquillity.

A. D. 1129.] The fatigues of war, more than the ravages of time, had visibly impaired the health of Lewis; who, in order to avoid those dissensions which were but too common on the death of a king, followed the example of his predecessors, in the association of his son Philip to the throne. That prince was crowned at Rheims by archbishop Raymond; but he did not long survive his elevation to the regal dignity. A fall from his horse proved fatal to the young prince, and the favourable expectations of a future reign, which had been raised by his early virtues, were blasted by his premature death. The loss of Philip was followed by the coronation of his brother Lewis, who, at the age of twelve years, received the crown from the hands of pope Innocent the Second.

From 1130 to 1137.] The kingdom now enjoyed a state of perfect tranquillity; the inflexible justice of the sovereign had secured his subjects from the oppression of those petty tyrants who infested his dominions, on his accession to the throne; and the great vassals of the crown, convinced, at length, that the views of Lewis were honourable, were induced to repose that confidence in him, which they had hitherto withheld from his predecessors. But the approach of disease embittered the happiest moments of his life, and prevented him from enjoying, in that plenitude of gratification which he so richly merited, the glorious reward of his virtuous labours.—He lived, however, to witness the aggrandisement of his son, by an honourable alliance, and an important addition of territory.

William the Ninth, duke of Aquitaine, having resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella, declared his eldest daughter, Eleanor, sole heiress of his dominions, on condition that she should marry the king's el-

* P. 885, 886.—M. Paris, p. 49, col. 1. Gul. Gemeticen, l. vii. c. 16. † Suger, p. 313.

dest son. The marriage was accordingly celebrated at Bourdeaux with great magnificence; and, the duke dying on his pilgrimage, young Lewis obtained immediate possession of Poitou, Gascony, Biscaye, and a large tract of country extending to the Pyrenées. The new-married couple then repairing to Poitiers the prince was solemnly crowned duke of Guienne, a title which he preserved after his accession to the throne.

But the king had scarce time to embrace his daughter-in-law, before he sunk beneath the pressure of his disease, and expired at Paris (in 1137), in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the sixtieth of his age.

Of Lewis the Gros it has been said, "He might have made a better king, he could not prove a better man." The eulogy is just, and comprehends his character in a few words; but still, that Lewis was an excellent monarch will not admit of a doubt: impartial in the administration of justice, vigorous in the suppression of tyranny, and eager in promoting the welfare and happiness of his subjects—he discharged the first duties of sovereignty with propriety, wisdom, and effect.—That he entertained a just sense of the nature and importance of the royal dignity is evident from his last admonition, to his son and successor: "Remember, my son," said the expiring monarch, "that royalty is a public trust, for the exercise of which a rigorous account will be exacted from you, by him who has the sole disposal of crowns and sceptres."

Lewis the Gros had eight children by Adelaide of Savoy; Philip, who died before his father; Lewis, surnamed the Young, who succeeded him in the throne, Henry, who first assumed the monastic habit at Clairvaux, was afterwards made bishop of Beauvais, and next promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Rheims; Robert, founder of the house of Dreux, whose grandson Peter surnamed *Mauclerc*, acquired the county of Brittany by his marriage with the heiress of that principality; Hugh, of whose fate no mention is made in history: Peter, who had by Isabella, heiress of Courtenay, a numerous offspring, whose descendants are still in existence; Philip, archdeacon of Paris; and Constance, first married to Eustace, count of Boulogne, and afterwards to Raymond the Fifth, count of Toulouse, and duke of Narbonne.

We have already had occasion to remark, that, in the early times of the French monarchy, ecclesiastics and military men were the only people in the kingdom who were free. The other inhabitants of cities, towns, and villages, were all slaves, though not in an equal degree. They were divided into two classes. The first, called *serfs**, were attached to the *soil*, and transferred, with the trees that grew upon it, from one proprietor to another; neither being able to marry, nor to change their residence or profession, without the permission of their master—the whole produce of their labour was his, except he chose to release them from this obligation, on condition of receiving a stipulated sum, at

* M. Le Gendre, Mœurs des François, p. 109.

stated periods, as well for the *señor* himself, as for his wife and children*. The second class, denominated *hommes de poete*, were not so immediately dependant on their lord, who had no power over their lives or property. All their servitude consisted in the obligation of paying him certain duties, and of repairing his roads and highways†. But neither of these descriptions of men had any other judge than the lord of the soil, nor any other law than what he chose to enact. Hence it was that so many crimes remained unpunished; since the nobles themselves were, generally speaking, the immediate perpetrators of the numerous assassinations, and other lawless proceedings, so frequent throughout the kingdom. In such cases, where justice could not be obtained, in the usual course, since the judge, the legislator, and the culprit, were centered in the same person, the injured party had recourse to the authority of the prince, who issued his orders to the lord, in whose territory the crime had been committed, to see that strict justice was administered. On his refusal to comply with the royal mandate, he summoned the other vassals of the crown to join him with their stipulated number of men, in order to reduce the rebel to submission. But often the royal authority was not more respected than the laws; even the towns within his own domain were frequently inexact in supplying their contingency.

Lewis, in order to remedy these abuses, and at the same time to create some power that might counterbalance those potent vassals, who controuled or gave law to the crown, first adopted the plan of conferring new privileges on the towns situated within his own domain. These privileges were called *Charters of Community*‡, by which he enfranchised the inhabitants, abolished all marks of servitude, and formed them into corporations, or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magistrates of their own nomination. These magistrates had the right of administering justice within their own precincts, of levying taxes, of embodying and training to arms the militia of the town, which took the field when required by the sovereign, under the command of officers appointed by the community. The great barons, by degrees, began to imitate the example of their monarch, and granted similar immunities to the towns within their territories. They had expended such immense sums in their expeditions to the Holy Land, that they were eager to embrace this new expedient for raising money, by the sale of those charters of liberty. Though the institution of communities was as repugnant to their maxims of policy, as it was adverse to their power, they disregarded remote consequences, in order to obtain present relief||. In less than two centuries servitude was abolished in most of the towns in France, and they became free corporations, instead of dependant villages, without jurisdiction or privileges.

* Du Cange, vo. Servus et Potestas.
 † Orderic. Vital, l. ii. p. 836.

† Le Pere Daniel, Hist. de France, p. 568. t. ii.
 || Robertson.

But, long before this institution of *communities* in France, charters of immunity, or franchise, were granted to some towns and villages by the lords on whom they depended. These, however, were very different from such as became common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They did not erect these towns into corporations; they did not establish a municipal government; they did not grant them the privilege of bearing arms. They contained nothing more than a manumission of the inhabitants from the yoke of servitude; an exemption from certain services which were oppressive and ignominious; and the establishment of a fixed tax or rent, which they were to pay to their lord in place of impositions which he could formerly lay upon them at pleasure. Two charters of this kind, to two villages in the county of Roussillon, one in the year 974, and the other in 1025, are still extant*. Such concessions, it is probable, were not unknown in other parts of Europe, and may be considered as a step towards the more extensive privileges conferred by Lewis the Gros on the towns within his domains†. The communities in France, never aspired to the same independence with those in Italy, which also owed their origin to the fanatical folly of the crusaders—so often, by the wise and benevolent dispensations of Providence, does good arise out of evil!—They acquired new privileges and immunities; but the right of sovereignty remained entire to the king or baron, within whose territories the respective cities were situated, and from whom they received the charter of their freedom. A great number of these charters, granted both by the kings of France, and by their great vassals, are published by M. d'Achery, in his *Spicilegium*, and many are to be found in the collection of the *Ordonnances des Rois de France*. These convey a very striking representation of the wretched condition of cities previous to the institution of communities, when they were subject to the judges appointed by the superior lords, of whom they held, and had scarcely any other law but their will. Each concession in these charters must be considered as a grant of some new privilege, which the people did not formerly enjoy; and each regulation as a method of redressing some grievance, under which they formerly laboured. The charters of communities contain likewise the first expedients employed for the introduction of equal laws, and regular government. On both these accounts they merit particular attention; and, therefore, we shall give our readers a view of some of the most important articles in these charters, under two general heads:—1. Such as respect personal safety.—2. Such as respect the security of property.

During that state of turbulence and disorder which the corruption of the feudal government introduced into Europe, personal safety was the chief object of every individual; and, as the great military barons alone were able to give sufficient protection to their vassals, this was one great source of their power and authority. But, by the institution of communities, effectual provision was

* Petr. de Marca (Marca), sive Limes Hispanicus, App. p. 909—1038.

† Robertson.

made for the safety of individuals; independent of the nobles.—For, 1. The fundamental article in every charter was, that all the members of it bound themselves by oath to assist, defend, and stand by each other against all aggressors; and that they should not suffer any person to injure, distress, or molest any of their fellow citizens*.—2. Whoever resided in any town, that was made free, was obliged, under severe penalty, to accede to the community, and to take part in the mutual defence of its members†.—3. The communities had the privilege of carrying arms; of making war on their private enemies; and of executing, by military force, any sentence which their magistrates pronounced‡.—4. The practice of making satisfaction, by a pecuniary compensation, for murder, assault, or other acts of violence, most inconsistent with the order of society, and the safety of individuals, was abolished, and such as committed these crimes were punished capitally, or with rigour adequate to their guilt||.—5. No member of a community was bound to justify or defend himself by battle or combat; but, if he was charged with any crime, he could be convicted only by the evidence of witnesses, and the regular course of legal proceedings§.—6. If any man suspected himself to be in danger, from the malice or enmity of another, upon his making oath to that effect before a magistrate, the person suspected was bound, under a severe penalty, to give security for his peaceable behaviour¶.—This species of security is still known in Scotland under the name of *lawburroughs*** ; in France it was first introduced among the inhabitants of communities; and, having been found to contribute considerably towards personal safety, it was extended to all the other members of the society††.

The provisions in the charters of communities, concerning the security of property, are not less considerable than those respecting personal safety. By the ancient law of France, no person could be arrested, or confined in prison, on account of any private debt‡‡.—If any person was arrested on any pretext, but his having been guilty of a capital crime, it was lawful to rescue him out of the hands of the officers who had seized him|||.—Freedom of arrest, on account of debt, seems likewise to have been enjoyed in other countries§§.—In society, while it remained in its rudest and most simple form, debt seems to have been considered as an obligation merely personal: men had made some progress towards refinement, before creditors acquired a right of seizing the property of their debtors in order to recover payment. The expedients for this purpose were all introduced originally in communities, and the gradual progress of them may be easily traced by an accurate observer:—1. The simplest and most obvious species of security was, that the person who sold any commodity should receive

* D'Acher. Spicil. t. x. p. 642; xi. 341. &c. † Idem. t. xi. p. 344, &c. ‡ Idem. x. 643, 644; xi. 343. || Idem. xi. p. 362.—Miræi Opera Diplomatica, tom. i. p. 292. § Miræus ibid.—D'Ach. xi. 375, 349.—Ordon. tom. iii. p. 265. ¶ D'Ach. xi. 346. ** Robertson. †† Etablissens de St. Louis, liv. i. chap. 28, ap. Da Cange, Vie de St. Louis, p. 15. ‡‡ Ordon. des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 72—80. ||| Ordon. iii. p. 17. §§ Gudenus Sylloge Diplom. 473.

a pledge from him who bought it, which he restored upon receiving payment. Of this custom there are vestiges in several charters of community*.—2. When no pledge was given, and the debtor became refractory or insolvent, the creditor was allowed to seize his effects by force, and by his own private authority; the citizens of Paris are warranted by the royal mandate, “*ut ubicumque, et quocumque modo poterunt, tantum capiant, unde pecuniam, sibi debitam integre et plenarie habeant, et inde sibi invicem adjuutores existant*†.” This rude practice, suitable only to the violence of a state of nature, was tolerated longer than one can conceive to be possible in any society where laws and order were, in any degree, known. The ordonnance authorising it was issued in the year 1134; and that which corrects the law, and prohibits creditors from seizing the effects of their debtors, unless by a warrant from a magistrate, and under his inspection, was not published until the year 1351‡.—It is probable, however, that men were taught, by observing the disorders which the former mode of proceeding occasioned, to correct it in practice long before a remedy was provided by a law to that effect.—New customs are not always to be ascribed to the laws which authorise them||. These statutes only give a legal sanction to such things as the experience of mankind has previously found to be proper and beneficial.—3. As soon as the interposition of the magistrate became requisite, regular provision was made for attaching or distraining the moveable effects of a debtor; and, if his moveables were not sufficient to discharge the debt, his immoveable property, or estate in land, was liable to the same distress, and was sold for the benefit of his creditors§.—As this regulation afforded the most complete security to the creditor, it was considered as so severe, that humanity pointed out several limitations in the execution of it. Creditors were prohibited from seizing the wearing apparel of their debtors, their beds, the door of their house, their implements of husbandry, &c.¶. Upon the same principles, when the power of distraining effects became more general, the horse and arms of a gentleman could not be seized**.—As hunting was the favourite amusement of martial nobles, the emperor Ludovicus Pius prohibited the seizing of a hawk, on account of any composition or debt††. But if the debtor had no other moveables, even these privileged articles might be seized.—4. In order to render the security of property complete within a community, every person who was admitted a member of it was obliged to buy or build a house, or to purchase lands within its precincts; or, at least, to bring into the town a considerable portion of his moveables *par sua justiciari possit, si quid forte in eum querela evenerit*‡‡.—5. That security might be as perfect as possible, in some towns the members of the community seem to have been bound for each other|||.—6. All questions

* D'Ach. ix. p. 185; xi. 377.

† Ordon. &c. tom. i. p. 6.

‡ Idem. tom. ii. p. 438.

|| Robertson.

§ D'Ach. tom. ix. p. 184, 185; xi. p. 348—380.

¶ Idem, ix. p. 185; xi. p. 377.

** Id. ix. 185.

†† Capitul. lib. iv. 21.

‡‡ D'Ach. ix. p. 326—Ordon. i. 367.

||| Id. x. p. 644.

with respect to property were tried within the community, by magistrates and judges, which the citizens elected or appointed. Their decisions were more equal and fixed than the sentences which depended on the capricious and arbitrary will of a baron, who thought himself superior to all laws*.—7. No member of a community could be burdened by any arbitrary tax; for, the superior lord, who granted the charter of community, accepted of a fixed census, or duty in lieu of all demands†. Nor could the members of a community be distressed by an unequal imposition of the sum to be levied upon the community. Regulations are inserted in the charters of some communities concerning the method of determining the quota of any tax to be levied on each inhabitant‡. Saint Lewis published an ordonnance concerning this matter, which extended to all the communities||.—These regulations are extremely favourable to liberty, as they vest the power of proportioning the taxes in a certain number of citizens, chosen out of each parish, who were bound, by a solemn oath, to decide according to justice.—That the more perfect security of property was one great object of those who instituted communities, we learn, not only from the nature of the thing, but from the express words of several charters, of which we shall only mention that granted by Eleanora, queen of England and duchess of Guienne, to the community of Poitiers, “*ut sua propria melius defendere possint, et magis integre custodire*§.”—Such are some of the capital regulations established in communities during the twelfth and thirteen centuries! These may be considered as the first rudiments of law and order; and contributed greatly to introduce regular government among all the members of society. As soon as communities were instituted, high sentiments of liberty began to appear. When Humbert, lord of Beaujeu, upon granting a charter of community to the town of Belleville, exacted of the inhabitants an oath of fidelity to himself and successors, they stipulated, on their part, that he should swear to maintain their franchises and liberties; and, for their greater security, they obliged him to bring twenty gentlemen to take the same oath, and to be bound together with him¶. In the same manner the lord of Moirens in Dauphine produced a certain number of persons, as his sureties, for the observation of the articles contained in the charter of community to that town. These were bound to surrender themselves to the inhabitants of Moirens, if their liege-lord should violate any of their franchises; and they promised to remain in custody until he should grant them redress**. If the mayor, or chief magistrate of a town, did any injury to a citizen, he was obliged to give security for his appearance in judgment, in the same manner as a private person; and, if cast, was liable to the same penalty††. These are ideas of equality uncommon in the feudal times. Communities were

* D'Ach. x. p. 644, 646; xi. 344, et passim; Ord. iii. 204. † Ordon. tom. iii. 204; Libertates de Calma.—Hist. de Dauphine, tom. i. p. 19; Libert. St. Georgii de Esperanchia, ibid. p. 26. ‡ D'Ach. xi. 350, 365. § Du Cange, Voc. Communia, tom. ii. p. 863. || Ordon. tom. i. 186. ¶ Hist. de Dauphine, tom. i. p. 17. ** D'Ach. ix. 183. †† D'Ach. ix. 183.

so favourable to freedom, that they were distinguished by the name of *libertates**. They were at first extremely odious to the nobles, who foresaw what a check they must prove to their power and domination. Guibert, abbot of Nogent, calls them execrable inventions, by which, contrary to law and justice, slaves withdrew themselves from that obedience which they owed to their masters†. The zeal with which some of the nobles and powerful ecclesiastics opposed the establishment of communities; and endeavoured to circumscribe their privileges, was extraordinary. A striking instance of this occurs in the contests between the archbishop of Rheims and the inhabitants of that community. It was the chief business of every archbishop, during a considerable time, to abridge the rights and jurisdiction of the community; and the great object of the citizens, especially when the see was vacant, to maintain, to recover, and to extend their own jurisdiction‡.

These observations concerning the state of cities, and the condition of their inhabitants, are confirmed by innumerable passages, in the historians and laws of the middle ages. It is not improbable, however, that some cities of the first order were in a better state, and enjoyed a superior degree of liberty. Under the Roman government, the municipal government established in cities was extremely favourable to liberty: the jurisdiction of the senate in each corporation, and the privileges of the citizens, were both extensive||. There is reason to believe, that some of the greater cities, which escaped the destructive rage of the barbarous nations, still retained their ancient form of government, at least in a great measure. They were governed by a council of citizens, and by magistrates whom they themselves elected. Very strong presumptions in favour of this opinion are produced by M. l'Abbé de Bos§.—It appears from some of the charters of community to cities, granted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that these only confirm the privileges possessed by the inhabitants previous to the establishment of the community¶. Other cities claimed their privileges, as having possessed them without interruption from the times of the Romans**. But the number of cities which enjoyed such immunities was so small as by no means to diminish the importance of those charters granted by Lewis the Gros, as meritorious innovations.

The kingdom soon felt the advantages arising from this beneficial change; the towns increased in population; the arts, the sciences, and commerce began to flourish; new villages were built; lands hitherto uncultivated were rendered fertile; and the emancipated hind took farms on his own account, and laboured for himself. The cities, at length, became so powerful and opulent††, that, in order to engage them to contribute to the necessities of the state with less repugnance than

* Du Cange, t. ii. p. 863.
 † Du Cange, *ibid.* p. 862.
 ‡ *Histoire Civile et Politique de la Ville de Rheims* par M. Anquetil, tom. i. p. 287, &c.
 § *Hist. Crit. de la Mon. Franc.* tom. ii. p. 18, &c.—tom. ii. p. 524. Edit. 1742.

¶ *Hist. Crit. de la Mon. Franc.* t. ii. p. 133.

|| Robertson. § *Hist. Crit. de la Mon. Franc.* tom. ii. p. 18, &c.—tom. ii. p. 524. Edit. 1742.

¶ D'Acher. *Spicileg.* vol. xi. p. 345.

†† Le Gendre, *Mœurs des François*, p. 109.

they usually evinced, it was judged proper to admit their deputies into the general assemblies. They appeared there for the first time in 1304: but merely for the purpose of representing their wants; and explaining their resources. The communities acquired greater honours, in proportion as they furnished a greater number of forces in time of war. Insensibly they formed a third body in the kingdom, who enjoyed, in the national diets, an equal or even superior authority to the nobility and clergy. It was denominated, *The Third Estate*, (*Tiers-Etat*) an appellation unknown in preceding times*, when the nobles and ecclesiastics alone enjoyed the privilege of voting in the assemblies or parliaments. Every thing then experienced a change; as well the name of the assemblies, which were henceforth denominated *States-General*, or *Assemblies of the Three Estates*†; as their power and privileges, which were no longer the same as in early times. They never assembled but when the king pleased; they never deliberated on questions of peace and war; they were only permitted to represent the people's grievances, to regulate subsidies and the mode of levying them, or to appoint a regent, when the deceased monarch had neglected to name one himself.

There is no point with respect to which (as an English historian of eminence has justly remarked) the French antiquaries are more generally agreed, than in maintaining that the States-General had no suffrage in the passing of laws, and possessed no proper legislative jurisdiction. The whole tenor of the French history confirms this opinion. The form of proceeding in the States-General was this. The king addressed himself to the whole body assembled in one place, and laid before them the affairs on account of which he had summoned them. The deputies of each of the three orders, of nobles, of clergy, and of the third estate, met apart, and prepared their *cahier* or memorial, containing their answer to the propositions which had been made to them, together with the representations which they had thought proper to lay before the king. These answers and representations were considered by the king in his council, and generally gave rise to an ordonnance. These ordinances were not addressed to the three estates in common. Sometimes the king addressed an ordonnance to each of the estates in particular. Sometimes he mentioned the assembly of the three estates. Sometimes mention is made only of the assembly of that estate to which the ordonnance is addressed. Sometimes no mention at all is made of the assembly of estates, which suggested the propriety of enacting the law‡. Thus the States-General had only the privilege of advising and remonstrating; the legislative authority resided in the king alone.

It was at this period that a taste for sophistry was introduced into the schools, where it passed from philosophy to theology, and gave rise to the discussion of

* Le Gendre, ib. † The ancient name of parliament was transferred to those companies which were established in the kingdom for the better administration of justice. Le Gendre, p. 112.

‡ Preface au Tom. iii. des Ordon. p. 20.

a thousand perplexing questions, not less dangerous than subtle. There was not a single master or professor who taught any of the useful sciences, or the belles lettres; all that laid pretence to wit, or that boasted of their understanding, puzzled their brain with abstract speculations, and lost themselves in the labyrinths of metaphysics. The first who gave lessons in this kind of new logic was Roscelin of Compiègne, a man rendered famous by the numbers and magnitude of his errors. The celebrated Abelard, who was not less distinguished for the splendour of his genius, the elegance of his diction, the suavity of his manners, and the graces of his person, than for his ardent love and unparalleled misfortunes, was his disciple and successor. The high reputation which Abelard acquired, excited the envy of his contemporaries, and the subtlety of his arguments procured his condemnation by the council of Soissons*. He was accused by some of teaching that there were Three Gods; and by others of not enforcing a necessary discrimination between the three persons of the Trinity. In vain did he request the pope's legate to order a juridical examination of his work; in vain did he offer to correct whatever might be deemed reprehensible;—it was decided that the book should be condemned without any farther examination, and the unfortunate author was compelled to commit his own work to the flames. In order to justify the irregularity of this proceeding, it was said that the doctor's audacity, in reading his treatise in public before it had been approved by the pope, was a sufficient reason for condemning it—as if any fault of the author could vitiate the work.

Abelard had also studied under Anselm of Laon, one of the greatest theologians of the age; and under William de Champeaux, afterwards bishop of Chalons-upon-Marne, who was called *The Column of the Doctors*. William for a long time taught rhetoric, logic, and theology in the cloister of the cathedral at Paris; he then retired to an old chapel dedicated to Saint Victor, where he founded a community of regular canons, which establishment was confirmed by letters patent from Lewis the Great, in 1113, who was also liberal in his benefactions to it.

There were two other celebrated orders likewise instituted during this reign; one in the desert of Vosage, in the environs of Laon; the other in a retired spot near Muret, in the diocese of Limoges. They first assumed the title of Premontres, from a part of the desert, and the white dress then worn by clerks; the second took the appellation of Grandmont, with the black habit, worn by recluses. The Premontres wore nothing but woollen, eat only one meal a day, observed a perpetual silence, and were very charitable to the poor†. Their founder was a German gentleman, named Norbert, of illustrious birth, and highly favoured at the court of Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany. The

* Tom. x. Concil. p. 885.

† Dubois, Hist. Paris, l. x. c. 7. 9.
t. xix. p. 862.

‡ Vita S. Norb. apud Boll.

Grandmontains* were, at first, neither priests, monks, nor hermits, but a simple community of penitents, who were often obliged to interrupt their devotions, in order to beg the common necessaries of life. They lived in a state of such extreme mortification, that, when the pope confirmed their institution, he was obliged to moderate its austerities. Stephen, viscount of Thiers, in Auvergne, was the founder of this order; and Grandmont, in the Limousin, the chief place of its residence.

LEWIS THE SEVENTH,

SURNAMED THE YOUNG.

A. D. 1137.] LEWIS was in Guienne, when he received the news of his father's death. He immediately repaired to the capital; and, on his way thither, inflicted an exemplary punishment on the rebellious citizens of Orleans. When he arrived at Paris, he convened an assembly of the prelates and nobles, in which such effectual measures were taken for repressing that spirit of sedition which was so frequent at the commencement of a reign, that the national tranquillity remained wholly undisturbed.

A. D. 1138.] The kingdom, indeed, had not enjoyed so perfect a calm as it now experienced for some time. This was principally owing to the fatal divisions which prevailed in Germany and England. The emperor, Henry the Fifth, having died without heirs, the Germans, to the number of sixty thousand, assembled to appoint a successor. The diet being unable to come to any conclusion, on account of the difference of opinion which obtained, chose ten electors, who elected Lothaire, duke of Saxony†. It is pretended that this election was influenced by Suger the monk, who is said to have been the first French minister that gave rise to civil wars in Germany. He repaired to Mayence with the retinue of a sovereign prince, and, by a successful exertion of his

* Vita S. Stephani, apud. Boll. t. iv. p. 205.

† Hist. Ludovic. vii. Duch. tom. iv. p. 412, 413.

talents for intrigue, succeeded in his efforts to promote the exclusion of Frederic, duke of Suabia, who was nephew to the late emperor*. That young prince, urged by ambition, as well as resentment against France, protested against the elevation of so formidable a rival. A bloody war ensued, which lasted till the death of Lothaire, and the coronation of Conrad, brother to the duke of Suabia.

England and Normandy were equally convulsed. On the death of Henry the First, the throne of England was usurped by Stephen, count of Boulogne, nephew to Henry, and brother to Thibaud, count of Champagne, to the prejudice of Matilda and her infant son. The clergy, profiting by the precarious situation of the usurper, annexed this condition to their oaths of allegiance, viz. that they were only bound to observe it so long as the king defended the ecclesiastical liberties, and supported the discipline of the church. The barons, in return for their submission, exacted terms of a still more pernicious tendency, equally destructive of public peace and of regal authority. Many of them insisted on the right of fortifying their castles, and of putting themselves in a posture of defence; and the king found himself in no condition to withhold his consent from this exorbitant demand. The fatal effects of his compliance were soon visible; the whole kingdom was immediately filled with those fortresses, which the barons either garrisoned with their own vassals, or with licentious hirelings, who flocked to them from every quarter. The most shameful extortions were practised upon the people for the maintenance of these troops; and domestic feuds and private animosities now raged with unbounded violence, and rendered England a continued scene of riot and disorder. The nobles were constantly engaged in wars with each other; the barons even assumed the distinguishing marks of royalty, the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction; while the inferior gentry, as well as the common people, finding the laws inadequate to their defence, during this annihilation of sovereign power, were compelled, for their own immediate safety, to court the protection of some neighbouring chieftain, by consenting to submit to his exactions, and to assist him in his rapine upon others. The erection of one castle caused the building of another; and even those who had not obtained the king's permission, thought that they were entitled, by the grand principle of self-preservation, to put themselves on a footing with their neighbours, who were generally their enemies and rivals. These cruel disorders, which prevailed in the neighbouring states, were favourable to the tranquillity of France, which was, at this time, agitated only by theological disputes, that were not carried to a sufficient height to disturb the national repose.

Abelard, though he had been compelled to burn his book upon the Trinity, still persevered in the same sentiments which he had there promulgated. He

* Annal. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 195.

consequently continued to teach the same doctrine; and even ventured to propagate in his writings many bold propositions, which hitherto he had contented himself with explaining to his pupils. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the county of Champagne, instigated by William, abbot of Thierri, accused him of following the example of Arius, in making distinctions between the three persons of the Trinity; of imitating Pelagius, in preferring free-will to grace; and of agreeing with Nestorius, in dividing the person of Christ. A council was accordingly assembled at Sens, for the purpose of taking these charges into consideration, at which the king and the count of Champagne were both present. The abbot of Clairvaux opened the business of the day, and displayed a fund of eloquence that seduced his audience. By the applause which he received from the assembly Abelard was convinced that his condemnation would be pronounced. The embarrassment occasioned by this idea almost deprived him of the use of his faculties; it did not, however, prevent him from thinking of his personal safety, by making an appeal to the pope. The council, therefore, though they proceeded to condemn his doctrine, were prevented from inflicting any punishment on him.

Abelard set out for Rome in order to pursue his appeal, and to justify himself to the sovereign pontiff; but the abbot of Cluni prevented him from proceeding, and undertook to reconcile him to Bernard. Then the face of affairs totally changed, and the doctrine of Abelard was no longer called in question. He died two years after this reconciliation, overwhelmed with infirmities. He was doubtless the brightest genius of the age in which he lived; his misfortunes were owing to an excess of sensibility, and to the splendour of his reputation. His wife Heloise survived him near twenty years, and, at her death, was interred in the same tomb with her husband, at the abbey of Paraclete, which she had founded.

A. D. 1140.] Such was the state of France, when the king was led into a quarrel with the pope, on the election of a prelate to the see of Bourges. On the death of Alberic, the chapter of Bourges had elected, without waiting the approbation of their sovereign, Pierre de la Chatre, a man of illustrious birth, to the vacant archiepiscopal see. The indignant monarch, determined to vindicate his insulted authority, commanded the chapter to proceed to a new election; but the clergy firmly maintained their choice. The Roman pontiff espoused the cause of Pierre de la Chatre, observing, that *the king was a young man, who stood in need of instruction, and should be taught not to accustom himself to similar attempts*;—an observation equally indiscreet and indecent in a prelate, who was indebted for his elevation to the protection afforded him by France against the faction of Anaclete. The new archbishop, fortified by the suffrage of the court of Rome, hastened to take possession of his diocese; but the inhabitants of Bourges, faithful to the orders of their sovereign, refused him admission into their city; he was therefore constrained to take refuge with the count

of Champagne, under whose protection he launched the thunders of the church against that part of the royal domain, which was comprised within the limits of his archbishopric. The torch of discord was kindled by this hasty spark, and the destructive flame was fed by another incident, which equally displayed the dangerous and encroaching spirit of the court of Rome, nourished the arrogance of the count of Champagne, and provoked the resentment of the king of France.

A. D. 1141, 1142.] Rodolph, count of Vermandois, who had successively presided over the councils of Lewis and his father, had divorced from his bed, on the common and convenient plea of consanguinity, his wife, the near relation of the count of Champagne* ; and had espoused Patranilla, the daughter of the late duke of Aquitaine, and the younger sister of Eleonora, queen of France. The mind of Thibaud was deeply wounded by the indignity offered to his family ; the Roman pontiff readily embraced the cause of the protector of Pierre de la Chatre ; he declared the marriage of Petronilla void, and denounced the penalty of excommunication against Rodolph, unless he recalled to his bed the wife whom he had unjustly repudiated. But Lewis, doubly interested in the fate of his kinsman, was not to be dismayed by the terror of spiritual censure ; with a formidable army he entered the territories of Thibaud, and compelled that haughty chief to sue for peace. As the means of obtaining it, he promised to intercede with the pope to revoke the excommunication of the count of Vermandois, and the interdict which Pierre de la Chatre had pronounced against the royal domain in the archbishopric of Bourges. Yet the king had no sooner retired within his own dominions, than he was again assailed by the hostile weapons of the apostolic chair ; and, enraged at the deceit of Thibaud, the sincerity of whose submission he justly suspected, he determined to avenge, on the innocent inhabitants of Champagne, the perfidy of their turbulent prince. He laid waste the country with indiscriminate rage, and, having taken the town of Vitry by surprise, set fire to the parish church, in which thirteen hundred persons had taken refuge, all of whom miserably perished in the flames.

But shame and repentance soon succeeded those emotions of youthful rage and impetuous resentment, which had urged the youthful mind of Lewis to the commission of so inhuman a deed. Impressed with the deepest sentiments of remorse, he reconciled himself to the count of Champagne, acknowledged Pierre as the archbishop of Bourges, and made a vow to undertake an expedition to Palestine, which, in those days, was deemed a sufficient expiation of the most enormous crimes.

A. D. 1144, 1145.] The distress of the christian warriors in Palestine called for immediate assistance from Europe ; and the falling fortunes of the Latins could only be propped by the immense preparations for the second crusade. The city of Edessa had been recovered from the christians by the valour of

* Spicil. p. 400.

Zenghi, a Turkish chief, who ruled, with independent authority, the Asiatic kingdoms of Aleppo and Mosul; and the conquest which had been achieved by the father was protected by the fame and fortune of the son. The name of Noureddin (*the Light*) still gleams through the darkness of Asiatic history; and its meridian glory eclipsed the faint lustre of the unworthy successors of Godfrey. The throne of Jerusalem was then occupied by the inexperienced youth of Baldwin the Third, whose tender years were protected by the counsels of his mother, Miletenda; while the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli obeyed the authority of the two Raymonds, counts of Poitiers and Toulouse.

Bernard, who had been employed to preach this second crusade, and whose fervent eloquence had aroused the fanatical zeal of the Germans and Flemings, was earnest in his exhortations to Lewis to fulfil, with speed, the solemn vow he had made. Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, on the contrary, exerted his utmost efforts to dissuade the king from an enterprise, from which there was every thing to fear, and nothing to hope; and which he might effectually assist, by a contribution of men and money, while his presence was requisite at home to secure the tranquillity of his hereditary dominions. The king's esteem was so equally divided between these two ecclesiastics, that he long hesitated between the different counsels which they, with equal eagerness, enforced. They are both, indeed, represented by historians as worthy of his confidence by the extent of their merit. The first had, rather by a reputation for sanctity, richly deserved and fully confirmed, than for any solidity of understanding or brilliancy of wit, ensured a respect and consideration for his person, which have frequently more weight than authority itself; the last, by a superiority of genius, strengthened by comprehensive talents and incorruptible probity, had acquired that degree of public confidence which does honour even to virtue. The abbot of Clairvaux, with the air and enthusiasm of a prophet, had a prophet's inflexibility; the abbot of Saint Denis, with a greater knowledge of the world, was more modest in his address, more insinuating in his manners, and his firmness was never carried to extremes. They were alike directed by important views, though of a different nature; Bernard was earnest in his endeavours to promote, *exclusively*, the interests of religion—at least what he deemed such; whereas Suger, exempt from fanaticism, though rationally devout, wished to make the prosperity of the church coincide with the welfare of the state: but the enthusiasm of the prophet overcame the wisdom of the politician; and Lewis, stricken with remorse for his cruelty at Vitry, determined to assume the cross, and repair to Palestine.

A. D. 1146.] A parliament* was accordingly assembled at Vezevai in Burgundy, and it was so numerously attended, that no building was found sufficiently

* This is the first time that the term parliament is applied, by French historians, to an assembly of the nobles and prelates.

spacious to contain the members, who therefore met in an open field. The eloquence of Bernard was here successfully employed, who depicted, in glowing colours, the meritorious piety, and the internal rewards, which attended the holy warfare. The king received, from his hands, a cross, which the pope had sent him from Rome; and his example was followed by the queen and a numerous train of nobles, prelates, and gentlemen of inferior quality.

The holy infection soon passed from these to the people; and "*The cross!*" resounded on every side. Such was the enthusiastic ardour to engage in this pious enterprise, that the towns and villages were so far stripped of their inhabitants, that, in many of them, none but women and children were left behind. It seemed as if the French, disgusted with the rich country which their ancestors had conquered, were desirous of seeking a new establishment in a different quarter of the globe*. A spindle and distaff were sent to all who had the ability to join the crusaders, but who wanted the will. Even the women were ambitious to assume the cross; and the generality of wives followed their husbands in this long and dangerous pilgrimage.

A. D. 1147.] The forces which assembled under the *oriflamme* of Saint Denis have been computed at more than two hundred thousand men. The reins of government were, during the absence of the king, entrusted to Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and to Suger, abbot of Saint Denis, whose councils he had rejected, but whose prudence and judgment he esteemed. At the head of this unwieldy host, Lewis traversed successfully the plains of Hungary, and encamped under the walls of Constantinople, where he was received with all possible honours by the emperor Manuel Comnenus. That prince was in the flower of his youth, possessed of every personal accomplishment, endued with prudence superior to his years, with seducing eloquence, and inflexible courage. But these endowments were greatly counterbalanced by his numerous vices. Indeed it has been justly observed, by a modern historian, that the court of the more early Greek emperors seems to have resembled those of eastern monarchs, both in magnificence, and in corruption of manners. Manuel Comnenus rioted in every kind of luxury, and wanted in every species of debauchery. He openly shared his bed with his mother, the princess Theodora; he supported his vices with such success of prodigality, that his subjects were overwhelmed with the most oppressive imposts; and the well-earned fruits of their industry and labour were applied to gratify the insatiate avidity of his eunuchs, and of the base ministers of his guilty pleasures. Perfidious in the extreme, while he loaded the crusaders with careffes, he left no artifice unemployed to promote their destruction. Had this portrait of the emperor been drawn by a French or by a German writer, we might have been tempted to call its justice in question, and to have suspected that the features had been disguised by

* Abregé de l'Hist. Univers. part ii. p. 7.

prejudice and partiality; but as it comes from the pencil of Nicetas Choniatas, a Greek writer, contemporary with Manuel*, we can have no reason to doubt its truth; particularly as, far from being partial to the crusaders, he inveighs against them with extreme violence; speaking of the Franks, he describes them as barbarians, fierce, illiterate, impetuous, and savage; and he gives an account of the ferocity and devastations of the crusaders in general, in terms not unlike those which preceding historians had employed in describing the incursions of the Goths and Vandals†.

From the same author we learn, that Manuel assigned guides to the crusaders who were privately instructed, by the emperor himself, to lead them into defiles, where they were attacked by troops stationed for that purpose; that he caused the gates of all the towns in his dominions to be shut against them, and they could obtain no provisions, till they had previously deposited their money in baskets let down from the walls to receive it, by which means they were exposed to incessant impositions, as the Greeks frequently disappeared with the cash, and brought them nothing in return; that lime was mixed in the flour distributed to the troops, which proved the destruction of thousands; that the natives had fabricated a base coin, with which they always paid the crusaders, whenever they purchased any thing from them, and refused to take it in payment for their own articles; "that there was no wicked artifice, in short, which the emperor did not employ, or cause to be employed, against them, to serve as an example to their descendants, that might deter them from entering on the Greek territories‡."

A. D. 1143.] But during the stay of Lewis at the court of Constantinople he experienced from the artful emperor every mark of respect, friendship, and esteem. The French monarch, ever mindful of his own dignity, refused to grant precedence to the Greek; but preserved, on all occasions, a perfect equality. Of this becoming jealousy a striking instance is mentioned by Odo de Deuil, a monk of St. Denis, who was secretary and chaplain to the king: he had already passed the Bosphorus, with his army, when he received a message from Manuel, desiring a conference at Constantinople; but Lewis sent him word, that, if he had any thing to communicate, he must either come to him, or, at least, meet him half way on the sea, that they might treat on *equal* terms; a proposal with which the emperor found himself obliged to comply.

At Nice, Lewis met Conrad, emperor of Germany, his rival in the pious warfare, returning wounded from a glorious, but unfortunate combat, in the defiles of mount Taurus, into which he had been betrayed by the perfidy of Manuel; and seeking for some vessels to carry him to Palestine by sea. The king of France, however, unwarned by his misfortunes, pressed forward to the banks

* Nicet. Chon. in Manuel. l. i. p. 397. + Idem, ap. Byz. Script. vol. iii. p. 302, &c.

‡ Idem, in Manuel. l. i. p. 41.

of the Mænder, which he passed in sight of the Turks, whom he afterwards attacked in their camp, and defeated, with great slaughter*. But, in a few days, he experienced a reverse of fortune, and, by the negligence of his officers, was exposed to an attack that had nearly proved fatal to his cause.

It was an established rule in the French army, that two of the principal nobles should command, alternately, the van and rear-guards, and and fix on the ground where the troops should encamp. Geoffrey de Rancon, a powerful baron of Poitou, led the van that day, carrying the royal standard, and preceded by the *oriflamme* of Saint Denis. It had been settled, that he should fix his camp on the summit of a mountain, in order to command the defiles; but, finding neither forage nor water at the destined spot, he descended into a pleasant vale at the foot of the hill. The Turks, taking advantage of this imprudent step, attacked the rear-guard with such impetuous fury, that the first rank was broken in an instant. The second displayed greater firmness, but, oppressed with numbers, and overcome with surprize, the whole army must inevitably have been destroyed but for the friendly intervention of night.

The king was retiring with precipitation, after having signalised his valour in the field, when his golden spurs attracted the notice of a band of Saracens, who resolved to seize the glittering prize. They accordingly pursued Lewis, who, unable to effect his escape, placed his back against a large tree, where he defended himself with such vigour against his numerous assailants, that he soon had an opportunity of climbing to the top. The Saracens plied him with their arrows, but were unable to penetrate his armour; they next attempted to ascend the tree, but the king used his sabre with such skill and success, that, ignorant of his quality, and intimidated by the opposition they experienced, they at length left him in search of plunder that could be acquired with greater facility. He then left his post; and, mounting a stray horse, was lucky enough to find the defiles of the mountain, and to attain the camp of his van-guard, who, having recovered their sovereign, whom they imagined to be killed or taken, consoled themselves for the loss of one half of the army.

After this disaster, Lewis proceeded to the small seaport of Attalia, on the coast of Pamphilia, where he procured vessels to convey himself and a part of his troops to Antioch. There he was received with kindness and distinction by his uncle, Raymond of Poitiers. But to public calamity succeeded the pangs of domestic misery; the charms of his wife had made a deep impression on the prince of Antioch; and Eleanor, frail as she was fair, returned the affection of her kinsman, and basely dishonoured her lord and sovereign†. Indeed she was prodigal of her favours: a youthful Turk named Saladin, loaded her with presents, and received her caresses in return‡; the warmth of her passions over-

* Gest. Ludov. vii. chap. xi. p. 398. Duch. tom. iv.

† Gul. Tyr. l. xvi. c. 7.

‡ Frag. de Rebus Ludov. vii. Duch. t. iv. p. 149.

Anno
1148



H. Singleton Del.

J. Galland Sculp.

Louis VII Singly repulsing a band of Saracens.

The first part of the history is a general account of the state of the world at the beginning of the world. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the second part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; and the third part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world.

The second part of the history is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the second part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; and the third part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world.

The third part of the history is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the second part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; and the third part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world.



came the dictates of honour; and she suffered her beautiful person to be polluted by the promiscuous embraces of her numerous admirers*.

From Antioch, Lewis, accompanied by his reluctant queen, set sail for Jerusalem, where he was joined by the emperor Conrad. Reinforced by the troops of Baldwin the Third, king of Jerusalem, they determined to form the siege of Damascus; that city was strong both by art and nature, but the vigorous attacks of the christians overcame every obstacle, and their efforts must have been finally crowned with success, had not the jealousies that prevailed among themselves proved more fatal than the arms of their enemies. The report that Damascus, when reduced, was to be given to the count of Flanders, disgusted the christians who were established in Syria; and, induced by envy to betray the cause in which they had embarked, they maintained a secret correspondence with the Turks; in consequence of which the convoys were surprised, the works were insulted, and Conrad and Lewis were at length compelled to relinquish the hopeless enterprise; and, having given sufficient proofs of their piety and courage, they embarked at a port in Syria, and returned to their respective dominions.

The French, in the mean time, bewailed, with bitter lamentations, the misguided zeal of their monarch, and the fatal effects of an expedition that had drained the kingdom of its wealth, and greatly diminished the number of its inhabitants. But the abbot of Clairvaux was the chief object of their indignation; they accused him of being a false prophet, and censured him loudly for interfering in matters that did not concern him, instead of confining himself to the duties of his station. The widow and the orphan reproached him with their losses, with the splendour of his promises, and the magnitude of their disappointment. In vain did he attempt to justify himself by the example of Moses, who, like him, had promised the children of Israel, on the part of the Lord, to conduct them into a land of blessing, and who saw the first generation perish in the deserts. Like them, he observed, the crusaders had, by their own abominations, forged the thunder that destroyed them; but the grief of the people was too poignant to bear with remonstrance where they had expected excuse, and the eloquence of Bernard having once so fatally deceived them, had now lost its wonted effect. But, while the ears of Bernard were thus assailed by the curses of his countrymen, all France was unanimous in bestowing its benedictions on the abbot of Saint Denis, who had governed the state, during the absence of his sovereign, with a degree of wisdom and prudence that merited the highest commendations.

A. D. 1150, 1151, 1152.] Lewis, on his return from Palestine, found the flames of civil war raging in England and Normandy, where the pretenders to the sovereignty asserted their separate claims with equal vigour, though not

* Mat. Paris, Ann. 1150, p. 112.

with equal success.—Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and his son Henry Plantagenet, repaired to his court, and claimed his protection against an usurper who had deprived them of their lawful inheritance. Policy coinciding with justice, the king listened to their suit, and, having resolved to espouse their cause, raised a powerful army, with which he invaded Normandy; and, having reduced that duchy, resigned it to prince Henry, who paid him homage for it, and, as a reward for a service so important, ceded to him that district of country which lies between the rivers Epte and Andelle; and is distinguished by the appellation of the Vexin Normand.

The count of Anjou died soon after, leaving three sons; Henry, who succeeded to his dominions; Geoffrey, to whom he bequeathed Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau; and William, who was invested with the county of Mortain. Nor was it long before the king experienced a severer loss, in the death of his two virtuous ministers, Rodolph, count of Vermandois, and Suger, abbot of Saint Denis. And these were soon followed by the pious enthusiast, Saint Bernard; who, during his life, had founded no less than seventy-seven convents of his own order; thirty-five in France; eleven in Spain; six in the Low Countries; five in England; five in Ireland; five in Savoy; four in Italy; two in Germany; two in Sweden; one in Hungary, and one in Denmark; and these abbies had given rise to as many more in the different countries in which they were situated.

The coolness that had subsisted between the king and queen, ever since the discovery of Eleonora's infidelity at Antioch, daily increased; and the contrariety of their dispositions at length produced so dreadful an antipathy between them, that they were unable to support each other's company. Lewis lamented in secret the licentious conduct of a wife, who neither respected his rank nor person; while the queen affected to bewail the cruelty of her own fate, in having married a prince who was better adapted to a cloister than a throne. When they were thus mutually prepared for a separation, a divorce was resolved on; but the king, though deeply offended, was willing to spare the reputation of his wife, and instead of founding his pretensions on her adulterous behaviour, caused her relations to prefer the more honourable and convenient plea of consanguinity*. This being examined by a council assembled at Beaujenci, was declared to be valid, and the sentence of divorce was accordingly pronounced. With Eleanora, Lewis restored her ample inheritance, the fertile and important counties of Guienne and Poitou; though his conduct, in thus easily parting with these wealthy provinces, has been loudly censured by historians, as impolitic and unwise, it was certainly dictated by honour, and sanctioned by justice.

Eleonora was do sooner at liberty than she was addressed by a variety of suitors, whom the charms of her person, and the extent of her possessions, in-

* *Gesta Ludov. vii. c. 29, p. 411. Histor. ejusd. p. 415.*

duced to overlook the defects of her mind, and the frailty of her conduct. Those who, from their birth and pretensions, had the fairest prospect of success, were Thibaud, count of Chartres and Blois; Geoffrey, count of Chinon; and his brother Henry Plantagenet, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou. The two first, despairing of success, formed separate plans for taking off the princess by force on her road to Guienne; but she had the good fortune to escape the snares that were laid for her, and to reach her own dominions in perfect safety. The moment she arrived there, she dispatched a faithful messenger to the duke of Normandy, with the offer of her hand and fortune. The alliance was equally suitable to both parties; it gave to Henry the finest duchy in France, while it secured to Eleonora—to use the words of the reverend father Daniel—“a prince in the bloom of youth, full of fire, gallant, brave, and vigorous; equally capable of defending her dominions, and satisfying her desires*.” Henry accordingly accepted with joy the proffered prize, and heedless of those imperfections in his bride which, it is probable, either his vanity or his ambition taught him to overlook, hastened to the completion of that ceremony which put him in full possession of the person and domains of Eleonora, within six weeks after her divorce from Lewis†.

A. D. 1153.] This marriage was highly displeasing to the French, who could not see, without alarm, the extensive and important countries of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Guienne and Poitou, united under the domination of a prince whose personal merit increased the consequence he derived from the extent of his territories. The king, in particular, was greatly incensed, and not without reason, for, by her marriage contract with Henry, Eleonora had disinherited the two daughters which she had by Lewis. He began to repent his facility in having invested Henry with the duchy of Normandy, and, in order to humble the pride of that prince, he entered into a league with the king of England; his son Eustace; the count of Blois; and Geoffrey, brother to Henry‡, who all swore, that they would not lay down their arms till they had stripped the duke of Normandy of a power, that at once excited their envy and alarmed their fears.

But this confederacy was attended with no bad consequences to Henry, who, by his timely submission, regained the friendship of Lewis; and the death of the count of Boulogne about the same time called the attention of Stephen to another quarter. Henry had recently made a descent upon England, where his progress was rapid, and his party powerful. After taking several important fortresses, he threw succours into Wallingford, which the king had advanced to besiege with a superior force. At this place the two armies lay opposite to each other three days, in continual expectation of a decisive action, when the nobility of either party, alarmed at the prospect of farther bloodshed, and the confusion

* P. Daniel, t. ii. p. 605. † Le Gendre, t. ii. p. 356. ‡ Chron. Norm.

that must inevitably result from a general engagement, for whichever side victory might chance to declare, interposed their good offices, and offered terms of accommodation to the rival princes. A negociation was accordingly commenced, the conclusion of which was greatly facilitated by the death of Eustace. The terms of this treaty were, that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life; that justice should be administered in his name, even in those provinces which had acknowledged the sovereignty of Henry; that Henry should, on the demise of Stephen, succeed to the kingdom; and that William, Stephen's son, should inherit Boulogne and his patrimonial estate. Lewis, dreading the consequences of this accommodation, renewed his incursions into Normandy, and, laying siege to Vernon, reduced that town to the necessity of capitulating.

A. D. 1154, 1155.] Such was the state of affairs in the rival kingdoms of France and England, when king Stephen died at Dover, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. Henry succeeded to the throne without opposition; and the English nobles were happy to be governed by a monarch, whose personal merits they had witnessed, and the extent of whose foreign possessions would, they conceived, afford additional security to the crown. Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Saintonge, Poitou, and Guienne, acknowledged the authority of Henry, who, with the addition of power he had recently acquired, might have continued the war with Lewis with the fairest prospect of success; but, impressed with the spirit of moderation, he forbore to profit by the flattering advantage, and proposed terms of accommodation to Lewis. These the French monarch accepted, and a peace was accordingly concluded between them, on condition that Henry should pay two thousand marks of silver, in order to defray the expences incurred by Lewis during the war, and renew his homage for all the territories he possessed on the continent. The treaty was religiously observed on both sides for five or six years, during which time Henry paid frequent visits to Lewis, and the most friendly intercourse subsisted between the two monarchs.

About this time Lewis married Constance, daughter of Alphonso the Eighth, king of Leon and Castile, who was accordingly crowned at Orleans by the archbishop of Sens. Soon after the celebration of his nuptials, the king undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James, at Compostella, the capital of Galicia*; and, during this devout expedition, he had an interview with his father-in-law, and with Sancho the Fifth, who filled with reputation and ability the throne of Navarre. On his return, Lewis assembled a splendid council at Soissons, distinguished by the presence of the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Flanders, Troyes, Nevers, and Soissons, and a long train of noble and powerful vassals†; but still more memorable by the influence of the sovereign, who engaged the haughty barons to swear to a ten year's peace, and to submit their differ-

* Marian, l. xi. c. 2.

† Epist. Ludov. vii. 57. apud Duch. t. 4. p. 583.

ences, during that space, to the decision of justice, instead of appealing to the sword.

A. D. 1156, to 1160.] The king of England was engaged in a war with his brother Geoffrey, who had advanced pretensions to the territories of Maine and Anjou, and had actually made incursions into those provinces, and obtained possession of a considerable part of them; but, on the approach of Henry, he was compelled to forego his claims on condition of retaining a part of his lands, and of receiving an annuity of a thousand pounds in lieu of those which his brother obliged him to relinquish. After this accommodation, Geoffrey retired to Nantes in Brittany, the inhabitants of which, having revolted from their lawful sovereign, invited him to assume the government of their district. On the death of this prince, which soon occurred, Henry, as his heir, laid claim to the territory, and repaired to the continent, to support his pretensions by force of arms*. Conan, duke of Brittany, who claimed Nantes as belonging to his dukedom, from which it had been lately separated by rebellion, had, immediately after the decease of Geoffrey, taken possession of it. Henry's first care, on his arrival in Normandy, was to secure the friendship of Lewis, whose interposition in the controversy he had reason to apprehend; he therefore paid him a visit, in which it was settled that prince Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir to his crown, should be affianced to the princess Margaret, daughter of Lewis, by Constance of Castile; though the former was only five years of age, and the latter still in her cradle. This alliance procured Henry an invitation to Paris, where he was entertained with the utmost magnificence for several days; and he so far insinuated himself into the good graces of Lewis, that he granted him a commission, as count of Anjou and seneschal of France, to decide the important controversy which had subsisted for some time between Eudes, count of Ponlievre, and Conan, duke of Brittany, about the right to that dukedom.

Conan was no sooner informed of the power with which Henry was entrusted, than he waited upon him, and made a voluntary resignation of Nantes, in order to purchase a favourable sentence, which he accordingly obtained†. Nor was this the only advantage which the king of England derived from this unexpected incident. The duke of Brittany, harrassed with the turbulent disposition of his fellow-subjects, and desirous of securing to himself the protection of so powerful a monarch, betrothed his daughter, and only child, who was yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third son, who was in his infancy likewise. Conan died about seven years after this transaction, and Henry, being mesne-lord, and also natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law; took possession of that principality, and annexed it, for the present, to his other extensive dominions.

Henry's success in all his undertakings, and the additional power which he daily acquired, could not fail to excite the apprehensions, and to rouse the jealousy of Lewis, who suffered no opportunity to escape that could tend to

* Robert de Monte.

† Gervas Chron. Ann. 1158.—Chron. Norman, p. 994.

strengthen his authority, or to extend his influence. His wife Constance dying in child-bed, he complied with the entreaties of his nobles, seconded by his own concern for the tranquillity of his kingdom, and his desire to perpetuate the sceptre in the hands of his posterity—to contract a third marriage. Adelaide, the daughter of Thibaud, count of Champagne, was the object of his choice; and his alliance with that princess firmly attached to his interest the different branches of that powerful family. In order to strengthen the more this prudent connection, he married his two daughters by Eleanora to two sons of the count of Champagne:—Mary, to Henry the First, count of Troyes; and Alix, to Thibaud, count of Blois.

The king of England, in the mean time, not yet satisfied with the accession of power which he had recently obtained by the acquisition of Nantes, now determined to revive the pretensions of his queen, Eleanora, to the county of Toulouse. These were founded on the right of her grandmother, Philippa, duchess of Guienne, who was the only issue of William the Fourth, count of Toulouse; and who must have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, from an anxiety to preserve the succession in the male line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de Saint Gilles, whose grandson of the same name was now count of Toulouse. But when Lewis the Seventh married Eleanora, he maintained that the conveyance was a mere collusion between the two brothers to defraud the lawful heir; and that the consent of William the Ninth, count of Poitiers, the husband of Philippa, which had been obtained by a sum of money, was insufficient to render it valid: he therefore alledged, that the whole transaction was illegal, and consequently null; and that his consort, Eleanora, was entitled to the inheritance of her grandmother, Philippa, on reimbursing the sum which had been paid to the count of Poitiers for the confirmation of the fictitious conveyance*.

Raymond, who was then in possession of the county, in vain pleaded prescription; Lewis was sufficiently powerful to enforce his pretensions, and he threatened to invade the count's territories: but a negotiation was entered into, which, terminating in the marriage of Raymond with Constance, the sister of Lewis, and widow of Eustace, the son of Stephen, induced the king to desist from his claims. These pretensions, however, Henry, by his marriage with Eleanora, thought himself authorised to renew; and, finding that Raymond was determined to oppose them, and had engaged Lewis to support him, he imposed a tax on his subjects, whereby he was enabled to raise an army of foreign mercenaries, with which he resolved to invade the county of Toulouse. He accordingly repaired to the continent, and, being assisted by Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincaval, count of Nismes, whom he had gained over to his party, made an incursion into Quercy, and took the town of Cahors. He then

* Neubr. p. 387; Chron. W. Heming, p. 494.

directed his march toward Toulouſe; and, having taken Verdun, Caſtlenau, and many other places of importance, prepared to inveſt the capital; but Lewis, advancing before the arrival of the main body, threw himſelf into the town with a ſmall re-inforcement of troops. Henry was adviſed by his miniſters, and particularly by the celebrated Thomas a Becket, who was then chancellor of England, to proſecute the ſiege with redoubled vigour; that, by making Lewis priſoner before the approach of his army, he might be enabled to impoſe his own terms of accommodation. But the ſtrict attention which intereſt prompted him to afford to the principles of the feudal government, to which he was indebted for the ſecurity of his own extenſive poſſeſſions, compelled him to reject advice replete with political prudence, and to declare, in the moſt poſitive terms, that no conſideration ſhould induce him to attack a place that was defended by his ſuperior lord in perſon. Purſuant to this declaration, he deſiſted from beſieging the capital, and marched into Normandy; to protect that province from the incurſions of Robert, count of Dreux, whom his brother, Lewis, had ſent to invade it, in order to divert the attention of Henry from his deſigns upon the city of Toulouſe*.

Henry now proſecuted the war with equal vigour and ſucceſs. Having entered the Beauvoſin, he took and demolithed the ſtrong fortrefs of Gerberoy, and reduced ſeveral towns and villages to aſhes. He obtained poſſeſſion of all the caſtles of Simon de Montfort, count of Evreux, and ſupplied them with numerous garrifons, which extended their ravages to the vicinity of the metropolis; and, by laying waſte the intermediate country, cut off the communication of Paris with Orleans and Etampes; ſo that Lewis was obliged to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, that was ſoon followed by a peace, which ſecured to Henry the poſſeſſion of all the places he had ſubdued in the county of Toulouſe; while his eldeſt ſon did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy†.

A. D. 1161, 1162, 1163.] A circumſtance ſoon occurred to interrupt the tranquillity which this accommodation was intended to eſtabliſh. It had been ſtipulated, in the marriage-contract between prince Henry and Margaret of France, that the towns of Gifors, Neauſſe, and Neufchatel, which were conſigned to the cuſtody of two knights-templars, Toſte de Saint Omer, and Robert de Pirou, as the dowry of that princeſs, ſhould be delivered into the hands of the king of England, immediately after the celebration of the nuptials; Henry, fearing that the French monarch might change his mind, and being eager to obtain poſſeſſion of the dowry of his daughter-in-law, prevailed on the pope's legate to celebrate the marriage, though the prince was only ſix years of age, and the princeſs ſtill younger. As ſoon as the ceremony was performed

* Fitz-Stephen, Vita S. Thom. Cantuar. p. 22; Joann. in Quadrilogo, c. 9 et 10; W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 10. † Chron. Norman. p. 997.

the knights-templars, in compliance with the stipulations of the treaty, delivered up the three towns to Henry; which so incensed Lewis, that he banished them his dominions, and commenced hostilities against the king of England*.

No event of any importance occurred during the operations of this war; which was speedily terminated; for, after the two monarchs had been some time in sight of each other, without discovering the smallest inclination to decide their quarrel by a general engagement, the restoration of tranquillity was effected by the interposition of mutual friends, who persuaded them to renew the terms of the late treaty, which were accordingly confirmed†.

The establishment of peace afforded the kings of France and England an opportunity of attending to the affairs of the church; and particularly to the violent contest for the papacy, that had taken place after the death of Adrian the Fourth, which happened on the first of September, in the year 1159. The cardinals being divided in their choice, had nominated two different persons to the papal dignity; Octavian, who assumed the appellation of Victor the Fourth, was chosen by one party; while the others gave their voices in favour of Roland, who took the name of Alexander the Third.

Lewis and Henry, after much deliberation, agreed to acknowledge the latter‡, who had lately established his residence at Clermont, in Auvergne. This pontiff had an interview with the two kings in the autumn of the year 1162, at the castle of Torcy on the Loire; and they treated him with such marks of condescension and respect, that both dismounted to receive him; and, each of them holding a rein of his bridle, walked by his side, and, in that submissive manner, conducted him into the fortress||.—“A sight,” exclaims Baronius in an ecstasy, “worthy the attention of gods, angels and men! and such an one “as the world had never before experienced!”

The jealousy that continued to subsist between Lewis and Henry, notwithstanding the friendship and esteem they professed for each other, proved an effectual bar to the continuation of peace. It may be easily supposed, that in this disposition of their minds every casual offence was magnified into an intentional insult; and that, more anxious to irritate than to soothe, justification was frequently attempted where redress should have been offered. The first circumstance that led to an open rupture was the protection offered by Lewis to the celebrated Thomas a Becket:

A. D. 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165.] This extraordinary man was son of a citizen of London, at which place he was born in the year 1119. Being of an active disposition, and possessed of some talents, he attracted the notice of Theobald, primate of England, who obtained for him some office and preferments, the profits of which enabled him, after the completion of his studies at Oxford,

* W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 24.—R. Hoveden, p. 282.—M. Paris, p. 68.—Ypodigma Neustriae. anno 1160.

† Chron. Norman. p. 998.

‡ W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 9.

|| Chron. Norm. p. 998.

Anno
1162.



*The Condecession of the French & English Monarchs
to the Pope.*

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to travel for improvement in France and Italy. He resided some time at the university of Paris, from whence he repaired to Bologna*, where he applied himself closely to the study of the civil and canon law; and, on his return to his native country, the proficiency he had made in those branches of learning, induced his patron to promote him to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of great trust and emolument. Being peculiarly qualified for the transaction of business at the court of Rome, he was employed in several negotiations of great intricacy, which he conducted with such skill and address as endeared him still more to Theobald; who, on the accession of Henry the Second, recommended him to that monarch as a person worthy of farther preferment. In consequence of this recommendation, and of the king's knowledge of his spirit and ability, he was appointed chancellor of England, in 1158†.

This was an office not less important from the power it conferred, than the wealth it ensured; and, to increase both his influence and fortune, Becket received, in addition the place of provost of Beverley, and the deanery of Hastings; he was also created constable of the tower, and put in possession of the honours of Eye and Berkham, extensive baronies, comprehending together three hundred knights' fees which had escheated to the crown. To complete the grandeur of this aspiring subject, the education of prince Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir to the throne, was entrusted to his care+. But his expences increased in proportion to the honours that were thus lavished on him; and his revenue, though immense, was inadequate to support his prodigality. His magnificence, as described by Fitz-Stephens, his historian and secretary, was almost incredibly great; his dress, his furniture, and his retinue bespoke the pomp of sovereignty; he retained a prodigious number of knights in his service; noblemen of the first rank sent their sons to be educated as pages in his family; and he employed two and fifty clerks to keep the accounts of vacant prelacies, and of his own ecclesiastical preferments. His leisure hours were devoted to the sports of the field, and the martial amusements of the age; expert in military exercises, while he served in Normandy, he unhorsed a French chevalier of approved prowess, and led off his courser in triumph. When he crossed the channel, he was constantly attended by five vessels; and when Henry undertook the expedition to Toulouse, Becket attended him with seven hundred knights, whom he maintained at his own charge. In the subsequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he supported, during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train||; and when he was sent on an embassy to Paris, to negotiate the marriage of the princess Margaret, he astonished the French court by the number and magnificence of his retinue, which consisted of more than a thousand persons.

* J. Brompt. apud. x. Script. Col. 1052.—Gervas, ib. Col. 1668. † J. Brompt. Col. 1057, 1058.

‡ Fitz-Stephens, p. 15.—Quadrilog, p. 9, 14.

|| Fitz-Steph. p. 19, 20, 22, 23.

Such was the man whom Henry, on the death of Theobald, promoted to the primacy, in opposition to the strenuous solicitations of his mother, the empress Matilda, and the earnest remonstrances of many of its ministers, seconded and confirmed by the clergy and prelates of England*. No sooner was Becket in possession of this dignified station, than his whole deportment and mode of life underwent a change the most rapid and complete. He immediately quitted the luxurious gaiety of a courtier for the austere solemnity of a monk, determined to acquire that character of sanctity to which his past life could afford him such slender pretensions. He sent the seals to the king, who had not yet returned from the continent, under the specious pretext of appropriating his whole time to the discharge of his spiritual duties; but, in reality, with the view to establish his independence, by breaking off all immediate connexions with his sovereign. That pomp and magnificence which had hitherto distinguished him were now laid aside as foreign from his purpose, or were only to be seen in his retinue, which he retained in their ancient splendour, as being well adapted to strike the minds of the vulgar with awe. With the same view he practised all the severities of church-discipline, and subjected himself to the most rigid mortification. He wore sackcloth next his skin; and, by a studied affectation to conceal it, was careful to render it an object of remark to all the world. He changed his garment so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread, and his drink water, which he made unpalatable by the infusion of unfavourable herbs. His back was torn with stripes, which he inflicted on himself. He daily washed, on his knees, in imitation of our Saviour, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents†. By his munificence to the convents and hospitals, he sought to gain the affections of the monks; and that his humility and devotion might become the subject of public commendation, he received all such as made the smallest professions of sanctity, endeavouring, by his conversation, to impress their minds with a deep sense of his own merits. His time seemed to be solely devoted to purposes of religion, to the recital of prayers and pious exhortations, or the perusal of religious discourses. His aspect wore the appearance of deep reflection and secret devotion. In short, the whole tenor of his conduct convinced every man of penetration that he was meditating some deep design; and that his ambition, diverted from its primitive course, had taken a more dangerous direction.

Nor was it long before his designs became manifest; though, previous to his elevation to the primacy, he was as well acquainted with the king's intentions‡ of retrenching, or rather confining within the ancient bounds all ecclesiastical privileges, and had always shewn a ready disposition to comply with them||, he now stood forth the determined champion of clerical immunities, and encourag-

* Epist. Divi Thomæ, l. i.—Epist. cxxvi. p. 190. + Fitz-Steph. p. 25. Quadril. p. 19. † Fitz-Steph. p. 17. || Ibid. p. 23.—Epist. St. Thom. p. 232.

ed a dangerous struggle between the crown and the mitre. In enforcing an exemption of the clergy from all civil jurisdiction, he was particularly strenuous; and, by thus renouncing all immediate subordination to the civil magistrate, he strove to establish an independence that must have proved wholly destructive of every principle of good government. The consequence of this doctrine was a dreadful augmentation of crimes; on enquiry, it had been found that, in the first nine years of Henry's reign, no less than a hundred murders had been perpetrated by ecclesiastical ruffians, who, screened from the penalties of the law, were suffered to pass unpunished*. A clerk, having debauched the daughter of a gentleman in Worcestershire, proceeded to murder the father. A crime of such magnitude, exciting universal indignation, the king was induced to attempt the remedy of an abuse that had now become intolerable, and accordingly insisted that the criminal should be delivered to the civil magistrate, that he might receive the punishment annexed by law to his offence†: but Becket refused to yield him up, and even sent him to the bishop's prison, to screen him from the pursuit of the king's officers; maintaining, at the same time, that no greater punishment than degradation could be inflicted on him‡. Another priest, who had committed sacrilege, by stealing a silver chalice from a church in London, was also demanded by the king, and refused in a similar manner by the primate.

Enormities like these aroused the nation to a sense of its danger; and, in the struggle which ensued between Henry and Becket, that turbulent prelate betrayed a degree of arrogance and presumption that rendered him an object of dread and detestation. After repeated evasions and denials, he at length swore to obey the laws and customs of the realm, as expressed and defined in *The Constitutions of Clarendon*||. But he soon repented of his condescension, and being absolved from the obligation he had formed by the *omnipotence* of the sovereign pontiff§, he loudly retracted his oath, and, again declaring war against his king, retired for protection to the court of Flanders, where his rebellious principles were strengthened by the exhortations of the pope, and where he was honoured by a visit from Lewis, who, affording him a safe retreat to the monastery of Saint Columbe, at Sens, after he had been driven, by the menaces of Henry, from the convent of Pontigny, whither he had retired.

Lewis, at this time was in high spirits at the birth of a son, who was christened by the name of Philip, to which the appellation of *Dieu-donne* (given by God) was annexed. This was the prince who afterwards acquired the title of *Augustus*; "a title," says Rigord, a contemporary writer, "which was conferred on such of the Roman emperors as had increased the imperial power; from the

* Neubr. p. 394. † Fitz. Steph. p. 33. *Quadril.* p. 32. ‡ Fitz. Steph. p. 29—*Quadr.* p. 33, 45.
—Hoveden, p. 492.—M. Paris, p. 72.—*Diceto*, p. 536, 537. Brompton. p. 1088.—*Gervase*, p. 1384.
Epist. St. Thom. p. 208, 209. || *Vita St. Thomæ*, l. i. c. xxi. p. 39. § M. Paris, p. 71, 72.

“ word *Augeo*; who then can have better claims to this title than Philip, from
 “ the augmentation which he made in his finances, from his extension of the li-
 “ mits of his kingdom, and lastly from his birth, which occurred in the month
 “ of *August*, when plenty reigns in every quarter?”

A. D. 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169.] A war now broke out between Lewis and Henry, whose minds had been mutually irritated by the affair of Becket, to whom the former extended his protection and encouragement. In consequence of some controversy in which Henry was engaged with the count of Auvergne, a vassal of the duchy of Guienne, he had invaded the territories of that nobleman, who had recourse to Lewis, as his superior lord, for protection, and thereby engaged the two monarchs in hostilities. But this war was, as usual, no less feeble in its operations, than frivolous in its cause and object: armies were, indeed, raised on both sides, and some towns and fortresses taken and demolished. These mutual depredations were, however, suspended by a truce which was signed in the month of August, 1167, and was to continue till the following Easter; but, before the truce was expired Lewis excited the factious barons of Poitou and Guienne to revolt, and, in order to secure their fidelity, he exacted from them a number of hostages. They soon, however, had reason to repent of their temerity; for Henry marched against them at the head of a powerful army, took their castles, destroyed their towns, and, in short, reduced them to the necessity of declaring their willingness to submit to his authority, provided he could rescue their hostages from the hands of Lewis. In order to remove this obstacle, Henry, having placed strong garrisons in the fortresses which he had taken, held a conference with the king of France between Mante and Pacey; but his attempts to recover the hostages were ineffectual, Lewis peremptorily refusing to restore them; and all Henry could obtain was a prolongation of the truce till Midsummer. In the mean time the barons of Poitou had again revolted; and Henry was marching to reduce them, when his attention was called to Brittany, where the nobles, in imitation of those of Poitou, stimulated by the king of France, to whom they also had delivered hostages, had proceeded to open rebellion. But this revolt was as unsuccessful as the former, as feebly sustained, and as easily quelled. The consequence of its suppression was, a second interview between Lewis and Henry; in which the former again refusing to deliver up the hostages, the truce was suffered to expire without any attempt to prolong it; and the war being in consequence renewed, was continued for several months; during which time no action occurred worthy historical notice. The two monarchs being, at length, equally tired of a contest from which neither honour nor advantage could be derived, a peace was concluded between them at Montmirail, on the sixth of January, in the year 1169. On this occasion prince Henry, eldest son to the king of England, did homage to the king of France for the territories of Anjou and Maine, which his father had ceded to him, as he had formerly done for Normandy; and Richard, his second son, did homage for the

duchy of Aquitaine. At the same time his third son, Geoffrey, did homage to his elder brother Henry, for Brittany, as a fief of the duchy of Normandy. Prince Henry was also restored to the office of grand seneschal, which had been hereditary in the counts of Anjou.

At this last interview, the imperious primate of England was induced to attend, by the persuasions of two abbots, and a monk named Bernard de Corillo, to whose interposition and influence the peace there signed is in a great measure to be attributed. To promote the reconciliation they were so anxious to effect between Becket and his sovereign, they took infinite pains to persuade the primate to conduct himself with that humility and respect which appeared to them absolutely necessary to be observed to a monarch he had so grossly offended; and these worthy priests, being now seconded by Lewis, and by all the princes and prelates who were present, in their efforts to facilitate an accommodation, at length prevailed upon the primate to listen to their remonstrances. Accordingly, when he was introduced to Henry, he fell upon his knees and offered to make his submissions, but with a salvo to the honour of God and the liberties of the church*, expressed in such ambiguous terms as would admit of any interpretation which, in future, he might find it most convenient to adopt. This could not escape the penetration of the English monarch, whom experience had rendered cautious; he therefore expressed his displeasure at the form of submission, and insisted that the primate should, without equivocation or subterfuge, promise obedience to those laws and customs which former archbishops of Canterbury had obeyed in the reigns of his predecessors, and which Becket himself had also sworn to obey when he was raised to that dignity. With this condition he at first refused to comply; but, the king refusing to dispense with it, and being strongly urged by many of the nobles and prelates, he at length consented to include in his submission, the promise required of him, though still clogged with his favourite salvo to the honour of God, and the rights of his order. Henry, provoked at his obstinacy, addressed Lewis in words of the following import:—"I am convinced, by the salvo on which this prelate insists with so much pertinacity, that it is his intention to render the honours of God subservient to his own caprice, and to construe every attempt to restrain him within the bounds of decency and moderation into a violation of the rights of his order. But, to demonstrate the duplicity of his conduct, and the sincerity of my own, I think it necessary to make this public declaration—there have been many kings of England, before me, some of greater, some of less, authority than myself; there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, distinguished for their piety and goodness, and entitled to universal respect and esteem: let Becket but observe to me the same obedience which the greatest of his predecessors has paid to the most insignificant of mine, and I shall be satisfied†."

* Epist. St. Thomæ, l. iv. Ep. 8.

† Ibid. l. ii. c. 25.

Lewis and the whole assembly were so stricken with the candour of this proposal, that they could not refrain from declaring that the concessions of the king were as great as could possibly be expected; and they earnestly exhorted the primate to accept the terms now offered to him; but Becket, with a determined obstinacy, that neither the threats of his enemies, nor the remonstrances of his friends, could induce him to depart from, adhered to his salvo, and thereby rendered the conference itself ineffectual. This conduct inspired many of the French nobility with such unfavourable ideas of Becket, that they did not scruple publicly to condemn his pride as intolerable; and to declare, that, since he chose to reject such reasonable terms, he was undeserving of protection, and ought to be expelled from the dominions both of France and England. Even Lewis himself withdrew his confidence and friendship from him for a time, though his jealousy of the English monarch soon induced him to renew their former friendly intercourse.

A. D. 1170.] At length, however, a reconciliation was effected between Henry and Becket, by the united efforts of the king of France, and pope Alexander the Third, when the primate returned to England, and once more, occupied the see of Canterbury. But, his arrogance being unsubdued by adversity, he launched forth the thunders of the church against his former opponents; suspended the archbishop of York, and excommunicated the bishops of London and Salisbury. Reginald de Warrenne, and Gervase de Cornhill, two of the king's ministers, who were employed on their duty in Kent, asked him, on hearing of this audacious attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and sword into the kingdom. But the primate, heedless of the reproof, proceeded to exert that tyranny which was congenial to his soul; and the shameful manner in which he broke the terms of his reconciliation, (by his numerous acts of violence and sedition) openly violated the laws, and bade defiance to the royal authority, fully justified the spirit of resentment that evinced itself in every part of the kingdom. Aware of the indignation he had excited, he at length retired to Canterbury, where he passed about a week in great solitude; and, if the accounts of his biographers may be credited, he received daily intelligence of fresh insults offered to his friends, and depredations committed on his estates, which induced him to remark, to one of his chief confidants, that he was convinced the contest would not end without effusion of blood; and that he was determined to die for the liberties of the church*; a declaration which plainly demonstrated, that he preferred the gratification of his favourite passions, even to the preservation of his life; and that his vanity extended its views beyond the limits of his existence. On Christmas-day, he mounted the pulpit of the cathedral, and delivered a sermon evidently composed for the rebellious purpose of inflaming the minds of his congregation, and exciting them to revenge.

† Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 78.

against all such as had opposed his measures: thus rendering, by a shameful degradation of his sacred character, the duties of religion subservient to his own infamous views, and basely prostituting, to the promotion of discord and gratification of pride, that place whence the benevolent precepts of peace and humility should alone be delivered. At the end of his sermon he is said to have predicted the near approach of his dissolution: but his conduct was strangely inconsistent with such a belief; for, instead of having recourse to those preparatory acts of piety which a mind impressed with a just sense of futurity must deem essentially requisite at that awful period, he proceeded to thunder out his anathemas against the principal adherents of Henry, and to pronounce a formal sentence of excommunication against Ranulph de Broc, his chief enemy, and his brother, Robert de Broc, who had been guilty of no other offence, than that of having, the preceding day, cut off the tail of one of his sumpter-horses; and these censures were pronounced with the most violent expressions of anger, both in his voice and countenance*.

We cannot but ascribe these pernicious measures of the primate (as we have elsewhere had occasion to remark) to his imperious and vindictive disposition, notwithstanding the adverse opinion of a celebrated historian, who is willing to impute them to his sagacity, which enabled him to foresee the intentions of Henry to enforce the constitutions of Clarendon, and to attempt to prevent their execution by these violent proceedings†.—To trace the secret operations of the human mind, even when their effects are immediately before our eyes, is a task of extreme difficulty; but, when we are deprived, by a considerable lapse of time, of those collateral circumstances, which are so materially necessary to aid our observation, how much must the uncertainty of our investigation be enhanced! Fortunately, however, the present instance is not one of those which demand any uncommon exertion to develop, as we conceive the opinion of the author we allude to, to have originated solely in his marked partiality to speculative wisdom, and in that strange desire, so frequently to be observed in philosophical writers, to ascribe the actions of a distinguished personage, to some extraordinary cause, as if such personages were exempted, by their situation, from the frailties of human nature, and, by their rank, from the failings of their inferiors. Had Becket, in this instance, deviated from the general tenor of his conduct, we might, indeed, have been led to impute it to some particular motive, and, perhaps, have been induced to admit that he was rather guided by his knowledge, than influenced by his passions; but his conduct, from the first commencement of hostilities between him and his sovereign, had been invariably the same: he had constantly betrayed an aversion from pacific measures; impeded every attempt that had been made to promote a reconciliation; systematically sacrificed duty, moderation, nay, even interest itself, to the

* Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. c. 10, p. 118.

† Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 414.

gratification of pride, vanity, and revenge; and when, at last, he was compelled to accept the concessions of Henry, which, though less than his ambition had urged him to hope for, was greater than his penetration could suffer him to expect, instead of evincing an anxiety to cement the peace by the adoption of mild and conciliatory measures, his thoughts were solely employed on the most effectual means of satiating his vengeance. On his arrival in England, he embraced the earliest opportunity of putting his baleful projects in execution; nay, even previous to his embarkation, he had found means to convey the sentences of excommunication to the prelates; and those censures, which he now issued, proceeded from the same polluted source: they were links of one continued chain, unbroken, uninterrupted. It is evident, therefore, that Becket in this, as in almost every circumstance in the whole course of his contest with Henry, had suffered his passions to overcome his reason; nor can we indeed conceive any possible display of sagacity in an attempt to deter his sovereign from the pursuit of a favourite object by a frequent repetition of insults. Firmness and resolution may sometimes intimidate; but insults and injuries can only excite a desire of revenge.

Advice of Becket's violent proceedings being sent to the king, who then resided at Bayeux in Normandy (where the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury had previously arrived), and, probably, aggravated by the representations of his courtiers—if measures of so pernicious a tendency could admit of aggravation—he burst forth into one of those passionate exclamations to which he was peculiarly addicted. The precise words of this effusion of anger have been variously related by different historians and biographers; they all, however, appear to agree in the more essential point of their import, viz.—that they were strongly expressive of his indignation at the ingratitude of the primate, whom he had raised from a state of obscurity to the most elevated station; and demonstrative of the lukewarm zeal of his courtiers and servants, who had so long suffered him to be insulted with impunity by a factious and turbulent priest*.

Henry, having thus given vent to the first impulse of his rage, thought no more of what he had said; but, unfortunately, the words of a sovereign are never suffered to fall disregarded: every trivial expression is eagerly watched by those courtly panders, whose officious zeal, scorning the tamer principles of *passive* obedience, is ever on the wing to supply food for the caprice of the monarch, to *anticipate* his wishes, and to sacrifice his honour to his frailty. Though this consideration must inevitably lead to the most melancholy reflections on the unhappy state of royalty, it cannot be too firmly impressed on the minds of princes, as it affords the most powerful motives to prudent circumspection; inculcates the necessity of continual restraint; teaches, that, to the

* Gervase, p. 1414; Parker, p. 207; Vita S. Thomæ, p. 119.

enjoyment of a superior station, the discharge of superior duty is invariably attached; and, finally, enforces the strong discrimination that must ever subsist between the monarch and the man.

The king's passionate exclamation being misinterpreted by four of the barons who attended on his person, they immediately formed the resolution, either to awe Becket into submission by threats; or, if those should prove ineffectual, which they were unwilling to believe, to free their sovereign from inquietude by putting him to death*. Having thus laid their plan, without imparting their intentions to any one, they withdrew from court at different times, and took different roads, in order to avoid suspicion. On their arrival in England, they hastened to Canterbury, where they waited on Becket *unarmed*, and endeavoured to persuade him to recall the sentences of excommunication he had unjustly issued, and to make proper submission for the violence and illegality of his conduct. The primate, however, remained inflexible; alike deaf to entreaties and callous to threats, he rather sought, by taunts and abuse, to irritate, than by argument and reason to soothe; these hostile barons, whose fatal designs he more than suspected; in short, it appears probable, from his behaviour in this instance, when compared to his previous conduct, that his mind was inflated by the vain hope of procuring a place on the honourable list of martyrs.—Provoked by his reproofs, and enraged at his obstinacy, the barons at length completed their dreadful purpose; the altar of the cathedral was stained with the blood of the primate, and his assassins, conducted by a blind and impious rage, clove his skull with repeated blows, and besmeared the hallowed pavement with his brains†.

Such was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket. Of his murder there could be but one opinion; but his conduct and character have been as variously represented as any historical event of the most doubtful complexion. That he was a man of extensive abilities we are not permitted to doubt, as the concurring accounts of all the historians of those times evidently tend to confirm the fact; but the actions of his life most certainly afford not the smallest proof of superior wisdom. If we believe that, during his enjoyment of the high office of chancellor, his ostentatious display of extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his avowed fondness for scenes of dissipation, were wholly affected, and that he had adopted a regular system of hypocrisy, in order to attain to that elevated station to which he was afterwards promoted, we must, indeed, allow him to have been possessed of acute penetration and consummate art: but, if from thence we are induced to admit the sincerity of his conduct as primate; to believe that he was truly of opinion the cause of religion could be promoted by the encouragement of clerical usurpations, the protection of ecclesiastical culprits, a con-

* M. Paris, p. 86; Brompton, p. 1065; Benedict Abbas, p. 10. + Vita S. Thomæ, l. iii. c. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.

tempt for the laws of the realm, a violation of solemn oaths, and an attempt to excite a rebellion; if we are led to suppose that Becket could really entertain such sentiments, notwithstanding the prevalent spirit of superstition, we must strenuously maintain that he betrayed a weakness of mind incompatible with those endowments which his eulogists have, with indiscriminate profusion, conferred on him. On the other hand, if we transfer his hypocrisy from the chancellor to the primate—for the suspicion to which every sudden and violent transition is justly exposed, renders it impossible to exempt him wholly from the charge of dissimulation—we are equally at a loss to discover any vestige of his wisdom. In either case, we find that Thomas a Becket was destitute of the grand requisite in every minister, but more especially in the chief minister of religion; that is, virtue. He was, however, possessed of those inferior qualities which, too frequently, cause the want of it to be overlooked. His personal accomplishments were great: he was deeply skilled, like most of the dignified clergy of that age, in the theological chicanery of the schools, in all the insidious arts of sophistry, which, being decorated with the specious embellishments of erudition, wore the appearance, and had too often the effect, of solid argument. He was endued with a considerable portion of native cunning; his spirit was lofty and imperious; his courage no dangers could daunt: his designs, though seldom adopted with prudence, were, from his inflexible perseverance in their prosecution, sometimes crowned with that success which should be solely confined to the exertions of wisdom and integrity. His favourite schemes were of a most pernicious tendency, being calculated to emancipate the ministers of religion from the necessary restraints of law, and to subject his king and country to the domination of a foreign power. His vanity was excessive; he was obstinate and implacable—equally unmoved by the entreaties of his friends, and the threats of his enemies. His conduct was invariably marked by a spirit of violence, revenge, and ambition, strangely derogatory to his sacred character, as it evinced a more anxious sollicitude in the pursuit of terrestrial objects, than in the attainment of religious consolation. Among the numerous vices of this extraordinary man, his signal ingratitude to his royal benefactor holds a conspicuous place, and has fixed an indelible stain upon that character which, stripped of the vain garb in which the weak sons of superstition and prejudice had arrayed it, now stands exposed to posterity in its native colours, and discovers the sinner in the saint*.

* The abbé Velly observes, (t. iii. p. 197.) that “when the church canonized the virtues of the saint, it did not pretend to consecrate the defects and vices of the man.” This remark appears to be tinged with that subtlety of distinction which prevailed in the schools, and which marked the disputations and writings of the divines, of the middle ages. We can easily discriminate between the monarch and the man; since we know that there are various actions for which man, in his individual capacity, is entitled to commendation, and which, nevertheless, incur censure when committed by a monarch. But what commendable action can a man commit that would disgrace a saint? On the contrary, do not the virtues of the man constitute the saint? In other words—is not the justice of a man’s pretensions to sanctity, as displayed in the tenor of his life, the only motive (independent of miracles) which is supposed to influence

A. D. 1172, 1173.] The assassins of Becket escaped the punishment due to their crimes; and Henry, having averted the formidable thunders of the vatican, by a timely submission to the pope, more politic than honourable, directed his attention to the conquest of Ireland. Lewis, in the mean time, spared no pains to interrupt his repose, and to disturb his government. Henry had caused his eldest son to be crowned in England, while Margaret, wife to the prince, and daughter to Lewis, was in France; and the French monarch, to avenge the affront, turned his arms against the duchy of Normandy. But the prudence of the king of England extinguished this spark of hostility almost as soon as it was kindled, he promised that the ceremony of the coronation should be repeated; and Margaret was solemnly crowned at Winchester with her husband, by the archbishop of Rouen, assisted by the bishops of Evreux and Winchester. On the return of the young couple to Normandy, they were permitted to visit the court of France, where Lewis first poisoned the mind of his son-in-law with that ardent degree of independence, the origin of equal affliction to his father and himself. He persuaded him that, by the ceremony of his coronation, he had acquired a title to sovereignty; and that his father could not, without flagrant injustice, refuse to cede to him the whole, or at least a part of his dominions.

Lewis was assisted in his attempt to inculcate these extravagant ideas into the mind of young Henry by queen Eleonora, the mother of that prince, (who was enraged at her husband on account of his gallantries), by her uncle Ralfe de Faye, and, in short, by almost every one who attended on the person, or partook of the favour of the prince. A conspiracy was formed by these insidious agents of rebellion, to dethrone the king of England, and invest his son with regal authority. The plot was conducted with the utmost secrecy, and several foreign princes were engaged, by promises of extravagant grants from young Henry, to promote its execution. When the plan was finally arranged, he left the court of Lewis, and, on his return, desired his father to resign to him the immediate possession, either of the crown of England, or of the duchy of Nor-

his canonization? And are not defects and vices incompatible with sanctity? But Becket did not become a saint till after his death—what then, in the name of common sense, can the good abbé mean, by saying that the virtues of the saint were the object of canonization with the church? Does he by virtues mean miracles? But we know that the miracles said to be performed by Becket were never submitted to a formal examination; and that, without the usual process, and contrary to the established rules, he was canonized two years after his death, on the same principle, probably, that the execution of certain criminals is accelerated. Admitting, too, for a moment, that for virtues we are to read miracles—let us ask how the miracles of the saint could be canonized, when he could be no saint till the ceremony of canonization was performed? But virtues are, in this case, evidently opposed to vices, and therefore must either mean the virtues of the archbishop of Canterbury, or nothing at all. The abbé appears to have been conscious that the church stood in need of excuse for canonizing such a man as Becket, and was, therefore, willing for once to sacrifice the candour of the historian to the zeal of the divine. Many authors have escaped censure by rendering themselves unintelligible; it is possible the abbé might, in this instance, be tempted to make a similar effort.

mandy, together with the territories of Anjou and Maine. On the king's refusal to comply with this insolent demand, he openly expressed his discontent, spoke of him in the most undutiful terms, and took the earliest opportunity of effecting his escape into France, where he hoisted the standard of rebellion. He was speedily joined by his brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and by a considerable number of the factious barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine*.

Though sensibly affected by the ingratitude of his children, and the revolt of many of his subjects who were indebted to his liberality for the affluence they enjoyed; though pressed on all sides by a multitude of foes, and almost destitute of friends, Henry did not suffer his courage to be diminished by the depression of his spirits, but sought to oppose the dangers that threatened him, by an adequate exertion of wisdom, activity, and valour. He dispatched ambassadors to the French court to remonstrate with Lewis on the impropriety of his conduct, in encouraging and supporting the unnatural rebellion of his sons. He wrote accounts of his situation to all the princes in Europe; and even solicited the pope to issue the censures of the church against his undutiful children and their infamous accomplices; he sent orders to all the governors of his towns and fortresses to be upon their guard, and to prepare for an attack; and enjoined all his barons, in whom he could repose any degree of confidence, to be ready to attend him with their followers. He likewise engaged in his service an army of twenty thousand Brabancons†, a kind of mercenary banditti, who infested all the European states, subsisted upon plunder, and, like the modern Swiss, were ready to engage in the service of any prince who would pay them with punctuality. The event soon evinced the sagacity of these precautions; for, early in the spring of 1173, hostilities commenced, and attacks were made on many different places at the same time. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne began their operations on the frontiers of Normandy, by laying siege to Aumale, which was surrendered into their hands by the treachery of its governor, the count of Aumale. They next besieged and took Neufchatel and Driencourt; but the count of Boulogne, having received a mortal wound in the knee at the last of these places, his brother, the count of Flanders, was so much affected with his loss, which he was inclined to regard as a punishment for having engaged in an unjust enterprise, that he immediately withdrew all his troops from Normandy‡.

During this time the factious barons of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine, and Brittany, had openly revolted, and laid waste the royal demesnes in their respective provinces. Lewis had entered Normandy, with young Henry, at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to Vetneuil, then a strong town in the Perche. Nor was England undisturbed during this general commotion: the king

* W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 27.
brigen. l. ii. c. 27.

† R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306, 307; P. Blefins, Epist. 153; W. Neu-
‡ R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 306; W. Neubrigen. l. ii. c. 28.

of Scotland invaded Cumberland, besieged the city of Carlisle, and desolated the adjacent country; while the vassals of the earl of Leicester, and other rebellious noblemen, appeared in arms in the centre of the kingdom*.

Henry, having checked the progress of the Flemings, now marched to the relief of Verneuil, which had been vigorously defended by Hugh de Lacy and Hugh de Beauchamp, the governors: but, after a month's siege, the garrison had been compelled to capitulate through want of provisions; and had engaged, if not relieved within three days, to surrender the town, and retire to the citadel. On the last day the king of England appeared with his army on the height above Verneuil; which induced Lewis, who had believed him to be at a considerable distance, to raise the siege, and retire with such precipitation, that his camp was left a prey to the English. The vassals of the crown being disgusted with the ill success they had experienced, and their time of service being now expired, disbanded, and retired into their several provinces.

After the retreat of Lewis, Henry dispatched a body of Brabancons to suppress the insurrections in Brittany, where the revolt had been more general, and attended with greater mischief, than in the other provinces: these overtook the rebel army near Dol, when an action ensued, in which the insurgents were completely defeated; fifteen hundred of them being killed on the spot, and their leaders, the earl of Chester and the count de Fougères, compelled to take shelter in the town of Dol.

On the reception of this pleasing intelligence the English monarch left Rouen, and, marching all night, arrived at Dol the next morning, and pressed the siege of that place with so much ardour, that he obliged the governor and garrison to surrender at discretion†. By the adoption of these vigorous measures the insurrections in Brittany were entirely quelled, and Henry, in the course of a few months, found the insidious projects of his numerous enemies totally disconcerted.

These considerations induced Lewis to propose a conference, to which Henry, hoping that the advantages he had obtained would, at least, ensure him reasonable terms, willingly consented: and the two monarchs accordingly met between Trie and Gisors, where the king of England had the mortification to see his three sons in the retinue of his rival and his foe. As Lewis had no other pretence for war than that of supporting the claims of the young princes, Henry made them such offers as children ought to be ashamed to insist on, and as nothing but excess of parental affection could possibly have extorted from him. He insisted only on maintaining the sovereign authority in all his dominions; and offered to young Henry half the revenues of England, with some places of strength in that kingdom, or, if he rather chose to reside in Normandy, half the revenues of that duchy, with all those of Anjou. To Richard he proposed to

* Benedikt. Abbas, p. 54. † R. Hoveden; W. Neubrig. ubi ante citat. ‡ Idem, ibid. l. ii. c. 29.
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cede half the revenues of Guienne, with four important fortresses; and to Geoffrey he promised to resign Brittany; and, if these concessions were not deemed sufficient, he offered to make such additions as the pope's legates, who were then present, should think requisite*.

The earl of Leicester, who attended the conference, either from the impetuosity of his temper, or—which is more probable—from the fear that proposals so generous would not be rejected, and that his own personal safety or interest might be affected by a reconciliation between the English monarch and his sons, broke forth into the most violent reproaches against Henry, and even put his hand to his sword, as if he intended to make an attempt on the life of his sovereign; which threw the assembly into such confusion, that it immediately broke up, and put an end to the negotiation†.

A. D. 1174.] Henry, by this means, being once more exposed to the dangerous combination of his foes, thought it necessary to remove every shadow of doubt from the minds of his clergy, and from those of his subjects in general, as to the sincerity of that violent grief which he had evinced on the murder of Becket. For this purpose he repaired to Canterbury, and, when he came in sight of the cathedral, at a distance of three miles, dismounted, and walked barefoot towards it, in a road that was so full of sharp pointed stones, that his feet were soon stained with blood. On his arrival, he prostrated himself before the shrine of the reputed saint, submitted his bare shoulders to the scourge of the monks, and passed a day and a night in abstinence and prayer, near the tomb of Becket. It is difficult to say whether the conduct of Henry, in this particular, was influenced by motives merely political, or by a spirit of unaffected though mistaken piety. Strong reasons might certainly be adduced, in support of either conjecture. As he was indisputably a prince of consummate wisdom, he could not be insensible to the despotic influence of superstition over the weak minds of the multitude; and, as he found a spirit of rebellion prevail throughout his dominions, he might be justly apprehensive that his enemies had availed themselves of the only circumstance of his reign that had excited a single murmur of discontent, to promote a general disaffection; and that the minds of his people being poisoned by their artful insinuations, they had been induced to mistrust the sincerity of his sorrow on the death of the primate, and to entertain strong doubts of his innocence. At this critical conjuncture it was essentially requisite to remove suspicions so pregnant with danger; and the mode he adopted for that purpose would afford the most complete demonstration of his political wisdom. If, however, we believe him to be solely influenced by motives of policy, we must certainly think him obnoxious to censure; as an affectation of piety, for whatever purpose it be assumed, is an insult to the Deity.

* Hoveden, p. 539.—Brompton, p. 1088.

† Hoveden, p. 536.

But, in the prevalence of superstition, in the times we are now delineating, which not only infected the minds of the vulgar, but shed its dreary influence over all ranks of men, we might find great reason to believe, that the conduct of Henry originated in a spirit of unaffected devotion. Thus influenced, though innocent of the murder of Becket, he might deem it necessary to impose some exemplary penance on himself, as a punishment for yielding to that impulse of passion which occasioned his death. In this case, though the lustre of his wisdom might be somewhat tarnished, he would be exempt from the more serious censure of religious profanation. Whatever might be the effect of the intercession of Saint Thomas, Henry soon triumphed over his numerous enemies; in England he defeated and took the king of Scots; and the rebellious earls of Leicester and Chester experienced a similar fate; nor were his efforts on the continent less successful.

Lewis, at the head of a numerous army, had made an irruption into Normandy, and formed the siege of Rouen*, where he was joined by prince Henry and the count of Flanders, with a powerful body of Flemings, that had been collected for the purpose of invading England. The place was defended with great vigour by the inhabitants†, and by several of the Norman barons, who, having preserved their fidelity to the king of England, had thrown themselves into the city, with their vassals; and Lewis, despairing to take it by open force, had recourse to a stratagem that was justly deemed dishonourable:—on the eve of St. Laurence, he proclaimed a cessation of arms in his own camp for the next day, under pretence of celebrating that festival; and the citizens of Rouen, glad to procure a short respite from the incredible fatigues they had experienced during the siege, observed it in perfect security, in full confidence of the sincerity of the French monarch. While they were enjoying this temporary relaxation, by diverting themselves with tilts and tournaments, on the south side of the river, in sight of the enemy, some priests had ascended the tower where the alarm-bell hung, in order to indulge their curiosity with a view of the enemy's camp. The stillness that prevailed over all their quarters first excited their surprise; but, soon perceiving detachments moving from different places to one particular spot, they began to suspect some act of treachery; and their suspicions were speedily confirmed by discovering a number of ladders, and other necessary implements for an assault. They immediately rang the alarm-bell, and gave warning to the inhabitants, who ran to their several stations. The French, who, on hearing the alarm, hastened their attack, had already applied their ladders, and mounted the walls in different places; but, being repulsed by the enraged citizens, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss‡.

This scheme was probably concerted in order to anticipate the diligence of Henry, who, having quelled the insurrections in England, hastened to the relief

* Brompton, p. 1026.

† Diceto, p. 578.

‡ Brompt. p. 1396; W. Neub. p. 417; Heming, p. 503.

of his continental dominions. He landed at Barfleur in the month of August, with his Brabancons, and a thousand Welsh troops, and entered the city of Rouen in triumph, to the great joy of the inhabitants. The morning after his arrival he sent out a scouring party, which intercepted a considerable convoy of provisions destined for the French camp. Lewis, now despairing to reduce the city, and finding himself in an enemy's country, destitute of supply, began to be anxious for his own safety; and, in order to extricate himself from the danger that menaced him, had recourse to a second artifice, still less justifiable than the first:—he sent ambassadors to propose a conference at Malauny, and a truce of two days, as preparatory to the adjustment of a general peace, which he knew Henry was anxious to obtain. The proposals being accepted, Lewis, under the protection of the truce, marched his army through the Green Forest; but, instead of halting at Malauny to attend the conference, pursued his march, with great precipitation, into his own territories*.

Though Lewis had escaped from a perilous situation by this dishonourable stratagem, he began to be apprehensive of the effects of Henry's resentment; who, being now victorious in every quarter, and absolute master of his extensive dominions, might exact a severe vengeance for the dangers and disquietudes to which the arms and intrigues of France had exposed him. Henry, on his side, was anxious to terminate an unnatural contest, in which he had been so long engaged with his own children. Thus the necessity of an accommodation being felt by both parties, a conference was proposed by Lewis and accepted by Henry: a cessation of arms was the immediate consequence; and the two monarchs repaired to the appointed place, between Tours and Amboise, on the twenty-ninth of September; where a peace was concluded, by which the formidable conspiracy against the king of England was dissolved, and all those who had been engaged in it released from their oaths. The terms which that monarch granted to his sons, though less advantageous than those he had formerly offered, were still more favourable than their conduct had given them reason to expect. He assigned them stipulated pensions for their support, and some castles for their residence; and granted them an indemnity for all their adherents, who were restored to their estates and honours, except the king of Scots, and the earls of Leicester and Chester, who were detained till the conclusion of a separate peace. A mutual oblivion of injuries was agreed on; and prince Henry consented to confirm all the grants which had been made by his father during the war.

Thus finished a war the commencement of which had threatened destruction to the power of Henry, but in the conduct whereof he had displayed the pru-

* R. de Diceto, p. 579.—Brompton, p. 1098. † Rymer Fœdera, l. i. p. 39, 40.—Bened. Abb. p. 88.—Hoveden, p. 540.—R. de Diceto, p. 583.—Brompton, p. 1098.—Heming, p. 505.—Chron. Dunst. p. 36.

dence of a sage, and the courage of a hero. The peace now concluded produced a sincere reconciliation between the two monarchs ; the one was averse from war as well by inclination, as by the dread with which the disobedient conduct of his children had inspired him ; the other, whose health was daily declining, earnestly wished to leave his dominions in a state of perfect tranquillity, as the tender age of his son was ill adapted to the tumult of arms. What trifling disputes afterwards occurred between them were amicably settled by arbitration. One, indeed, of a more serious complexion, took place ; which must inevitably have produced a rupture, had not the dictates of resentment been silenced by the suggestions of policy.

A. D. 1177.] Alice, the youngest daughter of Lewis, was betrothed to Richard, the second son of the king of England. One of the conditions of the marriage-treaty was, that the princess should be brought up at the court of her father-in-law till such times as she arrived at years of maturity. Having now attained that period, Lewis insisted that the consummation of their marriage should no longer be protracted. Henry, however, who had already experienced the evil effects of an alliance with France, in the conduct of his eldest son, evinced a reluctance to comply with the request of Lewis, which no motives of prudence nor policy could induce him to forego. The king, finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, made application to the pope, who interposed his authority, by threatening to lay all the dominions of Henry under an interdict, if he did not allow the marriage to be immediately consummated. To avert the impending danger, he thought it necessary to repair to the continent ; and, embarking at Portsmouth in the month of August, arrived safe in France. A conference took place between the two monarchs, in the following month, at which a legate from the pope was present ; and Henry found means to prevent the interdict, and likewise to elude the immediate consummation of his son's marriage, on condition that he should assume the cross, and accompany Lewis in an expedition to the Holy Land. The reluctance evinced by the king of England to fulfil this article of the treaty has been ascribed, by several historians, to an affection which he is said to have himself conceived for the destined consort of his son ; and most of them intimate that the young princess was seduced to comply with the king's criminal desires. But he had so many motives, founded in justice and policy, to influence his conduct in this particular, that it is needless to seek for an extraordinary cause ; besides, his advanced age, and consummate prudence, render it highly improbable that he should have been guilty of an action that must have exposed him to universal detestation.

A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between Lewis and Henry at this interview, the preamble of which is remarkable—" We wish all the world
" to know, that such is, and such in future ever will be, our friendship, that
" each of us will defend the life, the limbs, the dignity, and the possessions of
" the other. I, Henry, will assist Lewis, king of France (my lord) with all my

“ forces :—I, Lewis, will assist Henry, king of England, (my man and my vassal) with all my power ; saving, nevertheless, the faith which we reciprocally owe to our vassals, so long as they shall remain faithful*.” The two monarchs afterward adopted such measures as they thought necessary, not only to ensure success to their expedition against the infidels of Palestine, but to protect from insult their respective dominions during their absence. Neither of them, however, embarked in the perilous undertaking ; the ardour of Lewis was cooled by his former misfortunes, and the nobility of France strongly remonstrated against the hazardous and unprofitable enterprise ; while the embarrassed situation of his affairs rendered the presence of Henry necessary in his own kingdom.

A. D. 1179.] An anxious regard for the succession of his crown, and the tranquillity of his kingdom, had induced Lewis to bestow his hand on his present consort ; and the birth of his son Philip had crowned his hopes and wishes. But his fears were soon alarmed for the safety of the young prince, whose horse ran away with him, as he was pursuing the chase, in the forest of Compiègne†. Sequestered from the search of his attendants, the heir of France was condemned to pass a tedious night, oppressed by solitude and despair. His feeble mind was incapable of sustaining the horror of his situation ; and, when found in the morning, a dangerous fit of illness was the effect of his fright.

The king, in the midst of his grief, recollected his good friend Thomas a Becket, at whose tomb he was assured numbers of miracles were daily performing. He therefore determined to solicit the interposition of a saint who had experienced his earthly protection ; and accordingly repaired to England, accompanied by Philip, count of Flanders ; Baldwin, count of Guines ; Henry, duke of Louvain ; William, count of Mandeville ; and by several other noblemen. He was received at Canterbury by Henry with royal hospitality and magnificence ; and he there sought to conciliate the favour of Becket, not only by humiliation and prayer, but by splendid gifts and princely offerings.—He left at his shrine a cup of gold of admirable workmanship, and granted to the cathedral an annual tribute of a *hundred hogsheads of wine*, to be sent from the royal mansion of Poissy, at his own expence. He also granted an exemption to the monks belonging to the church from all duties on whatever articles they might purchase in France ; which was confirmed by a charter, to which he made his chancellor, Hugh de Puteaux, affix the great seal.

On the return of Lewis to France, finding his health materially affected by the agitation he had experienced, he resolved to hasten the coronation of his son, who had perfectly recovered from his late illness. He was disabled, however, from attending the ceremony, by a sudden stroke of apoplexy ; which was followed by a paralytic affection in his right side, that announced his speedy

* Hoveden, apud Duchesne, t. iv. p. 433.

† Rigord, apud Duch. t. v. p. 5.

dissolution. Philip, nevertheless, was crowned in the presence of Henry, son to the English monarch, who, as duke of Normandy, bore the royal diadem; of the count of Flanders, who carried the sword of state; and by the other great vassals and officers of the crown. It is said, that Lewis, for the purpose of establishing better order and greater regularity at the ceremony, chose twelve peers of the realm to attend it, who afterwards formed that body, so celebrated in history under the appellation of the Twelve Peers of France, and who composed the chief council of the nation; and had, in the sequel, the exclusive right of sitting in the parliament, or chief court of justice, of attending the *beds of justice*, and all other public ceremonies. At the same time the archbishop of Rheims had sufficient influence to secure, for his church, the exclusive right of anointing the kings of France; a prerogative which was confirmed by a bull of pope Alexander the Third.

The coronation of Philip was succeeded by the celebration of his marriage with Isabella, the daughter of Baldwin, count of Hainault. That princess was descended, in a direct line, from Hermengarde, the eldest daughter of the unfortunate Charles, duke of Lorraine, brother to Lothaire the Second, and uncle to Lewis the Fifth. The French still revered the memory of the Calovingian princes, whom they generally distinguished by the honourable appellation of *The Great Kings*. This re-union of the royal families, this alliance of the blood of Charlemagne with the blood of Hugh Capet, gave them inexpressible pleasure. Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, uncle to the new queen, ceded to her husband the county of Artois, together with all his pretensions to that of Hainault.

A. D. 1180.] The tranquillity of Lewis was established too late, and the progress of disease could not be checked by the prospect of happiness. He died at Paris, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign; and was interred, in his royal robes, at the church belonging to the abbey of Barbeau, two leagues from Melun, which he had founded and richly endowed.

The character of this prince has been variously represented by different historians: by some he is said to have been just and upright in his conduct, but, in genius, below mediocrity; bold in conception, but irresolute in execution; in danger timid, even to cowardice; and in manners simple, even to meanness*—Others represent him as a king devoid of malice, a suspicious husband, a turbulent neighbour, and a too credulous man†.—But the more ancient writers give him a very different character; one, in particular‡, assigns him all the valuable qualities of an honest man, united to the prudence and moderation of a sage; little skilled in literature, but generous, beneficent and just; the protector of the laws, and the father of his people.—The restoration of Eleanor's dower;

* Pere Daniel, tom. i. p. 654, 655.

† Le Gendre, tom. ii. p. 363.

‡ Chron. Anon. apud

Duch. tom. iv. p. 444.

though mentioned by some as a mark of imbecility, was certainly a strong proof of his justice. But his conduct, with regard to Henry, whose tranquillity he disturbed, by exciting his sons to rebel, appears to be a well-founded subject of censure and reproach; though it is necessary to observe, that the fact is not mentioned by any of the French historians. Upon the whole, his virtues greatly overbalanced his defects; nor can that character be regarded as doubtful, in which humanity and piety form the leading features.

Lewis had three wives: Eleanora of Guienne, whom he repudiated; Constance of Castille, who died in child-bed; and Adela, or Alice, of Champagne, who survived him. By the first he had two daughters: Mary, wife to Henry the First, count of Champagne; and Alice, married to Thibaud, count of Blois, and brother to Henry. The second gave birth to two princesses: Alice, who died in her infancy; and Margaret, who first married Henry, son to the king of England, and afterward Bela, king of Hungary. By his third wife, he had Philip, who succeeded to the throne; and two princesses, Adela, or Alice, betrothed to Richard, son to the English monarch, but married to William, count of Ponthieu; and Agnes, who was first affianced to Alexis Comnenus, emperor of the East, afterwards married to Andronicus, who murdered that prince, and usurped his throne; and lastly wife to a private gentleman, named Theodore Branas, with whom she first lived, during a considerable time, as his mistress.

PHILIP THE SECOND,

SURNAMED AUGUSTUS.

A. D. 1181.] WHEN Philip assumed the reigns of government he was but in his fifteenth year. The count of Flanders, the uncle of his queen was suffered to enjoy the name and honours of regent; but, although his councils might influence, his authority was never permitted to controul the inclination of the youthful monarch, who soon displayed the most evident symptoms of an unbounded thirst for dominion, and a zealous desire to extend the royal prerogative. From his birth, which established the peaceable succession to the crown

of France, Philip attained the expressive surname of *The gift of God*. As he advanced in life, his vanity was gratified by the appellation conferred on him by his courtiers, of *Conqueror*, and the *Magnanimous*; and, after his death, the surname of *Augustus* was added to his other titles. The first and last of these names might be due to the auspicious moment in which he entered the world, and the manner in which he conducted himself through it; but his rage for *conquest* was opportunely checked by the personal valour of Richard of England; and his *magnanimity* is but ill attested by the envious perfidy, with which he deserted that prince on the hostile shores of Palestine.

Lewis imagined he had taken every necessary precaution for the prevention of disorders in the kingdom on the accession of his son; but the jealousy and ambition of the nobles rendered those precautions fruitless. The princes of Champagne, uncles to the young monarch, were envious of the influence and authority of the count of Flanders; the queen-mother joined in their complaints, and loudly insisted that her claims to the regency were infinitely preferable to those of a foreigner, whose interest in the welfare of her son she represented as feeble and doubtful. The count of Sancerre was the first to hoist the standard of rebellion; but the youthful ardor of Philip gave a timely check to his progress, by reducing his castles, ravaging his estates, and laying waste his possessions with fire and sword.

The queen-dowager next displayed her resentment, and, by her retreat to Normandy, involved the whole kingdom in confusion. She experienced a favourable reception from the English monarch, who willingly consented to grant the assistance she required, and, repairing to Normandy, advanced with a numerous army to second her demands. But Philip was already prepared to encounter a prince, whom he regarded as his hereditary foe; and the king of England, either doubtful of the event, or influenced by those sentiments of equity and moderation, by which his conduct was generally actuated, consented to listen to terms of accommodation. Even in the arts of negotiation, Philip displayed a degree of caution, vigour and wisdom, far beyond his years: averse from either extreme, he rejected the presumptuous claims of the rebels, and the advice of the count of Flanders, to decide the dispute by the sword. Though, to his mother, he professed a proper degree of duty, as a son; he asserted, nevertheless, the independent authority of a sovereign; he offered a free pardon to the nobles who had engaged in the revolt; and Henry urging them to submit, an accommodation took place, in which the former peace between the crowns of France and England was confirmed.

The return of the queen-dowager to Paris proved fatal to the authority of the regent; that princess, seconded by two of the king's favourites, the lords of Couci and Clermont, incessantly remonstrated with her son, on the impropriety of entrusting the reins of government to a nobleman, whose power was already so extensive, by the possession of so many rich and fertile provinces; they repre-

fented him as a prince of a violent disposition, incapable of restraint in the gratification of his passions, either by the duties of religion, or the dictates of honour. In short, such was the impression which their calumnious assertions made on the mind of the young monarch, that the count soon perceived a very sensible change in his conduct; but, far from seeking to stem the torrent, he prudently withdrew from the scene of contention, and retired to his own dominions, without uttering a single expression of resentment.

The management of affairs was then entrusted to Robert Clement, of Mentz, to whom the education of Philip had been confided by the late king. He is spoken of, by historians, as a man of strict integrity, and possessed of every quality that could fit him for a situation so arduous and delicate; great hopes were consequently formed of his administration; but these were speedily destroyed by his sudden death. He was succeeded in his office and dignities by his brother, Gilles Clement; but he too died in a few months after his elevation, and made way for the cardinal of Champagne, brother to the queen-dowager, who was appointed to the presidency of the council, and the post of prime minister. The commencement of this prelate's administration was marked by an act of rigour, which has been alternately commended as prudent and politic, and censured as cruel and unjust—this was the banishment of the Jews.

That people, in whose disposition industry and avarice were inseparably blended, had, by oppressive usury, acquired, if ancient authors may be credited, one third of the landed property throughout the dominions of Philip. The improbability of this circumstance is considerably diminished, when we consider that the nobles themselves were not ashamed to encourage their practices, and to partake their profits*. The protection they had thus acquired, emboldened them in the pursuit of their infamous traffic, and increased their insolence to such a degree, that when a debtor was unable to pay their exorbitant demands, they compelled him to renounce his liberty, and become their slave. Philip, willing to relieve his subjects from such oppression, had recourse to a hermit named Bernard, who resided in the wood of Vincennes; by whose advice he resolved to expel all the Jews from his territories. He accordingly issued an edict, by which they were ordered to quit the kingdom in three months; all their real property was confiscated, and the debts that were due to them declared null, on condition that the debtors should pay a fifth part of the sum they owed *to the king*. Their moveable effects and ready money they were permitted to take with them; but even this indulgence was in a great measure rendered futile, by the short time allowed them to profit by it. After the expiration of the term prescribed by the edict, every species of violence was exercised against them. Their synagogues were all converted into churches.

Though the conduct of the Jews indisputably required correction, both speedy and effectual, yet surely it was not necessary to substitute cruelty and oppres-

* Rigord, apud Duch. t. v. p. 2.

sion for rigid and impartial justice. The severity of the decree admits not of excuse; it was evidently dictated by fanaticism, and the circumstances attending its execution afford the most incontestible evidence that the severity of Philip was influenced by motives of interest. To exonerate debtors who had long groaned beneath the oppressive exactions of avarice might be proper; but to appropriate to his own use a fifth part of the debts that were due to others, was to sanction that injustice which he pretended to condemn. In a political point of view too his conduct was highly censurable, since he deprived himself of a number of subjects, whose labours, when directed in a proper channel, and submitted to the salutary restraints of law, might have proved highly beneficial to the state. Confined must be the comprehension, shallow the judgment, and feeble the talents of that politician, who knows not how to convert the channel of abuse into a source of utility, and who prefers destruction to reformation.

A. D. 1182, 1183.] The other regulations which Philip adopted at this period, are more worthy of commendation. He enlarged his capital, by enclosing within its walls the neighbouring villages, strengthened its fortifications, increased its buildings, and established rules, not less wholesome than necessary, for the preservation of order and cleanliness. He diminished the number of those unfortunate women who infested the streets, and made places the most sacred the scene of their prostitutions. A worthy priest, named Peter de Roissi, undertook to convert them, and by the piety of his precepts, and the ardour of his exhortations, he so far succeeded as to render many of them useful members of society—numbers were afterwards married, and discharged the duties of wives and mothers with a strictness and propriety that bespoke the sincerity of their conversion; while not a few of them took the veil in the convent of Saint Anthony at Paris, which was founded about this time, for the purpose of affording them a safe and comfortable retreat. Nor was Philip less attentive to the welfare and prosperity of the provinces: the mercenary foldiers, who had served in the wars of his father, had spread themselves over the defenceless country, and indulged in every species of wanton outrage; the king sent a numerous army to repel these marauders, and his orders were executed so effectually, that not one of them escaped the fury of the troops.

A. D. 1184.] Such was the situation of affairs, when a serious dispute arose between the king and the count of Flanders. That prince had married Elizabeth, grand-daughter to Hugh the Great, in whose right he enjoyed the counties of Vermandois, Valois and Amiens. The princess dying without children, Philip summoned the count to restore those rich domains: “offering to prove “by the testimony of the archbishops, bishops, counts, viscounts, and other “princes, that these three counties belonged to him by right of succession*.” The count, on the contrary, maintained that the late king had given him a simple

* Rigord, p. 12.

and unconditional grant of them, which grant had been confirmed by Philip himself. But the king replied, that no monarch of France could alienate the possessions of the crown; and that as the count only enjoyed the territories in question, in virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth of Vermandois, his right of course ceased on the death of that princess. It was not likely that a matter of such importance could be decided by argument or reason; recourse was accordingly had to the *lex ultima regum*: and the count of Flanders in vain endeavoured to allure the barons to his standard, by representing the injury as general, and the cause as common. Almost alone and unsupported, his efforts were impotent and unsuccessful; and after a short struggle, distinguished by no remarkable occurrence; and in which he neither gained honour nor advantage, he listened to the voice of prudence; submitted to the king, and restored the counties of Vermandois and Amiens, together with that of Sancerre, which were accordingly re-annexed to the crown.

The queen, during this contest, influenced by motives of gratitude, in opposition to conjugal duty, had imprudently expressed a wish, that her uncle, the count of Flanders, might succeed in his attempts. The king, enraged at her conduct, peremptorily commanded her to quit his court; and gave orders to assemble a synod, that his marriage might be dissolved, on the usual pretext of consanguinity. Every thing seemed favourable to his wishes; both prelates and courtiers, with a servile adulation, repeated the reasons urged by their sovereign, and were loud in their censure of the unfortunate Isabella. The bishop of Sens was the only person who had sufficient virtue and resolution to stem the torrent of invective, and to oppose the rash resolution of the monarch; a witness to the virtue of the princess, he undertook to espouse her cause, and, by his interposition, the sentence of divorce was impeded. The count of Hainault, informed of the misfortune that threatened his daughter, hastened to Pontoise, where she was confined, and, by his paternal remonstrances persuaded her to write an affectionate and submissive letter to the king. A reconciliation accordingly took place; Isabella was restored to favour; and her charms and her virtues speedily effaced the remembrance of her past misconduct, and recovered the affections of her offended husband.

A. D. 1185, 1186, 1187.] During these transactions in France, the king of England had strictly observed the late treaty, and forbore to interfere in the domestic disputes of a rival, whose tranquillity he might have disturbed, and whose authority he might have shaken. The turbulence of his children was a continual source of trouble and affliction to the aged monarch; prince Henry had renewed his pretensions to the duchy of Normandy; but, on receiving an augmentation of his income, withdrew his claims, and submitted to his father. After this accommodation, Geoffrey, by the king's desire, did homage to his elder brother, for the duchy of Brittany; Richard was requested to do the same for Aquitaine, but he rejected the proposal with such evident marks of disdain,

and resentment, as occasioned an immediate and most violent animosity between him and young Henry. Equally impetuous, they had recourse to arms to decide their dispute; and the contest was pursued with such malevolent fury, that no quarter was shown on either side. Their father, at length, with great difficulty, composed this difference, and prevailed on the contending parties to sign a treaty of peace, near Limoges; but he soon found that his eldest son was engaged in a conspiracy, and preparing to take arms against himself.

While young Henry was planning these criminal projects, he was seized with a fever at Martel, a castle in the vicinity of Turenne; and, when his physicians informed him that they entertained not the smallest hope of his recovery, he was stricken with that deep remorse for his ungrateful conduct to the best of fathers, which repeated acts of generosity and indulgence had never proved sufficient to excite. He immediately sent a message to the king of England, expressive of his repentance, and earnestly entreating a visit. Henry, greatly affected with his son's situation, was about to comply with his request; but his friends representing the danger of trusting his person to those flagitious conspirators, who attended on the sick prince, he took from his finger a ring, well known to his son, and sent it to him by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his forgiveness. The prince received it with great emotion, and, pressing it to his lips, soon after expired. His widow, the daughter of the late king of France, by his second wife, Constance, having no children by him, Philip now claimed Gisors, and some other dependencies in Normandy, which had been allotted as the dowry of Margaret; but Henry, unwilling to part with them, offered to conclude the marriage between Richard, now become heir to the crown, and Alice, the sister of Philip, provided he was suffered to retain the disputed territory: the proposal was acquiesced in, and the two monarchs parted with mutual professions of esteem and friendship.

This interval of tranquillity was employed by Philip in the internal regulation of his dominions, and in repressing the formidable enterprises of the duke of Burgundy. But the calm produced by the late peace was of short duration, and the subjects of Philip and Henry were again exposed to the horrors of war. The marriage of Alice with Richard was still studiously delayed; Geoffrey, the second son of Henry, and duke of Brittany, had revolted from his father, and acknowledged himself the vassal of France; but his undutiful designs were interrupted by death, and he expired of a fall from his horse at a tournament. Philip, however, retained from Henry, his widow, Constance; his infant daughter, Eleanor; and a posthumous son, named Arthur; and asserted his claim to protect and watch over the offspring of his vassal. Richard had also refused to yield homage to the king of France, for the counties of Guienne and Poitou.

Philip, enraged at this proof of disobedience in the prince, and displeased with Henry for delaying the promised union, declared war against father and son, and, entering Berry, took Issoudun, Cressac, and several other strong places;

after which he laid siege to Chateauroux, on the banks of the Indre. The spirits of the garrison were animated by the presence of Richard and John, the sons of the English monarch; and Henry himself alarmed for the safety of the princes, hastily collected his forces, and advanced to their relief. The hostile armies awaited, in anxious suspense, the signal of battle; but the conflict was averted by the legates of pope Urban the Third, who threatened with the penalty of excommunication whoever should begin the engagement. This menace had the desired effect; the monarchs laid down their arms, and a truce for two years was concluded between them.

The joy which the kingdom experienced at this unexpected accommodation was considerably heightened by the birth of a prince, on the fifth of September, 1187. The hopes of seeing the blood of Charlemagne once more established on the throne of France inspired the people with the most enthusiastic pleasure. The bishop of Tournay performed the ceremony of baptism, and gave to the royal infant the name of Lewis; while Philip found, in the birth of an heir, a new cause for esteeming a princess, who had the best title to his affections:— But the rejoicings occasioned by this happy event were suddenly interrupted by the reception of some dismal intelligence from the christians in Palestine.

After the departure of Lewis the Seventh from the Holy Land, the crusaders experienced a succession of calamities that reduced them to the last extremity. But the frequent repetition of disasters, which had nearly depopulated the western world, and exhausted its treasures, were yet insufficient to check the folly of these spiritual knights-errant; and a new occurrence, rekindling the torch of fanaticism, inspired the adventurers, both ecclesiastical and military, among the Latin Christians, with additional fury.

Saladin, a prince equally distinguished for personal courage and greatness of soul, having, on the death of the caliph Alad, established himself on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquest over the east. After the reduction of Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia, finding the settlement of the christians in Palestine an invincible impediment to the progress of his arms, he exerted all his valour and political skill to subdue that territory, which, though barren, and of little extent, was, to him, of the utmost importance. Profiting by the defection which prevailed among the champions of the cross, and having corrupted the fidelity of the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded the frontiers with an army of fifty thousand men. A desperate action ensued at Tiberiade, which was disputed with great obstinacy for two whole days, when Saladin obtained a complete victory, that totally annihilated the force of the kingdom of Jerusalem, whose monarch, Guy de Lusignan, was taken prisoner. After this celebrated battle, in which the christians had to lament the loss of the real cross on which our Saviour was crucified, that fell into the hands of the infidels, the city of Jerusalem surrendered to the victorious Saladin. The kingdom of Antioch was almost entirely reduced; and, except a few ma-

ritime towns, but little remained of those boasted acquisitions which, near a century before, it had required the efforts of all Europe to obtain*.

This dreadful reverse of fortune threw all the western christians into the utmost consternation and alarm. Pope Urban the Third was so much affected with the news, that he is said to have died of grief; and his successor, Gregory the Eighth, employed the whole time of his short pontificate in urging all the christians, who acknowledged his authority, to take up arms, and hasten to repair the disgrace they had sustained. The general cry was, that those were unworthy of enjoying any inheritance in heaven who did not rescue from the domination of the infidels the inheritance of God upon earth, and deliver from servitude that country which the presence of their Redeemer had rendered sacred.

A. D. 1188.] William, archbishop of Tyre, ambassador from the Christians in the Holy Land, having procured a conference between Philip and Henry near Gisors, on the twenty-first of January, enforced these various topics; gave a pathetic description of the state of the eastern Christians; and employed every argument that could rouse the ruling passions of the age, superstitious zeal, and the spirit of chivalry. The two kings immediately took the cross from the hands of the archbishop; the counts of Flanders and Champagne, with many other powerful noblemen, followed the example; and, as the emperor, Frederick the First, joined the confederacy, some well-grounded hopes of success were entertained; and men flattered themselves that an enterprise which had failed through the discord of independent leaders, or the temerity of imprudent princes, might, at last, by the joint efforts of monarchs so potent, be brought to a happy termination.

Philip, without loss of time, convened an assembly at Paris, at which several ordinances were enacted, as well for the purpose of providing for the expenses of the war, as for preventing those disorders which had occasioned the failure of the last crusade. It was decreed that all those who should not assume the cross, whether ecclesiastics or laics†, should contribute the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects towards the relief of the Christians in Palestine. The only exceptions were in favour of the Cistercian Carthusian monks, the monks of Fontevraud, and the hospital for the reception of Lepers‡. This tax was called Saladin's tythe, from its being exacted for equipping an armament against that sultan. Some regulations also with regard to discipline were here adopted; the soldiers were forbidden to blaspheme, or to play at dice; the knights to wear gaudy habiliments; men of opulence to have more than two bought dishes on their table at a meal; and women to follow the army, except a few washer-women, advanced in years, and pure in reputation. No interest was to be paid, during this expedition; for money borrowed; and all the crusaders, even the ecclesiastics, were authorised to receive three years of their

* M. Paris, p. 100.

† Rigord.

‡ Tom. x. Concile, p. 1763.

revenue in advance, that every person might be enabled to support the expence of the voyage.

[A. D. 1189.] Every thing was ready for the expedition to Palestine, when the flames of war again burst forth in Europe, and induced the rival monarchs of France and England to turn those arms against each other which had been destined to oppose their mutual enemy. Philip, jealous of Henry's power, entered into a private conference with young Richard; and, working on his ambitious and impatient temper, persuaded him, instead of supporting and aggrandizing that monarchy which he was one day to inherit, to seek present power and independence, by disturbing and dismembering it. In order to afford a pretext for hostilities between the two kings, Richard invaded the territories of Raymond, count of Toulouse, who immediately complained of this violence to the king of France, as his superior lord. Philip remonstrated with Henry, but received for answer, that Richard had confessed to the archbishop of Dublin, that his enterprise against Raymond had been undertaken by the approbation of Philip himself, and was conducted by his authority. Philip, who might have been covered with shame and confusion by this detection of his perfidy, still prosecuted his design, and invaded the provinces of Berry and Auvergne, under colour of revenging the quarrel of the count of Toulouse*. Henry retaliated by making inroads upon the frontiers of France, and burning Dreux. As this war, which destroyed all hopes of success in the projected crusade, gave great scandal, the two kings held a conference between Trie and Gisors, in order to find means of accommodating their differences. But this interview only served to increase their enmity; and Philip, to shew his disgust, ordered a great elm, under which the conferences had been usually holden, to be cut down†; as if he had renounced all desire of accommodation, and was determined to carry the war to extremities against the king of England. But his own vassals refused to serve under him in so insidious a cause‡; and he was obliged to have a second conference with Henry, and to offer terms of peace. These terms were such as entirely opened the eyes of the king of England, and fully convinced him of the perfidy of his son, and of his secret alliance with Philip, of which he had before only entertained some suspicion. The king of France required that Richard should be crowned king of England in the lifetime of his father, should be invested in all his continental dominions, and should immediately espouse Alice, Philip's sister||. Henry had experienced such fatal effects, both from the crowning of his eldest son, and from that prince's alliance with the royal family of France, that he rejected these terms; and Richard, in consequence of his secret agreement with Philip, immediately revolted from him§, did homage to the king of France for all the dominions which Hen-

* Bened. Abb. p. 508. † Ibid. p. 517, 532. ‡ Ibid. p. 519. || Idem. p. 521.—Hoveden, p. 653. § Brompton. p. 1149.—Neubrig. p. 437.

ry held of that crown, and received the investitures, as if he had already been the lawful possessor. This unexpected occurrence being naturally productive of infinite confusion, the conference broke up.

Cardinal Albeno, who had been sent by the pope to effect a peace between the two monarchs, excommunicated Richard, as the chief obstacle to the treaty; and this prelate dying, the sovereign pontiff, who was anxious to accelerate the expedition to Palestine, invested the cardinal Anagni with the legatine power, and gave him instructions to promote a reconciliation; but the unprincipled obstinacy of Richard rendered all conciliatory endeavours ineffectual. The chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Normandy and Anjou, being attached to the young prince, and finding that he had now received the investiture from their superior lord, declared for him, and made inroads into the territories of such as still adhered to Henry, who, disquieted by the daily revolts of his mutinous subjects, and dreading still worse effects from their turbulent disposition, had again recourse to papal authority; and engaged the cardinal Anagni to threaten Philip with laying all his dominions under an interdict. But Philip despised the menace, and told the legate, that it belonged not to the pope to interpose in the temporal disputes of princes, much less in those which subsisted between him and his rebellious vassal. He even proceeded so far as to reproach him with partiality, and with receiving bribes from the king of England*; while Richard, still more outrageous, offered to draw his sword against the legate, and was only prevented by the interposition of the company, from committing violence upon him†.

The war was now renewed with additional vigour; Ferte-Bernard was first reduced by the victorious arms of the French; Mons was next taken by assault, and the king of England, who had thrown himself into that place, escaped with some difficulty‡. Amboise, Chaumont, and Chateau-de-Loire, opened their gates on the appearance of Philip and Richard; Tours was menaced; and Henry, who had retired to Saumur, and had daily instances of the cowardice or treachery of his governors, expected the most unfavourable issue to all his enterprises. While he was in this state of dependency, the count of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims interposed with their good offices; and the intelligence which he received of the taking of Tours, made him fully sensible of the desperate situation of his affairs, and so subdued his spirit, that he submitted to all the rigorous terms which were imposed upon him. He agreed that Richard should marry the princess Alice; that he should receive the homage and oath of fealty of all his subjects both in England and his transmarine dominions; that he himself should pay twenty thousand marks to Philip towards defraying the expences of the war; that his own barons should

* M. Paris, p. 104. Bened. Abb. p. 542. Hoveden. p. 652. † M. Paris, p. 104. ‡ Idem. p. 105. Bened. Abb. p. 543. Hoveden, p. 653.

engage to make him observe this treaty by force ; and, in case of his violating any of the articles it contained, should promise to join Philip and Richard against him ; and that such of his own vassals as had supported the cause of Richard, should be indemnified for the offence*.

But the mortification which the king of England, who had been accustomed to give the law in most treaties, experienced from being obliged to submit to such humiliating conditions, was the least he felt on this occasion. When he demanded a list of those barons whom he had consented to pardon for their treasonable connections with Richard, he was astonished to find, at the head of them, the name of his second son, John, who had always been his favourite ; whose interests he had ever been anxious to promote ; and who had even, on account of his ascendant over him, often excited the jealousy of Richard. The more his heart inclined to friendship and affection, the more he resented the ungrateful and barbarous return which his four sons had successively made to his paternal care ; and this last event, by depriving him of every comfort of life, quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a lingering fever.

The day after he had signed the treaty, the unhappy monarch was removed in a litter from Saumur to the castle of Chinon, where he immediately took to his bed, and soon after expired. The next day Richard came to see the dead body of his father—which had been conveyed by Geoffrey, natural son to Henry, to the nunnery of Fontevraud—and was seized with horror and remorse at the sight. These, indeed, were considerably augmented by an accident which the superstition of the times construed into a preternatural omen. At his approach,

* M. Paris, p. 106 ; Bened. Abb. p. 545, Hoveden, p. 653.

It is necessary to observe, that the French historians give a very different account of the motives which gave rise to this war ; they deny all collusion between Richard and Philip, and represent the hostilities between the former and the count of Toulouse as the consequence of a real dispute, in order to justify Philip from the imputation of perfidy which he deservedly incurred. But the author, on whose sole authority they found their assertions, is by no means worthy to be opposed to those writers whom we have had occasion to quote. The writings of RIGORD are so strongly tinged with the marvellous, that they bear a greater semblance of romance than of history. We are aware, indeed, that the monkish writers of the dark and middle ages were generally infected with a love of the marvellous, which, though it disgraced their works, did not impeach their integrity—of this the venerable Bede affords a striking example. But there is a discrimination to be made between the marvellous writers of those times, who may be divided into two classes—the first were influenced by an excess of credulity ; the second, by a desire to excite wonder at the expence of truth ; one must raise pity, the other mistrust. In the former class we must place BÉDE, in the latter RIGORD. As a proof that our opinion of this author is well founded, we need only quote two of his assertions—After the taking of the crosses by the infidels, at the battle of Tiberiade he gravely tells us, all the children who were born throughout christendom had only twenty, or two-and-twenty teeth, instead of thirty or two-and-thirty, which was their former complement. With equal assurance, he solemnly affirms, that about this period, during his residence at the monastery of Argenteuil, one moon-light morning, a little before the break of day, the moon, which was then in the full, quitted its station in the firmament ; descended upon the earth, and, after resting there some time, as if to recover its strength, turned very leisurely to the place assigned it by the Creator !—p. 17. These are not marks of credulity, but impudent deviations from truth, which render any assertions of the same author—uncontradicted by any kind of proof—justly liable to suspicion.

the blood issued from the mouth and nostrils of the corpse*, which induced him to exclaim that he was the murderer of his father: and to express at the same time a just, though tardy, repentance for that conduct which had brought so indulgent a parent to an untimely grave†. He assisted at the funeral with marks of the deepest contrition; and, after the obsequies were performed, received from Geoffrey the great seal of the kingdom, which had been carefully deposited under the seals of all the barons who were present at his father's decease.

The death of the English monarch had been preceded by that of Isabella, queen of France, who died in child-bed, after giving birth to two princes. Her loss was deeply deplored by Philip, who had learned to entertain a just sense of her value; and the whole kingdom sympathised in his sorrow. The royal infants survived their mother but three days.

Richard's first care, after his accession to the throne, was to release his mother from the confinement in which she had been long detained; he then bestowed on his brother John the most unbounded marks of his affection and munificence, by conferring on him the county of Mortaigne, in Normandy, by granting him a pension of four thousand marks a year; marrying him to Avista, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, by whom he inherited all the possessions of that opulent family; and by other extensive grants and concessions. He then renewed the former treaties of friendship and alliance with Philip, to whom he ceded Creffac, Issoudun, and all the fiefs he held in Auvergne, in return for the restoration of the two provinces which that monarch had conquered in the late war. The two kings being equally intent on repairing to Palestine, Richard assembled at Rouen the states of Normandy, who granted him a considerable succour both in men and money. It was here that Fulk, curate of Neuilli, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who thought fanaticism an excuse for insolence, inveighed against his vices, and advised him to part with his pride, avarice, and sensuality, which he termed the king's three favourite daughters: "You counsel well," replied Richard, "I have already provided husbands for them all.—I give my pride to the Templars; my avarice to the monks; and my sensuality to the clergy."

A. D. 1190, 1191.] Philip and Richard had an interview at Nonancourt, in which the final arrangements for their voyage to Palestine were adopted‡. They swore an eternal friendship to each other, promised mutual assistance, and agreed that if one of them should die on the voyage, the other should become master of his troops and treasures, to be employed for the relief of the Holy Land. After these precautions, they fixed the general rendezvous in the plains of Vezelay, in Burgundy, where they arrived towards the end of June.

* Bened. Abb. 547; Brompt, p. 1151. † M. Paris, p. 107.

‡ Rymer's Fœdera, tom i. p. 20.

Here Philip declared that he left the government of his kingdom, and the care of his son, to the queen-mother and the cardinal of Champagne. From Veze-lay, the combined army, which amounted to a hundred thousand men*, decamped on the first of July, and marched in one body to Lyons; but, finding it extremely inconvenient to proceed in the same order, the two kings parted at that city: Philip went to Genoa, the place destined for his embarkation; and Richard to Marseilles, whither he had appointed his fleet to meet him. They put to sea, and nearly about the same time arrived at Messina, where they wintered: Philip, with his army, remained in the city; and the king of England established his quarters in the suburbs.

The last king of Sicily and Naples was William the Second, who had married Jane, sister to Richard; and who, dying without issue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt Constantia, the only surviving descendant of Roger, the first sovereign of those states who had been dignified with the title of king. Henry the Sixth, the reigning emperor, had espoused this princess in expectation of her succeeding to this rich inheritance; but Tancred, her natural brother, having acquired the affection and obtained the support of the barons, had, in the absence of Henry, taken possession of the throne, and resisted all the efforts of the Germans to depose him. The approach of the crusaders, however, naturally inspired him with apprehensions for his unstable government; and he knew not whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or of the English monarch. Philip was engaged in a strict alliance with the emperor, his competitor; and Richard was disgusted with his severity to the queen-dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo, because she had opposed, with all her interest, his succession to the crown. Tancred therefore determined, if possible, to avert the animosity of these powerful monarchs; nor were his endeavours unsuccessful. He found means to persuade Philip, that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterprise against the infidels, by turning his arms against a christian state. He likewise appeased the resentment of Richard by releasing the queen-dowager; paying twenty thousand ounces of gold, in lieu of a valuable legacy, bequeathed by the late king of Sicily to his father-in-law, Henry the Second; by contracting one of his daughters in marriage to Arthur, duke of Brittany, whom Richard declared his heir, in case he should die without issue; and by depositing twenty thousand ounces of gold, as her marriage-portion, to be restored provided the marriage should not take effect.

But, previous to the arrangement of these amicable terms, Richard, equally jealous of Tancred, and of the inhabitants of Messina, had, as we have before observed, taken up his quarters in the suburbs; and he had also possessed himself of a small fort which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage at

* Gaufréd. Vinisau. Iter Hierosol. l. iz. c. 9.

these proceedings, which wore an appearance of hostility; this produced several skirmishes between them, that only tended to augment their mutual animosity. Philip, anxious to promote an accommodation, held a conference with Richard in the open fields: but, while they were conversing on the subject, the Messinese made a sudden sally from the town, and attacked the quarters of Hugh le Brun, one of Richard's barons, with great impetuosity. The king of England, enraged at this insult, returned the attack, drove them into the city, and, entering the gates with them, erected the standard of England on the walls, in token of his victory; though he restrained his troops from exercising any violence on the defenceless inhabitants.

Philip, who regarded the whole city as his quarters, exclaimed against the insult which he pretended was offered to him, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard; but Richard informed him, by a messenger, that though he himself would willingly remove it, since it was deemed a ground of offence, he would not suffer it to be done by any other person; but would oppose any attempt to insult him so grossly with his whole force. Philip, therefore, thought it prudent to countermand his orders; and the dispute was apparently adjusted, though the seeds of discord were thereby implanted in the breasts of the two sovereigns.

In order, however, to prevent the multiplication of jealousies and complaints, they at length proposed to obviate all future differences by a solemn treaty. But this expedient gave rise to a new subject of controversy, which was more difficult to adjust, as the honour of Philip's family was more deeply affected by it: When Richard, in every treaty with his father, had strenuously insisted on being permitted to consummate his marriage with the princess Alice, he had only sought a pretence for quarrelling; it having never been his intention to take to his bed a person suspected of a criminal connection with his own father. This was evident from his never having mentioned the subject after Henry's death: he even took measures for espousing Berengaria, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre, for whom he had conceived a passion during his abode in Guienne*; and, when he had set out on the present expedition, he had prevailed on his mother to accompany that princess to Naples, whither they had accordingly arrived in the month of February, 1191, under the escort of the count of Flanders, and from that time had taken up their residence at Brindisi, and were now daily expected at Messina†. When Philip, therefore, renewed his applications to the English monarch for celebrating his nuptials with his sister Alice, Richard was obliged to give him an absolute refusal.

Hoveden, and some other historians‡, pretended that he was able to produce such positive proof of the incontinence of Alice, and even of her having borne a child to Henry, that Philip desisted from his application; and chose to conceal

* Vinifauf, p. 316. † M. Paris, p. 112. Trivet, p. 102. W. Heming, p. 519. ‡ Hoveden, p. 688.

the dishonour of his family, by consigning the whole transaction to oblivion. Whatever were his motives, it is certain from the treaty itself, which may be seen in Rhymer's *Fœdera**, that he consented to the marriage of Richard with Berengaria, and, having settled all farther subjects of dispute with that prince, Philip set sail for the Holy Land, on the thirtieth of March. The day after his departure, the mother of Richard, with the princess of Navarre, arrived at Messina, at which place the former only remained four days, and then embarked for England; but the latter was committed to the care of the queen-dowager of Sicily, who had resolved to accompany her brother in his expedition to Palestine†.

The city of Ptolemais, indiscriminately called Acre, and Saint John of Acre, had been invested two years by the united forces of all the christians in the East, and had been defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The remains of a German army, conducted by the emperor Frederic—who had been killed soon after his arrival, by imprudently bathing in the cold stream of the Cydnus, during the raging heat of the dog-days)—and the separate body of adventurers, who continually poured in from the West, had enabled the king of Jerusalem to form this important enterprise‡: but Saladin, having thrown a strong garrison into the place, under the command of Caracos, his own master in the art of war, and molesting the besiegers with continual attacks and sallies, had protracted the success of the enterprise, and wasted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the christians; and these princes, acting in concert, and partaking the glory and danger of every action, gave strong hopes of obtaining a final victory over the infidels. The plan of operations which they agreed on was this: that one day the king of France should attack the town, and the English guard the trenches; and the next, the English monarch should conduct the assault, and the French undertake to defend the assailants. This spirit of emulation between those rival kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard, in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the general attention, and acquired a great and splendid reputation||. But this harmony was of short duration, and occasions of discord soon arose between these jealous and haughty princes.

The family of Bouillon, which had been first placed on the throne of Jerusalem, ending in a female, Fulk, count of Anjou, grandfather to Henry the Second of England, married the heiress of that kingdom, and transmitted his title to the younger branches of his family. The Anjevin race ending also in a female, Guy de Lusignan, who had married Sibylla, the heiress, had succeeded to

* Rymcr, vol. i, p. 69. Chron. Dunst. p. 44.

† Bened. Abb. p. 644.

‡ Vinifaus, p. 269, 271, 279. || Hume's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 14.

the title; and though he lost his kingdom by the invasion of Saladin, he was still acknowledged by all the christians for king of Jerusalem*. But as Sibylla died without issue, during the siege of Acre, Isabella, her younger sister, put in her claim to that titular kingdom, and required Lusignan to resign his pretensions to her husband, Conrad marquis of Monferrat. Lusignan, maintaining that the royal title was unalienable, and indefeasible, had recourse to the protection of the king of England, whom he engaged to embrace his cause†. This was a sufficient inducement to Philip to espouse the party of Conrad; and the opposite views of these potent monarchs brought faction and dissension into the christian army, and retarded all its operations: the Templars, the Genoese, and the Germans, declared for Philip and Conrad; the Flemings, the Pisans, and the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John, adhered to Richard and Lusignan. But, notwithstanding these disputes, as the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered the city on the twelfth of July, on the following conditions:—that the garrison should be allowed to march out only in their shirts, leaving all their arms and baggage behind them; that Saladin should restore the true cross, with two thousand five hundred christian prisoners of the greatest note; that he should cause to be paid to the two victorious monarchs two hundred thousand pieces of gold, called *Byzantines*, for the ransom of the garrison, the whole of which were to be detained as hostages till these conditions were performed‡.

Thus ended this celebrated siege, which had engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia for two years, and had cost the lives of three hundred thousand men; besides those of six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons||. Among the nobles who fell on this memorable occasion, on the part of the French, was Ralph de Coucy: being mortally wounded, he retired to his tent, wrote a farewell letter to a married lady of the name of Du Fayel, of whom he was desperately enamoured, though no criminal intercourse had ever subsisted between them; and, after ordering his faithful esquire to carry his heart to the object of his love, expired in a few minutes. The gentleman, faithful to the commands of his deceased lord, repaired to the castle where the lady resided; at the gates he met the husband, whose jealousy led him to search the messenger, when he found the fatal present. Enraged with his wife, he gave the heart of her lover to his cook, and had it placed on the table before her; when she had feasted on it for some time, the savage disclosed to her the deadly secret. Seized with horror inexpressible, the lady swore that after a meal thus precious, no other nourishment should ever enter her lips;—she kept her word, and in a few days expired§.

After the reduction of this important place, Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, and of redeeming the Holy City from slavery, which

* Vinisauſ, p. 281. † Trivet, p. 134. Vinisauſ, p. 342. W. Heming, p. 524. ‡ Bened. Abb. p. 653, 663. Vinisauſ, l. iii. c. 17. || Ibid. l. iv. c. 6. § P. Anſel. Hiſt. Gen. de France, tom. i. p. 206.

was the chief object of the expedition, began to intimate his design of returning to Europe. Though he ascribed his desire to quit the scene of glory to the ill state of his health, the real motives of his departure were founded on projects of ambition and revenge. The superior splendour of Richard's achievements, which had totally eclipsed his own inferior fame, inspired him with sentiments of hatred against that monarch; and he expected, by repairing to Europe, to find an opportunity of affording them the most ample gratification. He likewise flattered himself with the idea of being able to obtain the succession of the count of Flanders, who had died during the siege of Acre, and had left no issue. Urged by these powerful inducements, all efforts to retain him in Palestine proved ineffectual: Richard, therefore, consented to his departure, on his taking a public oath that he would not only abstain from all hostilities against his territories, during his stay in the Holy Land, but that he would even protect them against the attempts of all invaders. It is said, however, that Philip on his return paid a visit to pope Celestine the Third, and requested that pontiff to absolve him from the obligation he had thus contracted, but that his holiness rejected the request with disdain*. Be that as it may, having left ten thousand of his troops to co-operate with Richard, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, he embarked at the port of Acre for Naples, then repaired to Rome, and from thence to France, where he arrived about Christmas 1191†.

Each transaction betrayed the animosity which Philip bore to his royal rival. The marquis of Montferrat had been publicly stabbed in the streets of Tyre, by two men, who, for that purpose, had enlisted themselves in his service. They were subjects of a petty Saracen prince, whose territories lay in the mountains of Phœnicia, and who was commonly distinguished by the appellation of *The old Man of the Mountain*‡. He was a man of consummate art, and knew how to render the superstition of Mahometanism subservient to his own private advantage. Being unable to defend himself from the encroachments of his powerful neighbours by open force, he adopted a more effectual expedient for revenging, if not averting, their attacks. He had acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of his fanatical subjects, that they paid the most implicit obedience to his orders, though fraught with the most imminent danger, from a full persuasion, that, should the execution of them prove fatal to their lives, the joys of paradise would be the infallible reward of their devotion||. These he occasionally dispatched to murder such princes as had incurred his resentment; and, being influenced by such powerful motives, their invincible perseverance in the pursuit of their object, rendered the accomplishment of it certain; so that almost all the potentates of that part of Asia stood in awe of this prince of the *Assassins*; for that was the name of his people—whence the word has passed into most of the European languages.

* G. Vinisau, l. v. c. 1, 2. † Bened. Abb. p. 667, 670; W. Neubr. l. iv. c. 22; Heming, l. iii. c. 27. ‡ Vinisau, l. v. c. 26. || W. Heming, p. 532; Brompton, p. 1243.

The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by Conrad, had put to death one of this sect, whom stress of weather had compelled to take refuge in the harbour. The prince demanded satisfaction of Conrad, who treated his messengers with disdain. In revenge, therefore, for this outrage, which was attended with some aggravating circumstances, the assassins were dispatched; and they executed their orders with deliberation and effect. When they were apprehended and applied to the torture, they triumphed in the midst of agony, and expressed their joy at being destined to suffer in so just and glorious a cause.

Every one in Palestine knew from what hand the blow came. Richard was entirely free from suspicion; though that monarch had formerly maintained the cause of Lusignan against Conrad, he had become sensible of the bad effects attending those dissensions, and had voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he should resign to his rival, all pretensions to the crown of Jerusalem*. Conrad himself, with his dying breath, had recommended his widow to the protection of Richard†. The prince of the assassins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he sent to Europe‡; yet, on this foundation, Philip thought fit to build the most egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, whose elevation he had once openly opposed. He filled all Europe with exclamations against the crime; appointed a guard for his own person, in order to defend himself against a similar attempt||; and endeavoured, by these shallow artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince, whom he himself had deserted, and who was engaged, with so much glory, in a war, universally acknowledged to be the common cause of christendom.

The king of England, after obtaining as much honour as could possibly be derived from the display of extraordinary courage, united with great military skill, was prevented from pursuing his victorious progress, by the treacherous conduct of the duke of Burgundy, who, in order to ingratiate himself with Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and opposing him§. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with Saladin, and stipulated that Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the christians; and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been devised by the Europeans, and which was suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war¶.

The liberty in which Saladin indulged the christians to perform their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, was an easy sacrifice on his part; and the wars which he

* Vinisauf, p. 391. † Brompton, p. 1243. ‡ Rymer, vol. i. p. 71; Trivet, p. 124; W. Heming, p. 544; Diceto, p. 680. || W. Heming, p. 532; Brompton, p. 1245. § Vinisauf, p. 380. ¶ Hume's Hist. vol. ii. p. 21.

waged in defence of the barren territory of Judea, were not with him, as with the European adventurers, the result of superstition, but of policy. The advantage, indeed, of science, moderation, and humanity, was, at that time, entirely on the side of the Saracens; and this gallant emperor, in particular, displayed, during the course of the war, a spirit and generosity, which even his bigotted enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. The English monarch, equally martial and brave, was more mercilefs and ferocious, and, by his barbarity, tarnished the lustre of his victories. When Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the king of England ordered all his prisoners, to the amount of five thousand, to be butchered; and the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the christians by a similar cruelty*. Saladin died at Damascus soon after concluding this truce with the princes of the crusade. It is memorable, that, before he expired, he ordered his winding-sheet, to be carried, as a standard, through every street of the city; while a cryer went before him, and proclaimed, with a loud voice, *This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East*. By his last will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mahometan.

After the truce was concluded, the king of England, having nothing to detain him in Palestine, hastened to Europe, where his presence was required. As he dared not to pass through France, having too much reason to dread the perfidy of Philip, he sailed to the Adriatic; and, being shipwrecked near Aquileia, attempted to traverse Germany in the disguise of a pilgrim. Pursued by the governor of Istria, he was compelled to leave the direct road to England, and pass by Vienna, when he was discovered by Leopold, duke of Austria, who, glad of so favourable an opportunity to revenge an affront he had sustained from Richard during the siege of Acre, and being equally deaf to the dictates of honour, and regardless of the ties of humanity, ordered him to be arrested and thrown into prison. He afterwards sold his royal captive to the emperor, Henry the Sixth, for the sum of fifty thousand marks†. Thus a monarch, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany‡, and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the basest and most sordid of mankind.

The expedition of Philip had terminated more successfully: on his return to France, he found the regents of the kingdom had discharged their trust with honour and diligence; the whole nation was tranquil and flourishing; and he had nothing to interrupt his repose, but his own ambition and thirst for conquest. The first thing that excited his attention was a crime imputed to some

* Hoveden, p. 697; Bened. Abb. p. 673; M. Paris, p. 115; Vinifauf, p. 346; W. Heming, p. 581.

† Le Gendre. Hist. de Franc. t. ii. p. 377. ‡ Chron. T. Wykes, p. 35.

Jews, who, it was pretended, had, with the permission of the countess of Champagne, seized a christian, placed a crown of thorns upon his head, and, having severely scourged him, nailed him to a cross, and there suffered him to expire*. Philip, on being apprised of this circumstance, hastened to the castle of Bray-upon-Seine, where the crime was said to be committed, and ordered eighty Jews to be burnt alive. The guilt of these unfortunate victims appears to be a matter of doubt, since no mention is made of any punishment inflicted on the countess of Champagne, who was certainly an accomplice in the crime, if there was really any crime committed. Philip's next care was to extend his dominions—an object that was ever uppermost in his thoughts; for which purpose he took the necessary measures for uniting to the crown not only the county of Artois, his late queen's dower, but the county of Flanders, which he pretended the death of Philip of Alface, who left no male issue, had rendered vacant. In vain did Baldwin the Fifth, who, as nephew and heir to the count, had taken possession of the territory in question, prove to him, by a thousand recent examples, that this province was not subject to the salique law; his ambition was deaf to the claims of justice, and he resolved to substitute force for right. Both parties were preparing for war, when the interposition of some mutual friends effected an accommodation which had appeared impracticable†. A treaty was signed at Peronne, by which Baldwin was acknowledged for count of Flanders, and did homage for his principality to the French monarch. Philip had Artois, and, as that county was his wife's dower, he made his son Lewis assume the title of count of Artois. But his ambition led him to insist on the cession of the sovereignty of Boulogne, Guines, Saint Pol, and L'Isle, which gave rise to that inveterate animosity, and those cruel wars, which afterwards prevailed between the French and Flemings.

A. D. 1193.] Philip had no sooner regulated all necessary matters relating to his new acquisitions, than he received the news of Richard's detention‡; when, forgetful of his oaths, he determined to sacrifice his honour to his interest, and to convert the misfortune of his rival into a source of advantage to himself. He made the emperor the most flattering offers to induce him to deliver his royal prisoner into his hands, or, at least, to detain him in perpetual captivity||. He even formed an alliance with the king of Denmark, by espousing his sister, Ingelburga; desired that the obsolete claim of the Danes to the crown of England should be transferred to him; and solicited a supply of shipping to enforce it. But the most successful of his negotiations was with prince John, who, on the first invitation, suddenly left England, had a conference with Philip, and concluded a treaty, the object of which was, the ruin of a brother, to whom he was bound by every tie of honour, allegiance, and grati-

* Guil. Amor. p. 76.

† Monach. Aquicin.

‡ Rymer, vol. i. p. 70.

|| W. Neubrigen, l. iv. c.

34; Hoveden, p. 412.

tude: he agreed to cede to the king all the Vexin Normand, a great part of the duchy of Normandy, of Tours, Mont-Trichard, Amboise, Loches, Montbason, and Chatillon upon the Indre*. When this treaty, which fixed an indelible infamy on the contracting parties, was concluded, the king invaded Normandy, took Gisors, Neufle, Neuchatel, Ivry, Evreux, and Aumale, and proceeded to form the siege of Rouen: here, however, he was repulsed with a considerable loss; and the check he experienced induced him to listen to the proposals of the Norman barons; and, on condition of being paid a large sum of money, to sign a truce for six months.

Philip having discovered, says Velly, some secret defect in his bride Ingelburga, the first night of their marriage, resolved to obtain a divorce; and an obsequious council, assembled at Compiègne, favouring his views, pronounced the marriage null, on the usual grounds of consanguinity. The unfortunate queen appealed to the pope, who, moved by her complaints, and the serious remonstrances of her brother, sent two legates into France, to examine the validity of the divorce; but, to use the language of Rigord, "They were two dumb dogs who feared for their skin, and therefore did not dare to bark."

The king, thinking himself authorized, by the forbearance of the legates, to annul the sentence of the council of Compiègne, to contract a new marriage, asked and obtained the hand of Agnes, daughter to the duke of Dalmatia, a princess of great beauty and illustrious birth. But the fate of Ingelburga excited the pity of the nation, and, on the accession of Innocent the Third to the papal dignity, the thunders of the church were employed to avenge her cause.

The cardinal of Capua, by the pope's orders, convened a council at Dijon, where, notwithstanding an appeal to Rome, the commissaries of the court laid all the dominions of Philip under an interdict. The bishops who were present submitted to the sentence, although some of them had attended the council of Compiègne, and had, consequently, sanctioned, with their approbation, that divorce which was now declared null. Philip, enraged at their conduct, seized on their temporalities, confiscated the possessions of all the canons and other ecclesiastics in their dioceses, sent soldiers into the parsonage-houses, and confined queen Ingelburga in the castle of Etampes. The murmurs of the laity at the discontinuation of divine service were punished by the most oppressive exactions; the citizens and peasants were obliged to submit to the most enormous imposts; and a tax of one third of their revenues was imposed on the nobility. This unprecedented severity only served to increase the murmurs of discontent; and the kingdom was now in that state of violence which is never of long continuance. No external forms of religion appeared, no sacrament was administered, no public devotion performed; the churches were every where shut, and the dead remained without burial.

* Rymer, p. 85.

The king, fearful of the consequences, was at length compelled to submit, on condition that other legates and other judges should be appointed to determine the matter. Innocent accordingly sent two cardinals, who assembled a council at Soissons*, where the question of the divorce was again examined with the most scrupulous attention. Philip employed several advocates to speak for him, but not a soul dared plead the cause of Ingelburga, till a poor curate, whom nobody knew, arose, and spoke so ably and so learnedly in her defence, that he excited the admiration of all who were present. The council found the pretext of consanguinity frivolous, and were on the point of annulling the sentence of divorce, when the king, who was apprised of their sentiments, put a stop to their proceedings, by declaring his conviction of the validity of his former marriage, and his determination to acknowledge Ingelburga for his wife. He accordingly repaired to the place of her confinement, placed her behind him on his horse, and hastened with her to Paris. The mind of Agnes was too sensible of disgrace to survive this degradation, and, though her rival enjoyed but the mere title of queen, *without the rights of a wife*†, and was even soon sent back to her former place of confinement, she sunk beneath the weight of her grief; but the court of Rome legitimated the two children she had by the king, viz. Philip, count of Clermont in Beauvaisis, who married the countess Mahaut, heiress of Boulogne and Dammartin; and Mary, first married to Philip of Hainault, count of Namur, and afterward to Henry the First, duke of Brabant. It is remarkable, however, that this princess was only distinguished by the appellation of *Madame*, instead of the title of *Queen*, which had always been enjoyed by the daughters of France, even when married to noblemen of inferior rank. The equivocal birth of the princess Mary, it is said, operated a change in the established etiquette‡; and, since the reign of Philip Augustus, the daughters of the French monarchs, and of their eldest sons, have always been called simply, *Mesdames*.

Richard, in the mean time, though exposed to every insult and indignity in his German prison, did not suffer his courage to be depressed by the rigour of his confinement. Though thrown into a dungeon, whence no man had ever escaped with his life, loaded with irons, and continually surrounded with armed ruffians, he preserved the serenity of his countenance, and the cheerfulness of his mind||. The emperor, in order to do away some part of that odium which his injustice to Richard had naturally incurred, produced him before the princes and prelates of the empire, in a diet holden at Worms, on the thirteenth day of July; and attempted a justification of his conduct, by accusing that prince of various crimes and misdemeanours; of having afforded protection to Tancred, the usurper of the crown of Sicily; of having made war on the emperor of

* Tome x. Concil. p. 22. † Guil. Armor. p. 80. ‡ Hist. de Phil. Auguſt. t. i. p. 313; du Tillet, || M. Paris, p. 121.

Cyprus, a christian prince, when his presence was requisite in Palestine; of having obstructed the progress of the christian army, by compelling the king of France, by a repetition of injuries, to retire from the Holy Land; of having affronted the duke of Austria before the walls of Acre; of assassinating Conrad, marquis of Montferrat; and of having concluded a truce with Saladin on disadvantageous terms, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracens*. Richard, far from sinking beneath the weight of his misfortunes, proceeded with firmness and precision to answer these calumnious and ill-grounded accusations, after premising that he was exempted, by his dignity, from submitting to any jurisdiction, except that of heaven. The eloquence and spirit of his defence made so strong an impression on the German princes, that they loudly censured the conduct of the emperor: The pope, too, threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had been induced to listen to the base proposals of Philip, and prince John, now found that it would be impossible to favour the accomplishment of their treacherous designs by a longer detention of the king of England; he, therefore, agreed to accept one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver for his ransom; one hundred thousand marks of which were to be paid before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven hostages delivered for the remainder†. The emperor, too, to gloss over the infamy of this transaction, presented to Richard, at the same time, the kingdom of Arles, comprehending, among other provinces, Provence, Dauphiny, and Narbonne, over which the empire had some antiquated claims; but this present the king of England very wisely neglected.

A. D. 1194.] When the requisite sum was collected, queen Eleanora and the archbishop of Rouen set out with it for Germany a few days before Christmas; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Austria, at Mentz; delivered them hostages for the remainder, and freed Richard from captivity, on the fourth of February. His escape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the assassination of the bishop of Liege, and in an attempt of a similar nature on the duke of Louvain; and these flagitious practices having rendered him obnoxious to the princes of the empire, he had determined to secure himself from the effects of their hatred, by entering into an alliance with the king of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of Philip, in perpetual confinement; and to gratify his own avarice by keeping the money which he had already received for his ransom, and by the extortions of fresh sums from Philip and prince John, who had made him an offer of one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, on condition that he would keep his royal captive only one year longer‡. For this purpose he issued orders to pursue and arrest Richard; but that prince, suspecting his intentions, had travelled with the utmost expedition; so that when the emperor's messengers arrived at Antwerp, he had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheld, and was out of sight of land.

* M. Paris, p. 121; W. Heming, p. 536. † Rymer Fœd, t. i. p. 72—78. ‡ Hoveden, p. 418.

As soon as Philip heard of Richard's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John, and expressed himself thus—"Take care of yourself, for the devil is unchained*." The conduct of the king of England shewed the necessity of this caution; for, after he had regulated his domestic affairs, resumed all the exorbitant grants which he had been necessitated to make before his departure for the Holy Land, and taken possession of all prince John's estates in England, which had been confiscated in a great council of the barons, he prepared to exact a severe vengeance for the perfidy of Philip. That monarch, apprised of his designs, immediately commenced hostilities, and had already invested Verneuil, when he was alarmed with the intelligence that John had reconciled himself to his brother, massacred the French garrison in Evreux, and delivered it into the hands of the king of England; and that Richard himself, with a formidable force, had landed at Barfleur, and was rapidly advancing to the relief of Verneuil. Philip, with a band of chosen troops, repaired secretly, by a forced march, to Evreux, which he retook by surprise; massacred not only the English garrison, but the native inhabitants, whose habitations and whose churches he reduced to ashes. But this exaction of indiscriminate vengeance was productive of little advantage: on his return he found that the troops he had left at Verneuil had, on the news of Richard's approach, disbanded in confusion; and he himself narrowly escaped the pursuit of his rival.

The spirit of animosity and revenge which equally prevailed, though from different causes, in the breasts of the hostile monarchs, urged them to increase the horrors of war, by needless devastations, and unprofitable cruelty. After reducing the castle of Lochis, the king of England advanced to give battle to Philip. The two armies met in the vicinity of Freteval, between Chateaudun and Vendome; but Philip was still desirous of avoiding a decisive battle, and concealed his intentions of a retreat by sending a defiance to Richard, importing, "That the next morning he might expect his attack." But his rival was not so easily deceived; he returned a speedy and resolute answer, which was no sooner delivered than the French were surprised by the approach of the English army. The charge was sudden and impetuous. The troops of France were speedily dispersed by the active and intrepid valour of the lion-hearted Richard; and Philip was disgraced by an ignominious flight. His baggage and his military chest were taken, together with his cartulary and records†, which commonly at that time attended his person: these last, which Richard would never consent to restore, were but imperfectly supplied by the memory of his ministers, and the industry of Gauthier, whom he employed to replace them.

A. D. 1195.] Philip fought to repair his late misfortune by a sudden invasion of Normandy; but Richard, ever active and vigilant, was prepared to meet him in all quarters. Near Vaudreuil the hostile armies came in sight of each

* Hoveden, p. 739.

† Idem, p. 421; W. Neub, l. v. c. 2; Guil. Armor. p. 27.

other, when Philip proposed a negotiation, which he artfully prolonged, to give his troops an opportunity of undermining the walls of that fortress. The king of England did not discover his treachery till he was surpris'd, during a conference with his rival, by a dreadful noise, occasioned by the fall of a considerable part of the castle. Inflamed with resentment, he hastened to collect his troops, that he might inflict a just chastisement on his perfidious foe; but the French army, having made previous preparations for their retreat, fled with such precipitation, that his utmost efforts to overtake them proved fruitless*. The war was carried on, for some months after this transaction, with various success, but without producing any general action or important event; and was at length terminated by a treaty of peace, concluded between the two kings, in a personal interview, on the fifth of December†.

A. D. 1196, 1197.] But the voice of humanity was again silenced by the clamours of resentment; and, in less than six months, the peace was broken, and the destructive flames of war again raged with unabated violence. Richard strengthened himself by an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Toulouse, Boulogne, Champagne, and other considerable vassals of the crown of France. But he soon experienced the insincerity of those princes, and the inability of his efforts to make an impression on a kingdom governed by a monarch so vigorous and active as Philip. This war, like the last, was distinguished only by the capture of a few insignificant towns and fortresses, by the devastation of the open country, and by acts of unheard-of cruelty. The bishop of Beauvais, a martial-prelate, of the family of Dreux, and cousin-german to the king, being taken in battle, Richard, who hated him for having been the means of increasing the rigour of his confinement in Germany, threw him into prison, and loaded him with irons; and when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son, the English monarch sent to his holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared in blood; accompanied by the words which the sons of Jacob employed to their father—"This have we found; know whether it be thy son's coat or not."

A. D. 1198.] The interposition of a legate from the pope, at length induced the rival monarchs to consent to a truce for five years; after the conclusion of which, the pope again exerted his mediatory powers in order to effect a lasting peace, that the two kings might be enabled to undertake a second expedition to Palestine; but, before this salutary purpose could be accomplished, an event occurred that put an end to the negotiation. A considerable treasure, consisting of ancient coins and medals, had been found in the lands of Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, a vassal of the king of England, who claimed it as a *treasure-trove*, which, when found *in the earth*, became the property of the superior lord. His claim being rejected, he prepared to enforce it by an attack

* W. Neub. l. v. c. 15; Chron. J. Brom. col. 1267. † W. Neub. l. v. c. 17; Rymer Fœd. t. i. p. 91.

on the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, where the treasure was supposed to be concealed; but, during the siege of that fortress, he received a wound from an arrow, which, being unskilfully treated, put an end to his existence.

A. D. 1199, 1200.] On the death of Richard, his brother John succeeded to the throne of England, though Arthur, duke of Brittany, was thereby defeated of his claim, as, by right of representation, he stood in the place of his father Geoffrey, John's eldest brother. But the doctrine of representation appears, at this time, to have made a greater progress on the continent than in England. All the prelates and barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, supported the pretensions of Arthur, who was now only in his thirteenth year; acknowledged him as their liege-lord; and, by an act of their assembly, established him in the possession of the government. The young prince was placed by his mother Constance, under the protection of Philip, to whom he did homage for all the continental dominions of his deceased uncle; and Philip, whose enmity to the English was uniformly inveterate, by whatever monarch they were governed, willingly embraced his cause, in the hope of embarrassing John, and dismembering his dominions*. That monarch made an irruption into Normandy, reduced the territory of Evreux, and advanced as far as Mons, where he met the duchess of Brittany and her son Arthur. From hence he hastened to Tours; but his progress was stopped by the approach of John, who invested the capital of Maine, and after taking it, razed the fortifications, and demolished the walls of the city.

This war, however, proved of short duration; the two monarchs met between Vernon and Andely, and the terms proposed by the English prince appeared so advantageous to Philip, that he accepted them without hesitation. To Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, John offered his niece, Blanche of Castile, and with her the baronies of Iffoudun and Gracai, and other fiefs in Berri; and to Philip himself he ceded the Vexin-Normand. Nine barons of the king of France, and as many of the king of England, were guarantees of this treaty; and all of them swore, that, if their sovereign violated any article of it, they would declare themselves against him, and embrace the cause of the injured monarch†. One principal inducement with Philip to the conclusion of a peace with John was the conduct of Constance, mother to Arthur, who, jealous of his power and designs, had carried her son secretly off from Paris, put him into the hands of his uncle, restored the provinces which had adhered to the young prince, and made him do homage for the duchy of Brittany, which was a fere-fief of Normandy.

The marriage of prince Lewis with Blanche of Castile was celebrated in Normandy, because the interdict imposed on the kingdom of France, on ac-

* M. Paris, p. 138.

† Norm. Duch. p. 1055; Rymer, vol. i. p. 117, et Sequ.; Hoveden, p. 814; Chron. Dunst. vol. i. p. 47.

count of the king's separation from Ingelburga was still in force. The reconciliation between the rival monarchs bore every mark of sincerity on both sides; John paid a visit to Philip at Paris, and, during his residence at the French court, he was treated with all the honours due to his rank, and at his departure was loaded with presents. But this pleasing prospect speedily disappeared, and the incontinence of John, the ambition of Philip, and the discontent of young Arthur, occasioned a new rupture. The king of England, during a progress he made into Guienne, for the purpose of receiving the homage of the barons of that province, became enamoured of Isabella, the beautiful heiress of Aymar Tailleffer, count of Angouleme. His queen, with whom he had received the earldom of Gloucester, and many other extensive possessions, was still alive; and Isabella was married to Hugh le Brun, count de la Marche, and already consigned to his care; though, by reason of her tender years, the marriage had not been consummated. These obstacles, however, to a prince of John's disposition, appeared trivial: he found means to persuade the count of Angouleme to decoy his daughter from her husband; and, having, on some frivolous pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own consort, he was married to Isabella by the archbishop of Bourdeaux*. This marriage, not less imprudent than criminal, created him many enemies, and excited the resentment of the injured husband, who soon found an opportunity to punish his powerful and insolent rival.

The count de la Marche, and his brother the count D'Eu, excited commotions in Poitou and Normandy; when John marched against them, and took from the latter the fortresses of Driencourt, now called Dancourt. The two counts then applied to Philip for protection, and demanded justice on his vassal; an application which was favourably received by the court of France which was eager to embrace any opportunity for humbling its rival.

A. D. 1201, 1202.] At a conference between the two monarchs, Philip, conscious of his superiority, reprimanded John, in a tone of severity, that, by intimidating, induced him to promise whatever was required of him. He even engaged to go to Paris, in order to do homage for Poitou, Anjou, and Aquitaine, and to appear before the peers of France to answer to the various charges that were exhibited against him by the barons; he likewise promised to surrender to Philip the fortresses of Tillieres and Boutavant, as a security for performance; but all these engagements he violated. The king then determined to commence hostilities; and the war which was now begun, continued with little interruption, for the long space of fifty-six years. The two fortresses, which ought to have been surrendered, were successfully attacked, and, with Lyons, Arqueil, Mortemer, and Gournay, submitted to the victorious arms of France.

* Hoveden, p. 457. M. Paris, p. 140.

In the mean time Constance, duchess of Brittany, having died at Nantes, her son Arthur repaired to Rennes, took possession of the duchy, and received the homage of the nobility. This young prince, who was now rising to man's estate, being animated with a just resentment against his uncle, who had not only deprived him of his lawful succession, but—if some contemporary writers may be credited—had already formed designs against his life; supported the complaints of the barons of Guienne, and demanded justice of Philip, with regard to his own pretensions to that fief, as well as to those of Normandy and Anjou. The king of France, incensed at the little regard that had been hitherto paid to his remonstrances, resolved to push John to extremities. He invested Arthur with the territories of Poitou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and gave him troops to enable him to reduce them. But that young prince, without waiting for the reinforcements which were hastening to join him from Brittany, Berry, and Burgundy, invested the castle of Mirebeau, in Poitou; where his grandmother Eleanora, who had warmly espoused the cause of John, resided, under the protection of a weak garrison. The siege was pressed with so much vigour, that the queen was compelled to retire into one of the towers, and to surrender the rest of the fortress to the victor. John, having received advice of his mother's situation, flew to her relief with an army of English and Brabancons; he attacked Arthur's camp by surprise, and, by superiority of numbers, obtained a decisive victory—every man in the army of that prince being either killed or taken prisoner. Among the captives were Arthur himself, the count de la Marche, Geoffrey de Lusignan, and the most considerable of the revolted barons, who were all loaded with irons, and confined in different prisons in Normandy and England*. The unfortunate duke of Brittany was sent to Falaise, and from thence to Rouen, where he suddenly disappeared. Though historians have differed in their accounts of the manner in which his death was effected, they all agree in ascribing it to the machinations, if not to the hand, of John†, whose throne was, by the infamous deed, shaken to its very foundation.

The Britons, enraged at the murder of their prince, determined to revenge his death; and, when John, in consequence of it, had the insolence to demand the administration of Brittany, as guardian of Eleanora, Arthur's sister, whom he had seized and carried to England, they received his proposal with horror. The states of the duchy immediately assembled to fix the succession of their government, and chose for their sovereign, Alice, a younger daughter of Constance, by her second husband, Guy de Thouars; and they appointed that nobleman to be her guardian, and to govern the duchy during her minority.

* M. Paris, p. 144, 145; *Annal. Waverliën*, p. 167; *Ypodigma Neuftrix*, p. 258. † *Ann. Margan.* p. 13; *Chron. T. Wikes*, p. 36; *Chron. W. Heming*, l. ii. c. 94; M. Paris, p. 145; *Hen. Knighton*, p. 2414.

Finding all their solicitations for the release of Eleanora treated with neglect, they proceeded to draw up articles of impeachment against John, which they presented to Philip, as lord paramount of all that monarch's continental territories. The king received this application with pleasure, and accordingly summoned John to appear and answer to the charges; and, on his non-appearance, passed a sentence, with the unanimous concurrence of the peers, couched in the following terms:—"Whereas John, Duke of Normandy, forgetting his oath to king Philip, his lord, has murdered the son of his elder brother, who was an homager of the crown of France, and the king's kinsman; and perpetrated the crime within the feignory of France; he is found guilty of felony and treason, and adjudged to forfeit all the territories which he holds by homage*."

A. D. 1203.] Philip now prepared to execute his sentence by force of arms; and, having no longer the sound policy of Henry, nor the martial and active disposition of Richard to contend with, adopted the resolution of expelling the English from all those valuable fiefs which had been so long dismembered from his crown. For this purpose he assembled a powerful army, and, directing his march towards Anjou, was joined by almost all the barons of that province, as well as by those of Poitou. All the great vassals of the crown, whose jealousy might have urged them to obstruct his progress, were either inclined to assist him from disgust to John, or were not in a situation to oppose him. The counts of Flanders and Blois were engaged in the crusades; the count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianship of Philip. The states of Brittany seconded all his measures with vigour; and the general defection of John's vassals rendered every enterprise that was undertaken against him easy and successful. In less than six months, either by force or stratagem, Philip obtained possession of most of the towns in Upper Normandy; the rapidity of his victorious progress was unexampled in the martial achievements of an age in which the art of war was but little understood; Nonancourt and Conches opened their gates at his approach; Andely was compelled to capitulate; Radepont was taken by assault; and Vaudreuil, Pont-a-l'Arche, and Montfort surrendered after a trifling resistance. Chateau-Gaillard, a castle erected by Richard, on the brink of a precipice on the banks of the Seine, near Andely, and supposed to be impregnable, was also reduced, after an obstinate defence of six months.

John, during these transactions, remained at Caen in a state of inactivity that astonished his enemies, and dispirited his friends; when, apprised of the progress of the French arms—"Let them proceed," said he, "I will retake more places in a day than they will have reduced in a year." But, previous to the reduction of Chateau-Gaillard, he made a feeble and successful effort for its relief, then hastening to London, left Philip to complete the conquest of Norman-

* Ann. de Margan. p. 13; Duch. t. v. p. 764.

† M. Paris.

dy at his leisure. The king did not suffer so fair an opportunity to escape: after a siege of seven days, Falaise submitted to his arms; Domfront, Caen, Coutance, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Avranches opened their gates to the conqueror. Rouen, Arques, and Verneuil were the only places that now remained, of all that rich and extensive duchy, under the domination of the English. These towns were, indeed, strongly fortified, and supplied with numerous garrisons, but, at the approach of Philip, they all engaged to surrender, if not relieved before the expiration of thirty days.

A. D. 1204, 1205.] The term being expired, and no supplies arrived, the three towns submitted to the victor. Thus was this important territory, the most rich and fertile province in all the French dominions, re-united to the crown of France, about three centuries after the first cession of it by Charles the Simple. During that time it had been governed by sixteen dukes. "Rollo the Dane," says Mezeray, "who, from a barbarian became a christian and a virtuous man, was the first; and John, who, from a christian became more wicked than infidels and barbarians, was the last!" After the reduction of Normandy, Philip soon completed the conquest of Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and a part of Poitou—important acquisitions, which were, however, attained less by the courage and conduct of that monarch, than by the indolence and cowardice of his adversary, and a fortunate combination of unforeseen events.

A. D. 1206.] Roused at length by the clamours of his subjects, the pusillanimous king of England made serious preparations for the recovery of his captured provinces. Guy de Thouars, who had been appointed to the government of Brittany, became jealous of the vast increase of territory acquired by his ally the king of France, who had not only conquered the adjoining provinces, but had also formed a strong party among the Bretons. This induced that nobleman to wish for the re-establishment of John in the dominions he had lost, that some balance might be formed against the exorbitant power of Philip. He had conferred on this subject with his brother Aimery, viscount of Thouars, whom Philip had created seneschal of the province; and, finding his opinion coincide with his own, they entered into an association with some barons, who favoured their views, and invited John to assist them in the execution of a plan, in which he was so materially interested. A treaty was accordingly concluded, and the king of England, having raised a numerous army, landed at Rochelle on the ninth of July*. But, instead of attempting to attain the object of his expedition by a regular plan of judicious operations, he marched to Montauban in Quercy, which belonged to his brother-in-law, the count of Toulouse, who had espoused the cause of Philip, and, investing the place, took it by assault. On this occasion the English are said to have signified their valour in an extraordinary manner; and they were rewarded by the acquisition of a considerable

* M. Paris, p. 149.

booty, and the capture of a great number of prisoners of rank. This enterprise, however, was attended with no beneficial effects; and, after the reduction of some other places of little importance, the approach of Philip inspired him with fear, and induced him to make proposals of peace, to which the king acceded, and appointed a place for a personal interview, that the terms of accommodation might be settled. But John, instead of keeping his engagement, privately retreated with his army to Rochelle. Notwithstanding this affront, Philip was induced, by the mediation of the pope, whose interposition John had solicited, to consent to a truce for two years, which was accordingly concluded at Thouars, on the twenty-seventh of October*.

One principal motive for the pope's eagerness to promote a peace between the rival monarchs, was the desire he had to engage them in a new species of crusade, for the purpose of checking the progress of heresy. Infected by the metaphysics of Aristotle, which had been lately transmitted from Constantinople, Aimery de Chartres, an enthusiast of strong sense, but stronger passions, became the founder of a new sect, whose principal tenets consisted in the rejection of a heaven and a hell; in maintaining that the only paradise man could know resulted from the effects of doing good, and his only punishment from ignorance and crime†. Being summoned to appear before the pope, in order to answer for his doctrine, Aimery found himself reduced to the necessity of retraction, and died soon after through shame and regret; but his principles did not die with him; they were successfully propagated by his pupils, who, being joined by many other sects, formed a numerous body, and were distinguished by the appellation of *The Albigenfes*, either from the council of *Albi*, where their errors were anathematized, or because the inhabitants of that town and its environs were more particularly infected with those errors. They were reproached with being addicted to that detestable sin which caused the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah‡. On the tomb of Alice, countess of Bigorre, is an inscription, by which the reader is informed, that she was the daughter of Guy de Montfort, who died in defending the true faith against the B—— and Albigenfes||.

The idea which contemporary writers give us of the doctrine and manners of this united sect, has something in it so absurd, and, at the same time, so horrid, that we are almost tempted to suspect them of exaggeration. We are told§, that the Albigenfes believed in two gods; one, a beneficent being, author of the New Testament, who had two wives, Collant and Colibant, and was father of several children, and, among others, of Christ and the Devil;—the other god was a malevolent being, a liar, and a destroyer of men, author of the ancient law, who, not content with having persecuted the patriarchs, during their lives,

* Rymer Fœdera, t. i. p. 141. † Rigord, p. 56. ‡ P. Daniel, t. xi. p. 109. || Id. ib.—The word is expressed at full length in the epitaph. § Hist. Albig. Duch. t. ix. p. 556, 557.

had consigned them all to damnation after death. They also acknowledged two Christs; one wicked, who was born at Bethlehem, and crucified at Jerusalem, and who kept, as his concubine, Mary Magdalen, the woman so well known for having been caught in the act of adultery: the other Christ, all-virtuous and invisible, never inhabited the world, but *spiritually* in the body of Paul. They represented the church of Rome as the scarlet whore mentioned in the Revelations; they regarded the sacraments as frivolous things, considered marriage as a state of prostitution, the Lord's supper as a chimera, the resurrection of the flesh as a ridiculous fable, and the worship of images as detestable idolatry*. Had all their tenets been equally rational with the last, they would not have been obnoxious to much censure. They were divided into two classes—the *Perfects* and the *Believers*. They all openly professed great purity of manners, and secretly practised the most infamous voluptuousness, on the principle, *That from the waist downwards man is incapable of sin*.

The mad zeal with which these sectaries endeavoured to propagate their errors, at length awakened the spirit of opposition in the clergy. Pope Innocent sent two simple monks, of the Bernardine order, to bring the Albigenes to trial†; to these delegates he gave the power not only of excommunicating them, but of constraining the barons, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, to confiscate their property, to banish them from their territories, and even to punish them with death, in case they dared to appeal from their decisions. This was the first foundation of the inquisition. These delegates, or legates, were Peter de Castlenau, and Ralph, both monks of Fontfroide, in the diocese of Narbonne. Arnaud, abbot of Citeaux, was afterwards associated to them. They all three began by preaching sermons that were never attended to, and in the course of which they were incessantly interrupted by a thousand investives against the luxury of the clergy. In fact, the missionaries had laid themselves open to such an attack, by the splendour of their equipages, the variety of their dresses, the number of their servants and horses, and their expensive way of living‡. A Spanish prelate, named Diego de Azebez, advised them, if they wished to convert heretics, to lay aside this pomp, to travel on foot, to lead a life of austerity, and to combat the affected virtues of the Albigenes by a display of true piety. They followed this advice, and made a few converts, but still the majority continued obstinate under the protection of Raymond, count of Toulouse.

This nobleman, endued with the true spirit of toleration, permitted to every sect the free exercise of their religion, so long as they excited no troubles nor commotions in his territories||. Such conduct could not fail to displease the inquisitors, and Peter de Castlenau, in compliance with the dictates of a blind

* Chron. Mag.—Guil. de Pod. c. ix. p. 672, 673. † Bolland. Mart. t. vi. p. 411. ‡ Hist. Albigen. p. 552. || Journal de Trev. 1740.

and impetuous zeal, excommunicated the count. The monk being assassinated soon after, Raymond was accused of the murderous deed: and the pope, not less impetuous than his legate, immediately issued a new sentence of excommunication against him, without hearing what he had to urge in his defence; absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance*; gave his territories to the first person that could obtain possession of them; and finally invited all christians to take up arms against him, promising them the same indulgences which had been formerly granted to the crusaders in Palestine. The precipitation and temerity of Innocent astonished the generality of sovereigns, but they were still more surpris'd at the alacrity with which a great number of barons, and people of all ranks and conditions, enlisted in the service of the pontiff, and placed the cross on their bosom, to distinguish themselves from those who went to the relief of the Holy Land. The first army of these new crusaders is said to have amounted to near five hundred thousand men. The principal leaders were Eudes, duke of Burgundy; Herve, count of Nevers, and Simon, count of Montfort.

A. D. 1209, to 1213.] The count of Toulouse, aware of the fatal effects of the pope's resentment, sought to avert the impending storm, by the most abject submission to the will of the arrogant pontiff; and, as a pledge of his sincerity, he surrendered to the holy see seven strong fortresses in Provence. This was but a prelude to the humiliation he was doomed to experience. Being summoned to attend the council of Saint Gilles, he appeared in his shirt, at the church gate, and throwing himself at the feet of Milo, the pope's legate, swore, by the holy sacrament, to observe whatever the court of Rome should prescribe to him, after which he received absolution†. The legate then threw his stole round his neck, led him with one hand, and with the other scourged him; and, in this state, he was conducted to the great altar. This first mortification was followed by a second still more degrading. He was compelled to assume the cross against his own subjects, to join the army of the crusaders, and to assist them to the utmost of his power, in the conquest of his dominions!—It is with pain the historian records this dreadful instance of ecclesiastical tyranny, and human degradation!

At this time there were five considerable fiefs holden under the count of Toulouse: the barony of Montpellier; the county of Foix; the county of Quercy, including Rodez; the viscounty of Narbonne; and the viscounty of Beziers, to which Raymond Roger, the count's nephew, had annexed the counties of Albi and Carcassonne. This prince, possessing more spirit than his uncle, had boldly refused to comply with the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiff, and openly protected the new doctrines. Beziers, his capital, was accordingly attacked, by an army of five hundred thousand men, who immediately took it by assault,

* *Epist. Innoç. apud Duch. t. x. p. 563.*

† *Hist. Albic. c. 12,*

The victors slaughtered, with indiscriminate rage, men, women, and children, whether heretics or not*. Sixty thousand of the wretched inhabitants perished by the sword; of these seven thousand were massacred in the Magdalen church, whither they had fled for refuge.—And Peter de Vaux-Sernai, the impious and fanatical historian of the Albigenses, represents this butchery as a just punishment for the blasphemies which the unfortunate victims had vomited forth against the blessed saint to whom that church was dedicated†. Before the attack was made, the crusaders asked the abbot of Citeaux how they were to act, as it would be impossible to distinguish the heretics from the catholics; when this worthy minister of Christ, with true christian charity, replied; “Kill them all; God knows his own!”

It would be a task no less painful than superfluous to detail all the transactions of a war, in which rapine, cruelty, and murder, had enlisted under the banners of fanaticism. It is sufficient to observe, that the crusaders continued their destructive progress, with varied success, for upwards of four years, during which time the pope, who had hoisted the signal of persecution, conducted himself in a manner that equally disgraced his name and station: one moment listening to the dictates of justice, and commanding his fanatic band to forbear from oppressing the unfortunate count of Toulouse, and the next launching forth the thunders of the church, and the artillery of ecclesiastical investive, against that noblemen, who, during the disgraceful conflict, was, through the prevarication of the pontiff and the infamy of his legates, despoiled of his territories, and exposed to every species of oppression.

Philip, in the mean time, had received from the count de Montfort, the general of the crusaders, the offer of one half of the conquered territories of the count of Toulouse, on condition that he would ensure to the conqueror the quiet possession of the remainder. He was certainly inclined to accept this proposal, as he had secretly given permission to his son Lewis to join the papal army; but his attention was now called to another quarter, where his arms, he imagined, might be employed to greater advantage. The king of England was engaged in a dispute with the pope, relative to the promotion of cardinal Langton, whom Innocent had the presumption, of his own accord, to nominate to the see of Canterbury. The usual weapons of the church were, on this occasion, employed, and the dominions of John were laid under an interdict, himself excommunicated, his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance, and his throne declared vacant. But, in order to render his sentence of deposition effectual, something more than ecclesiastical censure was requisite; the sovereign pontiff, therefore, applied to Philip to put it in execution; and offered him, besides the remission of all his sins, and a great variety of other spiritual advantages, the property and possession of the kingdom of England, as the reward of

* Philippid. l. viii. p. 192.

† Hist. Albig. c. 16.

‡ Cæsar. Heisterb. l. v. c. 21.

his labour. Philip had neither the wisdom nor virtue to resist a temptation that promised such ample gratification to his ambitious mind. Seduced by the flattering prospect of present interest, he condescended to become the tool of a turbulent priest, and to acknowledge an authority, which, if ever he should be urged to oppose its boundless usurpation, might be employed to operate his own deposition. This new champion of the church levied a powerful army; summoned all his vassals to attend him at Rouen; collected a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels, of different sizes, in the ports of Normandy and Picardy*; and, in short, prepared a force that appeared equal to the accomplishment of his important scheme.

John, who was never backward in making vigorous preparations, though destitute both of courage and skill to employ them to advantage, being apprised of Philip's intentions, seemed determined to give him a suitable reception. He accordingly issued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military tenants at Dover, and even of all men capable of bearing arms, to unite in defence of the kingdom at this dangerous conjuncture. A great number obeyed the summons; and he selected a body of sixty thousand men, who, had they been inspired by a generous spirit of patriotism, and animated with an affection for the person of their sovereign, might have proved invincible: but John, being anathematized by the pope, was universally regarded as an object of horror by the people. The barons, too, equally awed by superstitious fears, were disgusted by his tyranny, and were suspected of maintaining a treasonable correspondence with the enemy; and the incapacity and cowardice of the king himself, unable to cope with extraordinary difficulties, seemed to afford the fairest prospect of success to the promised invasion.

When the two monarchs had assembled their troops on the opposite shores, and the fate of England was on the point of being decided, Pandulf, the pope's legate, who had received secret instructions from Innocent for that purpose, sent two knights-templars to John, to desire a private conference with him at Dover; which was readily granted. There the artful legate represented the power of Philip in such strong colours, and afforded him such convincing proofs of the general disaffection of his people, and the secret combination of his barons†, that, stricken with consternation at the dangers which surrounded him, he declared his willingness to submit to any terms which the pope might think proper to impose. Pandulf, among other conditions equally degrading, exacted a promise that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would restore all the clergy and laity, who had been banished on account of the contest between himself and the pontiff; that he would make them full restitution of their goods, and compensation for all damages, and instantly consign eight thousand pounds in part of payment; and that every one who had been

* M. Paris, p. 162.

† M. Paris, p. 163; M. West, p. 271.

outlawed or imprisoned, for his adherence to the pope, should be immediately received into favour. This disgraceful treaty was signed by John, on the thirteenth of May, 1213*.

But the wretched monarch was still destined to experience a still greater mortification. As he had sworn to pay implicit obedience to the pope, Pandulf required that he should resign his kingdom to the church; which, he persuaded him, would prove the most effectual security against the projected invasion of the French, as he would then be placed under the immediate protection of the apostolic see. With this daring request, unparalleled even in the annals of papistical insolence, John was base enough to comply: he passed a charter, in which he declared that, not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the common advice and consent of his barons, he had, for the remission of his own sins, and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the papal dignity. He consented to hold these dominions as fiefs of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of one thousand marks—seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. And he farther stipulated, that, if either he or his successors should ever presume to revoke or violate any of the articles of this charter, they should instantly, except they obtained the pope's pardon by a speedy repentance, forfeit all right to their dominions†. In consequence of this ignominious agreement John performed the requisite ceremony at Dover, on the fifteenth of May, where he did homage to Pandulf, as the representative of the pope, with all the forms of submission required of vassals by the feudal law: he came unarmed into the legate's presence, who was seated on a throne; he fell on his knees before him; lifted up his joined hands, and placed them between those of Pandulf, swore fealty to the pope; and paid part of the promised tribute. The legate, elated by this unexpected triumph of ecclesiastical arrogance, forgot that moderation which common prudence should have dictated, and evinced the most indecent symptoms of priestly exultation: he trampled on the money which was laid at his feet, as a token of the subjection of the kingdom; an insolence of which, though a marked insult to every Englishman present, no one but the archbishop of Dublin dared to take any notice‡.

Pandulf, having thus effectually accomplished his designs upon England, repaired to France, and told Philip, that as the purpose he meant to promote by taking up arms had been obtained by negotiation, he might now dismiss his troops||. But, as the conduct of Philip had not been influenced by religious motives, all the persuasions of the legate were inadequate to deter him from the pursuit of his project. Having convened an assembly of the nobles, he openly accused the pope of duplicity, and charged him with sacrificing every earthly duty to

* Rymer. vol. i. p. 170; M. Paris, p. 163.
ibid. Knighton, l. xi. c. 15. p. 2419.

† Rymer, *ibid.* p. 176; M. Paris, p. 165.

‡ *Idem*,

|| M. Paris, *ibid.* Chron. Dunst. vol. i. p. 56.

the accomplishment of his own ambitious views. His barons, convinced by experience of the truth of his assertion, expressed a willingness to comply with his desires, by immediately undertaking an invasion of England. The count of Flanders alone, who had previously formed a secret treaty with John, expressed his disapprobation of an enterprise which he deemed impious and unjust; and, finding his opposition of little avail, he withdrew his forces, and retired to his own territories. Philip, determined not to leave so dangerous an enemy behind him, immediately marched into Flanders, took several of the strongest towns, and threatened to lay waste the whole country. In this extremity the count made application for assistance to the king of England, who ordered his fleet, consisting of five hundred sail, under the command of his natural brother, the earl of Salisbury, to attack that of the French, though greatly superior in number. The two fleets accordingly met off the port of Dam, when the English obtained a most decisive victory, taking three hundred ships, and destroying a hundred more; and Philip, finding that the rest must inevitably fall into the hands of the victorious enemy, ordered them to be burnt*; and, by that means, rendered it impossible for him to proceed any farther in his projected invasion of England.

A. D. 1214.] The ambitious spirit of Philip, which could neither be gratified by any moderate success, nor yet damped by defeat, induced the neighbouring powers to enter into a league, in order to check the dangerous and destructive plans of conquest which that monarch had formed. The emperor Otho the Fourth, the king of England, and the count of Flanders were the chiefs of this confederacy; and, confident of success, they already divided, in imagination, the dominions of France. Prince Lewis was sent to oppose John, who had landed, with a powerful army, at Rochelle, on the fifteenth of February, and reduced several towns in Poitou and Anjou. These, however, were speedily retaken by Lewis; and the cowardly monarch, after abandoning his conquests, shut himself up in Partenay, in the hope that his allies would prove more successful than himself. Philip, in the mean time, had marched to meet the confederated army of Flemings and Germans; and, near the village of Bouvines, between Lille and Tournay, the hostile forces approached each other. The emperor was accompanied by the earl of Salisbury; Ferrand, count of Flanders; Renaud, count of Boulogne; Otho, duke of Limburg; William, duke of Brabant; Henry, duke of Lorraine; Philip, count of Namur; and many other princes and barons. The principal officers in the army of France, which amounted to fifty thousand men, (while that of the enemy was greatly superior,) were Eudes, duke of Burgundy; Robert, count of Dreux, and his brother, Philip; Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre and Nevers; Stephen, count of Sancerre; John, count of Ponthieu; Gaucher, count of St. Paul; and the bishop of Senlis. The battle

* M. Paris, p. 166; Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 622.

began about noon: the conflict was fierce, bloody, and, for a long time, doubtful; the fortune of France and Germany alternately prevailed; Philip himself, wounded in the throat, and dragged from his horse, was in danger of being trampled to death; Otho was surrounded and captured by his enemies, and rescued with difficulty: but the valour of the French triumphed over every obstacle; the sun, which shone on their backs, dazzled the eyes of their adversaries; the confederates, pressed on all sides, were obliged to give way; the flight soon became general, and, at six in the evening, Philip remained master of the field. Thirty thousand of the enemy are said to have been killed*; and the counts of Flanders, Holland, and Boulogne, with the earl of Salisbury, and about one hundred and forty other counts and barons, were taken prisoners†. This decisive victory confirmed the power of Philip, who had now no enemy to contend with.

A. D. 1215, 1216, 1217.] The English monarch, having purchased a truce for five years, by the payment of sixty thousand pounds, was permitted to return to his own dominions, where the barons had erected the standard of opposition. Urged by the tyranny of John to a vindication of their rights, they enforced by arms, what persuasion had failed to effect: and this struggle, between a tyrannical king, and his no less tyrannical nobles, fortunately terminated in favour of civil liberty, by producing that celebrated charter, the bulwark of English freedom, which has since been distinguished by the name of *Magna Charta*. But the king of England made no scruple to violate a deed which he had been compelled to subscribe; and, after taking every method he could devise for strengthening his power, in opposition to that of the barons, he dispatched a messenger to Rome to lay the great charter before the pope, and to complain of the violence he had sustained in having been obliged to sign it.

When the charter was read by the sovereign pontiff, he expressed the highest resentment at its contents; and swore by Saint Peter, that he would not suffer a monarch, who bore the sign of the cross (which John had recently assumed), and was a vassal of the holy see, to be treated in that ignominious manner with impunity‡. To put his threats in execution he issued a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apostolic power, and from the authority which God had committed to him, to build and destroy kingdoms—to plant and overthrow—he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as extorted by force, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see; and, in a second bull, issued soon after, he prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it: he even forbade the king himself to pay the smallest regard to it; he absolved him and his subjects from all oaths which they had been constrained to take to that purpose; and he pronounced a general sentence of excommunication

* Chron. Senod. † Chron. Mailros, p. 187; M. Paris, p. 174, 175.

‡ Idem. p. 184.

tion against every one who should persist in maintaining pretensions so pregnant with treason and iniquity*.

But these spiritual censures and prohibitions could not induce the barons to desist from defending their liberties; John therefore hired a band of foreign mercenaries to oppose them, and, with their assistance, he ravaged his kingdom from one extremity to the other. One continued scene of the most deplorable misery every where presented itself to the sight: nothing was to be seen but the flames of villages and castles reduced to ashes; the consternation and wretchedness of the inhabitants; tortures inflicted by the soldiery to enforce the discovery of concealed treasures; and reprisals, equally destructive, committed by the barons, and their partisans, on the royal demesnes, and on the estates of such as still adhered to the crown.

At length the barons, reduced by the triumphant progress of John to the verge of destruction, menaced with the total deprivation of those rights and liberties they had been so anxious to secure, their estates ravaged, and their lives in the most imminent danger; had recourse to a remedy as desperate as the evil it was intended to correct: they dispatched their leader, Robert Fitz-Walter, together with Saker, earl of Winton, to the court of France, with an offer to acknowledge prince Lewis, the son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged monarch. This was a measure that could only be justified upon the principle of self-preservation: accordingly we are told, by Matthew Paris, that "it was the offspring of despair, which was so great, that the barons, in the bitterness of their souls, cursed both the king and the pope†."

Philip accepted with joy an offer so flattering to his ambition; but, being sensible of the danger of entrusting his son and heir in the hands of men who might, in case of necessity, make peace with their lawful sovereign, by sacrificing a pledge of so much value, he exacted from the barons four-and-twenty hostages, according to Mezeray's account‡, of the most noble birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this security, he sent them an immediate reinforcement of seven thousand men||, to enable them to make head against the king, till his son could join them with a more considerable force, which was ordered to assemble in the different parts of France.

The pope, being informed of Philip's intention, sent Gualo, as his legate, to the French court, to menace him with interdicts and excommunication, if he dared to invade the patrimony of Saint Peter, or attack a prince who was under the immediate protection of the apostolic see §: but the king, being assured of the obedience of his own vassals, changed his principles with the times, and now held the papal censures in as great contempt, as he had formerly treated

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 203 et seq.; M. Paris, p. 184, 185, 187. † M. Paris, p. 193. ‡ Mezeray, vol. iv, § Radulf. Niger. p. 144. § M. Paris, p. 194; M. West, p. 275.

them with respect. He accordingly proceeded in the equipment of his armament; and the preparations were conducted with so much vigour, that prince Lewis embarked his troops on board a fleet of six hundred sail; and, arriving at the Isle of Thanet, landed without opposition at Sandwich, on the twenty-third of May, 1216. On his approach John retired from Dover to Winchester, having left a strong garrison in the castle, under the command of Hubert de Burgh, a brave loyalist, of approved fidelity. In this retreat the English monarch met the pope's legate, just arrived from France, who published a sentence of excommunication against Lewis, by name, and against all his followers and abettors. Lewis had endeavoured to pacify the legate, and to avert these censures, by the employment of such arguments as had been suggested to him by the English barons, which were in substance as follow—they affirmed that John was incapable of succeeding to the crown, by reason of the attainder passed upon him during the reign of his brother, though that attainder had been reversed, and Richard had, even by his last will, declared him his successor; they pretended that he was already legally deposed, by the verdict of the French peers, on account of the murder of Arthur, though the effect of that sentence must necessarily have been confined to his continental dominions, which alone he held as a fief of the crown of France; they averred, with a degree of plausibility, that he had effected his own deposition by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his sovereignty, and resigning an independent throne for a fee under a foreign power: and, as Blanche of Castille, the wife of Lewis, was grand daughter to Henry the Second, they maintained, (though in the order of succession many other princes had a preferable claim) that, in choosing her husband for their sovereign, they still adhered to the royal family.

These arguments, however, having proved insufficient to convince the legate, the censures were promulgated; and Lewis resolved to bid defiance to the pope. He marched immediately against the castle of Rochester, which he took on the thirtieth of May; and then proceeded to London, where he arrived on the second day of the following month, and was received with the loudest acclamations, by the citizens, the barons, and their followers, who acknowledged him for their sovereign, did homage to him, and exacted a promise, confirmed by an oath, that he would restore them to all their possessions, and protect them in all their privileges*. Mezeray asserts, that Lewis was solemnly crowned king of England; but this assertion is evidently false, though he exercised the sovereign authority, under the title of *Domini Regis Franciæ Primogenitus*, granted charters for lands and honours, and created Langton, the primate, his high-chancellor. The prince saw the number of his partisans daily increase, while that of John diminished in proportion; for, his foreign troops being mostly levied in Flanders, and other provinces of France, refused to serve against the

* M. Paris, p. 95.

heir of their monarchy*. The Gascons and Poitevins alone, who were still John's subjects, adhered to his cause; but they were not sufficiently strong to maintain that superiority in the field which they had hitherto supported against the confederated barons: his castles, therefore, daily fell into the hands of the enemy; and Lewis, in a few months, had reduced all the southern parts of the kingdom, except Dover, which he invested on the twenty-second of July. But this important fortress was defended with such skill and bravery by Hubert de Burgh, and a spirited garrison, that he was repulsed in all his attacks with considerable loss; and was so continually harassed by the well-conducted sallies of the besieged, that he swore, in a transport of rage, he would not quit the place till he should have taken the castle, and hanged all the garrison; an oath as ill kept as rashly taken!

While Lewis was wasting his time in this fruitless enterprise, the king of England having recruited his army, committed dreadful devastations on the estates of the revolted barons, some of whom now began to discover their error, in claiming the protection of a prince who evinced a disposition to oppress them. Lewis had imprudently afforded such unequivocal proofs of his partiality to his own countrymen, and of his aversion to the English, that the earl of Salisbury, William Marechal, Walter Beauchamp, and many other nobles, who had joined him on his arrival, now deserted him, and their defection inspired him with suspicions of the fidelity of those that remained. Thus actuated by jealousy and resentment, he is said to have formed a plan for the gratification of his revenge, which was discovered to the barons by the viscount de Melun, one of his chief confidants. That nobleman, being attacked at London by a dangerous disorder, and his recovery despaired of, expressed a desire of seeing some of the English barons; and told them that he could not die in peace until he should have discharged his conscience, by discovering an affair in which they were deeply interested. He then gave them to understand, that Lewis had resolved to exterminate all the English nobles who had fought in support of his cause, since he considered them as traitors to their natural prince, and could not, therefore, rely on their fidelity to himself; and it was his intention to bestow their estates and dignities on his native subjects, in whom he could repose a greater degree of confidence. This story, whether true or false, was currently reported, and obtained universal credit; and, as it corresponded to other circumstances that rendered it credible, it proved greatly detrimental to the interests of Lewis, who was now threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune.

At this juncture the king of England died, and was succeeded by his infant son Henry; the regency of the kingdom being bestowed on the earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of approved courage, extensive talents, and incorruptible probity. This event proved fatal to the hopes of Lewis; the nobles had no ob-

* M. Paris, p. 95.

† M. Paris, p. 199; M. West. p. 277.

jections to offer their infant prince ; their aversion to the French daily increased ; and the sentence of excommunication against Lewis, which was repeated by the legate every Sunday, and in which they themselves were included, had no small influence on their minds : for, however the proud barons might have affected to despise the thunders of the vatican, when their passions were raised by hope, and inflamed by resentment, and when their opposition was supported by the vigorous union and spirited measures of a strong confederacy ; these powerful motives had now lost their principal force, and their consciences were again open to the pangs of remorse, and awake to the horrors which, in those superstitious times, were continually attached to the censures of the church.

Lewis had long since lost the affection of the barons, and he now became the object of their contempt. He had frequently attempted to corrupt the integrity of Hubert de Burgh, the brave governor of Dover castle ; but still found his honour and courage equally invincible. On the death of John he again summoned him to surrender ; and represented, in a parley, that as he was now disengaged from his oath of allegiance, he ought to acknowledge a prince whom his countrymen had received as their sovereign, and who would be studious to reward his bravery by the most signal marks of his favour. The governor, however, replied, that the late king had left a son and successor, whom it was his duty to obey, and whom he would serve while he had life ; and, as to the offers of Lewis, he observed, that 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, whom he had in this power ; but his resource proving equally inefficacious, he raised the siege, and repaired to London ; from whence, having taken every necessary precaution for securing his interest in that capital, he marched to Hereford, and attacked the castle, which surrendered after a faint resistance. The government of this fortress belonged, by hereditary right, to Robert Fitz-Walter, who accordingly laid claim to it ; but he had the mortification not only of hearing his claim rejected with scorn, but of seeing the castle bestowed on a Frenchman, and garrisoned with foreigners. This act, in which deliberate insult was added to flagrant injustice, excited a great clamour among the English, who plainly perceived that they were to be excluded from every trust, and that foreigners had monopolized all the confidence and affections of the man whom they had been weak enough to acknowledge for their sovereign.

Though Lewis, about this time, went over to the continent, and brought back a reinforcement of troops ; he found, on his return, that his party was considerably weakened by the desertion of most of the English barons ; and that the death of John, from which he had prognosticated the greatest success to his cause, was likely to render all his projects abortive. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, together with William Marechal, the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, had embraced the party of their lawful sovereign ;

and all those who did not immediately return to their allegiance were evidently watching for an opportunity to do it with safety. The regent was so much strengthened by these accessions, that he ventured to detach the earl of Chester with a body of troops, to invest Mount-Sorel, in the county of Leiceſter, which was in the poſſeſſion of the French: but, on the approach of the count de Perche, with a ſuperior army, that nobleman was compelled to retire; while the French general advanced to Lincoln, and, having obtained admittance into the town, laid ſiege to the caſtle. Pembroke reſolved to ſuccour this important place, though at the riſk of an engagement; he therefore aſſembled his forces with ſuch diligence and ſecrecy, that he had marched as far as Newark before the count de Perche received the ſmalleſt intimation of his approach. The army of the regent was ſo ſuperior in numbers to that of the French, that the latter determined to ſhut themſelves up in the town, and act merely on the deſenſive; but the gariſon, having received a ſtrong re-inforcement, made a ſally on the beſiegers; while the Engliſh army, by concert, aſſaulted them, at the inſtant, from without, mounted the walls by ſcalade, and, bearing down all reſiſtance, entered the city, ſword in hand. In this action, which took place on the nineteenth of May, 1217, the French ſuſtained a total defeat; their commander, the count de Perche, was killed; and many Engliſh barons of that party, together with four hundred knights, and a great number of common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners*.

Lewis had re-commenced the ſiege of Dover caſtle, in which he was employed when he received the unwelcome news of this fatal diſaſter. He immediately deſiſted from his enterpriſe, and haſtened to London, to repair, if poſſible, the loſs he had ſuſtained; when the intelligence of a freſh miſfortune put an end to all his hopes. A French fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement on board, collected by the vigilant activity of his conſort, Blanche of Caſtile, had appeared on the Kentiſh coaſt, where they were attacked by the Engliſh, under the command of William d'Albiny, and were diſperſed with conſiderable loſs. D'Albiny is ſaid, upon this occaſion, to have employed a ſtratagem, which greatly contributed to the victory:—Having gained the wind of the enemy, he came down upon them with violence; and, throwing in their faces a quantity of quick lime, which he had provided for the purpoſe, ſo blinded them, that they were unable to make the ſmalleſt reſiſtance†!

Lewis, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, entered into a negotiation with the regent, who granted him more favourable terms than he had any right to expect. A peace was accordingly concluded; and he engaged to evacuate the kingdom, on condition that all his adherents ſhould be fully indemnified, and reſtored to their honours and fortunes, together with the free and equal enjoyment of thoſe

* M. Paris, p. 204; Chron. Dunſt. p. 87. † M. Paris, p. 206; Ann. Waverl. p. 183; W. Heming, p. 563; Trivet, p. 169; M. Weſt. p. 277; Knyghton, p. 2428.

liberties which had been secured to the rest of the nation*. After this treaty was signed, by which Lewis renounced all pretensions to the crown of England, that prince embarked, with all his forces, for his native country.

A. D. 1219, to 1222.] The sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced by the pope against Lewis, on his invasion of England, was now repealed by his legate; and Philip, after a successful attack on Rochelle, consented to another truce with the English, for four years. Lewis then hastened to join the crusaders in Languedoc, where the flames of war, fanned by the pestiferous breath of fanaticism, still raged with incredible fury.

The council of Lateran, far from restoring peace and tranquillity, had eagerly sought to provoke discord and to engender strife; it had exhibited, in a striking point of view, the daring pretensions of priestly despotism, which assumed the right of disposing of principalities and empires. Four hundred and twelve bishops, and eight hundred abbots and priors, with the pope at their head, assisted by the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, with seventy-one primates or metropolitans, unanimously decided, "That the secular power should be bound, " under pain of excommunication, to swear to exterminate heretics, to the utmost of its power; that the bishops should issue a thousand anathemas against " such as should disobey them; and should also inform the sovereign pontiff " thereof, in order that he might absolve their vassals from their oaths of fidelity, and subject their territories to the power of the first catholic, who should " chuse to take possession of them†." This curious theory was soon reduced to practice. The count of Toulouse, accompanied by his son, and the counts of Foix and Comminges, presented himself before the council, and demanded the restitution of his domains. Several bishops interceded for him, and reminded the pope, that he had ever been obedient to his will; that he had given up his fortresses when required so to do; that he had assumed the cross, and had even fought for the church against his own nephew, the viscount of Beziers. Innocent appeared to be moved by his remonstrances; but, says the fanatic Peter de Vaux-Sernai‡, *The council of Achitophel did not prevail.* It was maintained that the catholic faith could not subsist in Languedoc, so long as Raymond remained master of that province; that he, therefore, ought to be banished from thence for ever, and, contenting himself with an annual income of eight hundred livres, to go and weep his sins wherever he could||.

This same decree grants Toulouse, and all the territories subdued by the crusaders, to Simon de Montfort§, a man destitute of truth, honour, and humanity. That nobleman continued the same line of conduct which had procured him this honourable distinction; some new instance of his treachery or cruelty daily occurred; but, fortunately, his destructive progress was soon inter-

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 221. † Conc. tom. ii. p. 142 et seq. ‡ Hist. Albigeois, c. 83. || Concil. c. ii. p. 234.
§ Thres. des Chart. Bulles contre les Heretiques, p. 13.

rupted by the hand of death, before the walls of Toulouse. He was succeeded in his title by his son, Amauri de Montfort; but the possessions he had usurped were speedily recovered by the active valour of the youthful Raymond, whose spirited efforts prince Lewis in vain attempted to check: after an impotent attack on the city of Toulouse, from whence he was compelled to retreat with ignominious precipitation, he withdrew his forces, and returned to Paris.

A. D. 1223.] Amauri de Montfort, unable to oppose the skill and courage of his rival, offered to resign his right to all the territories bestowed on his father, by the pope, at the council of Lateran, to the crown of France. This important offer was referred to an assembly of the nobles and clergy, at Paris; and as Philip, whose health had been rapidly declining for some time, was repairing from Normandy to his capital, in order to be present himself, he was arrested by death, at the town of Mante, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. He was interred in the royal vault at Saint Denis.

In the delineation of the character of Philip Augustus, his biographers and historians seem to have been so far dazzled by the splendor of his conquests, as to be totally blind to his defects.—Exulting in the effects of those conquests, which increased the revenues and extended the power of their country, the motives on which they were undertaken, and the means by which they were achieved, have never been attended to in the appreciating the merits of the *conqueror*: In the different wars which Philip waged against Henry of England, and his son Richard, he unfurled the banners of cruelty, opposed ambition to justice, and treachery to honour; his base desertion of the latter in Palestine, and the subsequent perfidy of his conduct to that prince in Europe, merit the severest reprobation; nor do his endeavours to embitter the last moments of Henry, by violating the sacred ties of nature, and sowing dissension between parent and child, excite less powerful sentiments of disgust. In his treatment of the Jews, he suffered the dictates of equity to be silenced by the suggestions of interest; and the execution of eighty of that unfortunate people, at one time, affords a sufficient proof that he was not less inhuman than unjust. The exaction of imposts the most oppressive and onerous, on every class of people, while the kingdom laboured under an interdict, shows that he suffered no opportunity to escape for gratifying his rapacity. Yet has the abbe Velly ventured to assert, that the actions of Philip prove his *merit* to have been equal to his success—that all his schemes were concerted with *prudence*—that he was *economical*, in order that his people might not be *over-burdened*!—and, finally, that he was exact in the administration of *justice**!—Those actions, however, we have laid before

* The same historian, speaking of Simon de Montfort, the leader of the crusaders against the Albigenses, observes, “That he would have been an incomparable man, had he been less ambitious, less cruel, less perfidious, less choleric, and less vindictive.” (vol. iii. p. 520). With the same exceptions we might safely subscribe to his indiscriminate eulogy on Philip Augustus.

our readers, who are equally competent with ourselves to decide on the justice of this assertion.

That Philip was an able general, fertile in expedients, and active in the field, cannot be denied; that an important extension of territory was obtained through his exertions, and the imbecility or insignificance of his adversaries, is certain; and that many salutary regulations were adopted during his reign, is equally true: but we defy the most enthusiastic of his admirers to adduce a single transaction of his life which can justify the epithet *Magnanimous*, conferred on him by the voice of adulation.—Though his mind was capacious and enterprising, his defects were many, and his virtues few.

Philip was the first monarch of France, who was anxious to amass treasures in order to support an *independent* and *regular* body of forces, which, though they may be necessary “for the purpose of conquest, sometimes serve to oppress the subject, and to subvert the laws of the realm*.” No sovereign of the Capetian race had hitherto distinguished his own interests from those of the nation. “Till now (says Velly) our kings devoted the royal domains to the “support of the majesty of the throne.” The state was careful to defray the expenses of war; and the nobles and the people joined the monarch in revenging the injuries sustained by the monarchy. Many inconveniences, however, arose from this mode of proceeding; the vassals of the crown were led to judge of the propriety of those motives which had induced the sovereign to take up arms; and, as they were destined to bear the chief weight of the war, it may be supposed they were not always either prompt or just in their decisions. Hence confusion and delay, so peculiarly fatal to all hostile operations, were naturally produced: Philip, therefore, to obviate these numerous inconveniences, determined to keep an army of his own. But as his revenues, though greatly augmented, were insufficient to support the enormous expense of this new regulation, he not only increased the taxes, but accepted of a considerable sum offered him by the Jews, on condition of revoking the sentence of banishment that had been pronounced against them†.

The university of Paris, which was founded under the reign of Lewis the Young, received its first statutes during that of Philip Augustus. It had professors of the civil and canon law, of philosophy, physic, and theology. It was greatly frequented from the numerous privileges it enjoyed; among which were, the right of sending deputies to the national and other councils, an exemption from all national imposts; and the liberty of having all the causes, in which it was concerned, tried by the provost of Paris, who assumed the title of *Conservator of the Royal Privileges of the University*‡. The rector had the power of licensing preachers, as well as that of suppressing them, whenever he had any grounds of complaint: he signed all treaties, and other public acts.

* Abreg. de Mezerai, suit. du tom. i. p. 603. † Rigord, p. 42; Guill. Armor. p. 79. ‡ Laur. Ord. des Rois, t. i. p. 25.

The style of composition, in the twelfth century, particularly in religious writings, was turgid and uncouth; inflated by a redundancy of mystic expressions, refined metaphors, and ridiculous allegories—of this, the following extracts from the celebrated sermons of Saint Bernard, afford a curious specimen:

“Flos utique filius virginis. . . . Flos campi, non horti, campus enim sine omni humano floret adminiculo, non feminatus ab aliquo, non defossus farculo. . . . Sic omnino, sic virginis alvus floruit, sic inviolata, integra, et casta Mariæ viscera, tanquam pascua æterni viroris florem protulere cujus gloria in perpetuum non marcescat.”

S. Bern. Serm. ii. in Adv. Dom. Edit. D. Mabill. tom. i. p. 728, 729.

“Pluvia namque voluntaria quam segregavit deus hæreditati suæ, placide prius et absque strepitu operationis humanæ, suo se quietissimo illapsu virginem demisit in uterum: postmodum vero ubique terrarum diffusa est per ora prædicatorum.”

Id. Ib. hom. ii. super missus est, p. 745.

“Ex Deo et homine cataplasme confectum est, quod sanaret omnes infirmitates tuas. Contuscæ sunt autem et commixtæ hæc duæ species in utero virginis, tanquam in mortariolo; Sancto Spiritu, tanquam pistillo, illas suavitur commiscente.”

Id. Ib. Serm. iii. in vigil Nativ. p. 771.

The Provençal poets were justly celebrated at this period in most of the countries of Europe; they were called *Troubadours*, or *Finders*, from the fertility of their invention; and were, in fact, the fathers of modern poetry. No bards ever received greater encouragement or protection: they were invited to the courts of the greatest princes, where they were equally respected by the brave and the fair, as they celebrated the achievements of the one, and the charms of the other. So flattering was the applause they attracted, that several crowned heads devoted their leisure hours to the muses, became *Troubadours*, and composèd poems in the Provençal language, which was then the most perfect of all the European languages.

Some idea may be formed of the manners of the age, from the opposition experienced by Eudes de Sully, in his attempt to abolish a ridiculous and impious ceremony, which had been hitherto tolerated, not only in the church of Paris, but in several other cathedrals in the kingdom. In the capital it was called, “The Fools’ Festival”—in other places, “The Festival of the Innocents*.” The priests and clerks assembled, elected a pope, an archbishop, or bishop, whom they conducted in great pomp to the church, where they appeared arrayed in different whimsical dresses, representing women, animals, or buffoons, and dancing and singing obscene songs; they converted the altar into a sideboard, where, during the celebration of mass, they eat and drank, played at dice, burnt their old sandals instead of incense, and ran and jumped about, exhibiting a variety of indecent postures. Eudes, shocked at the impious custom,

* Du Cange Gloss, verbo *Kalendæ*,

published an ordinance, by which he prohibited the solemnization of this festival, under pain of excommunication. It was accordingly suspended for a time but it was afterwards revived, and continued to be observed till the middle of the fifteenth century.

There was another festival in vogue at this time, called “The asses’ Festival:” it was thus celebrated at Beauvais—the inhabitants selected the most beautiful young girl in the town, whom they placed, with a pretty child in her arms, on an ass richly caparisoned*. Thus equipped, and followed by the bishop and the clergy, she went in procession from the cathedral to the parish-church of Saint Stephen, where, as soon as she had entered the sanctuary, and placed herself near the altar, the mass began. The *introit*, the *kyrie*, the *gloria*, the *credo*, and all those parts of the service which are sung, were terminated by the exclamation of *hinham, hinham*—words, which, when pronounced in French, resemble the braying of an ass. The *prose*, half Latin and half French, explained the excellent qualities of that animal. Each strophe concluded with this kind invitation—“Sing, good Mr. Ass; open your beauteous mouth; you shall have plenty of hay, and oats to sow!” They then, on their knees, exhorted the animal to forget his accustomed food, in order to repeat incessantly, Amen, Amen! The priest instead of *Ha missa est*, repeated three times, *hinham, hinham, hinham!* which was re-echoed by the people.

There is a statute enacted by the same Eudes de Sully, who abolished “The Fool’s Festival,” still extant, by which ecclesiastics are forbidden not only to play at chess, but even to have a chess-board in their houses; probably because they were apt to pay too much attention to the game, and to lose at it the money which they ought to have given to the poor†. In fact it is difficult to conceive any other motive for such a prohibition; since, of all games of skill, chess is the game which requires the greatest mental exertion, and is, therefore, the most worthy the attention of a man inclined to meditate and reflect. Some authors have gone as far back as the siege of Troy, to discover the origin of this game. The princess Anna Comnena, in her *Alexiad*, ascribes the invention of it to the Assyrians‡. The Persians and Chinese acknowledge that they had it from the Indians. The circumstances which gave rise to it are worthy of notice.

At the commencement of the fifth century, there lived in India a young prince whose power was extensive, but whose pride was insupportable||. In vain did his ministers seek to inculcate in his mind the salutary doctrine, that all the strength and power of a sovereign consist in the love of his subjects. These sage remonstrances were received with disdain, and those who made them confessed to destruction. A Bramin, who was anxious to enforce the same whole-

* Du Cange Gloss. verb. Festum Asinorum.

† Odo. Ep. Par. in Preceptor. Synod. 120.

‡ Alex. l. xxii.

|| Mem. de l’Acad. des Bel. Let. t. v. p. 252.

some precepts without exposing himself to similar danger, invented the game of chess*, in which the king, although the most important of all the pieces, is impotent in attacking, and even in defending himself against his enemies, without the assistance of his subjects and soldiers. The monarch, being endowed by nature with a good understanding, made a proper application of this useful lesson, and, by an immediate change of conduct, averted the misfortunes with which he was threatened. Grateful for the service that had been rendered him, he suffered the Bramin to chuse his own reward; he accordingly required as many grains of corn as the sixty-four squares on the chess-board would produce, by receiving one for the first, and doubling the number at every square up to the sixty-fourth, inclusive; his demand, being deemed moderate, was immediately granted without any examination: but, when they proceeded to calculate the quantity, they found it so immense, that all the treasures of the prince would be insufficient to purchase, and his dominions, though extensive, to supply it. The Bramin then embraced the opportunity to represent to his sovereign the necessity that existed for kings to be constantly on their guard against those by whom they are surrounded, and to convince him how much their best intentions were liable to be abused.—This anecdote was soon diffused over the country, and extended to the remotest regions, whence the game of chess was transmitted from India to all parts of the globe.

LEWIS THE EIGHTH,

SURNAMED THE LION.

A. D. 1223.] THE accession of Lewis the Eighth, who was now in his thirty-seventh year, experienced no kind of opposition; though his father had neglected to associate him to the throne, he had left him in possession of an army that was better calculated to establish his authority, than the celebration of a vain ceremony. The new monarch was crowned at Rheims by William de Joinville, archbishop of that diocese, and the most unequivocal proofs of joy

* Otherwise called 'the king's game;' 'Schak,' in Persian, and 'Schek,' in Arabic, signify King or Lord. Hence the term 'Check-mate,' from the Persian 'Schakmat,'—'the King is taken.'

† On making the calculation it has been found, that, to supply the necessary quantity of corn, it would require 13,584 towns, each of which should contain 1014 granaries, each granary 174,792 measures, and each measure 32,768 grains. Mem. de l'Acad. Ibid. 264.

and satisfaction were exhibited, on the occasion, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. He was no sooner seated on the throne than Henry the Third, of England, demanded, by a solemn embassy, the restoration of Normandy, and of the other provinces which had been wrested from his father; but Lewis replied, that those territories had been formally confiscated by a sentence of the peers, the validity of which he was prepared to defend; and, as the truce of four years was on the point of expiring, he determined on renewing the war by an irruption in Poitou. The pope, apprised of his intentions, sought to divert him from his purpose; but the king neglected his remonstrances, and, being sensible of his own power, resolved to exert it.

A. D. 1224, 1225, 1226.] Accordingly, in the ensuing spring, having previously strengthened himself by an alliance with Frederic, emperor of Germany, Hugh de Lusignan, count de la Marche, who had married the queen-dowager of England, and several other powerful barons, he entered Poitou with a numerous army, took the towns of Niort, and Saint Jean d'Andely, and, advancing as far as Rochelle, formed the siege of that city, which he reduced after a vigorous resistance*. Having subdued all the places which the English possessed in Poitou, and received the homage of their inhabitants, he returned in triumph to Paris.

The king of England, in the mean time, had levied a considerable army, which he sent to France under the conduct of his brother, prince Richard, on whom he had bestowed the title of count of Poitou. The inhabitants of Poitou, flattered by the presence of a prince of the blood-royal, crowded to his standard; the spirit of opposition was revived; the career of Lewis was checked; and that monarch, impatient to engage in a new enterprise, consented to a truce for three years.

Urged by the solicitation of the sovereign pontiff, and still more by the dictates of interest and ambition, Lewis resumed the cross, and once more marched against the Albigenes. The old count of Toulouse was dead, and though, previous to his decease, he had made every submission the church could require for his *imaginary* crimes, and had proved himself a most worthy man and a good christian, yet did the implacable enmity of the sovereign pontiff extend beyond the grave, and the rights of sepulture were denied to his body. His son and successor, endued with every quality that could secure affection, or conciliate esteem, was equally submissive, and was treated with equal severity and injustice. Neither his piety could recommend him to the pope, nor his virtues to the king; fanaticism had deluded the one, and, ambition the other; hence they were both bent on persecution, and, from the formidable preparations that were made, the destruction of Raymond appeared inevitable.

Previous to his departure from Paris; Lewis thought fit to accept the offer of Amauri de Montfort; and, in return for the cession of the claims which he derived from the liberality of the Roman pontiff, Montfort received the promise of the post of constable, as soon as it should become vacant. The king directed his march along the banks of the Rhone, and invested Avignon with fifty thousand men. The inhabitants set his threats at defiance, repelled his attacks with the most determined valour, made several successful sallies, in which the French were routed with considerable slaughter, and at last compelled Lewis, after the loss of the bravest of his troops, to grant those terms of capitulation which he had at first refused.

After the reduction of Avignon, the king entered Languedoc, and extended his devastations within four leagues of Toulouse; but, the season being too far advanced to form the siege of that important place, which Raymond had been careful to provide with every possible means of resistance, he resolved to return to Paris. With this view he repaired to Clermont in Auvergne, and from thence proceeded to Montpensier, where he was seized with a disorder that put an end to his life, in the fourth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age. He was interred at Saint Denis.

Lewis the Eighth possessed the courage, vigilance, and activity, but not the prudence and circumspection, of his father; like Philip, too, he was turbulent and ambitious, eager to extend his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and prompt to engage in wars, at the call of interest, in defiance of justice. He has been called a *great prince**; but, neither the splendour of his military exploits, nor his concern for the welfare and felicity of his subjects, gave him the smallest title to that flattering appellation, which, though many have acquired, but few have deserved.

†† Of eleven children which Lewis had by his wife, Blanche of Castille, six only survived him; Lewis, Robert, John, Alfonso, Charles and Isabella. This last founded the monastery of Longchamp. By his will, the king bequeathed all his dominions to his eldest son Lewis, except those appanages which he intended for his brothers; to his second son he assigned the county of Artois; Anjou and Maine to his third; Poitou and Auvergne to his fourth; the fifth was destined for the church†.

† Such was the licentiousness that prevailed at this period among the troops, that one army, about the end of the twelfth century, was attended by fifteen hundred concubines, who were all dressed in a most expensive manner‡. This style of dress frequently caused them to be mistaken for women of fashion. Queen Blanche, consort to Lewis, having one day received the kiss of peace||, at mass, returned it to a woman who stood near her, whose appearance bespoke

* Velly, vol. iv. p. 60.
† Ancienne Chevalerie.

† Gest. Ludov. viii. apud Duch. t. v. p. 324. et seq.
|| Du Cange, verb. Osculum Pacis.

‡ Memoires sur

her a person of rank, but who proved to be a woman of the town. Being afterwards informed of this circumstance, she was so enraged at her mistake, that she obtained from the king an edict*, prohibiting all courtisans from wearing †† gowns with trains and capes, and *gilt belts*. But as good regulations were often † ill-observed, the edict was seldom enforced, and things went on in their usual way. The modest women consoled themselves for this neglect with the testimony of their conscience, and the goodness of their reputation, of which they were continually boasting, by observing, that—“*Bonne renommée vaut mieux ††* † “*que ceinture dorée* ;”—“A good name is better than a gilt belt.” Which † saying became a proverb that is still in use.

The relaxation that obtained in the administration of justice, was well calculated to promote licentiousness. It appears from the archives of the cathedral at Beauvais, that a canon of the church had carried off the wife of a citizen, who demanded justice for the injury he thereby sustained. The crime was notorious; the culprit acknowledged his guilt; and the whole neighbourhood bore testimony of the fact:—the judges, after mature deliberation, decreed, “That † “the ravisher should restore the woman in a fortnight;” which was according- † ly done:—thus the canon went unpunished, and the citizen unredressed.

It was at the commencement of this reign, that pope Honorius the Third confirmed the celebrated order of the *Minors*, the first mendicants: they were distinguished by the appellation of *Cordeliers*, from the *cord* which they wore round their waist †. These monks resigned all earthly property, and devoted their lives to preaching penitence, and to continual mortification and prayer. The institutor of the order was John Bernardon, originally of Assize in Umbria, who was surnamed *Francis*, because he had learned the *French* language in a very short time †. He is represented as a man of great simplicity, almost uneducated, but leading a life of uncommon austerity, and following, in all things, the purest dictates of humanity. To him may be applied, says Hainault †, what has been said of *Zeno*, the founder of the sect of stoics:—*he taught how to bear with hunger and thirst; and he met with disciples*. In fact, he had soon a numerous train of all ranks and conditions, and of either sex. He divided them into three classes: the first, doomed to celibacy, assumed the appellation of *freres mineurs*; the second, consisting of married people, were called *freres de la penitence*; and the third, who were widows, were distinguished, in Italian, by the name of *povere donne* (poor women), and, in French, by that of *Claristes*, from Saint Claire.

* Pasq. Rech. de la France, t. i. p. 783.
de l'Eglise, tom. vi. p. 301.

† Vita Sancti Franc. per S. Bonav. c. 4.

‡ Chofy, Hist.

‖ Abregé Chronol. de l'Hist. de France, p. 214.

LEWIS THE NINTH,

COMMONLY CALLED SAINT LEWIS.

A. D. 1226.] QUEEN Blanche was deeply affected at the death of her husband; but, instead of wasting her time in deploring his loss, she immediately proceeded to adopt those vigorous measures, which were essential to the welfare of the state, and the safety of her son. Lewis, on his death-bed, had appointed her to the regency, in the presence of the archbishop of Sens, and the bishops of Beauvais and Chartres*. Though a foreigner, with five sons still in their infancy, she had the courage to venture on an office at all times troublesome, but peculiarly difficult to fill in a kingdom where women were regarded as incapable of holding the reins of government. Her first care was to summon the nobles to attend the coronation of her son; but most of these factious barons, far from obeying the citation, excused themselves on various pretences, all indicative of their disposition to revolt. Some, who were anxious to preserve appearances, pleaded the excess of their grief at the recent loss they had sustained, which incapacitated them from attending a ceremony that should be marked by general expressions of joy; others, more bold, insisted that, previous to the coronation, all the vassals of the crown should be released from confinement; particularly the count of Flanders, and the old count of Boulogne†; some even demanded the restitution of certain possessions, of which they had been *unjustly* deprived during the two last reigns, since, by the laws of the realm, a previous verdict of the peers was indispensably requisite to establish the validity of the forfeiture.

But, notwithstanding this opposition, the young king was crowned at Rheims, the archiepiscopal see of which was then vacant, by the bishop of Soissons; and all the nobles and prelates who were present took the accustomed oath of allegi-

* Thres, des Ch, Layette des Regentes.

† M. Paris; An, 1226.



J. Beyer Sc.

LOUIS IX.

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anceto Lewis as their sovereign, and to Blanche, as the regent of the kingdom, during the minority of her son. The queen's chief ministers and advisers were, the chancellor Guerin, a man respectable from his age, abilities, and virtue, but rude in manners, and accustomed to offer his advice in the style and language of reprimand; and the cardinal de Saint Ange, the pope's legate in France, a prelate, who, to the natural advantage of a good person, united the most engaging address, and manners the most insinuating. The regent herself is said to have been a woman of extraordinary accomplishments, both mental and personal; of a spirit undaunted; in beauty unrivalled.

It was not long before her skill and resolution were called forth into action. The counts of Champagne, Brittany, and la Marche, had, during the late reign, entered into a secret league, *against all men living and to come*; the treaty is still extant*. These were the three first noblemen in the kingdom—the count of Brittany was a prince of the blood; the count of Champagne was descended from a daughter of Lewis the Young; and the count de la Marche was father-in-law to Henry of England. At this critical conjuncture they renewed the late treaty, and bound themselves by an oath, to obey no orders that should come from the king, directly or indirectly, during his minority. Their influence was so great that numbers, who had no subject of complaint, were induced to espouse their cause. The king of England, anxious to recover Normandy, and the other provinces which had been wrested from his father, promised them a powerful succour; and, had he kept his word, and profited by the confusion that now prevailed throughout the kingdom, there can be little doubt but he would have accomplished his purpose; but weak, indolent, and irresolute, Henry was not designed by nature either for conquest or command.

Before the confederates openly displayed the banners of revolt, they renewed their demand for the restitution of those estates, which, they pretended, had been usurped during the two preceding reigns; a demand which it was impossible for the queen to comply with, both because such compliance exceeded the power of a regent, and because a part of the lands in question had been since alienated from the crown. Yet her refusal was deemed a sufficient motive for the commencement of hostilities. The count of Brittany began by fortifying two places, the command of which had been conferred on him by the late king†; viz. Bellefine in the Perche, and Saint James de Beuvron in Normandy; while Richard, brother to the English monarch, passed the Garonne, ravaged the adjoining country, and betrayed a disposition to insult Rochelle.

Blanche, in the mean time, sought to strengthen her power by securing the affections of the people; and she distributed her favours and rewards in so judicious a manner, as to insure attachment without exciting envy. Philip, count of Boulogne, uncle to the young monarch, was the nobleman whose enmity or friend-

* Chant. Act. 169, 170.

† Gesta Lud. ix. apud. Duch. t. v. p. 327.

ship was of the greatest consequence to her; she accordingly spared no pains to engage him in her interest; with this view she restored Mortain and Lislebonne, which the late king had detached from the appanage of Philip; and also ceded to him the sovereignty of the county of Saint-Pol, as a fief of the county of Boulogne. Ferrand, count of Flanders, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Roman pontiff, still remained a captive in the Louvre; as his wife, who had no affection for him, pleaded inability to pay his ransom. It is said that their hatred arose from play, at which they incessantly quarrelled; the count being enraged at the idea of being beaten by his wife at chess, and the countess refusing to indulge him by suffering him to win*. Their animosity was even carried to such a length, that the countess was on the point of procuring a divorce, in order to marry the count of Brittany: to prevent this alliance was an object of importance to the French king, since it would have greatly augmented the domains of one of his most seditious vassals, and would have afforded that vassal a fair opportunity for gratifying his ambition, and for disturbing the repose of his liege-lord. That consideration had determined Lewis the Eighth to facilitate the release of Ferrand, which was to have taken place at Christmas, in the present year. The regent, in order to attach the count more firmly to her interest, prudently resolved to grant him terms more favourable than those which had been prescribed by her husband. By the first treaty, he was to have paid fifty thousand livres, at two different payments, and to have given Douai, Lille, and l'Ecluse as a surety; whereas now but half that sum was exacted from him, on condition that he should leave the young king in possession of the citadel of Douai for ten years. This indulgence was repaid by Ferrand with persevering fidelity; and, though he had frequent opportunities of repairing the losses he had sustained, he regularly persisted in sacrificing interest at the shrine of gratitude.

A. D. 1227.] After these successful negotiations Blanche collected her troops; and, accompanied by her son, by the pope's legate, and the counts of Boulogne and Dreux, advanced as far as the Quarry of Courcett†. There the count of Champagne, who had openly professed himself the queen's admirer, astonished at her progress in the depth of a severe winter, threw himself at her feet, and implored her mercy. Lewis, at the instigation of his mother, received with kindness his repentant vassal, and this happy commencement inspired him with the most sanguine hopes of a speedy and successful termination to the revolt. Nor was he disappointed in his expectation, for the counts of Brittany and la Marche, finding themselves more vigorously opposed than they had reason to expect, gave him the meeting at Vendome, and accepted the terms of accommodation which he had proposed to them.

* Chron. de Fland.

† Gest. Lud. ix. Duch. t. v. p. 327.

A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which it was settled that prince John, brother to Lewis, to whom his father had bequeathed the counties of Anjou and Maine*, should marry the daughter of the count of Brittany; that, during the minority of the prince—who was now only in his eighth or ninth year—the count should keep possession of the towns of Angers, Beauge, Beaufort, and Mans; that he should give his daughter, as a dower, Bellefme, Saint-James de Beuvron, Chantoceaux on the Loire, Brie-Comte-Robert, and some other places, which, nevertheless, he should be suffered to retain during his life; that the prince should, within a few days, be delivered into the hands of the count of Boulogne, and the constable Montmorenci; and, finally, that the count of Brittany should form no alliance with the king of England, or the duke of Guienne. As for the count de la Marche, he not only promised to hold no farther correspondence with the enemies of the crown†, to restore all the lands and possessions he had usurped, and to repair all the injuries he had committed; but he even ceded to the young king all the grants which he had obtained during the late reign, together with his pretensions to Guienne, in right of his wife, who was widow to John of England.‡ In return for these concessions Lewis assigned him, during the term of ten years, a pension of ten thousand five hundred livres; allowed him to select, from among the friends and allies of France, such guardians as he should chuse for his children; engaged to conclude neither peace nor truce with England, without his approbation; and consented to strengthen this alliance between them by a double marriage—that of Alfonso, the king's brother, with Isabella de la Marche, and that of Hugh de la Marche, with Isabella of France; but neither of these marriages took place. The two counts did homage, and delivered hostages to Lewis, while Matthew de Montmorenci, constable of France, swore, *by the king's soul*||, to observe the treaty.

A. D. 1229.] But the national tranquillity, which thus appeared to be established on a solid foundation, was speedily interrupted by the intrigues of the count of Boulogne, the king's uncle, who aspired to the regency; and, as he was generally and deservedly beloved, his party soon became formidable. A plan was laid for seizing the king's person: but Thibaud, count of Champagne, again betrayed the designs of the conspirators to Blanche; and the failure of their project only served to convince them how much their sovereign was beloved by his subjects. In revenge for the treachery of Thibaud, they assembled all the troops they could collect, and, entering his territories, laid waste the country with fire and sword. The count, unable to impede their progress, had recourse to the king for protection; and Lewis, after ordering the rebels to lay down their arms, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and marched to his relief. Under the walls of Troyes he was joined by Thibaud, and Matthew

* Thres. des Ch. Laette de Bretagne. † Ib. regist. 22. and 26. ‡ Recueil des Rangs des Grands, Du Till. p. 173. || Velly, vol. iv. p. 90.

the Second, duke of Lorraine; when the regent again ordered the rebels to quit Champagne, promising to do them justice if they had any reasonable grounds of complaint*. But the haughty barons returned an insolent answer, importing that they had taken up arms to do themselves justice, and not to ask it at the hands of a woman, who openly protected the assassin of her husband†.

This boldness, however, was only assumed for the purpose of concealing the weakness of their cause; on the king's approach the confederated nobles retired into the county of Nevers, and shewed no disposition to come to a decisive engagement. The queen seized the moment of success to negotiate with the count of Boulogne; she convinced him that his real interest was, to maintain the authority of the king, his nephew; she unfolded the secret designs of the confederates; and plainly proved, that, while they flattered his ambition with the prospect of royalty, their inclinations were unanimously directed towards Enguerand de Couci‡, a nobleman conspicuous above his contemporaries for his virtues and abilities. Induced by these considerations, Philip consented to exchange his visionary hopes of a crown, for the solid emoluments of a pension.

The object which next engaged the attention of the regent, was the state of affairs in Languedoc, where Raymond, count of Toulouse, profiting by the death of Lewis the Eighth, had made a considerable progress in the recovery of his paternal dominions. Beaujeu, the king's general, after taking the towns of Becede, Cabaret, Grave, and Montech, massacred all the inhabitants in the most cruel and inhuman manner||. But Raymond, having defeated him three times in the course of one campaign, retaliated his barbarity, and taught him, by the only means that could affect a mind distorted by fanaticism, to respect the sacred rights of humanity.

The success of the count of Toulouse revived the zeal of the pope, who earnestly pressed§ the young king and his mother to arm in the cause of religion, whose rights he pretended to enforce by rapine and murder. The bishops of the province accordingly assembled at Narbonne; and, after ordaining that the Jews should be distinguished by the figure of a wheel, six inches in circumference, placed on a conspicuous part of their dress¶, they enacted that every Sunday, and on every festival, the sentence of excommunication against Raymond and all his adherents should be publicly read in the churches—a pitiful resource against the attempts of a youthful hero, who maintained his rights with glory and success. There were some other canons passed at this council, worthy of notice. By the fifth it is decreed, that no will shall be valid, unless an ecclesiastic be present when it is made, in order to ascertain the religious faith of the

* Chr. Fl. p. 49.

† They had propagated a report that the count of Champagne, who had withdrawn his forces from the siege of Avignon, had poisoned the late king.

‡ L'Allon. Hist. de Couci, l. iii. || M, Paris; An. 1228. § MSS. Colb, p. 2669. ¶ Cons, tom. i. p. 304 et seq.

testator; by the thirteenth, the establishment of new tolls is forbidden; the fourteenth regulates the institution of inquisitors in every parish, and the fifteenth and the sixteenth, by declaring all persons convicted or even *suspected* of heresy incapable of holding any office, make a direct attack both on the rights of the sovereign, and on those of the subject.

By the exhortations of the pope, and the remonstrances of his legate, the regent was induced to send a fresh supply of troops into Languedoc. The war was then renewed with additional vigour, and was conducted by Beaujeu in a manner truly worthy of the cause in which he had embarked. Every morning (says a contemporary writer)*, at dawn of day, the troops attended mass, and prayed most devoutly; they then partook of a slight repast; and, after posting guards in different parts of the town to keep the inhabitants in awe, three separate detachments were sent to scour the country,—the first were armed with pick-axes, for the purpose of demolishing the houses; the second with spades, for digging up the vines in the vineyards; and the third with scythes, for mowing down the green corn, and every thing else that they met with in the fields. This system of destruction was regularly pursued in the environs of Toulouse for three months.

The count of Toulouse, finding his subjects in the utmost consternation, and almost driven to despair, by the losses they had sustained through this barbarous mode of waging war, was at length compelled to listen to the overtures of peace that were made him by the cardinal de Saint Ange. The terms imposed on him were oppressive; but, abandoned by his subjects, he was obliged to submit, and to purchase an exemption from ecclesiastical tyranny and persecution, by the cession of his hereditary dominions to the king of France, and by the payment of a considerable sum of money to different churches and monasteries. The motives which superinduced the commencement of this war, and influenced its continuance, were rather founded, says Velly†, on a desire to despoil the count of Toulouse of his dominions, than from any wish to put his orthodoxy to the proof. In vain did that unfortunate prince repeatedly sue for peace to the church, and offer to pay an implicit submission to the orders of the Roman pontiff; so long as he persisted in his resolution to maintain his just pretensions to the patrimony of his ancestors, he was deemed an incorrigible heretic, and an object of excommunication: but, no sooner did he consent to resign a great part of his dominions, than he became a good catholic; his sentiments were declared to be orthodox; and not the smallest abjuration of his errors was required! So dreadful was the infatuation, under which men laboured at this disgraceful period, when the practice of christianity was, by designing priests, and interested monarchs, made to consist in a violation of its precepts!

* Guil. de Pod. c. 38.

† Tom. iv. p. 129.

Thus terminated the crusade against the Albigenses, after a cruel and sanguinary war of twenty years, during which all the malice of personal hatred, and the mad rage of ambition and fanaticism, were, to the disgrace of humanity, alternately displayed. By this treaty of peace, which was signed at Paris, Lewis acquired all that extent of territory which had belonged to the counts of Toulouse, beyond the Rhone*; comprehending the duchy of Narbonne, the counties of Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Maguelonne (or Melgueil), Nîmes, Uzes, and Viviers; a part of the Toulousain; one half of the county of Albigeois, comprehending, exclusive of the diocese of Castres, that part of the archbishopric of Albi, which lies to the left of the Tarn; and, lastly, the viscounty of Grezes, with all the pretensions of Raymond to the ancient counties of Velay, Gevaudan, and Lodeve. The domains thus ceded, are supposed to have produced an annual revenue of six thousand livres Tournois, which was a very considerable sum in those days. They were all annexed to the crown, and placed under the authority of two royal seneschals, one of whom resided at Beaucaire, and the other at Carcassonne. The first had the command of the dioceses of Maguelonne (now Montpellier), Nîmes, Uzes, Viviers, Mende, and Puy, with that part of those of Arles and Avignon, which is situated beyond the Rhone: the jurisdiction of the second extended over the dioceses of Carcassonne, Beziers, Lodeve, Agde, Narbonne, a part of the Albigeois to the left of the Tarn, and a part of the Toulousain.—These two districts, with the territory of Toulouse, which Raymond retained, formed that province, which was afterwards denominated *Languedoc*.

The count of Toulouse surrendered five of his castles to the king's troops, as a surety for his compliance with the terms of the treaty; and his daughter Jane was, according to agreement, immediately affianced to Alfonso, the brother of Lewis. Raymond remained some time at the court of Paris, where he acquired the esteem and friendship of the king, who sent him back to his own dominions loaded with honours and presents.

During these negotiations a council was holden at Toulouse, by which the formidable tribunal of the inquisition was established on a permanent basis; the bishops were ordered to appoint one ecclesiastic and two or three laymen in every parish†, to make a strict search after heretics, and their protectors, not only in their houses, which they were to search from top to bottom, but in any subterraneous passages in which they might take refuge; threatening the inferior magistrates with the most severe punishments, in case of a refusal to enforce these tyrannical mandates||; and confiscating the possessions of such noblemen, as should permit these unfortunate objects of persecution to fix their residence within their domains. All heretics, who should become *voluntary* converts;

* De Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 375. † Conc. tom. xi. p. 727 et seq. ‡ Can. 1, 2, 3.
 || Can. 4.

were prohibited from residing in suspected places; and ordered to inhabit only *catholic* towns; they were to wear two crosses, one on either side of their bosom, of a colour different from that of their clothes; and they could not hold any public office, without a particular dispensation from the pope or his legate. Such heretics as fear alone had induced to profess the true faith, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, to be supported by those who should profit by the confiscation of their effects. Every person, who had attained the age of maturity*, was bound to promise a strict adherence to the catholic faith, and to swear that he would inform against heretics; which oath was to be renewed every two years. Every layman was forbidden to keep either the Bible or Testament in his house†, and was only permitted to have the Psalter, the Breviary or the Book of Prayers, in Latin, but not in the vulgar tongue:—this is the first instance of a similar prohibition in the ecclesiastical history; the abbe Velly ascribes‡ it to a desire of preventing heretics from making an improper use of the scriptures; it would certainly have been more candid to impute it to the true cause, a wish to keep the laity in a state of ignorance on all religious matters, in order to extend the influence, and to increase the emoluments, of the clergy. By the thirty-eighth canon it was forbidden to construct any new fortresses, to rebuild such as had been demolished, and to erect any new tolls; all barons, knights, citizens, and peasants, were likewise prohibited from entering into any league or combination, except against the enemies of the church; it was lastly ordained, that justice should be administered gratis, and that the judges should publish these statutes four times a year.

Lewis, about the same time, published an ordonnance, which tended to sanction and encourage these shameful encroachments of the church ||: It enacts, that the churches of the province of Languedoc shall enjoy all the privileges, immunities, and liberties of the Gallican church; that such as are convicted of heresy shall be punished without delay, according to their deserts; that whoever shall favour them shall be holden unworthy to fill any office, incapable of succeeding to any estate, and shall likewise forfeit all his property, real and personal: that the barons and officers of justice, under pain of confiscation and corporal punishment, shall exert themselves to the utmost, in order to discover heretics, that they may be surrendered into the hands of the ecclesiastical judge, who shall chastise them without respect to persons; that the effects of those who shall remain a whole year under a sentence of excommunication, shall be seized by the officers of the crown, and the culprits shall not recover them, till they have satisfied the church, and received an express order from the king for that purpose. The king's youth is the only possible excuse that can be offered for this arbitrary edict; though, as he suffered it to remain in force during thirty years, without any attempt to modify its tyrannical provisions, or to

* Can. 12.

† Can. 14.

‡ Tom. iv. p. 133.

|| Recueil des Ordon. Laur. tom. i. p. 50.

represents its evil effects, his conduct, in this respect, certainly merits reprobation.

A. D. 1230.] While the policy of the regent was highly commended for the extension of territory which had been acquired by the treaty with Raymond, the count of Brittany once more erected the standard of revolt, and engaged Henry of England to espouse his cause: that monarch accordingly embarked at Portsmouth, with his army, on the last day of April, and arrived safe at Saint Malo, where he was received by his ally, who surrendered several places of strength into his hands; and a great number of the nobility did homage to him as their sovereign.

Lewis, apprised of their intentions, had already taken Angiers, in the vicinity of which his army was posted, to observe the motions of the English, and to oppose their entrance into Poitou; but, seeing that Henry remained at Nantes, in a state of inactivity, he advanced towards Amiens, which he invested and took, together with several places in the vicinity of Henry's quarters, without having experienced the smallest interruption from that prince, who, far from making those exertions which were necessary to insure success to his undertaking, devoted his whole time to festivity and pleasure.

Lewis, however, being compelled to draw his troops from Anjou to repress an insurrection of the nobles, who, in the hope of being sustained by Henry, had embraced the opportunity afforded them by the absence of their monarch, to excite fresh commotions. The king of England, had he possessed skill and spirit sufficient to avail himself of the favourable conjuncture, might, probably, have been able to recover the dominions which his predecessors had lost. The French forces were all employed in another quarter; and the Normans were earnest in their solicitations to him, to go and take possession of their country: but, instead of complying with their request, he marched into Poitou, and reduced the small town 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, and suffered Lewis to complete, without interruption, the pacification of his kingdom. He soon after left the continent, and, by the advice of his ministers, was induced to subscribe a truce for three years; in which the count of Brittany was included.

The king profited by this interval of tranquillity to fortify his frontiers, and to renew the ancient treaties of alliance with the emperor and his son. He also published a severe ordonnance against the Jews, who were alternately banished and recalled, in order to gratify the rapacity of the sovereign. It appears by various edicts, that the effects of all Jews who were settled in the kingdom*, belonged to the barons within whose domains they had fixed their residence. They were forbidden by the law to change their abode without the permission

* Laur. Ordon. des Rois de Fr. t. i. p. 16.

of their lord, who was empowered to follow and claim them, as fugitive slaves, even in the royal domains. It even appears that this unfortunate people were regarded as an object of traffic*; they were transferred, with the land, from one proprietor to another, and were sometimes sold separately, in the same manner as negroes are now sold in the West-India islands; their value being estimated according to their talents and industry. The spirit of persecution was carried still farther; for if a Jew became a convert to christianity, the whole of his property was confiscated to the king†: thus the abjuration of error was, by a strange and impious inconsistency of oppression, made to incur as severe a punishment as could be inflicted for the commission of a crime!

Even Lewis, whose piety procured him the appellation of *Saint*, could so far mistake or pervert the precepts and the spirit of christianity as not only to sanction and confirm, but even to extend these oppressive laws: He compelled the Jews to wear some distinguishing mark; and if they appeared in public without it, they were fined ten livres, and their garment was forfeited to the informer. The christians were forbidden to have any commerce with them; they could not take a Jew into their service, nor rent a farm of him, nor employ him as a physician or surgeon, nor take his child to nurse. When a Jew appeared in evidence against a christian‡, he was compelled to swear by *the ten names of God*, and his oath was accompanied by a thousand imprecations on his own head, if he deviated from the truth. The person, too, who administered the oath, thus addressed him:—"May the Lord God send you a continual fever, or ague, if you are guilty of perjury; may he destroy you in his anger; you, and your family, and your effects: may your enemies seize your possessions, and ravish your wife: may the sword, and death, fear and inquietude pursue you on all sides: may the earth swallow you up like Dathan and Abiron: may all the sins of your parents, and all the maledictions contained in the law of Moses, fall on your head!" To this christian-like invocation these miserable objects of public execration were compelled to answer three times—*So be it*. A christian, convicted of a criminal connection with a female Jew, was burned alive: a contemporary author justifies the severity of this punishment, by asserting, that the commission of such an act with a Jew, is a crime equal to that of bestiality!!

A. D. 1231 to 1233.] Lewis was more worthily employed in checking the arrogant presumption of his prelates, who, on the smallest subject of discontent, assumed the right of laying their dioceses under an interdict. In order to remedy the inconveniences arising from so flagrant an abuse of authority, the king seized their temporalities; which mode of proceeding, in a few years, produced the desired effect. Having attained his nineteenth year, he was persuaded by his mother, to bestow his hand on Margaret, the eldest daughter of Raymond

* Laur. Ordon. des Rois de Fr. t. i. p. 48.
p. 471.

|| Velly, t. iii. p. 157.

† Du Cange, Gloss. verbo *Judæi*.

‡ Id. ib. t. v.

Berenger, count of Provence, a princess of extraordinary beauty and rare accomplishments, though she had not yet completed her fourteenth year. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Sens, where the young queen was crowned a few days after the marriage. The three sisters of Margaret were married soon after; Eleanor, to Henry the Third of England; Sancia, to prince Richard, brother to that monarch; and Beatrice, to Charles, brother to Lewis, who succeeded to the title of count of Provence, in right of his wife, and by his own valour and conduct became king of Sicily.

A. D. 1234, 1235.] The truce with England being nearly expired, Lewis deemed it necessary to make the most formidable preparations for renewing the war. Determined to chastise the count of Brittany, who had already commenced hostilities, he marched into his territories at the head of a powerful army; and though his vanguard was attacked and defeated by the count, he advanced into the interior parts of the country, and committed the most dreadful devastations; his turbulent vassal, alarmed at the rapidity of his progress, demanded a truce till November, when he engaged, if the king of England did not in the interim come in person to assist him, to surrender Brittany into the hands of the king. This proposal, being accompanied by a considerable sum of money, was accepted; and Henry not having appeared within the appointed time, the count, at the expiration of the truce, fulfilled his engagement. He repaired to Paris, did homage to Lewis, renounced all the advantages which had been accorded him by the treaty of Vendome; surrendered to the king, for the term of three years, the castles of Saint Aubin, Chantoceaux, and Marceuil*; promised, as soon as his son should come of age, to serve five years in Palestine, at his own expense; and, lastly, bound himself to re-establish the nobles of Brittany in all their ancient rights, privileges and immunities.

The submission of the count of Brittany, and the vigorous conduct which had produced it, kept the other great vassals of the crown in awe. In order to reduce their power within proper bounds, Lewis adopted a regulation, which precluded the nobles from marrying their daughters to foreigners, and restrained them from increasing their influence by connections and alliances with the neighbouring powers.

A. D. 1236, 1237.] The king having now attained his one and twentieth year, took the reins of government into his own hands; but though Blanche ceased to bear the title of regent, she still maintained her former ascendancy; and by her acute penetration and prudent counsels, greatly assisted her son in supporting with dignity and ease the burden of royalty. Thibaud, count of Champagne, having succeeded to the crown of Navarre, had promised not to marry his only daughter, Blanche, without the king's consent; but faithless to his oaths, he secretly married her to John de Dreux, son to the count of Britta-

* Duch. t. v. p. 692.

ny, giving her the county of Perche as a dower, and settling on her the kingdom of Navarre, to the exclusion of any children he might afterwards have*. Lewis was no sooner apprised of this alliance, than he sent to demand the three places which Thibaud had promised to surrender, in case he broke the engagement he had contracted; but the king of Navarre, instead of complying with the summons, entered into a league with the counts of Brittany and la Marche, prepared to resist by arms the attempts of Lewis, fortified his towns, assembled his troops, and endeavoured to engage the pope in his interest. As a new crusade had been recently published, and Thibaud had assumed the cross, the sovereign pontiff, Gregory the Ninth, did not hesitate in espousing his cause. With that view he wrote a peremptory letter to the French monarch, commanding him to desist from all hostilities against a prince who, being about to repair to the Holy Land, was placed under the immediate protection of the apostolic see. But Lewis, despising the threats of Gregory, collected his army, and was on the point of making an incursion into Brie and Champagne, when Thibaud, alarmed at the vigour of his preparations, suddenly changed the martial tones of war, for the humble language of supplication. Lewis granted him the peace he so earnestly solicited, on condition that he should deliver up the towns of Bray-upon-Seine and Montereau-Faut-Yonne, till such time as he should have fulfilled the promise he now made to repair to Palestine with all convenient expedition, and not to appear again in France till the expiration of seven years.

Languedoc was still in a state of confusion; though the inquisition had been established three years in that devoted province, it had not overcome the numerous obstacles which reason and justice opposed to it. The consuls of Toulouse started many objections to the proceedings of the inquisitors, and Raymond insisted on their observance of certain forms†. This was sufficient to excite the clamours of the devotees, and to draw down the vengeance of the church upon his head. He was accused of affording protection to heretics; and the ecclesiastical thunders were accordingly launched against him. The prince, justly incensed at the insolence of the priests, forbade his subjects to appear before the inquisitors: war was thus declared, and the clergy and monks of Toulouse were the first to feel its effects; they were compelled to leave the city; and the Jacobins in particular, as the heads of the inquisition, were properly expelled with every mark of ignominy‡. The new tribunal was not better received at Narbonne. The archbishop of that diocese, having instituted a process against some people who were suspected of heresy, the inhabitants of the Lower Town flew to arms, broke open the house of the *Freres Precheurs*, seized the registers of the inquisition, and tore them in pieces: these proceedings gave rise to a civil war; which, however, was speedily suppressed

* Reg. des Chartres de Champ. † Guil. de Pod. c. 41, apud. Duch. t. viii. p. 694.

‡ Catel. Hist. du Comte de Toul. p. 358.

by the authority of the king, who ordered both parties to prefer their complaints, and seek for redress, by application to his senechal, at Carcaffone.

But Raymond did not experience the same equity from the court of Rome, whither the news of the commotions at Toulouse had been carried by the archbishop of Vienne, who officiated as legate for the pope*. Gregory wrote a threatening letter to the count, in which he ordered him to make such reparation for his conduct as his legate should prescribe; to compel the consuls to submit to the authority of the inquisition; to assume the cross, and repair in the following spring to the Holy Land, there to remain five years. The sovereign pontiff wrote to the king at the same time, desiring he would arm against the heretics, constrain the count of Toulouse to repair to Palestine, and give the administration of Languedoc to prince Alfonso, who was to marry the count's daughter. Lewis, however, was in no haste to comply with the intreaties of an insolent and arrogant priest, who set both justice and humanity at defiance: on the contrary, he ventured to remonstrate with Gregory on the impropriety of his conduct, and at length induced him to revoke the sentence of banishment, which he had pronounced against Raymond, and to leave the decision of the matter to his own discretion.—About this time the marriage of Alfonso, brother to Lewis, with Jane, the only daughter of Raymond; and that of Robert, another of the king's brothers, with Matilda, sister to the duke of Brabant, were celebrated at Paris, with great magnificence.

A. D. 1239 to 1242.] The tranquillity of the kingdom seemed now to be established on a permanent basis; and a lapse of three years occurred without any transaction worthy of historical notice. The factious nobles, baffled in their successive enterprises, had assumed the cross, and signified their ineffectual valour in the plains of Palestine. The pope, engaged in a dispute with the emperor Frederic, had the audacity to depose his enemy, and to offer his throne to Robert, brother to Lewis; but the French monarch was too wise to risk a certain good for a precarious advantage, or to acknowledge the right of the Roman pontiff, to dispose of crowns at his pleasure. By this prudent conduct he secured to his subjects the blessings of peace; which they continued to enjoy till the count de la Marche hoisted the standard of revolt.

The county of Poitou had recently been conferred by Lewis on his brother Alfonso; and, as the count de la Marche held some considerable fiefs in this province, he was summoned to do homage to the prince. With this citation he reluctantly complied; and, immediately after, at the instigation of his wife, flew to arms, insulted Alfonso, and prepared to wage war against his sovereign. The rebellious vassal invoked the assistance of the king of England, who accepted his invitation, and repaired to France, the scene of his former disgrace. Lewis, in the mean time, displayed his accustomed vigour: having assembled

* Rainald. An. 1236.

his army, he attacked the strong fortrefs of Frontenay, on the confines of Sain-tonge and Poitou, which, after a fiege of fifteen days, was taken by affault. He next reduced the towns of Villiers, Breic (or Preic), Saint Gelais, and Mantac, with the caſtle of Auterne. Tonny-Boutonne, Thoron, and Taillebourg, threw open their gates at his approach; at this laſt place he fixed his camp, in a meadow watered by the river Charente, on the oppoſite ſide of which the Engliſh army was poſted. The ſtream was narrow, but deep, and over it was a ſmall bridge of ſtone, which would only admit four men a-breſt, and which was defended by ſome towers in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. This dangerous paſſage the king determined to force; and, after two unſucceſſful attacks, in which he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs, he at length effected his purpoſe*. A battle then enſued, in which the enemy was worſted, and the Engliſh monarch, quitting the field with precipitation, fled to Saintes; thither he was followed by the conqueror; and, before the walls of that city, a more bloody and more deciſive engagement took place. The conflict was long ſuſtained between the rival monarchs with equal fury, and with equal ſucceſs; the French were anxious to maintain the glory they had acquired on the preceding day, and the Engliſh were equally ſollicitous to efface the diſgrace they had then ſuſtained; great courage and reſolution were diſplayed on both ſides; but, at laſt, victory again declared in favour of Lewis: Henry was the firſt to fly†, and the whole army ſoon followed his example. A few French knights having purſued them with more ardour than prudence, entered the gates of Saintes at the ſame time, and were taken priſoners. That very night, however, the town was evacuated by the Engliſh, and taken poſſeſſion of by the king. The count de la Marche, no longer able to reſiſt the ſtorm which he had raiſed againſt himſelf, had recourſe to the clemency of Lewis, who conſented to an accommodation, on condition that the count ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the places which had been reduced during the war; and that he ſhould do homage for the reſt of his dominions.

When the treaty was drawn up, the count, according to agreement, repaired to the king's camp, accompanied by his wife and children, in order to ſign it. He there threw himſelf at the feet of Lewis, and, burſting into tears, thus addreſſed the monarch: "My lord and ſovereign, you ſee at your knees a wretch, who owns that he is unworthy of all favour, becauſe he has joined inſolence to injuſtice; but forget his crime, and let juſtice give way to mercy, from which alone he can expect his pardon‡." This abject ſubmiſſion excited the king's pity, who immediately raiſed up the count and his wife, and contented himſelf with exacting a promiſe from the former to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake againſt the count of Toulouſe.

That nobleman, forgetting the ſupport he had received from Lewis, when threatened with the vengeance of the pope, had not only declared war againſt

* Joinville, p. 21,

† Guil. Guiart. p. 138.

‡ Guil. Nang. p. 339.

his protector, but even against his own daughter and her husband.—The desire of recovering what he had lost by the treaty of Paris effaced from his mind the recollection of past favours. Having received a promise of assistance from the kings of Navarre, Castile, and Arragon; from the viscount Trencavel; from the counts of Foix, Armagnac, Comminges, and Rodes; from the viscounts of Narbonne, Lautrec, and Lomagne; and from other powerful noblemen, he had concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the count de la Marche, whose daughter, Margaret, he was disposed to marry, and, enraged at having been forced to give his own daughter, Jane, to the count of Poitiers, he resolved to disinheret her.

Taking the field with all the troops he could collect, Raymond entered the king's domains, which he laid waste with fire and sword; he then defeated a body of troops that were sent to oppose him; took possession of the Rafez, the Minervoise, the Termenoise, and the circumjacent districts; reduced the Carcafez; took Albi by assault; and seizing Narbonne, and its territory, re-assumed the title of duke of Narbonne, which he had formally resigned. Lewis, on the news of this revolution, detached the old count of Brittany, and *the count de la Marche*, with a part of his army, to check the rapid progress of Raymond; but the particulars of this expedition are not recorded in history.

A. D. 1243.] The king, at length, found means to weaken the power of Raymond, by corrupting his allies; and that prince, alarmed at the general defection, was compelled to submit to a confirmation and renewal of the treaty of Paris, restoring all the places he had reduced, and surrendering to the king, for the term of five years, the castles of Puicelsi in Albigeois, of Najac in Rouergue, of Laurac in the Touloufain, and of Penne in Agenois. While this peace was negotiating with the count of Touloufe, the king of England had fled, first to Blaye, and afterwards to Bordeaux. He there issued orders for levying troops; but, being pillaged by the Gascons, who took his money, and brought him no men in return, and abandoned by those on whose invitation he had repaired to France, he solicited a truce, and offered to pay five thousand pounds to defray the expences of the war. This proposal was accepted by Lewis; and a truce for five years was accordingly signed by the two monarchs*; after which Henry returned to England, not crowned with laurels, but covered with disgrace. The joy experienced by the French, on the happy termination of a war, which had appeared to be pregnant with the most serious consequences, was considerably heightened, on the return of Lewis to his capital, by the birth of a prince, who was christened by the archbishop of Paris, and received the name of his father.

On the death of Gregory, Sinibald, a noble Genoese, was elected by the cardinals to succeed him in the papal chair; this pontiff, who assumed the title

* Rymer, Fœdera, tom. i. p. 146.

of Innocent the Fourth, had been the particular friend of the emperor Frederic; but, elated by his promotion, he renewed the arrogant pretensions of his predecessor, and, by his conduct, extended the destructive flames of civil war, which had too long ravaged the fertile plains of Italy. The sentence of excommunication against Frederic was renewed, and every ecclesiastic throughout Europe had orders to read it in the pulpit. A clergyman of Paris, whose piety, though sincere, was not tinctured with scholastic gloom, ascending the pulpit with the bull of pope Innocent in his hand, thus addressed his congregation: You all know, my brethren, that I have received orders to fulminate an excommunication which has been launched against Frederic; *Why* I know not—all that I know is, that violent disputes, and an irreconcilable hatred subsist between that prince and the Roman pontiff; God only knows which of the two is in the wrong; wherefore I excommunicate, with all my power, that person who has injured the other; and I absolve him, who, to the great offence of all the christian world, has sustained the injury*.” This pleasantry became a subject of laughter to all Paris; the emperor, who was soon informed of it, sent considerable presents to the facetious preacher; while the pope, who, probably, felt the force of such raillery, punished his indiscretion by the infliction of a severe penance.

Lewis, about this time, finding the extreme inconvenience arising from the circumstance of vassals being subject to the authority of two sovereigns, enforced a regulation, which compelled all vassals of the crowns of France and England to determine to which sovereign they would yield homage; and, finally, abolished the dangerous custom of adhering to either, as their caprice or interest suggested. Yet even in this edict, the justice of Lewis was conspicuous, in indemnifying those who adhered to him for the lands which they forfeited by seceding from the king of England.

The pope, driven to extremities by the rapid success of the imperial arms, escaped from Italy in disguise, and repaired to the abbey of Citeaux, where he claimed the protection of Lewis against *the son of Satan*. The king accordingly hastened to meet him, accompanied by his brothers, the counts of Artois and Poitiers, the princess Isabella, the count of Boulogne, the duke and duchess of Burgundy, and a splendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen. At this interview, Lewis was earnestly solicited to grant a refuge to Innocent within his own dominions; but, by the advice of his barons, he prudently refused to comply with the request, and to receive a *firebrand*, that would soon have set his kingdom in a flame. His example was followed by all the other monarchs, to whom a similar application was made; and the pope, enraged at the neglect with which he was treated, exclaimed: “We must either consent to an accommodation with Frederic, or drive him to despair. When we shall have

* M. Paris, p. 575.

† Joinv. p. 170.

“crushed or tamed this mighty dragon, all these little serpents will no longer dare to hold up their heads; and we shall trample on them without fear*.” Such an exclamation could not fail to offend the sovereigns of Europe; but they were too much under the influence of prejudice, to treat this arrogant priest as he deserved.

A. D. 1244, 1245.] While the vicar of Christ was *piously* employed in forming plans of revenge, Lewis was seized with a dangerous disorder that reduced him to the verge of the grave; his dissolution, indeed, was actually supposed to have taken place, and the attendants were preparing to lay him out, when a deep sigh proclaimed their error; and soon after he is said to have exclaimed: “The light of the East, by the grace of God, shone upon me from the heavens, and restored me to life†.” He immediately sent for the bishop of Paris, and, making a vow to repair to the relief of the christians in the Holy Land, received the cross from the hands of that prelate. The joy which his subjects experienced at the unexpected recovery of their sovereign, was, by this fatal vow, speedily converted into sorrow, which the birth of a second prince, named Philip, did not altogether remove.

The pope, in the mean time, had holden a general council at Lyons, at which he displayed the most indecent warmth, and the most unchristianlike rancour. Though Frederic offered to exert his utmost efforts, in proof of his religious zeal, for uniting the Greek and Roman churches; to attack the infidels, wherever he should find them; to repair in person to Palestine, in order to support and protect the christians of the East; and, finally, to restore to the apostolic see all the places he had taken, and to repair all the damages he had caused during the war; yet these offers were insufficient to satisfy the arrogant pontiff, who accordingly rejected them with disdain; and, soon after, pronounced the following sentence against the emperor: “I am the vicar of Jesus Christ; all that I shall bind upon earth will be bound in heaven, according to the promise made by the Son of God to Saint Peter; wherefore, after having deliberated on the subject with our brethren, and with the council, I declare Frederic to be attainted and convicted of sacrilege and heresy, to be excommunicated and deposed; I absolve from their oaths, for ever, all such as have sworn fealty to him: I forbid all persons, under pain of excommunication (incurred by the very act itself), to obey him in future; and, lastly, I order the electors to chuse another emperor, reserving to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily.”

At this famous council, Velly justly observes‡, the dignity of the prelacy, the rights of nations, and the majesty of kings, were equally invaded, by the haughty pontiff; yet so blind were the sovereigns to their own interest, that they remained passive spectators of that conduct, which, founded on a violation of all laws, both human and divine, struck at the very root of social order, and ten-

* Mat. Paris, p. 660.

† Hist. de Saint Louis, p. 32.

‡ Tom. iv. p. 326.

ded to establish the reign of anarchy, violence, and murder. Lewis, indeed, was highly displeas'd with Innocent; and, at an interview, which took place at the abbey of Cluni, is said to have express'd his displeasure to the pope himself, and to have endeavour'd to restore peace between the empire and the apostolic see*. But his efforts were fruitless, and the pontiff, far from evincing a pacific disposition, sought to engage the king to declare war against the English, who had offended him by remonstrating, with equal freedom and justice, against the oppressive exactions of the court of Rome.

On the king's departure from Cluni, he sent a detachment of troops into Provence, in order to enforce a measure which had been some time in agitation, though hitherto kept secret. The count of Provence had died, and, by his will, declared his youngest daughter, Beatrice, sole heiress to his dominions, to the exclusion of her three sisters, two of whom were queens. The young countess had, during her father's life, been promis'd to Raymond, count of Toulouse, and they had only waited for a dispensation from the pope, to celebrate the marriage†. The king of Arragon also, being anxious to obtain her for one of his sons, had put a body of troops in motion, in order to support his pretensions. It being the interest of France to oppose both these alliances, Lewis threaten'd the inhabitants of Provence to support the claims of his wife, who was the eldest daughter of the deceased count, at the head of fifty thousand men.—This threat had the desired effect; the Provençals, alarmed lest their country should be expos'd to the horrors of war, persuas'd the princess to retract the engagement she had formed with the count of Toulouse, and to bestow herself on prince Charles, the youngest brother of the French monarch. Lewis, contented with this offer, withdrew his pretensions, and the nuptials between Beatrice and Charles were accordingly celebrated, by which the latter acquired the title of count of Provence.

A. D. 1246.] These different occupations did not prevent the king from making every necessary preparation for his voyage to Palestine, notwithstanding the strenuous sollicitations of the queen-mother, who exerted her utmost efforts to dissuade him from the adoption of a measure, which she conceived to be pregnant with danger to the state. She represent'd to him, that a vow, made in the time of sickness, when a man is not in full possession of his faculties, could not be binding; that a concern for the welfare of his subjects, was alone sufficient to absolve him from the obligation, without any dispensation whatever‡; that the situation of affairs, both external and internal, render'd his presence at home an object of necessity; that he ought to reflect on the infidelity of the Poitevins, who bore the yoke with impatience; on the disturbances in Languedoc, which, though hush'd for the present, were expected to break out with additional violence; on the animosity of England; the irreconcilable enmity between the

* Goldast. t. iii. p. 285.

† Guil. de Rod. c. xlvii. p. 699.

‡ M. Paris, p. 743.

pope and the emperor, which set all Germany and Italy in flames; the interests of his people, which ought not to be less dear to him than the christians of the East; the welfare of his family, who, by his absence, might be exposed to a long train of calamities; and, lastly, on the grief of a mother, who, having but a short time to live, could not expect to see him return. These arguments were all enforced by the principal nobles and prelates of the realm, who were fully convinced of their justice; but the suggestions of reason proved impotent in opposing the dictates of mistaken zeal; the king's resolution was not to be shaken; and his subjects having discharged their duty by their attempts to dissuade him from this rash undertaking, now displayed their obedience in accelerating the preparations.

At a parliament holden at Paris, great numbers of the chief nobles and gentlemen of the realm, in imitation of their sovereign, assumed the cross; among these were the king's three brothers, Robert, Alfonso, and Charles; Peter, count of Brittany, and his son John; Hugh, duke of Burgundy; William de Dampierre, count of Flanders; the valiant count of Saint Paul, and his nephew Gaucher de Chatillon; Hugh de Lusignan, count de la Marche, and his eldest son, Hugh le Brun; the counts of Dreux, Bar, Soissons, Rethel, Montfort, and Vendome; the constable, Imbert de Beaujeu; John de Beaumont, chamberlain; Philip de Courtenai; Archambaud de Bourbon; Ralph de Couci; John des Barres; Gaubert D'Apremont, and his brothers; Gilles de Mailli; Robert de Bethune; Hugh de Noailles, and John, lord of Joinville, the historian. Among the prelates were the archbishops of Rheims and Bourges, with the bishops of Beauvais, Laon, Orleans, Clermont, and Soissons. It was decreed by the assembly, that all private wars should cease during five years; that no process could be instituted against the crusaders, on account of debts, for the term of three years; and that the clergy should pay the king one tenth of their revenues. "This last regulation," says a modern historian*, "excited great murmurs among the clergy, who had hitherto highly applauded the crusade, but whose zeal was not always proof against interest." They complained loudly of the burden thus imposed on them, and were particularly offended at the tax being levied by the pope's commissioners, who, at the same time, exacted another contribution for the support of the war against the emperor†. One of these ministers of extortion, meeting a village-clerk, with some pieces of bread, which he had collected in carrying holy water from house to house, insisted on knowing how much his profits; in that occupation, amounted to in a year; and being told that they produced about twenty sols, he immediately insisted on the payment of two sols for the pope, which the poor man was obliged to comply with‡.

But the exactions of Innocent experienced considerable opposition from the nobles, who, enraged at the shameful extortion of his ministers, and moved by

* P. Daniel, t. iii. p. 245.

† Mat. Paris, p. 709, 710.

‡ Id. p. 799.

the complaints of an oppressed people, were strongly disposed to proceed to extremities against the author of such calamities*. They even proceeded to discuss this question—Whether a pontiff, whose conduct was so repugnant to the spirit of christianity ought to be considered as the vicar of Jesus Christ, and the successor of Saint Peter?—They proceeded still farther, till at length a regular and determined opposition was formed to the jurisdiction assumed by the church, which interrupted the administration of justice in the secular courts. The nobility assembled, entered into a league for defending their rights against the clergy, enacted statutes, which they swore to observe, established funds for their support, and nominated four of their body as chiefs of the confederacy. The king is said to have authorized this association for repressing ecclesiastical usurpations, which was, of course, loaded with anathemas by the court of Rome; he, nevertheless, granted his protection to the clergy, against the insatiate avidity of the pope. The permission to levy troops for the sovereign pontiff was also revoked, Lewis being resolved not to impoverish the church of France, in order to support a war against christians. In vain did Innocent request he might be permitted to *borrow* from the bishops; the king remained inflexible, and persevered in his refusal to sacrifice the welfare of his subjects to the ambition of a turbulent priest.

A. D. 1247, 1248.] Previous to his departure to Palestine, which was fixed for the ninth of June, 1248, Lewis adopted every possible precaution for the tranquillity of his kingdom, during his absence; he engaged the turbulent counts of la Marche, and Brittany, to accompany him to the Holy Land. In conformity to the general practice, he published that he was ready to redress every injury he had offered; and the king of England demanded by his brother, the earl of Cornwall, the duchy of Normandy, and the rest of those territories in France, of which he had been unjustly despoiled. To the bishops of that duchy he referred the application, and their designs coinciding with his interest, the demand of Henry was rejected; yet that monarch consented to renew the truce between the two kingdoms; and Lewis, after investing his mother Blanche, with the sovereign authority, prepared for his embarkation.

On the twenty-fifth of August, the king embarked at the port of Aigues-Mortes, with the queen and the countess of Anjou, who were resolved to accompany their husbands in this perilous expedition. The fleet was composed of eighteen hundred vessels, containing nine thousand horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot: with favourable winds they reached the coast of Cyprus, on whose friendly shores the troops were disembarked; and, during the severity of the winter, their strength was recruited, and their health restored by the plenty of that island.

A. D. 1249 to 1254.] Lewis, on his arrival at Cyprus, had assembled a council of war, for the purpose of fixing his plan of operations; some of the

* Mat. Paris, p. 710, 718, 720.

crusaders were of opinion that he should direct his course to the port of Acre, in Palestine, from the persuasion that the kingdom of Jerusalem, the recovery of which was the principal object of the expedition, might be easily subdued. Others, on the contrary, maintained, that though the conquest of that kingdom would not prove an object of difficulty, yet it could not be maintained against the power of the sultan of Egypt; that, before all the towns and fortresses could be put in a proper state of defence, the majority of the crusaders would return to Europe; that it would, therefore, be most prudent to strike at the root of the evil, by an attack on Damietta; as the reduction of Egypt would prevent any farther opposition to their attempts on the Holy Land. These reasons appeared plausible to Lewis, who accordingly determined to repair to Egypt.

Early in the spring the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the Nile, and, after a vigorous resistance from the Saracens, the whole army made good their landing, with Lewis at their head, clad in complete armour, preceded by the oriflamme, and accompanied by the pope's legate, bearing an elevated cross. The strong city of Damietta, which had formerly withstood the assaults of the christians for sixteen months, was now abandoned by the infidels, ere it was attacked; but that town was the first and last of the king's conquests. A ruinous delay frustrated that success which the expedition must have ensured; the Saracens, recovered from their consternation, prepared for a vigorous defence; and the progress of the French, who directed their march towards Cairo, the capital of Egypt, was impeded by an unseasonable inundation of the Nile. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France displayed their invincible contempt of danger and of discipline; the count of Artois with about two thousand of the flower of the army, passed the river, at a ford which a faithless and mercenary Arab had pointed out, forced the enemy's camp, defeated the Saracens with great slaughter, and rushing forward with inconsiderate valour, stormed the neighbouring town of Massoura. But the momentary consternation of the inhabitants was dispelled by the intelligence that the main body of the French was still at a distance. The flying infidels were rallied by a soldier, named Bondocdar, who deserved, and who afterwards usurped the sceptre; and before the christians could arrive to the support of their vanguard, the count of Artois and his fearless companions had effaced, by a glorious death, the fatal error of impetuous courage. The battle was with difficulty restored, and, after an obstinate and bloody contest, in which Lewis performed prodigies of valour, the Saracens were, at length, compelled to relinquish the field to the daring warriors of France.

But this unprofitable victory served only to augment the distress of the French, by diminishing their numbers, while those of the enemy were daily increasing; and they soon learned, to their cost, that the utmost exertions of military skill and valour were of little avail. By these efforts, their fate might be procrastinated, but it could not be averted. From the increasing numbers

of the infidels, they were obliged to shelter themselves in a strong camp, while the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian galleys, and the open country by the Arabs. All provisions were intercepted; each day displayed the rapid progress of disease and famine; and a shower of Greek fire was incessantly poured on their heads by the surrounding Saracens. The moment the French determined to retreat, they discovered that it was impracticable:—the oriental writers confess, that Lewis might have escaped by sea, if he would have deserted his subjects; and policy would have justified the prudent, though inglorious flight. But his magnanimous mind preferred the thorny path of honour; and, with his brother, the count of Anjou, the greatest part of his nobles, and the shattered remnant of his army, the king of France became the captive of the victorious Saracens.

The conquerors sullied their triumph by their cruelty; the captive monarch was loaded with chains; and such of his subjects as were unable to purchase their liberty, and unwilling to profess Mahometanism, were inhumanly massacred, and their heads exposed on the walls of Cairo. But the strength of Damietta proved the security of Lewis; the Saracens being unable to reduce that city, which contained his royal consort and his treasures, consented to release him and his troops, on condition that he should deliver it into their hands, and pay eight hundred thousand pieces of gold; called *byzantines**.

After fulfilling the conditions of the treaty; with scrupulous integrity, Lewis, with his queen, Margaret, and about six thousand soldiers, the war-worn relics of his former host, embarked on board the galleys of Genoa, for the port of Acre, in Palestine. It might have reasonably been expected, that, after his late misfortune, he would have resigned all thoughts of conquest in the East, and returned to the government of his native kingdom: but he was unwilling to revisit his dominions without glory; and he confided in the wisdom and vigilance of his mother. But grief for the captivity of her son, joined to the natural infirmities of age, brought that princess to the grave, after a tranquil and prosperous administration, in the month of December, 1253.

The news of her death was immediately dispatched to her son; and, in the mean time, the reins of government were entrusted to the feeble hands of prince Lewis, who had not yet attained his thirteenth year. The king, sensible that his presence was now necessary in France, determined to quit the Holy Land, where he had passed four years without having been able to visit Jerusalem, or to achieve any conquest worthy of historical notice. He accordingly embarked at the port of Acre, on the tenth of July, 1254, arrived on the coast of Provence, where he landed; and, after a short delay, proceeded to Paris, where he was received with the acclamations of his people, whose joy, however, experienced

* Epist. S. Lud. de Capt. et Liberat. sua, apud Duch. tom. v. p. 439.

no inconsiderable diminution when they saw the cross still affixed to his dress—a sure sign that he intended to revisit the plains of Palestine.

Immediately after his return, Lewis assembled a parliament, in which he published an ordonnance, for enforcing a rigid and impartial administration of justice throughout the kingdom; he also renewed and confirmed the edict against the usury, blasphemy, and *witchcraft* of the Jews, and ordered their talmud, and other impious books, to be burnt wherever they might be found: an edict was passed at the same time, for expelling prostitutes from all towns and villages, for seizing their effects, and stripping their persons of their upper garments; whoever should let them a house, was condemned to forfeit one year's rent. The game at chess, and all games at dice, were forbidden, and even the fabrication of dice was prohibited throughout his dominions.

The predecessors of Lewis had been accustomed to send commissioners into the provinces, to receive complaints and administer justice; before his voyage to Palestine, Lewis had regularly followed their example; but, fearing that this custom might not be sufficient to ensure the happiness of his subjects, he now resolved to visit the provinces in person. He accordingly made the tour of Picardy and Flanders, and from thence repaired to Soissons, where he had an interview with Joinville, the friend of his heart, and the partner of his dangers. That nobleman was employed to ask the hand of Isabella, the king's daughter, for Thibaud the Fifth, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre, a young prince of the most promising hopes. But Lewis refused to listen to the proposal, till the young monarch should have done justice to his sister, the countess of Brittany, who had advanced some claims which he had refused to grant.

The king of England had, during the absence of Lewis in Palestine, visited Gascony, where his protection had been claimed by the barons, against an invasion which the king of Castile had made upon that territory. Having appeased the troubles that prevailed there, he was now desirous to return home; and for that purpose asked the king's permission to pass through his dominions. This was readily accorded; and Henry was every where received with those marks of distinction that were due to his rank. At Chartres he had an interview with Lewis; and from thence the two monarchs repaired to Paris, where the king of England was entertained with the utmost magnificence and hospitality. Matthew Paris affirms, that, during Henry's stay at Paris, Lewis frequently testified to him his desire of restoring the duchy of Normandy: "But," said he, "my twelve peers and my barons would never consent to it." The treaty that was now concluded between them, gives an air of probability to this anecdote*; by which we learn that the number of peers was, at this time, reduced to twelve, and that the kings of France did not think themselves authorised to dispose of any part of their dominions, without the consent of the peers and nobles of the realm.

* P. Dan. t. iii. p. 313.

Lewis accompanied the king of England a part of the way on his journey to Calais; and, on his return, he assembled a parliament, in order to settle the dispute between the king of Navarre and his sister, the countess of Brittany. This arrangement appeared to be a matter of difficulty. The late count of Champagne (who died while the king was in Palestine) had, by his first wife, Agnes de Beaujeu, one daughter named Blanche; and, when that princess married the count of Brittany, he had settled on her the kingdom of Navarre, to the exclusion of any male heirs which he might afterwards have. Subsequent to this marriage, he had, by Margaret de Bourbon, two sons, Thibaud and Henry, who, by the above settlement, appeared to be excluded from the throne of their father. The people, however, on the death of the king, acknowledged the eldest of these princes for their sovereign, and sent a solemn deputation to inform him of their resolution. Blanche protested against this usurpation; and, beside the restitution of Navarre, she claimed her share in the county of Champagne. Interests thus opposite seemed to set reconciliation at defiance; but, as the countess was not in a situation to enforce her claims, she at length consented to resign her pretensions to the king her brother, on condition of receiving an annual pension of three thousand livres for her dower, and the nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity at Melun*.

A. D. 1255.] The Romish church, taking advantage of favourable incidents, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state of feudal vassalage which she pretended to extend over England; and which, by reason of the distance, as well as high spirit of the latter kingdom, she was not able to maintain. After the death of the emperor, Frederic the Second, the succession of Sicily devolved on Conradine, grandson of that monarch; and Mainfroy, his natural son, under the pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the prince, had formed a scheme for establishing his own authority. Pope Innocent transferred his animosity from Frederic to Conradine, against whom he still continued hostilities; but, being disappointed in all his schemes, by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, he found that his own force alone was not sufficient to bring to a happy issue so great an enterprise. He pretended to dispose of the Sicilian crown, both as superior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Christ, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were subjected; and he made a tender of it to the count of Anjou; but Charles, either deeming the conjuncture unfavourable, or the conditions of acceptance too hard, rejected the offer. It was then proposed to Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, whose immense riches, the pontiff flattered himself, would be able to support the military operations against Mainfroy. As Richard, also, had the prudence to refuse the present, he applied to Henry himself, whose levity and thoughtless disposition gave Innocent more hopes of success; and he offered him the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmond. Henry, allured by so magnificent a present, without re-

* *Inv. des Char. t. ii. Chap. vi. p. 126.*

reflecting on the consequences, without consulting either with his brother or the parliament, accepted the insidious proposal, and gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest of Sicily. Innocent, who was engaged by his own interests to wage war with Mainfroy, was glad to carry on his enterprises at the expense of his ally. Alexander the Fourth, who succeeded him in the papal throne, continued the same policy; and Henry was surprised to find himself on a sudden involved in an immense debt, which he had never been consulted in contracting.

A dispute which occurred about this time between the count of Anjou, and a private gentleman, one of the count's vassals, afforded Lewis an opportunity of displaying his impartiality in the administration of justice. The cause was tried before the officers of the prince, who, of course, decided it in his favour; but the gentleman appealed to the king's court, which so enraged Charles, that he immediately threw him into prison. The king, apprised of his brother's conduct, ordered him to repair to court without delay. When he came into the royal presence—"Do you suppose," said Lewis, with a stern countenance, "that there ought to be more than one sovereign in France, or that, because you are my brother, you are above the laws*?" At the same time he ordered him to release his vassal, that the law might have its course. The count obeyed; but the gentleman could not find a single attorney, or barrister, who had sufficient spirit and honesty to undertake his cause. When the king was informed of this circumstance, he appointed an agent for that purpose, from whom he exacted an oath of fidelity. The question was accordingly discussed with the most scrupulous impartiality: the vassal was restored to his possessions, and the king's brother cast.

The tranquillity which prevailed in his dominions, enabled him to adopt such regulations as were essential to its welfare; the felicity of his subjects appears, at this period, to have been the first object of his care; he appointed officers for the purpose of examining into the usurpations of his predecessors, and he made restitution to the heirs of the lands which had been unjustly taken from their ancestors;—where no heirs could be found, the property was disposed of, and the produce distributed to the poor†.

A violent quarrel broke out between the mendicant friars and the university of Paris, occasioned by the usurpations of the former, on the rights and privileges of the latter, with respect to keeping schools. As the disputes between them arose to a dangerous height, an appeal was made to pope Innocent; and that pontiff endeavoured, by a bull in favour of the university, to repress the ambition of the mendicants, who had evinced a disposition to abolish the hierarchy‡; but Alexander the Fourth, on his accession to the pontifical throne, annulled the bull of his predecessor. The pretext he offered for so doing must

* Mon, S. Dion. Anon. apud Duch. t. v. p. 403. † Velly, t. v. p. 170. ‡ Guil. S. Am. p. 38, 39, 500.

doubtless appear singular in the mouth of a pope:—"That bull," said he, "was the effect of prejudice, and a want of deliberation*."—What then became of the boasted *infallibility* of the pope? The protection thus afforded by the sovereign pontiff gave fresh courage to the mendicants, and for some time the most inveterate animosity prevailed between the contending parties. The monks were assailed by satires and epigrams, and the members of the university by bulls and papal censures.—It is extraordinary that the king should not have interposed his authority to put an end to a contest that interrupted the peace of the church, and inflamed the minds of his subjects; it was at length terminated in 1263, by mutual concessions.

The piety of Lewis was strongly tinged with enthusiasm; and that circumstance may possibly be deemed sufficient to account for his conduct, in forbearing to interfere in a dispute in which the sovereign pontiff had become a party concerned. The king used frequently to visit the Jacobins; and, conversing with them one day on the happiness of the virgin, in bearing the Son of God in her unpolluted womb†, one of the monks, more forward than his brethren, said to him—"Sire, would not you wish to hold in your hands, what the virgin bore in her womb?" "Doubtless," said the king. "You know," replied the monk, "what is said in the Scriptures—If any one quits his father, his mother, his children, or his possessions, for love of me, he shall receive a hundred fold, and inherit eternal life—Dare then, Sire, to aspire to that summit of perfection. You have heirs capable of well-governing your kingdom; you have hitherto made your happiness consist in suffering for God; twenty times has your life been exposed for the glory of his name; nothing remains for you, but to give up every thing in order to assume the cross, that is, our habit. By that means you will, by degrees, attain the dignity of priesthood, and acquire the honour of receiving Jesus Christ into your hands." The king, stricken with this discourse, remained motionless, for some time, lost in meditation; he reflected, we are told, on the dangers of the world, the important duties of royalty, and the sweets of monastic retirement. At length he replied—"If what I hear be true, as in my heart and mind I believe, I will follow your advice; but I can do nothing without the queen's consent. Her virtue, and my engagements with her, equally forbid me to come to any determination, without her knowledge and advice."

He then left the convent, and, returning to the palace, went to the queen's apartment, and imparted his resolution of resigning his crown to her and her children; observing, that when he was a monk and a priest, his prayers should be incessantly offered up to the Lord for their happiness, and the welfare of the state; and conjured her, by all that she held sacred upon earth, not to oppose

* Du Boulay, p. 270.

† Chron. Senon. l. iv, t. 2.—Spiccl. p. 641.

a project which he said was inspired by heaven. Margaret, astonished at this intelligence, made no reply*; but, calling her children, asked them, in the presence of the count of Anjou, whether they would prefer being called the children of a priest, or the sons of a king? The princes being at a loss to conceive the purport of such a question, she proceeded to inform them that the Jacobins had so far fascinated the mind of their father, that he was resolved to abdicate the throne, and turn priest. When the count of Anjou heard this, he flew into a violent rage, abused his brother, and swore vengeance against the monks, against whom he immediately caused an edict to be issued, forbidding them to preach throughout his dominions, and prohibiting his subjects from giving them alms. Lewis, the king's eldest son, was equally violent; he launched out into such virulent abuse against the Jacobins, that Lewis is said to have silenced him by a blow. "Sire," exclaimed the young prince, "I shall never forget the respect which I owe you: in fact, no one, except my father and my sovereign, could have stricken me with impunity; but, should Providence ever place me on the throne, I swear, by my lord Saint Denis, our patron, that I will expel all those preachers from the kingdom!"—The king, astonished to meet with such opposition to his plan, began to fear that his inclination for a monastic life rather proceeded from his love of tranquillity, than from any heavenly inspiration: he was well acquainted with the queen's affection for him; he knew the impetuous pride of his successor, the violent temper of the count of Anjou, and the attachment of his subjects to his person: these considerations at length induced him to believe that God would not require a sacrifice, that must equally affect the honour of his house, and the happiness of his people.

The life of a *Saint*, when written by a *Priest*, must naturally be expected to contain a variety of incidents, trivial in themselves, and wholly uninteresting to posterity. Thus the French historians have spun out the reign of Saint Lewis, to a disproportionate length; the most unimportant occurrences are dwelled upon with enthusiastic energy, and every action is viewed through the telescope of admiration. Though we cannot consent to disfigure our history by an imitation of their prolixity, we shall, with pleasure, record the virtues of their favourite king, attest his piety, and applaud his attention to the first duties of a monarch. Now that he was relieved from the burdens of war, he diminished the national imposts, and sought, by every means in his power, to promote the welfare and felicity of his subjects. To those young women whose poverty exposed their virtue to danger, he gave ample dowers to procure them husbands; for the poor he established extensive and durable charities; and for all converts to christianity he made a liberal provision.

A. D. 1258.] The tranquillity which the kingdom had for some time enjoyed was on the point of being interrupted by a difference which arose between

* Chron. Senon. l. iv. t. 2. Spiccl. p. 641.

the kings of France and Arragon. Lewis claimed the sovereignty of Catalonia and Rouffillon, which had been acquired by the arms of Pepin and Charlemagne, and which the king of Arragon had usurped; while James, on his part, demanded the restitution of various domains, which were in the possession of Lewis: the two princes entertained a mutual esteem for each other; and, though both of them had displayed their skill and courage in the field, yet they were equally desirous to preserve peace between the two kingdoms. After many proposals offered and rejected by either party, the following terms were at length agreed on* :—“ Lewis cedes to king James, and his successors, all his right to the counties of Barcelona, Urgel, Bezalu, Rouffillon, Empuries, Cerdagna, Conflant, Girona, and Ausone. King James, on his part, renounces, in favour of Lewis, and his successors, all his pretensions to Carcassonne and the Carcaffez; to the town and territory of Rafez; to Laurac and the Lauraguais; to Termes and the Termenois; to Beziers and the viscounty of that name; to Minerve and the Minervois; to Agde and the Agadois; to Albi and the Albigeois; to Rodez and the Rouergue; to Cahors and the Querci; to the town and duchy of Narbonne; to Puilaurens, Queribus, Castel-fifel, and Sault; to Fenouillet and the Fenouilledes; to Pierre-Pertuse and the Pierre-Pertufez; to the town and county of Milhaud; to Gevaudan and the viscounty of Grezes; to Nismes and the Nemaufois; to Toulouse and all its dependencies; to the county of Saint Gilles, the Angenois, and the Venaissin; and to all the other domains belonging to the late count Raymond, father-in-law to Alfonso, count of Poitiers.” This treaty was ratified some months after it was first signed, by the king of Arragon, at Barcelona, in presence of Raymond-Gauceclin Lunel, whom Lewis had sent thither as his ambassador. That nobleman was also charged with another commission of importance. It had been settled, by a separate clause of the treaty, that Philip, the second son of Lewis, should marry Isabella, daughter to the king of Arragon. The Spanish prince cheerfully consented to confirm this article†, and promised to obtain a dispensation from the pope for that purpose. The marriage was accordingly celebrated four years after, and a fifth part of the territory that her husband was to have as his appanage was settled on Isabella.

A. D. 1259.] Another negotiation, begun about the same time, though not brought to a conclusion till the following year, with the king of England, was less favourably received by the subjects of Lewis. His council exerted their utmost efforts to dissuade him from a measure which they deemed impolitic, and the nobility opposed it with warmth and firmness; but all their opposition proved fruitless.—This was the only time, says Mezeray, that the king acted in opposition to the will of his barons.

For more than half a century that the French had been at war with the English, all attempts to conclude a treaty of peace between the two powers proved

* Thr. des Ch. Montp. fac. ii. n. 27.

† Spicil. tom. iii. p. 634.

ineffectual.—Henry, however, did not despair to recover, by negotiation, what his father had lost by his infamy and cowardice. With this view he had visited Paris, where he endeavoured to persuade Lewis to comply with his demands; but whatever disposition to favour him he might have remarked in that monarch, he must have perceived that he stood in fear of his barons: but, little discouraged by the inutility of his first attempt, he endeavoured to get his name inscribed on the list of those to whom the king restored the domains which had been usurped by his ancestors; in this, however, he failed. Still persevering in his design, he had recently sent his brother-in-law, the factious and enterprising earl of Leicester*, with several other noblemen, again to demand that restitution which had been so frequently refused. The crown of Sicily bestowed on his son Edmond, the election of his brother Richard, as king of the Romans, and the protection of the court of Rome had revived the hopes of Henry. Emboldened by this imaginary increase of consequence, he ventured to represent to Lewis, that the truce being nearly expired, the restitution of the confiscated provinces could alone prevent the renewal of a war that must prove equally fatal to the welfare and happiness of either nation; that it was unjust to punish a son for his father's crime; and that the crime itself, enormous as it was, had been sufficiently expiated, by so long a privation of such valuable possessions. The ambassadors of Henry were accompanied by others from the king of the Romans, who laid claim to the county of Poitou. Lewis received them with kindness; but the princes of the blood, the nobles who attended the court, and even the people themselves, took every opportunity of showing their resentment, and of treating them with contempt. Displeased with the reception they experienced, and discontented with the answer they received from the king, who refused to come to a decision till the ensuing Lent, when the parliament was to assemble, they returned to England, leaving only the abbot of Westminster to conduct the negotiation.

It is not known what arguments were employed by that prelate to superinduce a compliance with the demands of his sovereign; whatever they were, they appeared convincing to Lewis, who at length signed a treaty, by which he ceded to Henry the Limousin, Quercy, and Perigord, ensured to him the peaceable possession of Guienne, agreed to pay him a large sum of money for the support of five hundred knights, which he was to take with him to the Holy Land; while Henry, in return for these advantages, only made a final cession of Normandy, and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This cession was ratified by Henry, by his two sons, and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans, and his three sons†.—Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, Lewis, the king's eldest son, was seized

* Mat. Paris, p. 955, 958.
Tivet, p. 208; M. West, p. 371.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 675; M. Paris, 566; Chron. T. Wykes, p. 58;

with a distemper that put an end to his life, in the seventeenth year of his age. He was buried at RoYaumont.

A. D. 1261.] Lewis having removed every probable ground of dispute between France and the neighbouring kingdoms, convened an assembly of the prelates and nobles, in order to deliberate on the affairs of Palestine. That unfortunate country, long harassed by the arms of the Saracens, and enfeebled by intestine divisions, now trembled at the approach of the Tartars. Three years before this period, those barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated Holagou, brother and lieutenant to Mangoukan, their fourth emperor, had reduced the city of Bagdad, that peaceful and charming abode of pleasure and the sciences. The town was pillaged by the conquerors; its immense treasures were scattered about; all its nobility destroyed; eight hundred thousand inhabitants of all ages, and of either sex, inhumanly massacred; and the Saracen empire annihilated for ever. All the neighbouring kingdoms, even Mosul itself, the most powerful of them all, submitted without resistance. The sultan of Aleppo was the only chief who ventured to take up arms in defence of his country; but his success was not equal to his spirit; his capital was reduced, and its fortifications were demolished. Damascus and all Syria experienced a similar fate, except that part which was in possession of the christians. The object of these ferocious conquerors of the Holy Land* is differently represented by historians. By some we are assured that they wished to annex it to their own empire; while others pretend that they only fought to reduce it in order to give it up to the christians; but this last supposition is grossly improbable, and wholly devoid of foundation. In fact we find, from history, that, after the capture of Bagdad, the Tartars sent messengers into Palestine, as into other parts, to exact tribute and obedience. At the same time they committed depredations in Poland and Hungary, both of which were inhabited by christians. They even sent to France†, to summon Lewis to acknowledge their superiority, if he wished to avert their vengeance. The king laughed at the extravagance of the embassy, ordered the ambassadors to be well-treated, and dismissed them without an answer.

When these circumstances had been considered by the assembly, it was ordained that the wrath of God, which had been excited by the sins of the world, should be first appeased. For this purpose prayers, processions, and fasts were ordered; blasphemers—against whom some very severe laws already existed—were treated with additional severity; all superfluities in the articles of food and dress were retrenched, and tournaments and games of chance were prohibited. No new impost, however, was levied on the people; the king contenting himself with sending a sum of money, from his own treasury, to the relief of the christians in Palestine.

* Rain. Ann. 1259, 1260.

† Pistor. p. 788; Guill. Nan. p. 371.

A. D. 1262.] The affairs of Sicily next engaged the attention of the monarch. Pope Alexander the Fourth, unable to carry on the war against Mainfroy, pressed the king of England to fulfil the engagements which he had contracted, on accepting the crown of Sicily for his son Edmond. But Henry, who had already paid dearly for this imaginary dignity, finding the conquest of Sicily as remote as ever, at length became sensible of the cheat; he began to think of breaking off the agreement, and of resigning into the pope's hands that crown, which it was not intended by Alexander that he or his family should ever enjoy*. At this conjuncture the sovereign pontiff died; and was succeeded in the papacy by James, patriarch of Jerusalem; a Frenchman by birth (the son of a cobbler of Troyes in Champagne) who assumed the appellation of Urban the Fourth. The new pope adopted the projects of his predecessor, by entering into a negotiation with Elizabeth, the mother of Conradine; while Mainfroy endeavoured to secure a powerful ally, by marrying his daughter Constantia, to Peter, the eldest son of the king of Arragon. This alliance, which the court of Rome had in vain opposed, induced Urban to offer the crown of Sicily to the king of France, for one of his sons†. The offer was tempting, and Lewis was fully aware of all the advantages that might be derived from the possession of that kingdom, either in sending succours to the christians in Palestine, or in affording relief to the French, who had been recently expelled from the city of Constantinople. But he was apprehensive that what the pope qualified with the title of a lawful gift, was, in fact, an usurpation, either on Conradine, the natural heir, or on Edmond, of England, who had received the investiture of the kingdom from the sovereign pontiff. If Rome had the right to dispose of the dominions of Frederic—which he was far from being willing to admit—the English prince was the lawful sovereign of Sicily; if, on the other hand, Frederic could not be despoiled of his domains, without an infraction of all laws, human and divine, they necessarily devolved to his grandson. Look which way he would, he could see nothing but iniquity in the transaction, and he, therefore, virtuously rejected the offer.—The pope then addressed himself to the count of Anjou, who, having more ambition and less probity, than his brother, joyfully accepted the proffered crown; but, being engaged in a war with the inhabitants of Marseilles, he deferred his attempts to recover his new dominions till a more favourable opportunity.

That restless people, impatient of the yoke which they had reluctantly borne for five years, suddenly flew to arms; and, expelling from the town such of the citizens, as they knew to be attached to the count, seized the citadel, and massacred the garrison. They immediately erected a new fortress, and began to make every necessary preparation for supporting their rebellion. But the active vigour of Charles marred all their projects; having hastily assembled a powerful

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 630.

† Epist. 33, Urban. iv. ad Reg. Franc. Duch. t. v. p. 69.

army, he advanced to attack them, reduced all the places that lay on his road, ravaged the surrounding country, and laid siege to Marseilles by sea and land. The rebels were speedily, by the dread of approaching famine, forced to acknowledge their error, and to sue for pardon. Charles accepted their proffered submission; and, after he had punished with death the leaders of the revolt, condescended to redress their grievances. Castellane, who had protected them, was pursued from place to place; his lands were confiscated, and his castles demolished. This victory kept the enemies of the count in awe, and increased his reputation for valour and military skill.

The king, at this time, was at Clermont in Auvergne, with his principal nobility, in order to attend the celebration of his son's marriage with Isabella of Arragon. The father of that princess was also there, with all the grandees of his kingdom; but the news of his treaty with Mainfroy had nearly prevented the projected alliance, though on the point of completion. Lewis, who had just received the intelligence, openly declared that he would never suffer his son to marry a princess, whose father was so closely connected with the most inveterate enemy of the pope and the church. The two courts were lost in astonishment at this unexpected declaration, which certainly did no credit to the king; since, in the very affair of the Sicilian succession, he had recently acknowledged the injustice of the pope's conduct. To stigmatise a prince, therefore, as an enemy to the church, for opposing the *unjust* pretensions of the Roman pontiff, betrayed a degree of superstitious weakness (to say no worse of it) that cannot admit of justification. The Arragonian monarch, however, at length suggested a means of removing his ridiculous scruples. He declared, by an authentic deed*, that, in marrying his son to the daughter of Mainfroy, he did not mean to contract any engagement hostile to the interests of the Romish church, nor to derogate, or, in any wise, detract from the force of that alliance which he had entered into with France. By this means all objections were done away, and the nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, amidst the acclamations of the nobles of either nation. James, faithful to his word, made no attempts in favour of Mainfroy; but his successor, instigated by his wife, commenced those sanguinary wars, which proved so fatal to the house of Anjou.

When the rejoicings to which this happy event gave rise were terminated, Lewis again applied himself, with unremitting diligence, to the final establishment of a good police, and to the extension and security of commerce. No crime that was prejudicial to society passed unpunished; specific penalties were annexed to usury, to adulterating the current coin, to selling by false weights, and to every species of monopoly†. He divided all tradesmen and artificers into separate corps or communities, revised their first statutes, and enacted those salutary laws, which served as a basis for all subsequent regulations with regard to cor-

* Invent. des Chart. t. v, Arragon, l. P. Ann. 1262.

† Trait. de la Police, l. i. tit. viii. p. 114.

porations and other commercial establishments. He endeavoured to promote a purity of manners throughout the kingdom, by proscribing, under the severest penalties, every thing that tended to licentiousness. Theatrical amusements were tolerated, but all indecent or indelicate sallies were carefully excluded. Writings, religious and philosophical, poems, histories, and romances appeared during this reign; but no publication that breathed sedition, impiety, fanaticism or libertinism was suffered. Lewis, however, found it necessary to revoke the sentence of banishment which he had pronounced against women of the town*; but though compelled to tolerate, he still sought to cover them with infamy, by assigning them a particular dress, obliging them to retire at a fixed hour, and confining their residence to particular streets.

The king did not content himself with the mere adoption of wholesome regulations; with equal vigilance he superintended their execution; by which means the practical part of his government was rendered conformable to its theory. The natural effects of good order in the state became every where visible; peace and tranquillity produced plenty and happiness; and, while the kingdom flourished, the revenues of the crown increased in proportion.

A. D. 1263, 1264.] The high reputation which Lewis now deservedly bore for justice and integrity, produced an appeal from Henry the Third of England, and his discontented barons, who, by mutual consent, chose him as a mediator between them. This virtuous prince, the only man who, in like circumstances, could safely have been entrusted with such an authority by a neighbouring nation, had never ceased to interpose his good offices between the English factions; and had exerted his utmost endeavours in order to accommodate the differences between Henry and the factious earl of Leicester; but found, that the fears and animosities on both sides, as well as the ambition of Leicester, were so violent as to render all his efforts ineffectual. But, when this solemn appeal, ratified by the oaths and subscriptions of the leaders in both factions, was made to his judgment, he was not discouraged from pursuing his honourable purpose†. He summoned the states of the kingdom at Amiens; and there, in the presence of this assembly, as well as in that of the king of England, and Peter de Montfort, Leicester's son, he brought this great cause to a trial and examination. It appeared to him that the provisions of Oxford—by which the whole power of the state had been wrested from the king, and lodged in the hands of twenty-four barons—even had they not been extorted by force, had they not been so exorbitant in their nature, and subversive of the ancient constitution, were expressly established as a temporary expedient, and could not, without breach of trust, be rendered perpetual by the barons. He therefore annulled these provisions; restored to the king the possession of those castles which had been taken from him by the rebels, and the power of nomination to the great offices; allowed

* *Trait, de la Police*, l. iii. tit. v. p. 490.

† *Hume*, vol. ii. p. 200.

him to retain what foreigners he pleased in his kingdom, and even to confer on them places of trust and dignity; and, in a word, re-established the royal power in the same condition in which it stood before the meeting of that parliament by which the above provisions had been enforced. But, while he thus suppressed dangerous innovations, and preserved unimpaired the prerogatives of the English crown; he was not negligent of the rights of the people; and, besides ordering that a general amnesty should be granted for all past offences, he declared, that his award was not any wise meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties which the nation enjoyed by any former concessions or charters of the crown*.

This equitable sentence was no sooner known in England, than Leicester and his confederates determined to reject it, and to have recourse to arms, in order to procure to themselves more safe and advantageous conditions. The kingdom was again exposed to the flames of civil war, and the most destructive depredations proclaimed the reign of anarchy and discord. After various successs, a decisive battle was at length fought at Evesham, on the fourth of August, 1265; when the royalists proved victorious; Leicester himself, with his eldest son, Hugh le Despenser, and about an hundred and sixty knights, and many other gentlemen of his party, were slain in the action.

A total victory of the sovereign over so extensive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution in government, and strengthens, as well as enlarges, for some time, the prerogatives of the crown. Yet no sacrifices of national liberty were made by the English on this occasion; the great charter remained still inviolate; and the king, sensible that his own barons, by whose assistance alone he had prevailed, were no less jealous of their independence than the other party, seems thenceforth to have more carefully abstained from all those exertions of power, which had afforded so plausible a pretext to the rebels. The clemency of this victory is also remarkable: no blood was shed on the scaffold: no attainders, except of the family of Leicester, were carried into execution: and, though a parliament, assembled at Winchester, in 1266, attainted all those who had borne arms against the king, easy compositions were made with them for their lands; and the highest sum, levied on the most obnoxious offenders, exceeded not five years rent of their estate. The mild disposition of Henry, and the prudence of his son, prince Edward, tempered the insolence of victory, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state, disjointed by so long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

During these troubles in England, Lewis had concluded a marriage between his fifth son, Peter, count of Alencon, and Jane of Chatillon, heiress to the counties of Blois and Chartres, and to many other towns and territories in Picardy and Flanders. The princess had but just attained her thirteenth year; the

* Rymer, vol. i. p. 776, 777, &c.; Chron. T. Wykes, p. 58.

+ M. Paris, p. 675.

county of Chartres, Brie-Comte-Robert, and Bonneval, were given her as a marriage portion, and the king settled on her an annual pension of twelve thousand livres*.

The attention of all Europe was fixed, at this period, on the sovereign pontiff, who was negotiating a treaty with the count of Anjou, relative to the crown of Sicily. Three material obstacles presented themselves to the conclusion of this famous treaty—the incontestible right of Conradine to the Sicilian throne; the donation which had been made of it by Alexander the Fourth, to prince Edmond of England; and, lastly, the dignity of a Roman senator, which had been recently conferred on the count of Anjou, and which he had sworn to preserve during his life:—this dignity, which was extremely prejudicial to the authority of the Roman pontiffs, had been instituted almost a hundred and twenty years before, in order to check the daring enterprises of Innocent the Second, who took every means of oppressing the citizens of Rome. The power it conferred was precarious and unfixed, depending on the state of affairs, and on the harmony that subsisted between the people and the pope. It was generally bestowed on a Roman nobleman, and the term of its duration was two years. But the citizens, discontented with the conduct of their countrymen, expelled all the nobles from their city, and looked out for a foreign prince, sufficiently powerful to preserve order and justice among them. Their choice fell upon the count of Anjou, whose last victory had greatly enhanced his reputation, and they accordingly elected him for their perpetual senator. Charles accepted, without hesitation, a title that conferred on him a kind of sovereignty in the capital of the christian world; he engaged, by oath, to repair to Rome within a given term, and, in the mean time, sent them a body of troops, under the command of Gaucelin, a native of Provence, whom he appointed his vicar. Urban was greatly chagrined at this circumstance, which totally annihilated the little authority he enjoyed, during his absence from Rome; for, during the troubles which prevailed in Italy, the popes seldom resided in their capital, but took up their abode at Agnani, Viterbo, or some other place in the ecclesiastical dominions. Thus the count, far from having any reason to hope for a crown from the friendship of the sovereign pontiff, might have expected to feel the effects of his resentment, since he had violated one of the first conditions proposed to him; that of not accepting the office of senator, if it should be offered him by the citizens of Rome. Yet all these difficulties were speedily surmounted by the intrepid zeal of the pope, who sent the cardinal Saint Cecilia as his legate, to complete a negotiation which his nuncios had successfully begun.

The new minister, a man of deep penetration and consummate art, had orders to conclude nothing without the king's consent; to clear up the doubts of Lewis on the legality of Conradine's deposal; to calm his scruples as to the

* Duch. Hist. de Chât. Not. 69.

rights of prince Edmond ; not to betray any kind of eagerness in the business to the count, only to express, in general terms, the pope's affection for him and all the royal family, and even to start difficulties in the way of any accommodation that might be proposed in order to bring him, by degrees, to consent to such restrictions as were deemed necessary for preserving the authority of the holy see ; and, lastly, to enter into no positive engagement with regard to the investiture till all the preliminaries had been finally arranged. He had also received written instructions as to the relaxation he might make in his demands of an annual impost, or tribute, of a thousand ounces of gold, which the pope required from the new sovereign of Sicily ; on the limitation of the succession, and on the number of troops which he was to employ on this expedition. The legate was farther charged with levying a tenth, which the sovereign pontiff had exacted on this occasion, from the French clergy ; to exert himself with the queen in order to persuade her to an immediate accommodation with her brother-in-law, against whom she had some grounds of complaint ; to represent to that prince that he could not keep the office of senator without exposing himself to *eternal damnation* ; in a word, to exhort the king to exact an oath from his brother that he would resign that dignity within five years at the latest ; by which he would not purjure himself, because the oath he had already taken to the citizens of Rome, would be virtually revoked by that which he should take to the sovereign pontiff. "Strange morality!" exclaims Velly—"but the popes, in those times, assumed the right of absolving people from the most sacred promises, whenever those promises tended to invade their own authority, or to attack the interests of the holy see*."

The commission with which the legate was entrusted was of a delicate nature ; but being endued with all the necessary qualifications for an able negotiator, he discharged it with punctuality and address, and overcame difficulties apparently insurmountable. Though Lewis could not possibly assent to the justice of the pope's conduct, in deposing the family of the emperor Frederic, yet he tacitly submitted to the authority of the council of Lyons. As to the rights of Edmond of England, they were easily over-ruled, by the neglect of that prince to comply with the conditions on which those rights were expressly founded ; besides, the king of England had publicly renounced all pretensions to the throne of Sicily†. Charles, on his part, seduced by the splendid temptations of a crown, and impelled by the solicitations of his wife Beatrice, who aspired to the same dignity to which her three sisters had already attained, consented to every proposal, and submitted to all the humiliating conditions which the pope chose to impose on him.

Nothing remained but to sign the treaty, when pope Urban was seized with a disorder that proved fatal : he was succeeded in the papacy by Guy Fulcodi, a

* Velly, tom. v. p. 329.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 97.

Frenchman, who assumed the appellation of Clement the Fourth. This pontiff, being well acquainted with the disposition of the count of Anjou, renewed the negociation which had been carried on by his predecessor. The first use he made of his authority* was, to pronounce, with the consent, and by the advice, of the cardinals, the throne of Sicily vacant by the felony of Conradine and Mainfroy, and by the renunciation of prince Edmond; to declare that the church of Rome had an undoubted right to dispose of it at its pleasure; and that she could bestow it as a fief on, or entrust the government of it to, whomsoever she chose. The principal difficulties being removed, the whole matter was speedily settled, and the treaty, consisting of thirty-five articles, drawn up, and signed. Some of these secured the liberty of the dominions of Rome from the enterprizes of future monarchs; others adopted means for preventing the re-union of Sicily to the empire; some settled the degree of dependence in which that kingdom was to remain on the holy see; and others regulated the succession after the death of Charles, and the measures to be pursued for wresting the sceptre from the hands of Mainfroy.—They are all expressive of the arrogance of the Roman pontiff, who dared to impose the most rigorous and humiliating conditions; and of the servility of the French prince, who condescended to submit to them.—As soon as the treaty was signed, a tenth was levied on the clergy of France, by the cardinal Saint Cecilia, to support the count of Anjou in the acquisition of his new dominions.

The pope now ordered a crusade to be preached throughout France against Mainfroy, whom he called, *the execrable branch of a cursed stock, which ought to be broken and beaten to pieces like the statue of Nebuchadnezzar*. The banner of the cross was unfurled against the domestic enemy of the vatican; and Charles, at the head of the chivalry of France, on the plains of Beneventum, despoiled Mainfroy of his crown and life. The death of the usurper awakened from obscurity the pretensions of Conradine; but the justice of his claims could neither secure him from the unjust enmity of the pope, nor the ambitious cruelty of the count of Anjou. The young prince was met by the enemy in the vicinity of Tagliacozzo, near the lake of Celano; a bloody conflict ensued, in which the French were at first routed, but, having recourse to a stratagem, they at length put the troops of Conradine to flight, and took him prisoner. The unfortunate youth was conveyed, by his ferocious conqueror, to Naples, where he was basely massacred, in cool blood, upon a scaffold; and his death was attended with every circumstance that could aggravate the guilt of the assassin, whose establishment on the throne of the two Sicilies gave rise to what the French have stiled the first race of Anjou.

A. D. 1266, 1267.] During these iniquitous transactions in Italy, Lewis was secretly planning a second expedition to the Holy Land. The wisdom of his

* Spicil, tom. iii. p. 649.

regulations had established tranquillity in his dominions; his treasures were recruited, his finances augmented, and his hopes expanded. He now imparted his resolution to the Roman pontiff, who, at first, evinced a disposition to dissuade him from a scheme which he wisely considered as impolitic; but, his opinion speedily changing, he wrote to the king in a very different style, expressed his admiration of his wisdom, and strenuously exhorted him to hasten the execution of an enterprise, which, he said, must have been inspired by heaven. The christians in Syria were, at this period, reduced to the most distressed situation: not less harrassed by intestine divisions, than by the attacks of a powerful and inveterate foe, their final expulsion from Palestine appeared to be at hand. Bondocdar, who, from the obscure station of a private soldier, had attained to the regal dignity, now occupied the united thrones of Egypt, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and Arabia: enraged at a breach of faith, on the part of the christians, he assembled an army of three hundred thousand horse, with which he entered Palestine, ravaged the open country, and, having taken Nazareth, reduced it to a heap of ruins. He next attacked Cesarea, which he carried by assault; and, the citadel having surrendered by capitulation, all the inhabitants were expelled, and the fortifications, which had been raised by Lewis, were totally demolished*. Caiphas experienced a similar fate; the pilgrims' castle, indeed, repelled the attacks of the proud conqueror, who immediately wreaked his vengeance on Arsuf, an important place, in defence of which, no less than ninety of the knights-templars lost their lives. At the fortress of Montfort, Bondocdar experienced a second disappointment; but at Sapheto he reduced the inhabitants to the necessity of capitulating, and, though he agreed to grant them their lives, he inhumanly massacred all such as refused to embrace mahometanism, and sent the rest into Egypt. He then advanced to Saint John of Acre; laid waste the environs, and threatened to lay siege to the town itself, as soon as he should have received his battering machines from Cairo.

This rapid success of the infidels alarmed the christian world, and awakened the zeal of the crusaders. The pope exhorted all the christian princes either to repair in person to the relief of Palestine, or to contribute such succours as their circumstances would admit of. Councils were holden, tithes exacted from the clergy, public prayers ordered, and, in proportion as the evil increased, the care to provide a remedy redoubled. In this situation of affairs it was natural to suppose that Lewis would not remain inactive; having taken his final resolution, he summoned all the nobles of the realm to repair to Paris, in order to deliberate on a matter of importance. He there represented to them the wretched state of the christians in Palestine, which called for relief, immediate and effectual; that relief, he said, he was resolved to grant, and he trusted that his example would be generally followed by the assembly. The reasons urged

* Rain. Sanud. Labb. Hibl. tom. i. p. 378.

+ Guil. Nang. p. 383; Joinv. p. 125,

by the king were enforced by the pope's legate, who gave the crofs to Lewis, and his three eldest fons, Philip, John, and Peter; to the counts of Flanders and Brittany; to Beaujeu, lord of Montpenfier, the count d'Eu, Guy de Laval and to a great number of barons and gentlemen.

As foon as the king's intentions were made known through the kingdom, foldiers haftened to his ftandard from all quarters. The king of Navarre, and his brother, prince Henry, with a numerous train of knights, affumed the crofs; the young count of Artois, nephew to Lewis, and fon to that count of Artois who was killed at Maffoura, refolved to attend his uncle, in order to revenge the death of his father; the duke of Burgundy, too, expreffed a fimilar refolution. In fhort, almoft all the nobility of the kingdom appear to have been animated by the fame fpirit of enthufiafm.—The moft confiderable of thefe were the counts of Saint Paul, Vendome, la Marche, and Soiffons; Gilles and Hardouin de Mailly; Ralph and John de Nefle; the lords of Fiennes, Nemours, Montmorenci, and Melun; the count of Guifnes; the lord of Harcourt; Matthew de Roye; Florent de Varennes; Ralph d'Etrees; Gilles de la Tournelle; Maurice de Craon; John de Rochefort; the Marefchal de Mirepoix; Enguerand de Bailleul; Peter de Saux; and John de Beaumont.

A. D. 1270.] Having fettled all the affairs of his kingdom, and the future eftablifhments of his children, he entrusted the reins of government, during his abfence, to Matthew, abbot of Saint Denis, who was defcended from the noble houfe of Vendome; and to Simon de Clermont, lord of Nefle—both men of approved probity, and confummate prudence. The crusaders affembled at Aigues-Mortes, a finall fea-port in Languedoc, near the mouth of the Rhone, where they had embarked on their laft expedition.

Now, as before, opinions were divided as to the courfe they fhould ftcer; fome infifted on the neceffity of proceeding immediately to the relief of Saint John of Acre, which was the only place of ftrength now poffeffed by the chriftians in Paleftine; others, undifmayed by the calamities which the laft crusaders had experienced in Egypt, maintained the policy of firft fecuring Alexandria; while a third fet, and that the moft numerous, gave their voices in favour of an expedition to Tunis, the monarch of which place (whoſe name is, by ſome, ſaid to have been Muley-Mortanga, by others Omar) had profefſed his inclination to abjure the tenets of Mahomet for thoſe of Chriſt. This laſt advice, ſtrange as it may appear, prevailed; the religious enthufiafm of Lewis was highly gratified by the idea of converting a king, and the immenſe treaſures which Tunis was ſaid to contain, flattered the avarice of the more intereſted crusaders: the fleet accordingly ſailed for the coaſt of Africa, on the firſt of July, and effected a landing in the vicinity of Tunis; but, inſtead of a willing convert, in the king of Tunis, Lewis was deſtined to encounter an active and a formidable foe. The caſtle of Carthage was the firſt object of attack; it was ſoon taken by aſſault, and the town, which had no fortifications, ſubmitted of

course. Here Lewis resolved to wait for the arrival of his brother, the king of Sicily, before he attacked the city of Tunis, which was strongly fortified, and defended by a brave and numerous garrison. But the excessive heat of the climate, the want of water, the badness of their provisions, and the showers of burning sand raised by the machines of the Saracens, and blown by the wind into the faces of the christians, soon brought on a pestilential disorder, which, in a very short time, destroyed one half of the army*. The king himself, at length, caught the infection, and, after giving the most salutary advice to his son and successor, and exhibiting the strongest proofs of christian patience and fortitude, he resigned his breath on the twenty-fifth of August, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign.

This monarch, as it has been justly observed by an English historian†, united to the mean and abject superstition of a monk, all the courage and magnanimity of the greatest hero; and, what is perhaps more extraordinary, the justice and integrity of a disinterested patriot, the mildness and humanity of an accomplished philosopher.—The few errors into which he fell, arose principally from an excess of religious zeal; and they were so greatly exceeded by his numerous virtues, that it would be invidious to dwell on them.

In reciting the transactions of this reign, we have had frequent occasion to notice the strict attention of Lewis to a prompt and impartial administration of justice. He greatly encouraged the practice of appeals, and frequently administered justice in person with all the ancient simplicity. “I have often seen the saint,” says Joinville, “sit under the shade of an oak, in the wood of Vincennes, when all who had any complaint freely approached him. At other times he gave orders to spread a carpet in a garden, and, seating himself upon it, heard the causes that were brought before him.‡”

For facilitating the accomplishment of an object which he had thus constantly in view, he undertook to establish an uniformity and certainty in all legal proceedings; for which purpose he compiled that code of laws which are known by the appellation of *Etablissements de Saint Louis*, and which contain a large collection of customs, and regulations, divided into two hundred and ten chapters; they were published in the year 1270, just before his departure for Tunis. These establishments, though well adapted to serve as general laws to the whole kingdom, were not published as such, but only as a complete code of customary law to be of authority within the king's domains. But the wisdom, the equity, and the order, conspicuous in that code of Saint Lewis, procured it a favourable reception throughout the kingdom. The veneration due to the virtues and good intentions of its author, contributed not a little to reconcile the nation to that legislative authority, which the king began to assume.

* Nangis, p. 391, 517; Guiart, p. 158.

† Hume.

‡ Hist. de St. Louis, p. 13.

Lewis did not display his wisdom more in the adoption of new regulations, than in the abolition of such old customs as were repugnant to reason and humanity. In order to check the exercise of private war, which threatened the dissolution of government, he published an ordonnance, in 1245, prohibiting any person to commence hostilities against the friends and vassals of his adversary, until forty days after the commission of the crime or offence which gave rise to the quarrel, declaring, that if any man presumed to transgress this statute, he should be considered as guilty of a breach of the public peace, and be tried and punished by the judge ordinary as a traitor*. This was called *the royal truce*, and afforded time for the violence of resentment to subside, as well as leisure for the good offices of such as were willing to compose the difference.

Lewis also abolished the absurd and barbarous custom of trial by combat, endeavouring to introduce a more perfect jurisprudence, by substituting the trial by evidence in its place. But his regulations, with respect to this, were confined to his own domains; for the great vassals of the crown possessed such independent authority, and were so fondly attached to the ancient practice, that he durst not venture to extend it to the whole kingdom. Some barons voluntarily adopted his regulations. The spirit of courts became averse to the mode of decision by combat, and discouraged it on every occasion. The nobles, nevertheless, thought it so honourable to depend for the security of their lives and fortunes on their own courage alone, and contended with so much vehemence for the preservation of this favourite privilege of their order, that the successors of Saint Lewis, unable to oppose, and afraid of offending such powerful subjects, were obliged not only to tolerate, but to authorise the practice which he had attempted to abolish.

It was usual, at this period, for husbands not to sleep with their wives the three first nights after the celebration of their marriage†. The inhabitants of Abbeville, justly enraged at this unreasonable prohibition, refused to comply with the custom; the mayor and aldermen of the town accordingly presented a petition to parliament, and obtained a decree, by which it was finally determined, *that the husbands might freely sleep with their wives, the three first nights, without the permission of the bishop and his officers*||.

Another custom, still more strange, obtained in France, which it is surprising Lewis did not abolish: this was the right of *prelibation*, or *markette*§, claimed by the nobles, which consisted in sleeping with such brides as were their vassals the first night of their marriage; even bishops and abbots enjoyed and exerted this privilege, in their capacity of superior barons. The learned Papebroch, says Velly, informs us, that even now that right is enforced by noblemen over their peasants, in some provinces of the Low Countries of Friezeland, and of

* Ordon. t. i. p. 56. † Robertson. ‡ Bibl. Univ. xix. Mar. Ann. 1409. || Thaum. de la
Thaum. Obs. sur Beaum. p. 392. § Du Cang. Gloss. Verb. 'Cullagium' et 'Marcheta.'

Germany*. It is certain, from a variety of existing records, that it was exerted with great rigour in France. In a title-deed, in 1507, relating to the revenues of the barony of Saint Martin, we read, that the count d'Eu *has right of prelibation in the said place in case of marriage*†. Boethius relates a singular fact on this subject: "I have been present (says he), at the Metropolitan court at Bourges; when a cause was tried by appeal, on the part of a curate, who claimed the right of sleeping with every young bride, the first night, according to established custom." The claim, however, was rejected with indignation, the custom unanimously proscribed, and the priest condemned to pay a fine.

The exorbitant pretensions of the court of Rome, at this period, were such as to become an object of censure to the clergy, as well as to the laity. If we open the histories of those times, says Velly, we shall find it represented as the seat of avarice and ambition; the pope is depicted by contemporary writers as an absolute despot, who sacrificed the rights of bishops, whom he considered as his slaves, to his own caprice; as a presumptuous judge, who, thinking himself above the law; imagined his will alone sufficient to render lawful what from its very nature was an object of proscription†. One while he is represented as a tyrant, who cares little for the happiness of his subjects, but seeks to enrich his relations, by appointing them legates, with full power, says Pasquier, to *rifle* all the ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdoms whither they are sent||; for, the right of *visitation*, as it was then called, founded in despotism and cupidity, was carried to the most shameful excess. Hence the just indignation expressed by the clergy, under the reign of Robert, when the Roman pontiff ordered a church to be consecrated in the diocese of Tours, not only without the leave, but even against the will of the archbishop: "It is a despicable thing (says a contemporary author§), that a man, seated on the apostolic chair, should, with sacrilegious presumption, violate the ordonnances and statutes of the apostles." Hence, too, the pathetic exclamations of St. Bernard¶, against a tribunal at which riches prevailed over merit and capacity; "Where," says he, "simony, and concubinage, and incest are sure to find favour, if their solicitations be accompanied with presents." It was this made the monk of Moliens remark**, "That at Rome, when gold murmurs the law is silent; and right bows down at the sound of money." Hence, too, the reproaches of the same St. Bernard to cardinal Jourdain, the pope's legate, who, he tells us, had traversed Germany, France, and Normandy, "filling all those regions, not with the gospel, but with sacrilegious proceedings, and shameful exactions, plundering the churches, and conferring ecclesiastical dignities on young men, who were better versed in the science of the world, than in that of religion††."

* In Vit. S. For. Abb. Walciod. † Laur. Gloss. de Droit. Franc. au mot. 'Collage.' ‡ S. Bernard. Epi. 53, ad Pasch. || Recher. de la Fr. l. ii. c. 21, p. 34. § Rad. Glab. l. ii. ¶ S. Bern. Epist. ad Eng. ** Rom. MSS. intit. De Charité; Du Cange Obs. sur Joinv. p. 100. †† St. Bernard; Ep. 290.

In order to put a stop the encroachments of the pope, and the licentious conduct of his ministers, Lewis issued that famous ordonnance, so well known by the name of *the Pragmatic Sanction*; he there confirmed the prelates, and all the patrons of livings, in the full enjoyment of their rights; secured the liberties of the Gallican church from the invasions of the court of Rome; banished simony from the kingdom, as a pest highly prejudicial to religion; ordered all promotions, collations, provisions, and disposals of prelacies, dignities, livings, or ecclesiastical offices, to be made according to the rules established by the common law, by the sacred councils, and by the ancient fathers; and, finally, forbade the court of Rome to levy, in future, any of those imposts which had impoverished the kingdom, without his express permission, and the consent of the Gallican church.—This wise edict was passed in 1268.

Two orders of monks, both mendicants, the Augustins and the Carmes, were settled in Paris during this reign. The Augustins were a society composed of several hermits, who had resided in different parts, worn different dresses, and were governed by different rules.—They were united under one superior by pope Alexander the Fourth, who subjected them to the rules of Saint Augustin, and gave them the dress of that order.—Lanfranc was their first general: they soon quitted their deserts, and established their residence in the great towns. In the year 1259, they came to Paris, and had a house in the *Rue Montmartre*, near to that which is still called, after them, by the name of the *Reux des Vieux Augustins*.

The order of Carmes originated in Syria, and was composed of a great number of western pilgrims, who were dispersed in different hermitages in Palestine, where they led a life of great austerity. But, as they were incessantly exposed to the attacks of the infidels, Aymeri, the pope's legate, and patriarch of Antioch, collected them all together on *Mount Carmel*, towards the end of the twelfth century. In 1205, a native of Amiens, named Albert, who was descended from Peter the Hermit, the first preacher of the crusades, established rules for them, which were confirmed, in 1227, by pope Honorius the Third. Saint Lewis brought some of them with him from the Holy Land, and built a church and convent for them on the banks of the Seine, where the Celestins afterwards resided. It was not till the reign of Philip the Fair, that they removed to the Place Maubert, in order to be nearer the university.

Lewis also founded and endowed many other convents and hospitals, as well at Paris as in the provinces. Among these were the Mathurins at Fontainebleau; the Jacobins and Cordeliers at Paris; the abbies of Royaumont, Longchamp, Lis, and Maubisson; Vauvert, a residence of the Carthusians at Paris; and, in different towns, several convents of women, called *Beguines*, either from the name of their veil, or from that of their founder, Lambert le *Begue* (the Stammerer.) The famous college of the Sorbonne was established for the study of theology, in the year 1253, by an ecclesiastic, named Robert, sprung from ob-

scure parents, who resided at Sorbonne, a small village in the Rhetelois. *The poor masters*, as the first doctors of the Sorbonne were called, were indebted, for the house in which they resided, as well as for many other advantages, to the liberality of Lewis.

About the year 1260 a singular species of fanaticism appeared in Europe, which was neither ordained by authority nor excited by eloquence: "When all Italy was sullied with crimes of every kind," says the monk of Saint Justina, in Padua, "a certain sudden superstition, hitherto unknown to the world, first seized the inhabitants of Perugia, afterwards the Romans, and then almost all the nations of Italy.—To such a degree were they affected with the fear of God, that noble, as well as ignoble persons, young and old, even children of five years of age, would go naked about the streets, with only their private parts covered, and, without any sense of shame, thus walked in public, two and two, in the manner of a solemn procession. Every one of them held in his hand a scourge made of leather thongs, and with tears and groans they lashed themselves on their backs, till the blood ran, all the while weeping and giving tokens of the same bitter affliction as if they had really been spectators of the passion of our Saviour, imploring forgiveness of God and his mother, and praying that he who had been appeased by the repentance of so many sinners, would not disdain theirs.

"And not only in the day time, but likewise during the night, hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands of these penitents, ran, notwithstanding the rigour of winter, about the streets, and in churches, with lighted wax-tapers in their hands, and preceded by priests, who carried crosses and banners along with them, and with humility prostrated themselves before the altars: the same scenes were exhibited in small towns and villages; so that the mountains and the fields seemed to resound alike the voices of men who were crying to God.

"All musical instruments and love-songs then ceased to be heard. The only music that prevailed, both in town and country, was that of the mournful voice of the penitent, whose sorrowful accents might have moved hearts of flint; and even the eyes of the obdurate sinner could not refrain from tears.

"Nor were women exempt from this general spirit of devotion; for, not only those among the common people, but also matrons and young maidens of noble families, would modestly perform the same mortifications in their own rooms. Then those who were at enmity became friends. Usurers and robbers hastened to restore their ill-gotten wealth to the right owners. Others, who were contaminated with different crimes, confessed them with humility, and renounced their vanities. Gaols were thrown open, prisoners were released, and those who were banished permitted to return to their native habitations. So many, and such great works of sanctity, in short, were then performed both by men and women, that it seemed as if an universal apprehen-

“son had seized mankind, that the Divine Power was preparing either to consume them by fire, or destroy them by earthquakes, or some other of those means which Divine Justice knows how to employ for avenging crimes.

“Such a sudden repentance, which had thus diffused itself all over Italy, and had even reached other countries, not only the unlearned, but wise persons also admired. They wondered whence such vehement fervour of piety could have proceeded; especially since such public penances and ceremonies had been unheard of in former times; had not been approved by the sovereign pontiff, who was then residing at Anagni; nor recommended by any preacher, nor person of eminence, but had taken their origin among simple persons, whose example both learned and unlearned had alike followed*.”

This sect of *Flagellants* was excluded from Sicily by the prudence of Manfred, who feared that some designing chief might take advantage of their enthusiasm, to breed disturbances in his kingdom. In Germany they were treated with contempt; in Poland they were threatened with imprisonment; and, in France, where the enthusiasm of superstition had taken another direction, there appeared no disposition to receive them: though, at a subsequent period, under the reign of Henry the Third, the flagellants were not only tolerated, but openly protected by the king. They adopted the custom of flagellating themselves in public, from a strained interpretation of the passage in the Psalmist—“Ad flagella paratus sum†.”

PHILIP THE THIRD, SURNAMED THE HARDY.

A. D. 1270.] THE death of Lewis diffused an universal consternation throughout the christian camp; and that monarch had no sooner resigned his breath than the sounds of trumpets announced the arrival of his brother, the king of Sicily. Charles, astonished to find his salute unanswered, began to be alarmed; and, leaving his troops to the care of his officers, galloped towards the royal tent, where the first object that presented itself to his sight was the corpse of his brother, extended on those ashes which the pious monarch had chosen for his death bed. Shocked at the spectacle, he threw himself on the ground,

* De Lolme, Hist. of the Flagellants, p. 347, et seq.

† Id. ib. p. 357.

kissed the cold feet of Lewis, and gave vent to his sorrow in a torrent of tears. When the first gust of grief was over, the princes made the necessary disposition for pursuing with vigour the war against the infidels. Philip, however, previously received the homage of his new subjects, and dispatched messengers to France, with letters confirming the regents of the kingdom in their authority, and all the ministers and governors of provinces in their respective offices.

The Saracens, who frequently appeared in great numbers in the vicinity of the camp, were worsted in every skirmish; and, in two general engagements, they sustained a total defeat, attended with considerable slaughter. But still the numbers they lost by this means were speedily replaced, while the army of the christians daily diminished; and, to add to the distress of their situation, the pestilential disease, which had destroyed their king, continued to rage with unabated violence. Induced by these considerations, Philip judged it prudent to accept the terms proffered by the king of Tunis, and a truce for ten years was accordingly concluded, on the following conditions:—

“That the port of Tunis should in future be open for the reception of merchandise, without being liable to those heavy duties which they had hitherto paid; that, in lieu of such duties, only a tenth of all merchandise should be exacted; that all the christians who had been imprisoned on the approach of the French army, should be set at liberty; that the free exercise of their religion should be allowed them, with full permission to build churches, and to make as many converts from Mahometanism as they could, without hindrance or molestation; that the king of Tunis should bind himself, by oath, to pay the accustomed tribute to the Sicilian monarch; and that he should defray all the expences incurred on account of the war, as well by the king of France as by his barons, which amounted to two hundred and ten thousand ounces of gold; one half of which was to be paid immediately, and the other in two years*.”

Hostilities ceased on the first of November, and soon after the whole army embarked for Trapani, where the kings of France and Sicily, with all the princes and barons, entered into a solemn engagement, to meet at any place that should be appointed, at the expiration of four years from the end of July following, in order to repair to Palestine.

A. D. 1271.] At Trapani the king lost his brother-in-law, Thibaud the Fifth, king of Navarre, a prince universally esteemed for his excellent qualities both of heart and head. Dying without children, he was succeeded in his dominions by his brother Henry. The queen of Navarre died four months after her husband. From Trapani Philip proceeded to the court of Sicily, and from thence to Calabria, where he was destined to experience a still greater loss. The queen, who was pregnant, passing the river Savuto, near Martorano fell from her horse; and the hurt she received, together with the fright she experi-

* Gest. Philip, liii. p. 523.

† Ib. p. 524.

enced, produced a miscarriage, of which she died at Cozenza, greatly and deservedly lamented. The king, to relieve the anxiety of his mind, repaired to the court of Rome; and, pursuing his journey through the principal cities of Italy, rested a short time at Lyons, and entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his people. Yet France had reason to lament the destructive consequences of the enterprise from which he returned: besides the nameless multitude that perished on the coast of Africa, in the island of Sicily, and in his progress through Italy, Philip lost his father Lewis, his brother John, his queen Isabella, his brother-in-law and sister, the king and queen of Navarre, his uncle and aunt, the count and countess of Poitiers, who were all, except the queen of France, victims of the same contagious disorder.

The first moments of his return were dedicated to the pious care of his father's funeral; the next to the important ceremony of his own coronation, which was performed at Rheims, in the month of August, by Milo, bishop of Soissons. As Alfonso, count of Poitiers, and his wife, had left no posterity, Philip hastened to take possession of the counties of Poitou and the Toulousain, which escheated to the crown*; the first, as having been ceded by Raymond the Seventh, father to the countess, who was the last of the illustrious family of the counts of Toulouse. This succession considerably augmented the royal domains. Already had Saint Lewis acquired the counties of Perche, of Clermont in Beauvaisis, of Macon, of Beaumont upon Oise, and of Namur; the viscounties of Beziers, Carcassonne, Avranches, and Peronne; the lordships of Beaumont-le-Roger, Brionne, Loches and Chatillon upon the Indre; the castles of Belesme, Mortagne, and Ferte-Alpes in la Beausse; and, lastly, all the rights of Turcavel, to Lombers, and a great number of lordships, in the bishopricks of Narbonne, Agde, Maguelonne, Nismes, Albi and Toulouset. Though these acquisitions were doubtless important, they appeared but trivial, when compared to what Philip now acquired by the death of his uncle Alfonso—viz. Poitou, Auvergne, a part of Saintonge, and the country of Aunis, together with the greater part of the county of Toulouse, that part of the Albigeois, which lies to the right of the Tarn; Rouergue, Quercy, Agenois, and the Venaissin. But these provinces were not properly united to the crown, till the year 1361; till that time the kings of France governed them as counts of that particular district.

The king was no sooner in possession of the states which he inherited from the countess of Poitiers, than the king of England sent to demand the restitution of the Agenois and Querci, in compliance with the treaty which had been concluded between Henry and Saint Lewis. Philip, however, was in no haste to fulfil the engagement contracted by his father; Agenois, in consequence, was not united to the duchy of Aquitaine till the year 1279, when Edward, the son and successor of Henry, prevailed on him to give it up. As to Querci, the king pro-

* Gest. Philip, liii. p. 526.

† Saint Marthe, sur la fin du regne de St. Louis; L. P. Daniel, t. iv.

p. 571, 572.

mised to institute an inquiry, in order to learn whether it had been assigned as a dower to the princess Jane of England, on her marriage with Raymond the Sixth. The affair was not terminated till the year 1286, when Philip the Fair purchased the rights of the English to that province, for an annual pension of three thousand livres Tournois. The Venaissin had been bequeathed to the king of Sicily; Philip, however, took possession of it, though, in 1274, he ceded it to pope Gregory the Tenth; and, from this period, the sovereign pontiffs have continued to rule that part of the principality of Toulouse.

A. D. 1272.] At the commencement of this year the king made a tour through his new dominions, and took the necessary measures for quelling the only revolt that occurred during his reign. Geraud the Fifth, count of Armagnac, laid claim to the sovereignty of the castle of Sompuy, in the diocese of Auch*; while Geraud de Casaubon, lord of that fief, maintained that he held it immediately of the king, as heir to the rights of the counts of Toulouse. The dispute grew warm between them; and, after several challenges, on both sides, they prepared to decide it by the sword. The count first took up arms, and, repairing to Sompuy, at the head of his troops, dared his enemy to come forth; Casaubon accordingly sallied from the castle, attacked the count's rear-guard, killed his brother Arnaud Bernard, and put his soldiers to flight. The count, enraged at the affront he had sustained, and still more at the loss of his brother, exhorted all the noblemen of his family to assist him in the infliction of vengeance. His brother-in-law, Roger Bernard, count de Foix, accordingly raised an army, and vowed to effect the desolation of the castle of Sompuy, or perish in the attempt. Casaubon, unable to resist the united forces of this powerful family, put himself under the king's protection, delivered his castle, with all his domains, into the hands of the seneschal of Toulouse, and surrendered himself prisoner to Philip, submitting to the judgment of the king's court, and consenting to the confiscation of his lordship, in case he should fail to justify himself with regard to the death of Arnaud Bernard. The king's officers, in consequence of this surrender, took possession of the fortrefs with all its dependencies; they hoisted the royal standard, and forbade any one to attack a subject who had demanded justice from his sovereign. But the count of Armagnac, paying no attention to these orders, laid siege to the castle, which he carried by assault, then reduced it to ashes, massacred the inhabitants, and laid waste the domains of Casaubon, with fire and sword.

The king was justly incensed at this daring act of outrage and disobedience; and, being sensible of the importance of acting with spirit at the commencement of his reign, he resolved to inflict such a punishment on his rebellious vassals, as should serve for an example to the rest of the barons. With this view he collected a powerful army, and cited the two offenders to appear before him, in order to answer for their conduct. Geraud d'Armagnac obeyed the citation, sued for mercy, and obtained it, on condition of paying a fine of fifteen thou-

* Hist. de Lang. t. iv. p. 6, 7, note 2.

sand livres Tournois. But the count de Foix, persisting in his revolt, despised the order of his sovereign, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He depended on the advantageous situation of his little territory, which was surrounded by lofty mountains, and defended by a great number of castles, strongly fortified both by art and nature. Fully impressed with an idea that he was in perfect safety, he ventured to attack the seneschal of Toulouse, who was peaceably passing through his country, and, putting his men to flight, took several prisoners, and plundered his baggage. The king, apprised of this outrage, sent a detachment of troops into the county of Foix, who took several of the principal fortresses, and scoured the open country; but the count, retiring to the mountains, strengthened his fortifications, and, notwithstanding the check he had received, flattered himself that he should still be able to oppose the whole power of France.

All the vassals of the crown had received orders to assemble at Tours, on the eighth of May, when a splendid train of nobles attended, and, with their followers, directed their march towards Toulouse, where they were joined by the vassals of that province, and of the circumjacent country. Philip placed himself at the head of his army, and advanced towards Pamiers; at the abbey of Bolbonne he was met by James, king of Arragon, and Gaston, viscount of Bearn, father-in-law to the count de Foix, who came to negotiate a peace, and to obtain a pardon for the rebel. But, when the king had consented to the terms proposed, the count refused to submit to them; hostilities, therefore, were immediately commenced; and the army marched forward till they came within sight of the castle of Foix, in which the count himself had taken refuge. The difficulty of approaching this fortress compelled them to keep at a certain distance; but Philip having taken an oath not to quit the place till he had obtained possession of it, either by force or capitulation, the workmen were ordered to cut a way through the rocks which surrounded the castle. Animated by the presence of their sovereign, they displayed so much ardour in proceeding with their task, that the count saw he must soon be obliged to yield: he therefore sought to avert the resentment of Philip, by a timely surrender; and, repairing to the royal tent, threw himself at the king's feet, and sued for pardon. But he had proceeded too far to be so soon forgiven; the king confined him in a tower, in the city of Carcassonne, and seized all his territories, except a small part which was claimed by the king of Arragon, but which that monarch afterwards ceded, in order to accelerate the release of the captive count. After placing strong garrisons in the different fortresses, the army was dismissed, and the countess de Foix, Margaret de Montcade, was taken to the court of France, where she was treated with all the respect due to her rank. The count, after a year's imprisonment, was indebted for his liberty to the generosity of his sovereign; he then repaired to Paris, and, expressing his contrition for his past conduct, was received into favour by Philip, who kept him some time at his court; and then, dismissing him with presents, re-established him in the possession of all his domains.

A. D. 1273, 1274.] During these transactions, Henry the Third of England died, and was succeeded in the throne by his son, Edward, who went to Paris, and did homage to Philip for all the territories he possessed in France. About the same time it was deemed necessary to assemble a general council, to adopt means for the relief of the Holy Land, and for the reformation of manners. Gregory the Tenth had convened it, in the city of Lyons, which, according to Father Daniel, was not yet reduced under the domination of the French kings. He acknowledges that Saint Lewis*, before his departure for Africa, held a court of justice there, but this he ascribes to a particular agreement with the chapter, which was only to be in force till the election of a new archbishop. Philip, however, refused to surrender it, till the archbishop elect had taken the oath of fidelity to him; and this was afterwards pleaded in the subsequent reign, as one of the titles, on which the right of uniting the Lyonios to the crown was founded. The council was attended by five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and more than a thousand other ecclesiastics; the pope presided in person, accompanied by fifteen cardinals. Some time before the council was opened, Philip went to salute the Roman pontiff, with whom he had a long conference; he assured him of his zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, and left a body of troops, as well to guard the person of the pope, as to protect the members of the council from insult.

It was decreed, that a tenth of the revenues of all churches should be levied, during six years, for the support of the holy war; an impost that was rigorously exacted. This was the last effort made by France for expeditions so prejudicial to the state, as well from the enormous expence with which they were attended, as from the numbers of people who perished in them. Already had the French, with more piety than policy, engaged in five crusades: the first, under Philip the First, was the least unfortunate; the second, under Lewis the Young, proved highly disastrous; the third was productive of little glory to Philip Augustus; the fourth involved Saint Lewis in captivity; and the fifth deprived him of his life. They are said to have cost the kingdom more than two millions of its inhabitants, and two hundred millions of livres, supposing that each crusader who lost his life carried with him only a hundred livres†. The expedition to Tunis was fortunately the last. The nation at length became sensible of its true interests; and, disgusted by a succession of unfortunate events, its enthusiasm gradually subsided. In vain did the Roman pontiffs endeavour to rouse the torpid zeal of the French; all their efforts for that purpose proved ineffectual; and the Holy Land, deprived of all succour from Europe, became a prey to the rage of the infidels. In the year 1291, the sultan Calib took the city of Acre, the firmest rampart of the eastern christians, by assault; and, after the reduction of that important place, the final expulsion of the crusaders be-

* Tom. iv. p. 338, 339.

† Essai sur l'Aist. Gener. tom. xii. p. 184, 185.

came a matter of facility. Palestine was abandoned to the Saracens ; and the wretched enthusiasts, who had quitted their native homes in quest of imaginary glory, were now—sad effects of mistaken zeal!—compelled to wander, destitute and forsaken on the face of the earth, in search of those real comforts which they had vainly sacrificed to visionary hopes.

In order to provide a remedy for the inconvenience occasioned by the interval which generally occurred between the death of a pope and the election of a successor, the council determined*, that, in future, immediately after the death of the sovereign pontiff, the cardinals should assemble in the same chamber, without any separations by walls or curtains, and, in every respect, so well secured, that no person could enter or leave the room without the consent of all present, and, except in case of sickness, under pain of being deprived of his vote.—Such is the origin of the term *conclave*, which was invented for the purpose of expressing a place in which several persons were shut up, under one and the same key. If the cardinals, in three days after their first meeting, had not agreed in their choice of a pope, it was determined, that for the five following days they should have but one dish at each meal ; and, at the expiration of that term, should be confined to bread, wine, and water, till a new pontiff was elected. The cardinals inveighed loudly against a statute which was calculated to suppress, in a manner so humiliating, their ambition and avarice. It was farther decided, that, during the vacancy, they should not interfere in any other business, than that of the election ; that they should not receive any thing from the apostolic chamber, nor touch any of the revenues of the church of Rome. The utmost exertions of skill and intrigue were employed to avert this fatal edict ; but Gregory had previously secured the bishops in his interest ; they all subscribed the decree, affixed their seals to it, and published it in their respective dioceses ; by which means it received the authority of a law.

Before the council separated, a proper example was made of Henry de Gueldrest, bishop of Liege, an ignorant, vain, and profligate prelate, who did not even understand his breviary ; who wore a scarlet dress with a silver girdle ; exposed livings to sale ; had taken for his concubine an abbess of the order of Saint Benedict ; debauched another abbess in his diocese ; publicly kept a young nun ; and boasted at a feast that he had had fourteen children in the space of two-and-twenty months. The pope, before he proceeded juridically against the offender, asked him, whether he chose to resign his bishopric, or to abide by the decision of the church : Henry, expecting to obtain favour by submission, gave his pastoral ring to Gregory, who kept it, and obliged him to abdicate his dignity.

A. D. 1275.] A month after the separation of the second council of Lyons, Philip, who was then in his thirty-first year, married Mary, sister to John, duke

* Concil. tom. xi. p. 975, et seq.

† Ibid. p. 929.

of Brabant, one of the most beautiful princesses of the age. But, though every circumstance that could ensure attachment subsisted between the royal couple, their felicity was speedily troubled by the intrigues of Peter de la Brosse, a native of Touraine, who, from the obscure situation of a provincial surgeon, had, through the king's partiality and favour, been promoted to the first offices in the state. Such was the ascendancy which this man had acquired over the mind of his sovereign, that all applications for places or preferment were made to him; and even the dignity of chamberlain, which had never before been enjoyed by any but persons of the highest rank, was conferred on him. His brother-in-law, Peter de Benais, was made bishop of Bayeux, and all his children procured ample establishments, and splendid alliances. The king's affection for his young wife alarmed this artful favourite, who dreaded a diminution of his own credit; he therefore determined, if possible, to destroy a passion that was founded on the best of motives.

At the age of twelve years, Lewis, the king's eldest son, suddenly expired; and a report was industriously propagated, that his death had been occasioned by poison. La Brosse, eagerly seized on this circumstance to instil into the mind of Philip suspicions unfavourable to his virtuous consort. He artfully insinuated that the queen had committed this crime; and that she had formed a plan for getting rid of the two surviving princes, in order to pave the way for the accession of her own children (in case she should have any) to the crown of France. Mezeray affirms*, that he even suborned a traitor, who publicly accused Mary of having administered poison to the presumptive heir of the throne. The queen, in consequence of this accusation, was actually in danger of being burnt alive; but her brother, the duke of Brabant, sent a knight to justify her innocence by an appeal to the sword; and the accuser, not daring to support his charge by a judicial combat, was declared guilty of calumny, and expiated his crime by an ignominious death. The king, however, was greatly embarrassed: the report that prevailed, though wholly devoid of foundation; the artful insinuations of his favourite; the interest of Mary in the death of his sons by Isabella of Aragon; all contributed to favour those ideas which La Brosse had been studious to excite. In order to clear up his doubts, he resolved, agreeably to the superstition of the age, to consult a nunt, a *Beguine* of Neville, who professed, or believed, herself inspired. The bishop of Bayeux, brother-in-law to his favourite, and the abbot of Saint Denis, were entrusted with this singular commission: the former arrived first, and engaged the pretended prophets to impart to him *in confession*, whatever God had revealed to her on the subject of the prince's death; when the abbot came to interrogate her, she refused to answer his questions, observing that she had told all she knew to his colleague. On the return of the commissioners, the king desired the bishop to let him know

* Abr. tom. ii. p. 739.

† Gesta Philippi, l. iii. p. 532.

what information he had been able to collect: "Sire (replied the prelate), the nun refused to converse with me, except in *confession*, and it is not in my power to disclose what has been entrusted to me in so solemn a manner." The artifice was too gross to impose even on the credulous Philip, who told him in a rage, that he had not been sent to confess the nun, but to investigate the truth of a circumstance in which he was deeply interested.—"I have other means" (exclaimed the king) of discovering that truth; and woe be unto those who "who have dared to deceive me!" He immediately dispatched Thibaud, bishop of Dol, and Arnaud de Visemale, a knight-templar, to Nivelles; these men had no interest in establishing the guilt of the queen; they were favourably received by the nun, and brought back a clear and unequivocal answer:—"Tell the king (said the prophets), that he ought not to give credit to those who speak ill of his illustrious consort; she is innocent of the crime imputed to her; he may safely rely on her fidelity, as well to himself as to his children."

This adventure greatly increased the queen's credit, and detracted from that of her unprincipled enemy. The king was now confirmed in the suspicions which he had begun to entertain of his favourite; but he was compelled to dissemble for a while, as he had imprudently entrusted him with the most secret and important affairs of the state. His treachery, however, in that respect, was soon rendered manifest:—One day, when Philip was at Melun, a monk earnestly desired to be admitted to a private audience*; and, when his request was granted, he delivered a small box, which he had received from a traveller, who died at his convent, with express orders to give it into the king's own hands. Philip immediately assembled his council, when the box was opened, and found to contain several letters sealed with the chamberlain's seal. The contents of those letters are not known; but in a short time la Brosse was apprehended, and hanged at Paris, in the presence of the count of Artois, and the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. The nobles, from jealousy, applauded the justice of his punishment; but the people murmured, says Velly, *parce qu'il est peuple*. The secrecy observed with respect to the crime for which the chamberlain was executed made them forget their natural aversion to favourites, and led them to conclude, that he had been unjustly sacrificed to appease the indignation of the queen. The objects of his protection were involved in the disgrace of their patron: the bishop of Bayeux fled to Rome, where he remained a long time in exile, under the protection of the sovereign pontiff.

Although Philip was desirous of cultivating peace, he never shrunk from the dangers of war. He was now induced to take up arms in favour of a young

* *Gesta Philippi*, l. iii. p. 536.

† These occurrences did not take place till the year 1276; but it was thought necessary to bring the queen's misfortunes and the crimes of la Brosse under one point of view, that the attention of the reader might not be too often drawn from the thread of the history.

princess, his relation, who was oppressed by her ambitious neighbours, and despoiled of her kingdom by her rebellious subjects. Henry the First, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, died in the prime of youth, leaving an infant daughter, whom he declared sole heiress to his dominions; and appointed his wife, Blanche of Artois, niece to Saint Lewis, and daughter to his brother Robert, who was killed at Maffoura, to be her guardian; recommending her to marry her child to none but a French prince. This pointed exclusion of the natives gave great offence to the nobles of Navarre, who, in contempt of the last will of their sovereign, chose Don Pedro Sancho de Montague to be lieutenant-general of the kingdom, till such time as the princess should have attained the age of maturity. This bold assumption of power could not fail to excite a deadly hatred between the nobles and the court. It also occasioned foreign powers to revive their obsolete pretensions to a crown which tottered on the head of a child but three years old: the king of Arragon laid claim to it, as the adopted heir of Sancho the Seventh; and the king of Castille advanced his pretensions, derived from Sancho the Third.—Both these monarchs preferred their claims before the states of Navarre, assembled at Puente-la-Reina. Montague, the leader of the faction, gave his voice in favour of the king of Arragon, whose title was frivolous and unfounded; others declared for the king of Castille, whose ancestors had formerly swayed the sceptre of Navarre. This difference of sentiment gave rise to commotions, which made the queen tremble for the safety of her daughter; she therefore secretly left the kingdom, with her child, and took refuge at the court of France. Incensed at her evasion, the Navarrese passed a formal resolution not to acknowledge the princess Jane for their queen, unless she married Alphonso of Arragon, grandson to James the First; at the same time they requested the father of that prince to employ all his forces, in order to prevent a French prince from ascending the throne of Navarre. Such was their aversion to the French, that they engaged to supply him with two hundred thousand marks of silver—a prodigious sum in those days—to defray the expences of the war.

Philip received the two queens with every possible mark of attention and respect: aware of the advantage to be derived from their presence, he resolved to profit by it, and to marry one of his sons to the young princess. As Blanche ardently wished for this alliance, it was speedily concluded; one obstacle, however, presented itself—Jane and the French prince were relations within the third degree; it was therefore necessary to obtain a dispensation, which the pope might possibly refuse. The king spared no pains to engage him in his interest; he represented to him, that Navarre, a Spanish province, being united to Champagne and la Brie, which were situated in the centre of France, if those territories should pass into the hands of a foreign prince, already formidable from his own native strength, it would inevitably give rise to perpetual wars. Gregory was well disposed to favour Philip; but, on the

other hand, he was urgently solicited by the two Spanish monarchs, who represented to him that all Europe would be in danger, if the royal family of France, already so powerful from the extent of their hereditary dominions, should seek for farther aggrandisement by the acquisition of another crown. The Roman pontiff, sensible of the justice of these remonstrances, pursued a middle course. The king had three sons—Lewis (who was still alive); Philip, surnamed the Fair; and Charles, count of Valois. Gregory refused to grant a dispensation for the first, but gave it to the second, who, being confirmed in the possession of Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, did not appear likely to cause much uneasiness.—The treaty of marriage was accordingly signed at Orleans.

Queen Blanche now presented a petition to the king, entreating him to take the princess Jane under his immediate protection; and this request being complied with, Philip sent Eustache de Beaumarchais, seneschal of Toulouse, to take possession of Navarre in his name. This officer profited by the dissensions which prevailed among the Navarrese, secured a great number of places, which he garrisoned, made himself master of the castle of Pampeluna, the capital of the country, where he raised strong fortifications.—Every thing wore a favourable aspect, and the French party was on the point of prevailing, when the imprudence of the governor excited a general insurrection. Eustache, from a mistaken zeal, which should never be exerted on a change of government, undertook to abolish certain customs, which appeared to him unjust: all the nobility immediately revolted, and the people, following their example, flew to arms. The governor was besieged in the castle of Pampeluna; Montague attempted to quell the revolt—no longer hoping to derive any advantage from the Spanish monarchs, he was anxious to be reconciled to the king of France. He had already entered into a negotiation with the principal insurgents, when he was assassinated by Don Garcias Almoravid: hostilities were then renewed with additional fury; and Beaumarchais, pressed on all sides, applied for immediate succours. At length a powerful reinforcement of twenty thousand men arrived, under the command of Robert, count of Artois, and the constable Imbert de Beaujeu: their presence gave a new turn to affairs; and the besiegers were themselves besieged in the town of Pampeluna.

Don Garcias, and the chief promoters of the insurrection, finding it impossible to hold out long, in a town badly fortified, against a regular army, and dreading to incur the punishment their rebellious conduct deserved, resolved to provide for their own safety. But, concealing their designs, they informed the citizens that a general sally would be made the next day; and, having thus lulled them into security, they effected their escape during the night. The wretched inhabitants being left to themselves, sued for mercy to the count of Artois, and in the mean time took refuge in the great church of Notre-Dame. The constable Beaujeu was already drawing up the terms of capitulation, when the count of Foix and the viscount of Bearn, observing that nobody appeared on the walls, issued from the camp with their troops, applied their scaling ladders, and mount-

ed the walls without opposition. A cruel and indiscriminate slaughter ensued; neither sex nor age was respected; women and virgins were openly violated by the soldiery; the temples were profaned, and the mansions of the dead sacrilegiously plundered. As soon as the count of Artois entered the town, he endeavoured to stop this shameful violence, and, by kind treatment, to console the affrighted citizens. He granted them their liberty, confirmed them in all their privileges, and caused their effects to be restored. The fate of the castle superinduced the submission of the other towns and fortresses; the revolt was speedily quelled, and the whole kingdom of Navarre submitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1280.] During these transactions, Philip had assembled an army for the purpose of attacking the dominions of Alfonso the Tenth, king of Castille. That monarch, when he married his son, Ferdinand de la Cerda, to the princess Blanche, daughter of Saint Lewis, entered into a solemn engagement that the children which should spring from this marriage, should succeed to the throne of Castille, even though Ferdinand should die before his father. On this condition alone did Lewis consent to resign the pretensions of his mother to that crown, which are said to have been well founded. Blanche had two sons, Alfonso and Ferdinand; but, on the death of their father, Alfonso, in violation of his promise, transferred the succession from his grand children, to his second and surviving son, Sancho.

The injustice of this conduct, together with the persecution experienced by his sister, after the death of her husband, determined Philip to redress the wrongs of his family. But he first sent an ambassador to Alfonso, to try the effect of remonstrance; all the good, however, he derived from this measure, was, permission for Blanche to return to her native country, where she passed the remainder of her days. War was now resolved on, and the necessary orders were given for carrying it into execution. The general rendezvous of the troops was fixed at Sauveterre in Bearn, where a more numerous army assembled than had been seen in France for many years: but, when they were about to march, it was discovered that both provisions and forage were wanting. The winter was approaching; the heavy rains which began to fall rendered the roads impassable, and the king was reduced to the necessity of postponing this expedition till the ensuing spring.

The king of Castille in the mean time, alarmed at these immense preparations, had requested a conference with the count of Artois, who, having previously obtained the permission of Philip, repaired to Spain. Alfonso earnestly besought him to mediate a peace between France and Castille, professing at the same time that he was not actuated by fear in his anxiety for the preservation of tranquillity, because he had certain intelligence that Philip was already on his return to Paris; in short, he gave him to understand that he was no stranger to the most secret transactions of the French court. Robert, who was ignorant of the king's retreat, was lost in astonishment; and could not reflect without horror on the

danger to which Philip must have been exposed, had he continued his march. His suspicions immediately fell on the chamberlain; he accordingly returned to Navarre, and having exacted a new oath of fidelity from the Navarrese, and restored the command of the army to the seneschal de Beaumarchais, hastened to Paris, where he imparted what he had heard to the king. It was then that the mystery of the box of papers delivered to Philip by the monk was explained; and the perfidious favourite la Brosse paid for his treachery with his life.

A. D. 1281.] The farther prosecution of this war was impeded by an order from the pope, who forbade the two monarchs to decide their dispute by arms; an order which the dignity of Philip should certainly have induced him to resist, but which his partiality to peace, and the attention he was obliged to pay to the state of affairs in Sicily, urged him to comply with.

The ambition of the Sicilian monarch knew no bounds. As senator of Rome, and vicar of the empire, his authority in Italy was almost absolute. He had recently purchased, for a pension of four thousand livres, the rights of Mary of Antioch to the kingdom of Jerusalem; which, though in possession of the Saracens, still conferred a title that was deemed highly honourable by the christians: and he had laid a plan for securing the imperial crown of Constantinople. He would, probably, too, have succeeded in the attempt, had his prudence been equal to his courage. But, incapable of reflection, in the management of his enterprises he invariably displayed more pride than circumspection. His vast projects, of which he publicly talked; the augmentation of his forces by sea and land; his courage; his reputation; all conspired to alarm the princes of Europe, many of whom entered into a conspiracy for repressing that ambitious spirit, which they deemed equally hostile to their private aggrandisement and to the general welfare. Rome was the first to display her enmity: Gregory the Ninth had paid him little respect; Innocent the Fifth had been more favourable, but his reign was short; Adrian the Sixth did not live to be consecrated, and John the Twenty-first died soon after his elevation to the papal throne. The death of this pontiff was highly detrimental to the Sicilian king, who had received from him the most unequivocal marks of affection.

John Gaetano, of the noble family of Ursini, had no sooner succeeded to the pontifical dignity, under the appellation of Nicholas the Third, than he undertook to humble the pride and power of a prince, whom he considered as the principal obstacle to the execution of those ambitious projects which he had formed for the elevation of his own kinsmen; and against whom he had also some private subjects of complaint. Charles is said to have caused the husband of a niece of Nicholas to be beheaded, for having, with more loyalty than prudence, declared for Conradine. But what had most enraged the sovereign pontiff, was, the arrogant refusal he experienced when he asked the hand of a grand-daughter of the king of Sicily, for one of his own nephews*. Thus stimulated, he took

* Villani, l. vii. c. 54; Rayn. Ann. 1278, No. 67.

advantage of the dispute which subsisted between that prince and the emperor Rodolphus, procured himself to be appointed arbiter between them, and sentenced Charles to resign the dignity of vicar of the empire. The monarch obeyed, and gave in his resignation, which increased the pride of the pontiff; who soon after sent him an order to resign also the office of senator of Rome, in compliance with the treaty concluded with Clement the Fourth; in this instance too, the pope experienced the same docility on the part of the king, which made his ambassador remark, that Charles possessed all the fidelity of the French in the execution of treaties, all the finess of Spanish policy, and all the prudence of the court of Rome—"We may get the better of others," said he, "but as for this man, we shall never manage him." In fact, the pope only waited for a pretext to despoil him of the crown of the two Sicilies; bold as he was, he did not dare openly to deprive him of a throne to which his predecessors had raised him; he therefore confined himself to a secret engagement with the king of Arragon to assist him with men and money.

Don Pedro, king of Arragon, a prince who possessed more cunning than generosity, had an *apparent* claim to the throne of Sicily, in right of his wife Constance, who was daughter to Manfred; but, as Manfred himself was a bastard, and an usurper also, to the prejudice of Conradine, the lawful heir, it was maintained, that he could not possibly transmit to his children a right which he had never possessed himself. Charles was on the point of embarking on some important enterprise, for which he had made the most formidable preparations; according to Nangis the object of this expedition was the recovery of Palestine; but most of the Spanish, Greek, and Italian writers affirm, that it was his intention to depose Michael Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople. Be that as it may, Don Pedro maintained a secret correspondence with all the towns of Italy, whose inhabitants were eager to shake off the yoke of the French, whose tyranny had become insupportable. In the exertion of a despotic sway, they neither respected the rights of humanity, nor the laws of religion and honour*. The people were oppressed by onerous exactions, and exposed to the insolence of a licentious soldiery. Such as ventured to complain only experienced an accumulation of insult; and there was scarcely a single family exempt from persecution, for a pretended attachment to the cause of Conradine, which served as an eternal excuse for oppression. Fathers could not dispose of daughters in marriage without the consent of the government, who compelled them, when rich, to take French husbands. Neither the privileges of cities, nor the prerogatives of the clergy, were respected. The Sicilians were excluded from all ecclesiastical benefices, which were invariably bestowed on the children of their conquerors. But the shameful treatment which the women experienced, enraged, even more than these instances of oppression, (flagrant as they were) a peo-

* M. de Burigny, Hist. de Sicil. t. ii. p. 184.

ple naturally disposed to jealousy. It is said, that the French governors ordered the young brides to be brought to them, and did not send them back to their husbands till they had passed the first night with them. The soldiers, too, under pretence of executing the king's orders, forced an entrance into private houses, and took the most indecent liberties with the wives and daughters of the citizens. In short, scarcely a day passed without the commission of a rape or an act of adultery*.

All attempts to procure redress for these intolerable grievances proved ineffectual; Charles, intoxicated with power, rejected the cries and prayers of his subjects, and treated with contempt those murmurs and those menaces, which he conceived to be impotent; he soon, however, learned, from fatal experience, this important lesson—That no monarch, however mighty, can long oppress with impunity; that the obligation between prince and people are mutually binding; that, so long as the former exerts his authority to promote the general happiness, by maintaining the laws in their full vigour, by a strict and impartial administration of justice, his rights are sacred, and any attempt to invade them is unjust and tyrannical; but, when he neglects those duties which are imposed on him by his station, when he employs the power vested in his hands for the oppression of his subjects, when, in short, he openly violates those laws which it is his first duty to protect and enforce, then (and then only) does he forfeit all claim to allegiance; the *Original Compact*, to which alone all subordination in a government can be rationally ascribed, is then dissolved, and the people are justified in resisting what, in vain, they have attempted to remedy by lenient and pacific measures.—Among the Sicilian nobles was one, who engaged the universal esteem of his countrymen; a man of talents and resolution; a good soldier, an able captain, a skilful negociator; artful, insinuating, fertile in expedients, in deliberation cautious, in execution prompt, he was fully capable of conducting a political intrigue; in the present instance his patriotic ardour was inflamed by a thirst of revenge; the French had dishonoured his wife, and their prince, on the defeat of Conradine, had confiscated his property. This man, so famous in the annals of Sicily, was John de Procida, so called from a small island in the vicinity of Naples, of which Charles had despoiled him for his steady attachment to the house of Suabia.

Procida was now at the court of Arragon, where he was courteously received by Don Pedro, who, by the advice of his wife, had given him some valuable possessions in the kingdom of Valencia. In return for these favours, from respect to the blood of Mainfroy, and from aversion to the tyranny of Charles, he resolved to place the crown of Sicily on the head of Pedro. In the disguise of a Cordelier he visited Malta, Sicily, Constantinople and Rome, and his negotiations at those different places were attended with success. The Greek em-

* Velly, t. vi. p. 355.

peror promised to assist him with money; the sovereign pontiff, bribed by a considerable sum*, of which his nephew Orso largely partook, urged, moreover, by a lively resentment against Charles, not only approved the conspiracy, but wrote very pressing letters to the king of Arragon, exhorting him to persevere in the pursuit of his plan.

But the death of Nicholas, during these negotiations, had nearly put an end to the conspiracy. He was succeeded in the pontifical throne by the cardinal Saint Cecilia, the same prelate who had been employed in settling the terms on which Charles accepted the kingdom of Sicily. The friendship of Martin the Fourth—that was the title assumed by the new pontiff—for the king of Sicily, was as strong as the enmity of his predecessors had been violent. He soon gave unequivocal proofs of his attachment, by restoring to Charles the office of senator of Rome, which had been taken from him by the late pope; by excommunicating, at his request, the Greek emperor, who had failed to execute the conditions prescribed by the council of Lyons; and by prohibiting, under the pain of ecclesiastical censures, all persons whatever from holding any commerce with that prince.

A. D. 1281 to 1284.] The death of Nicholas somewhat damped the ardour of the king of Arragon; but it had a very different effect on Michael Paleologus, who dispatched Procida with thirty thousand ounces of gold as a present to Don Pedro. This persuasive argument carried conviction to the mind of that monarch, who immediately gave orders for collecting a powerful armament, under pretence of waging war against the Saracens. Philip, whose first wife was sister to Don Pedro, apprised of his preparations, sent to ask him to what quarter he meant to direct his forces, offering, at the same time, to assist him with men and money; but the only answer he received was, that the king of Arragon had it in contemplation to revenge the insults which the christian religion had sustained during the reign of Saint Lewis; and that he should be glad, if, to forward his purpose, Philip would lend him forty thousand livres Tournois; a request which was instantly complied with. The Sicilian monarch was equally credulous; he supplied Don Pedro with twenty thousand ducats to aid the equipment of a fleet that was destined to be employed against himself. The pope, however, was wiser; to him the proceedings of the king of Arragon wore a doubtful aspect; he therefore dispatched a monk to the court of Arragon to forbid him, on his peril, to make war on any christian prince.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the inhabitants of Palermo, on Easter-Monday, proposed to attend vespers at the church of the Holy Ghost, situated at a small distance from the city. Though there was nothing uncommon in these parties of devotion, a report prevailed that some grand project was in agitation; and that every precaution, therefore, was necessary, in order to prevent its ex-

* Velly, t. vi. p. 358.

ecution.—With this view the governor of the place gave orders to have all persons examined as they went to the church, to see that they were unarmed. The soldiers took advantage of the circumstance to insult the women; one, in particular, stopped a young lady of extraordinary beauty, and, under pretence of examining whether she had not a poinard concealed beneath her clothes, proceeded to take the most indecent liberties*. Her cries called her father and husband to her assistance; these were joined by their friends; the tumult became general through the city; the soldiers were attacked, overpowered, and massacred. Eight thousand of the French are said to have perished in this general slaughter, which obtained the name of the *Sicilian Vespers*.

The signal of revolt was now given; the different towns of Scicily hastened to follow the example of Palermo; and the French were every where expelled with great slaughter. The numbers that fell on this occasion are variously related; some making them to amount to twenty-eight thousand; while others reduce them to fourteen. Be that as it may, the insurrection was general, and the success complete.

Charles was at Monte-Fiascone, transacting some business with the pope, when he received intelligence of these fatal events; his passion was, for some time, too strong for utterance; when he recovered his speech, the violence of his exclamations was equal to the magnitude of his loss; he talked of nothing but death and retribution; and swore that he would transmit to posterity a terrible example that should make all future rebels tremble†. But his prudence was blinded by his passion; though he had a powerful fleet and army prepared for his intended expedition to Constantinople, he refused to follow the advice of the pope, and to employ them in such a manner as was most likely to ensure success. He laid siege to Messina; indeed; but, intent on vengeance, rejected the proffered submission of the inhabitants, and, by urging them to a desperate resistance, defeated his own purpose. The king of Arra-

* Nichol. Special. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. x. chap. 4, p. 925; Malesp. *ibid.* tom. viii. p. 1029; Giov. Villani, l. vii. c. 61, p. 205.

† After mentioning this threat, the abbé Velly observes: “Il le devoit; les Siciliens étoient des traitres abominables, qui ne méritoient aucune grace.” (He ought to have put his threats in execution; the Sicilians were abominable traitors, who deserved no favour.) What! when this unfortunate people had so long laboured under every species of oppression; when for years they had opposed patience to insult, meekness to outrage, obedience to tyranny; when every attempt at remonstrance had only produced an augmentation of misery; and when, at last, their resistance, as the abbé himself admits, was not the result of premeditation, but proceeded from the commission of injuries the most gross and intolerable—injuries, the suffering whereof would be a degradation of human nature:—Wives and daughters ravished in the presence of their husbands and their parents, who were massacred for endeavouring to defend them from violation! If such acts of violence were not sufficient to plead the excuse of the Sicilians, so far as to screen them from the barbarous effects of a tyrant's revenge, oppression must be lawful, and cruelty just! Humanity shudders at the thought! We are strenuous advocates for that rational submission, which, in a social state, every man is bound to pay for the protection he receives; but the distance between such submission and passive obedience, is, thank heaven! immense;—the bond of society is conditional: withhold the consideration, the obligation ceases of course,

gon, in the mean time, had arrived at Palermo, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, and unanimously proclaimed king of Sicily. By the advice of Procida he sent his fleet to Messina, and compelled Charles to raise the siege, and retire with disgrace.

Charles, however, soon received a powerful reinforcement, which, with proper conduct, might have enabled him to retrieve his affairs; but, instead of leading his troops against the enemy, he was induced, by an artful challenge from Pedro, to decide their quarrel by a combat between a hundred knights on either side, led by their respective monarchs, to remain in a state of fatal inactivity. The first of June was the appointed day, and a plain near Bourdeaux the place agreed on for this singular combat: Charles was punctual; but his adversary rather chose to submit to the imputation of cowardice than to risk a certain good for a precarious advantage.—Charles had now recourse to that line of conduct which, pursued in time, might have prevented the calamities he had experienced, and the disgrace he had incurred. He proposed to his subjects to make every reformation they could require in the government; to abolish every species of oppression; and to restore the laws that had been established under their favourite monarch, William the Good. These proposals had a great effect on the Sicilians, many of whom evinced a disposition to return under the domination of the house of Anjou.—The thunders of the vatican were launched a-new against the enemies of Charles; and Michael Paleologus, the firmest ally of Pedro, had just expired: thus his affairs seemed once more to wear a favourable aspect—when one fatal and irreparable action blasted all his hopes:—His son Charles, prince of Salerno, was left at Naples (while he was in Provence preparing a fresh armament) with orders not to risk an action, but patiently to await the arrival of his father. The youth, however, provoked by the insults of the fleet of Arragon, hazarded an engagement, in which he was defeated, with the loss of forty-two vessels, and taken prisoner by the enemy.

A. D. 1285.] Charles, in the mean time, returned with a powerful fleet and a strong reinforcement of troops: when informed of the defeat and captivity of his son, he exclaimed: “Would he were dead, since he disobeyed my orders!” Entering Naples, where the inhabitants had shewn a disposition to revolt, he ordered one hundred and fifty of them to be hanged; he then advanced towards Reggio, in order to consult with the count of Artois on the plan of operations, but the season was too far advanced to embark in any enterprise of importance. A prey to sorrow and despair, the life of Charles became burdensome; at Foggia he was attacked by a violent fever, which soon brought him to the grave, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and twentieth of his reign, as king of Sicily.

Pope Martin the Fourth died soon after, and was succeeded by James Savelli, a noble Roman, who assumed the appellation of Honourable the Fourth. The new pontiff followed the maxims of his predecessor; and, almost immediately after his elevation, granted to Philip the tenth of the revenues of the dio-

ceses of Liege, Metz, Verdun, and Basle; exhorting him, at the same time to hasten the equipment of an armament, which he hoped might still effect the restoration of the house of Anjou. The king of France had also another motive for complying with the injunctions of the pope; the late pontiff having, when he excommunicated the king of Arragon, bestowed his sceptre on Charles of Valois, a younger son of Philip; that monarch, therefore, to establish the pretensions of his son, levied an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he passed the Pyrenees, and, penetrating into Catalonia, laid siege to Gironne. The town, surrounded by rocks, was strong both by nature and art; the inhabitants defended themselves with vigour; and the besiegers were farther harassed by Pedro, who had left Sicily on the news of this invasion, and placed himself at the head of his troops. The French fleet lay at the neighbouring port of Roses, and supplied the army with provisions; a considerable convoy was to be forwarded to the camp on the day of the Assumption, of which Pedro being apprised, he placed himself in ambush, at a convenient spot, with five hundred horse and two thousand foot: Philip, by means of a spy, was informed of his plan; he accordingly dispatched Ralph de Nesle, with five hundred picked men, who, taking the Spaniards by surprise, threw them into confusion, killed the greater part, and wounded the king himself, who died soon after.

The consequence of this victory was the surrender of Gironne by capitulation; but the excessive heat of the weather, in a climate always sultry, occasioned an epidemic disorder that proved very destructive to the troops; this circumstance determined the king to repass the Pyrenees, and spend the winter in his own dominions: but, before he decamped, he permitted a great part of his fleet to return to France; and these ships being met by the Spanish admiral, with a superior force, a desperate action ensued, in which the French were totally defeated, with the loss of thirty vessels: those which were left behind experienced a similar fate; they were attacked by surprise in the port of Roses, when the crew were ashore, and not a single ship escaped. The inhabitants of Roses having favoured the attack, the French set fire to the town, and reduced it to ashes. This misfortune, which deprived the army of its accustomed supplies, hastened the king's retreat. When he had advanced as far as Villeneuve, he began to experience a want of provisions; the heavy rains that fell about this time rendered the roads almost impassable; and, to add to his distress, the Arragonians had seized the principal passes of the Pyrenees, and incessantly harassed the troops on their march. All the baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; and, ere the king could quit the country, he was seized with the same fatal disorder that had made such ravages in his camp. Unable to bear the motion of a horse, he was placed in a litter; and, having with difficulty forced the passage of the Pyrenees, arrived at Perpignan, where he expired, on the fifth of October, in the forty-first year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.



PHILIP IV.

Philad.^a Published by James Stewart & C.^o February 10th 1797.

Philip was liberal, munificent, and humane; attentive to the happiness of his people, he was careful not to burden them with oppressive imposts; aware of the calamities produced by war, he displayed a laudable anxiety for the preservation of peace, except towards the conclusion of his reign, when he suffered the dictates of ambition to silence the suggestions of prudence. By accepting from the pope a crown which belonged to another, he tacitly acknowledged the right of the sovereign pontiff to dispose of thrones at his pleasure; and engaged his successor in a contest, from which neither honour nor advantage could be reasonably expected. Why the appellation of *Hardy* was conferred on him we know not, as no transaction of his life could give him a claim to that epithet. Though Philip possessed no splendid endowments, he had many amiable qualities, which rendered his loss an object of lamentation to his subjects.

Philip was twice married: by his first wife, Isabella of Arragon, he had Lewis, supposed to be poisoned; Philip, surnamed the Fair, who succeeded him in the throne; Charles, count of Valois; and Robert, who died in his infancy. By his second wife, Mary of Brabant, he had Lewis, count of Evreux; Margaret, who was afterwards married to Edward the First, king of England; and Blanche, wife to Rodolphus, duke of Austria, eldest son of the emperor Albert the First. The domains of the crown were augmented, during this reign, by the acquisition of the county of Toulouse, the port of Barfleur, some other estates in the Pays de Caux, the barony of Montmorillon in Poitou, and the forest of Chavigni*.

PHILIP THE FOURTH, SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1285 to 1291.] PHILIP the Fourth, the beauty of whose face, and the graces of whose person, had acquired him the appellation of *The Fair*, was but in his eighteenth year when his father died; yet, with a spirit superior to his ability, he undertook to accomplish all the schemes of his predecessor—to seat his brother Charles of Valois on the throne of Arragon; to assert the claims of the Infants de la Cerda to that of Castille; and to constrain the rebels of Sicily to renew their submission to the house of Anjou. Before he entered on the

* P. Daniel, t. iv. p. 690.

execution of his plans, he repaired to Rheims, where he was crowned with his consort Jane, who, in her own right, was also queen of Navarre: and who, with her hand, had bestowed on her husband the important counties of Champagne and Brie.

A very short time sufficed to convince the young monarch, that the schemes he had undertaken were far beyond his power, and to shew him the folly of his visionary projects. After many vain and unsuccessful attempts on the territories of the king of Arragon; he was compelled to listen to an accommodation. By abandoning the interests of the Infants de la Cerda, he adjusted the disputes with Castille; and the terms of peace between Alfonso, who had succeeded his father Pedro in the throne of Arragon, and Philip, were settled by the mediation of Edward the First of England. At the intercession of that monarch, Charles, prince of Salerno, surnamed *The Lamé*, was released from captivity; part of his ransom was paid by the generosity of Edward himself; and Charles consented to renounce his claim to Sicily, and to prevail on Charles of Valois to withdraw his pretensions to Arragon; to this the brother of the king of France readily assented, on receiving the hand of Margaret, eldest daughter to Charles the Lamé, and the valuable dowry of the important counties of Anjou and Maine.

A. D. 1292 to 1294.] But the tranquillity established by this accommodation was speedily interrupted by a dispute with England; a dispute more serious in its nature, and more dangerous in its consequences:—A Norman and an English vessel met off the coast near Bayonne, and both of them having occasion for water, they sent their boats to land, and the several crews came at the same time to the same spring; a quarrel ensued, when a Norman, drawing his dagger, attempted to stab an Englishman; who, grappling with him, threw his adversary on the ground; and the Norman, as was pretended, falling on his own dagger, was slain*. This scuffle between two seamen about water, soon kindled a bloody war between the two nations, and involved a great part of Europe in the quarrel. The mariners of the Norman ship carried their complaints to the French king; and Philip, without inquiring into the fact, without demanding redress, bade them take revenge, and trouble him no more about the matter†. The Normans, who had been more regular than usual in applying to the crown, needed but this hint to proceed to immediate violence: they seized an English ship in the channel; and hanging, along with some dogs, several of the crew on the yard-arm, in presence of their companions, dismissed the vessel, and bade the mariners inform their countrymen that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. This injury, accompanied with so general and deliberate an insult, was resented by the mariners of the

* Walsing. p. 58; Heming. vol. i. p. 39.

+ Walsing. p. 58.
M. West, p. 419.

‡ Heming. vol. i. p. 40;

Cinque Ports, who, without carrying any complaint to the king, or waiting for redress, retaliated, by committing similar barbarities on all French vessels without distinction. The French, provoked by their losses, preyed on the ships of all Edward's subjects, whether English or Gascon: the sea became a scene of piracy between the nations: the sovereigns, without either seconding or repressing the violence of their subjects, seemed to remain indifferent spectators: the English made private associations with the Irish and Dutch seamen; the French with the Flemish and Genoese*; and the animosity of the people on both sides became every day more violent and barbarous. A fleet of two hundred Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine and other commodities; and in their passage seized all the English ships which they met with, hanged the seamen, and took possession of the goods. The inhabitants of the English sea-ports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, stronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return: after an obstinate battle, they put them to the rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them†. No quarter was given; and it is pretended that the loss of the French amounted to fifteen thousand men, which is accounted for by this circumstance, that the Norman fleet was employed in transporting a considerable body of soldiers from the south.

The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the sovereigns. On Philip's sending an envoy to demand reparation and restitution, the king dispatched the bishop of London to the French court, in order to accommodate the quarrel. He first said, that the English courts of justice were open to all men; and, if any Frenchman was injured, he might seek reparation by course of law‡. He next offered to adjust the matter by private arbiters; by a personal interview with the king of France; or by a reference either to the pope or the college of cardinals, or any particular cardinals agreed on by both parties||. The French, probably the more disgusted, as they were hitherto losers in the quarrel, refused all these expedients: the vessels and the goods of merchants were confiscated on both sides: depredations were continued by the Gascons on the western coast of France, as well as by the English in the channel. Philip cited Edward, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court, at Paris, and answer for these offences; and the king of England, apprehensive of danger to that province, sent John Saint John, an experienced soldier, to Bourdeaux, and gave him directions to put Guienne in a posture of defence§.

In order, however, to prevent a final rupture between the nations, Edward dispatched his brother Edmond, earl of Lancaster, to Paris; and, as this prince had espoused the queen of Navarre, mother to Jane, queen of France, he seemed, on account of that alliance, the most proper person for finding expedients to accom-

* Heming, vol. i. p. 40. † Walsing. p. 60, Trivet, p. 274; Chron. Dunst. vol. ii. p. 609.

‡ Trivet, p. 275. || Idem, ibid. § Idem, p. 276.

moderate the difference. Jane pretended to interpose with her good offices; Mary, the queen-dowager, feigned the same amiable disposition: and these two princesses told Edmond, that the circumstance most difficult to adjust was the point of honour with Philip, who thought himself affronted by the injuries committed against him by his sub-vassals in Guienne: but, if Edward would once consent to give him seisin and possession of that province, he would think his honour fully repaired, would engage to restore Guienne immediately, and would accept of a very easy satisfaction for all the other injuries. The king of England was consulted on the occasion; and, as he then found himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, which he regarded as the more important concern, this politic prince, blinded by his favourite passion for subduing that nation, allowed himself to be deceived by so gross an artifice*: he sent his brother orders to sign and execute the treaty with the two queens. Philip solemnly promised to execute his part of it; and Edward's citation to appear at the court of France was accordingly recalled. But, no sooner was Philip put in possession of Guienne, than the citation was renewed; Edward was condemned for non-appearance; and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited, and annexed to the crown†.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 619, 620; Walsing. p. 61; Heming. vol. i. p. 42, 43; Trivet, p. 277.

† Rymer, vol. ii. p. 620, 622; Walf. p. 61; Trivet, p. 278; Hume.

Such is the account of the rupture between the two monarchs as given by all the English historians. The French writers, however, differ from them most essentially; the abbé Velly, in particular, considers the circumstance of the treaty signed by the earl of Lancaster and the two queens as entirely fabulous; he rejects the testimony of Edmond, as that of an interested evidence; and regards the neglect to produce the treaty, either at the time, or at any subsequent period, as an infallible proof that it never existed.—In the scuffle between the two sailors, he makes the Englishman the aggressor, observing, that his inability to cope with his adversary induced him to draw his knife and stab him; he is silent as to the application of the Normans to Philip for redress; and makes Edward a party in the depredations afterwards committed on the subjects of France; he denies the cession of Guienne by the king of England, and affirms, that that duchy was reduced by Philip, in consequence of Edward's refusal to appear in the court of his superior lord; nay, farther, he asserts that Edward connived at its reduction, “because he had long been forming projects of iniquity,” (tom. vii. p. 77.) Quoting a passage from William de Nangis, he adds: “Edward flattered himself that he should recover that province, with the aid of his allies; and that, having re-conquered it by force of arms, he should no longer hold it as a fief of the French crown, but enjoy it by the right of war, and in all sovereignty.” In consequence of this resolution, he tells us, Edward sent two friars to Philip to declare that he no longer acknowledged him for his sovereign, and should not in future pay him homage. With regard to the assertion of William de Nangis, it is not only uncorroborated by any contemporary historian, but is flatly contradicted by the accounts of all other writers, and by the whole tenour of Edward's conduct. Had Edward really had such a project in contemplation, would he have exerted himself in the manner he did to settle the affairs of Sicily, and to establish a peace between France and Arragon? Would he not rather have widened the breach between the two monarchs, in order to profit by their dissention for the more easy and effectual accomplishment of his own plan? To have strengthened the hands of an adversary whom he was about to attack, would have displayed a degree of imbecility highly repugnant to the known character of Edward: this assertion, therefore, must, in our opinion, fall to the ground. As to the circumstance of the scuffle between the sailors, and the conduct of the two kings upon this occasion, the abbé Velly, with all the other French writers, derives his intelligence solely from the author of the *Spicilegium*, whose single testimony is certainly insufficient to overturn that of the

A. D. 1295.] The two monarchs now prepared for war, and each sought to strengthen himself by forming alliances with the neighbouring powers. Edward, sensible of the difficulties he should encounter in the recovery of Gascony, where he had not retained a single place in his hands, endeavoured to compensate that loss, by attaching to his cause several princes who, he projected, should attack France on all quarters, and make a diversion of her forces. Adolphus de Nassau, king of the Romans, entered into a treaty with him for that purpose* ; as did also Amadeus, count of Savoy ; the archbishop of Cologne ; the counts of Gueldres and Luxembourg ; and the duke of Brabant and the count of Bar, who had married his two daughters, Margaret and Eleanor. Philip, on his side, concluded a treaty with John Baliol, king of Scotland† ; and also engaged, as allies, Albert duke of Austria, son to the emperor Rodolphus ; Humber, dauphin of Vienne ; and Hugh de Longwy, and James de Chatillon, lords of Leuse and of Conde. The count of Flanders had not yet declared himself, though his intentions were strongly suspected by Philip, who, having drawn him to Paris, on some pretext or other, arrested him and his wife, and imprisoned them both in the Louvre‡, for having violated their duty as vassals. It was in fact, says Velly, an established law of the realm, that the nobles who attended the court, and those who held immediately of the crown,

different historians we have quoted in the text, and on whose authority the English writers have founded their narrative of the transactions.

The abbé Velly's attempt to justify Philip from the charge of treachery, with regard to the cession of Guienne, is not more successful.—The non-existence of the treaty, said to be signed by the two queens, is by no means to be inferred from its not having been produced ; since it does not appear that any period occurred, during the reign of Philip, at which its production was requisite.—His objection to the testimony of the earl of Lancaster, merely because he was the brother of Edward, is neither liberal nor solid.—On what grounds is the authority of Walter Hemingsford and Nicholas Trivet to be rejected ? They were both contemporary writers ; the latter, in particular, was well qualified to write on French affairs, since he tells us, in his preface (*Nicolai Triveti Annales*, edit. Oxon. 1719, p. 2,) that “ he studied at Paris, “ where he read the histories of France and Normandy with great care ; and faithfully extracted out of “ them every thing that related to the English nation.” From these extracts, from what came to his own knowledge, and from what he learned from the information of men worthy of credit, he tells us, he composed his work. He was not, therefore, a man likely to be imposed upon by popular reports, or to be swayed by popular prejudice : indeed his ‘ Historical Annals’ betray no marks either of partiality, precipitation, or inaccuracy. Velly rests solely on the improbability of the circumstance, and on the non-production of the treaty ; he adduces no proof, no authority, in support of his opinion : evidence thus vague and presumptive (if indeed it can be called evidence) cannot surely be opposed to the positive testimony of contemporary writers. Velly frequently accuses Matthew Paris and Rapin of prejudice and partiality ; how far such accusations become him, will best appear from the following preface to his account of the present transaction.

“ If prudence forbid us to pay implicit belief to the French, who always cherished honour as their dearer idol, greater credit is certainly not due to the English writers, who, as we learn from daily experience, do not scruple to advance facts, that owe their existence but to their own prejudice.” Such an author must be read with caution, on all matters in which the opposite interests of the rival kingdoms are concerned ; and his authorities must be carefully consulted !

* Heming, vol. i. p. 51. † Rymer, vol. ii. p. 680 ; Pyrrne's Collect. vol. iii. p. 602 ; Heming, vol. i. p. 76, 77. ‡ Spicil. t. iii. p. 150.

could not marry, themselves, nor give their children in marriage, without the king's consent. The count, by promising his daughter to the eldest son of the king of England, had violated this indispensable duty; and Philip became judge in his own cause, and punished him without a trial. To obtain his liberty, Guy was willing to promise whatever was required of him; the king, therefore, insisted on his daughter being left with him as a hostage for the fidelity of her father; and, on that condition, he released his noble captives.

A. D. 1296.] At length hostilities commenced; the English fleet entered the Garonne, landed a large body of troops, under the command of John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and other officers of reputation*, who made themselves masters of the town of Bayonne, as well as of Bourg, Blaye, Reole, Saint Severe, and other places, which straitened Bourdeaux, and cut off its communication both by sea and land. The favour which the Gascon nobility bore to the English government facilitated these conquests, and seemed to promise still greater successes; but this advantage was soon lost by the misconduct of some of the English officers†. The French army, under the conduct of the king's brother, Charles de Valois, having laid siege to Pondenfac, a small fortress near Reole, obliged Giffard, the governor, to capitulate; and the articles though favourable to the English, left all the Gascon prisoners at discretion, of whom about fifty were hanged by Charles as rebels; a policy, by which he both intimidated that people, and produced an irreparable breach between them and the English‡. That prince immediately attacked Reole, where the earl of Richmond himself commanded; and, as the place seemed not tenable, the English general drew his troops to the water-side, with an intention of embarking with the greater part of the army. The enraged Gascons fell upon his rear, and, at the same time, opened their gates to the French, who, besides making themselves masters of the place, took many prisoners of distinction. Saint Severe was more vigorously defended by the earl of Oxford; but was, at last, obliged to capitulate. Philip, not content with these successes in Gascony, threatened England with an invasion; and, by a sudden attempt, his troops took and burnt Dover||; but, though they were sufficiently strong, says the sagacious William de Nangis, to conquer the whole English monarchy—they soon after retired.

Thus the war was confined to Guienne, whither Edward sent a fresh army of seven thousand men, under the command of his brother, the earl of Lancaster. That prince gained, at first, some advantage over the French at Bourdeaux; but he was soon after seized with a violent distemper, of which he died at Bayonne. The command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who, unable to cope with the superior forces of the count of Artois, was obliged to remain in a state of inactivity§.

* Trivet, p. 279. † Hume, vol. ii. p. 264.

Chron. Dunst. vol. ii. p. 642.

‡ Heming, vol. i. p. 49.

|| Trivet, p. 284;

§ Heming, vol. i. p. 72, 73, 74.

The king of England, however, being resolved to recover the ancient patrimony of his family, laid a plan for carrying the war into a quarter where Philip was less prepared for resistance. With this view, he married his daughter, Elizabeth, to John count of Holland, and, at the same time, contracted an alliance with Guy, count of Flanders, stipulated to pay him the sum of seventy-five thousand pounds, and projected an invasion, with their united forces, upon Philip, their common enemy*. He hoped; that when he himself, at the head of the English, Flemish, and Dutch armies, reinforced by his German allies (to whom he had promised or remitted considerable sums), should enter the frontiers of France, and threaten the capital itself, Philip would, at last, be obliged to relinquish his acquisitions, and purchase peace by the restitution of Guiennet.

The numerous enemies which Philip had to encounter demanded the whole strength of the kingdom: he therefore published an ordonnance, by which he forbade all private wars, and suspended those which were already begun†. All noblemen who were engaged in hostilities, received orders to conclude truces, or to give sureties that they would not attack each other, till the king's war was terminated. During that period also, tilts, tournaments, and judicial combats, were proscribed; and such as were injured were compelled to apply for redress to the established courts of justice. Creditors were forbidden to seize the arms and horses of knights for debt, by which means many were induced to join the royal standard, who would otherwise have been afraid to appear.

About this time Celestine the Fifth resigned the triple crown, and was succeeded by Boniface the Eighth, a man of a violent and enterprising spirit, who, instead of promoting the interests of religion, sought to usurp a temporal sovereignty over all the monarchs of Europe; arrogating to himself the right of disposing of crowns.—Already had he fixed, in an arbitrary manner, the succession to the throne of Hungary, and bestowed Sardinia and Corsica on the king of Arragon; he next cast his eyes on France and England, and sent two legates||, Berard, bishop of Albany, and Simon, bishop of Palestine, with orders to negotiate a peace between the two monarchs; or, should they fail in that, at least to make them, under pain of excommunication, conclude a truce. Philip, justly offended at this dictatorial method of proceeding, told them, that a king of France was not accustomed to receive orders from any one with respect to the government of his dominions; that his dispute with England was not a matter of religion; that the pope, on such an occasion, should confine himself to exhortations, and not presume to issue commands, which must necessarily be treated with contempt. This proper exertion of spirit enraged Boniface, who determined to embrace the first opportunity of being revenged; and a circumstance soon occurred, which he thought favourable for his purpose.

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 761; Walling, p. 68. † Hume, ‡ Ordon. des Rois de France, tom. i. p. 328.

|| Rayn. An. 1295, n. 46; 1296, n. 18.

The count of Flanders, unable to obtain from Philip the release of his daughter, had sent to Rome, to desire that the matter might be examined before the tribunal of the sovereign pontiff*; the appeal flattered the vanity of Boniface, and, at this period, was peculiarly pleasing to him: his first care was to order the bishop of Meaux to summon the king to do justice to the count; or, if he should persist in his refusal, to cite him to appear at the foot of the pontifical throne, where his sentence would be pronounced. The prelate did not forget a single circumstance of his commission; and, perceiving that the king treated his citations with proper contempt, he thought to intimidate him, by declaring, that the pope was resolved to employ even the thunders of the church, in order to enforce obedience to his mandates. Philip, more enraged at the audacity, than alarmed at the threats of the pontiff, answered, like a prince who entertained a just sense of his own dignity, "That he thought it strange that Boniface should presume to talk in such a lofty style on a matter which was foreign from his jurisdiction; that he had a court of his own, in which his subjects and his vassals were tried; that he acknowledged, in temporal concerns, no superior but God, to whom alone he was obliged to give an account of his conduct; that he advised the pope to save himself so much useless trouble, since all his menaces would prove insufficient to introduce popish maxims into the French empire."

Boniface, more angry than discouraged at the inutility of his efforts, made one other attempt, which, though it caused a great disturbance, proved equally unsuccessful. The king, surrounded by powerful enemies, against whom he was compelled to make immense preparations, which, of course, were attended with considerable expence, found himself under the necessity of imposing additional taxes on his subjects.—The first impost to which he had recourse was oppressive, because partial; it consisted in the exaction of a hundredth, and afterward a fiftieth, part of all property belonging to people in trade. The evil effects of such a tax soon became manifest; when the king, instead of dividing it, as equally as the nature of his government would admit, on every class of people, transferred the whole of it from the tradesmen to the clergy. This was certainly an attempt to avoid one act of injustice by the commission of another, and betrayed either a shameful want of political knowledge, or a culpable inattention to one of the first duties of a monarch. The mode, however, by which some part of the clergy sought to obtain redress, was equally inexcusable: they appealed from the edict of their sovereign to the authority of the pope; the Roman pontiff was happy to embrace any opportunity for humbling the pride, and checking the power, of a refractory monarch; and he thought, that, by undertaking to defend the immunities of the clergy, he should excite an insurrection that might shake the throne of Philip.

* Demeles, p. 24; P. Dan. tom. iii. p. 41.

† Spicil. tom. iii. p. 52.

With this view he published the famous bull, which is so well known in history by the appellation of *Clericis Laicos*—a bull equally terrible to princes who exact subsidies from the clergy, and to ecclesiastics who submit to such exactions. It begins by a strong and pathetic declamation on the ancient enmity of the laity to the clergy; on the shameful conduct of sovereign princes, who, in times of public necessity, assumed the power of imposing taxes on the temporalities of the church; on the weakness of prelates, who, timid and groveling, shrunk before kings, who had *no power either over their persons or their property*, authorising, by their silence, such detestable abuses: it concludes with this curious decision—“That no clerk, prelate, or monk, shall pay to the temporal power, on any account whatever, either a tenth, a twentieth, a hundredth, or any other tax, under the name of aid, loan, voluntary gift, grant, or subsidy, *without the express permission of the sovereign pontiff*. All those who shall attempt to exact any impost—kings, princes, ministers, officers, and clerks—are loaded with the anathemas of the church: all universities who shall presume to consent to it are laid under an interdict; and such prelates as do not oppose it to the utmost of their power are degraded.”

The prohibition was general, and the penalties announced by the bull were equally levelled at all sovereigns, without any particular mention of France: Philip, nevertheless, thought the bull was principally directed against himself; he knew that some of the clergy had complained to the pope of the new impost; he imagined that the general terms of the bull were calculated to conceal some artifice; he was apprehensive that Boniface intended, by degrees, to render all the princes of Europe vassals of the holy see, or, at least, to usurp the same authority over them, as he exercised over the petty states of Italy; and he, therefore, determined to make reprisals; and, for that purpose, issued two edicts, which, without mentioning Rome, affected that court most sensibly*. The first contained an order to all his revenue officers and others, not to suffer the exportation of gold, silver, jewels, precious stones, horses, provisions, arms, or ammunition, *without a passport signed by himself*. The second forbade all foreigners to enter the kingdom, or settle there, for the purpose of carrying on commerce. Both edicts were general; and confiscation of property was the penalty annexed to a violation of them.

The intention of Philip could not possibly escape the notice of Boniface, who took the earliest opportunity of expressing his resentment; he ordered the bishop of Viviers to deliver to the king a new bull, more replete with pride, presumption, and arrogance, than the former: “If it was the intention of those who framed the two edicts,” says the pontiff, “to extend them to ecclesiastics, it was not merely an imprudent, but a mad scheme: that pretension alone, if it ever entered your thoughts, subjects you to the anathemas pronounced against

* *Preuv. Diff.* p. 13.† *Ibid.* 15; *Rayn.* n. 25.

“those who invade the liberty of the holy church, which was made to command, and not to be commanded. Learn, O king! that neither you nor any secular prince, has the least authority over the clergy.” Boniface then entered into an explanation of his last bull, which, he declared, was neither meant to deprive the king of those services which certain prelates were bound to pay him, as vassals; nor even to oppose imposts upon the clergy, when levied with the permission of the holy see: he next proceeded to the most bitter reproaches, and reminded Philip, that the oppressive taxes which he had imposed on his subjects had caused a sensible diminution of their affections for him; that he had given rise to the war which ruined his people; that the decision of that dispute belonged to the holy see, since the point to be decided was, whether he could, without being guilty of a sin, retain those places which he had taken from Edward in Guienne, as well as the sovereignty of the county of Burgundy, which he had usurped from Adolphus; that it was shameful in him to reject the authority of a tribunal, which possessed an universal jurisdiction, and by which even the two kings, his enemies, had consented to be judged; he finished with the accustomed threat of reducing him to obedience by means of excommunications, interdicts, and all the ecclesiastical artillery of the vatican.

Philip, undismayed by the menaces of his spiritual adversary, answered his bull by a long manifesto, in which it was observed, that, at all times, even before the clergy formed an integral part of the French empire*, the kings of France possessed the right of publishing ordinances for the preservation of the state, which, he said, was the only object he had in view in his late edicts (an assertion, by the bye, inconsistent with his dignity, as it was evidently false); that the church was an undivided whole, comprehending both laity and clergy, both alike entitled to the enjoyment of that liberty which was procured for them by the Holy Founder of their faith; that particular privileges or immunities, granted by the pope to ecclesiastics, with the permission of their sovereigns, ought not to be prejudicial to the welfare of the state; that the clergy were members of the state equally with other subjects, and consequently ought to contribute, at least with their money, to its defence—an obligation which became more indispensable, in proportion to the extent of their possessions; that they were themselves unable to defend these possessions from pillage; and that, in order to secure them from invasion, the nobles and the soldiers daily exposed their lives; that it was contrary to the law of nature to forbid them, under the severest penalties, to accede to such contributions, while they were permitted to dissipate their revenues, with impunity, in equipages, feasting, rich furniture, plays, and a thousand worldly vanities, to the great prejudice of the poor; that it was shameful in the chief minister of religion, to issue anathemas for preventing the payment of a tribute to Cæsar, which Jesus Christ himself, and his apostles in

* *Preuv. Diff.* p. 22.

imitation of their master, paid to the princes in whose territories they resided ; that the king paid a just adoration to the Deity, and honoured the ministers of the church, but that he was not to be intimidated by the unjust threats of men ; that he had seized Guienne, a fief of his crown, because the king of England, his vassal, refused to appear in his court, whither he had been summoned ; and that he had conquered the county of Burgundy, because he had been provoked by the pride and misconduct of Adolphus.

At the same time, Peter Barbet, bishop of Rheims, wrote to the pope, in concert with the bishops and abbots of his diocese*, to entreat he would put a stop to the confusion occasioned by his bull, with regard to ecclesiastical immunities ; he represented the dangerous discontents to which it had given rise in France ; observed that the attempts of his holiness to extend the rights of the clergy might prove fatal to that body ; and that, by seeking to obtain for them new prerogatives, it exposed them to the loss of those privileges which they already possessed ; that the princes and nobles, most of whom had ecclesiastics for vassals, were as much offended with the proceedings of the court of Rome, as the king himself ; that it was in agitation to convene an assembly of prelates, who were chiefly vassals to the king, in order to adopt measures for maintaining the liberties of the kingdom, the honour of the sovereign, and the independence of the crown ; that all his brethren earnestly besought him to respect the engagements they had contracted, and to have recourse to mild and conciliatory measures for ensuring the tranquillity of the Gallican church, which must depend on its union with the king, princes, and nobles of the empire. The archbishop sent some prelates of his diocese with this letter to the sovereign pontiff, who were likewise desired to point out to his holiness the urgent necessity of immediately revoking the bull in question, or else of explaining it in such a manner as would satisfy the king and the nation.

Philip, in the mean time, had tried to soothe the pope by suspending the execution of his late edicts ; but, convinced by experience of the inutility of submission†, he again put them in force, and gave the most positive orders for the rigorous enforcement of the penalties annexed to a violation of them. Boniface complained bitterly of his conduct, in a brief, in which he repeated the stale maxims of the court of Rome : “ That the king has neither right nor power over the clergy ; that he can neither dispose of their property nor their persons ; and that, if he be rash enough to attempt it, he incurs the penalties inflicted by the canons.” The king, however, persisted in his resolution ; and the pope, astonished at the vigorous opposition he experienced, even from those who, he expected, would have espoused his cause, at length consented to publish such an explanation of his bull, as would, in his opinion, remove the principal objections to it. This curious manifesto is addressed to Philip‡ : it de-

* Preuv. Diff. p. 26. † Ibid. p. 24, 25. ‡ Rayn. n. 49.

clares, in substance, "That his holiness is willing that the clergy of France should pay some contribution to the king, provided it proceed from their own free will, under the name of a voluntary gift or a loan, not as a duty or impost levied by the authority of the sovereign; that he does not comprehend in the exemptions specified in the bull, either those who hold fiefs of the crown, or married clerks, or such as assume the clerical habit, for the mere purpose of exempting themselves from public taxes; that he permits the king, or his officers in his name, to have recourse to the holy see, on pressing occasions, for obtaining permission to levy subsidies on the other prelates, or members of the clergy, who are, by their station, *exempt, privileged, independent of the secular authority, and the royal jurisdiction.*"

Such a declaration as this was not likely to produce the desired reconciliation; and some of the proceedings of the pope, about this time, rendered the breach still wider: he published a brief, by which the king was enjoined to forward the money which had been collected from the clergy, as a subsidy for the Roman pontiff; and all those who should oppose its exportation from France, where it was so much wanted, were threatened with excommunication*: the truce, too, which the pope had before ordered to be immediately concluded, under pain of anathema, was now published, by the legates, throughout the kingdom, without the king's permission. Thus insulted by an ambitious priest, Philip resolved to assert his own dignity, and the independence of his crown; he accordingly issued a protest, by which he declared, that the care and administration of the temporal power, in the kingdom of France, belonged to him, solely and exclusively; that he neither acknowledged nor would submit to any superior; that he was determined to exercise, with independence, the authority which heaven had given him over his subjects, an authority which he knew how to maintain against all the efforts of the court of Rome; that it had never been his intention to submit to the pope in temporal matters, nor to partake with him a jurisdiction for which he was indebted only to God and his sword; but that, in spiritual concerns, he was always ready, in imitation of his predecessors, to pay such obedience to the holy see, as a true child of the church could and ought†.

A. D. 1297.] After this protest had been circulated throughout the kingdom, Philip assembled his army, and, marching towards Flanders, repulsed the troops who were destined to guard the frontiers, and pushed forward to Lille, where Robert, son to the count of Flanders, commanded in person: the king laid siege to this important town, which was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison; while the count of Artois made an invasion into the circumjacent country, and at Furnes obtained a signal victory over the Flemings. The surrender of Furnes, Cassel, and all the neighbouring forts, was the consequence of this defeat: another detachment repelled the troops of the

* Rayn. p. 27.

† Velly, vol. vii. p. 123.

count of Bar, who had entered Champagne, and, pursuing them into their own territories, laid waste the country with fire and sword. Philip, in the mean time, had pressed the siege of Lille with vigour, though with little effect; he was, at length, indebted to the treachery of the inhabitants for the possession of the place; and Robert, the governor, was suffered to march out with his troops, and retire to Bruges. The victorious progress of Philip was next distinguished by the capture of Courtray; but the king of England, who arrived in Flanders with an army of fifty thousand men, was able to stop the career of his victories; and the French monarch, finding all the weak resources of the kingdom already exhausted, began to dread a reverse of fortune, and to apprehend an invasion of France itself. Edward, on the other hand, disappointed of assistance from Adolphus, king of the Romans, which he had purchased at a very high price, and finding many urgent calls for his presence in England, was desirous of ending, on any honourable terms, a war, which served only to divert his force from the execution of more important subjects*. This disposition in both monarchs soon produced a cessation of hostilities for two years; when Philip was left in possession of Lille, Courtray, Furnes, Cassel, and Bruges, which advantage was chiefly owing to a powerful faction which then prevailed in Flanders†.

The pride of Boniface was, by this time, somewhat humbled: the king's last protest, with the remonstrances of the clergy of Rheims, and the general murmurs of the whole kingdom, alarmed the aspiring pontiff. Another bull was now published, by which the former one received new modifications and explanations, and in which the pope, at length, declared fully and unequivocally—“That the bull, entitled *Clericis Laicos*, did not relate to France, and that the king and his successors, might, for the defence of the state, in times of necessity, receive subsidies from the clergy, without asking the permission or obtaining the consent of the sovereign pontiff; that the necessity of the case was to be decided by the monarch and his privy council; and, finally, that he never intended to invade the liberties, franchises, or customs of the kingdom, nor the rights of the king, his counts and barons.”—This declaration, which, bearing a falshood on the face of it, might more justly be termed a *retractation*, was read in a general assembly of the prelates of France; but, notwithstanding the power thus acknowledged to be vested in the king, of levying taxes on the clergy by his own authority, Velly observes, that till the reign of Francis the First, no tenths were imposed on them without the pope's consent; but this circumstance is ascribed by the French historians solely to the *piety* of their monarchs, displayed, doubtless, in their respect for the head of the church.

Boniface did not stop here; aware of Philip's love of money, he granted him a tenth of the revenues of the clergy for three years; he also promised to ex-

* Hume, vol. ii. p. 296. † Meyer.

ert his influence in order to promote the elevation of his brother, the count of Valois, to the imperial throne; and, farther to flatter him, he canonized his ancestor, Saint Lewis, after *sixty-three miracles* had been duly verified: "A canonization (says the pope in one of his panegyrics on that monarch) which produced more writings than an afs could carry."

A. D. 1298.] But these amicable proceedings, on the part of the pope, proceeded less from friendship than policy: he was anxious to obtain the produce of the tenth which had been levied on the clergy, and which the edict for prohibiting the exportation of money had hitherto prevented him from receiving. The king now suffered this sum to be sent him; and, at the same time, accepted his mediation for concluding a peace with England; but Philip and Edward, equally jealous of papal claims, took care to insert in their reference, that Boniface was made judge of the difference, by their consent, as a private person, not by any right of his pontificate; and the pope, without seeming to be offended at this mortifying clause, proceeded to give a sentence between them, in which they both acquiesced*. He brought them to agree that their union should be cemented by a double marriage: that of Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister; and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter to the king of France†; Philip was likewise willing to restore Guienne to the English, which, indeed, he had no good pretence to retain; but he insisted that the Scots, and their king, John Baliol, should, as his allies, be comprehended in the treaty, and restored to their liberty. The difference, after several disputes, was compromised by their making mutual sacrifices to each other: Edward agreed to abandon his ally, the count of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat, in like manner, the king of Scots. The prospect of conquering these two countries, whose situation made them so commodious an acquisition to the respective kingdoms, prevailed over all other considerations; but the final disappointment, which both of them experienced in their hopes, was a just punishment for the treacherous desertion of their allies.

A. D. 1299.] No sooner was the truce expired than the count of Valois led a French army into Flanders, at whose approach Douay and Bethune opened their gates‡. In vain did Robert, the son of Guy, attempt to impede their progress; he sustained a total defeat; after which Dam was taken, and all the neighbouring country reduced, except Ghent, whither Guy himself had retired. The unhappy count, though openly protected by the pope, found himself unable to resist the power of Philip; he knew likewise that his treacherous subjects were secretly negotiating with the enemy for the surrender of his capital; he therefore resolved to sue for peace: to his applications for that purpose

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 817; Heming. vol. i. p. 149; Trivet, p. 310.

‡ Spicil. t. iii. p. 53.

† Rymer, vol. ii. p. 823.

he received for answer, that the only possible means of obtaining pardon, was to repair to Paris, with his two sons, Robert and William, and throw himself on the king's mercy*; on condition, that if he could not settle the terms of accommodation within a year, he should be at liberty to return to Flanders. Abandoned by his ally, deserted by his own subjects, Guy was compelled to accede to these hard terms; he accordingly went to Paris with his sons; but the imperious Philip received his submission with scorn, and, treacherously refusing to ratify the treaty concluded with his brother, pronounced a sentence worthy a tyrant.—He first made a merit of not putting these unfortunate victims to death; he then ordered Guy and his two sons, with forty Flemish noblemen, who had accompanied them, to be confined in different prisons; and declared the count's territories to be forfeited to the crown. Having thus acted as judge in his own cause, he proceeded to the execution of his sentence, by taking possession of Flanders, which he declared to be united to the crown. The government of this important province was entrusted to Peter de Châtillon, the queen's uncle, whose misconduct punished Philip for his tyranny.

The king of France having thus become master of the dominions and person of an enemy who was highly formidable, as well from the situation of his country as from the protection he received from the court of Rome, sought farther to strengthen himself by forming alliances that might enable him to oppose more successfully the attempts of the sovereign pontiff. With this view he had a conference with Albert, the new king of the Romans, at Vaucouleurs, when the ancient alliance between France and the empire—which had been interrupted by Adolphus—was renewed. They engaged to defend the dominions of each other, and to maintain the rights of their respective crowns. It is pretended also, that the king of the Romans resigned all pretensions to the kingdom of Arles; and that Philip, on the marriage of his sister Blanche with Rodolphus, the eldest son of Albert, ceded his rights to Alsace and Lorraine. The pope, who, notwithstanding the promise he had given to the count of Valois, had strenuously seconded the promotion of Albert, in the hope of counterbalancing, by his means, the overgrowing power of France, was extremely enraged when he heard of this alliance. The king of the Romans, appearing the less formidable enemy of the two, was the first to experience the effects of the pontiff's resentment. He refused to confirm the election of Albert, and threatened to deprive him of the dignity he enjoyed; but that prince, heedless of his menaces, and assured of the protection of France, continued to pursue such measures as he thought most consistent with his own dignity, and the welfare of his kingdom.

A. D. 1301.] Philip and the pope, mutually irritated against each other, could not long preserve even the appearance of harmony. Boniface appointed

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 224.

Bernard, bishop of Pamiers, a prelate who was peculiarly disagreeable to the king, his legate in France; and he had orders to exhort Philip to enter into a league with the Persians, for the expulsion of the infidels from Palestine, and also to urge him to restore the count of Flanders to liberty*. The legate, in fulfilling his commission, displayed all the pride and arrogance of his master; but he soon had occasion to perceive, that the imperious tone he assumed only served to excite contempt. He then gave way to the natural impetuosity of his temper, and, losing sight of that respect which he owed to his sovereign, told Philip before his council, "that he held nothing of him; that although his episcopal town was situated within the kingdom of France, he was the subject of no man; he acknowledged no other power than that of the pope, as well in temporal concerns as in spiritual matters." He carried his insolence still farther, by telling the king, that his conduct to Boniface richly deserved that punishment which had been too long deferred; and that, in a short time, he would see his kingdom laid under an interdict, and a sentence of excommunication pronounced against himself. He then began a long discourse to prove the temporal superiority of the pope over all the princes of christendom; when Philip, whose patience was totally exhausted, very properly drove him from his presence, and ordered him to repair to Rome, to give an account of his embassy to the pope. Boniface, accustomed to disappointment, was by no means discouraged; he commanded the prelate to return to his diocese without delay, being convinced that his turbulent disposition would soon urge him to excite cabals against a prince whom he hated: nor was he deceived in the man: Bernard, presuming on the protection of the sovereign pontiff, spared no pains to render the king odious to his subjects.

He conducted himself, however, with so little caution, that it soon became necessary to take serious notice of his conduct; the king, therefore, appointed six commissioners to repair to his diocese, and secretly to investigate the facts of which he was accused. These commissioners accordingly heard a variety of evidence, which tended to establish the guilt of Bernard, who was, in consequence, cited to appear in the king's court; a citation which he thought it prudent to obey. The charges preferred against him were, that he had been heard to say, that Saint Lewis had told him, that, under the reign, and through the misconduct, of his grandson, the kingdom would be destroyed, and irretrievably reduced under the dominion of foreigners; that Philip had no one good quality†; that he was neither sprung from Charlemagne, nor was he of the true blood of the kings of France; that he was descended from bastards‡; that he was neither man nor beast, but a phantom, a beautiful image, fit for nothing

* Baill. p. 79, 80; P. Daniel, t. v. p. 63; Du Puy, Hist. du Diff. de Bonif. p. 9.

† Marten. Anec. p. 1330 et suiv.; Hist. de Lang. t. iv. p. 101, 102; Preuv. du diff. p. 632 et suiv. 653 et suiv. Baill. p. 81; P. Dan. t. v. p. 64, 65.

‡ The bishop alluded to the kings of Arragon, who were all bastards, and from whom Isabella, the king's mother, was descended.

but to look and be looked at ; that the only title he deserved was that of *coiner* ; that he did all the evil he could to the inhabitants of Toulouse, who groaned beneath the tyranny of his extortions ; and, finally, that he had no authority in the town of Pamiers, which was wholly independent of France. Various other accusations were preferred against the bishop, who denied them all, and protested against the proceedings ; affirming, that the witnesses had been led, by the fear of being applied to the torture, to depose against him. As the council could come to no decision, he was confined to the care of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, who, after much hesitation, consented to take charge of him, declaring, however, at the same time, that he would never suffer him to be kept a prisoner, nor to submit to any punishment.

The king, perceiving that this affair might be attended with serious consequences, resolved to send an ambassador to Rome, in order to explain to the pope the justice of his proceedings. The instructions drawn up on the occasion, set forth, that, being desirous of gaining more ample information with respect to the charges exhibited against Bernard de Saiffet*, he had summoned all the witnesses to appear in his court, who, on a second examination, had discovered circumstances of a still darker nature than those which they had before imparted ; that several of them, men of weight and credit, affirmed that the prelate had advanced opinions, that were scandalous, erroneous, and heretical ; for example—“ that the sacrament of penitence was a mere human invention ; “ that fornication, even in persons admitted to holy orders, was no sin ; that “ the most holy father our lord, pope Boniface, was a devil incarnate, who, “ against God, Truth, and Justice, had canonized Saint Lewis, who was in hell ;” that, although it had been decided, in the council of the nobles of the realm, that his majesty ought to punish this prelate as a convicted traitor, a crime which set aside all privileges and dignities, and that he had also a right to proceed against him by depriving him of his temporalities, yet, nevertheless, from respect for the church, from regard to its ministers, from deference to the holy see, he had thought proper to make his holiness acquainted with the circumstances ; that all France encouraged the hope that the sovereign pontiff would the more willingly punish the culprit, as he was obliged to revenge any insult offered to God, as the author of all lawful power ; to the king as a son of the church ; to the kingdom, as forming a considerable part of the christian world ; that, therefore, his holiness was earnestly entreated to deprive him of his episcopal dignity, and to declare he had forfeited all his clerical privileges, in order that the king might be enabled to bring him to condign punishment, since there was no probability of a reformation, having been bad from his youth. It is uncertain whether this embassy took place or not ; the pope, however, was made acquainted with the foregoing instructions, but, instead of granting

* Preuv. du Diff. p. 627 et suiv.

the king's request, he employed all the thunders of the vatican, to revenge an affront which he conceived was offered to himself, in the person of the bishop of Pamiers.

Bull after bull appeared, all dated on the same day, but each more violent than the preceding one. The first contained a declaration, "that princes had no power over the persons of ecclesiastics*;" an order to the king to suffer Bernard de Saiffet to repair to Rome, and to restore all his effects; and, lastly, an intimation, that, unless he had good reasons to offer in justification of his conduct, with regard to that prelate, he had incurred the penalty, imposed by the canons on those who should rashly lay their hands on a bishop. So imperfectly were sovereigns, in these days, acquainted with their own rights, or rather so much was their reason blinded by superstition, that a bull of this nature involved them in the greatest perplexity. Philip was for some time at a loss how to act. At length, a second bull, enjoining the archbishop of Narbonne to imprison Bernard, by authority of the holy see, to investigate all the circumstances of the case, and to send them to Rome, together with the depositions, &c. under a sure guard, induced him to give up the prosecution, and to deliver the culprit into the hands of the legate, with orders, however, to quit the kingdom immediately. The dispute with regard to the temporal authority of the pope daily growing warmer, the king, wholly employed by that important object, appears to have forgotten the prelate, whose possessions and effects, however, he took care to seize. Bernard, thus reduced to poverty, was obliged to remain at Rome till the conclusion of this famous quarrel; he then returned to France, and, by submission, obtained a pardon, together with the restitution of his temporalities.

A. D. 1301, 1302, 1303.] The renewal of hostilities between Philip and Boniface was announced by a bull from the latter, which suspended all the privileges granted by his holiness, not only to the king and his successors, but even to the ecclesiastical and other members of his council; revoked *the favours* obtained from the holy see, for defraying the expences of the war in which France was engaged; and, finally, prohibited the clergy to grant either tenths, or subsidies, to the crown, without the express permission of the court of Rome. This singular mandate, however, failed of its effect; it was despised by the nation, and the public tranquillity remained undisturbed.

The pope next appointed the archdeacon of Narbonne as his nuncio, and ordered him to deliver another bull to Philip, in which he explained himself more clearly than he had hitherto ventured to do. The bull is conceived in these terms, "Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, king of the French. Fear the Lord, and keep his commandments. We would have

* Preuv. Diff. p. 661. † Ibid. p. 42. ‡ Glo. in Concil. gener. Constit. de Elect. in 6; Pr. du Diff. p. 190, 191; Villan. l. viii. c. 62, 63.

“ you to know, that you are subject to us as well in temporal matters as in spiritual concerns; that the collation to livings and prebendaries does no wise concern you; and that if the care of churches, during a vacancy, be committed to you, it is only for the purpose of enabling you to reserve the produce for those who shall be elected. If you have appointed to any livings, we declare such appointments null in law, and revoke all transactions of a similar nature. Such as shall maintain a different opinion, shall be reputed heretics.”

The king answered in the same style—“ Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, the pretended pope, little or no health. Be it known to your superlative folly that we are subject to no one in temporal matters; that the appointments to livings and vacant sees belong to us by the rights of our crown; that the revenues of vacant churches are ours; that the appointments we have made and may make, are valid, for the past as for the future, and that we will support, with all our power, those whom we have appointed, and those whom we shall appoint. Such as shall maintain a different opinion, shall be reputed fools and madmen*.”

The pope still persisted, and a fourth bull appeared: It began thus, “ Attend, O my son, to the precepts of your father; open your heart to the instructions of a master, who holds the place of him who is the sole Master and Lord; receive with docility the advice of the holy church, your mother; execute her orders with fidelity, and submit with respect to her will, which is ours.” Boniface next proceeded to make a false quotation from scripture, by saying, that God had set him over the kings and the kingdoms, to root out, and to destroy, to disperse, and to build, and to plant†. Then, exhorting the king not to encourage the idea, that he has no superior upon earth, and that he is not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he declares, that such an opinion would subject him to the imputation of folly, madness, and infidelity. Adverting to the situation of the kingdom, he observes, that Philip “ oppressed his subjects by a multiplicity of onerous imposts, and by a frequent adulteration of the coin; that he tyrannized over the clergy, by forcibly compelling them to appear at his tribunal; by exacting from them tenths and subsidies, although no layman could have any power over the church; by forbidding them to employ the spiritual sword against such as offended

* This letter is still to be seen among the manuscripts in the library of the vatican, whence a copy of it has been taken by M. de Saint Palaye of the French academy.—VELLEY.

† Preuv. du Diff. p. 48, et suiv.

‡ The text runs thus: “ See I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant.” (Jer. i. 10). Besides, as M. Fleury has justly observed; (Hist. Eccl. t. xix. l. 80, p. 16) the order given to Jeremiah, “ to root out and to plant,” related only to his mission as a prophet, and to his commission to predict the revolutions of kingdoms: it was, therefore, grossly absurd in Boniface, to quote this passage as a confirmation of his power over temporal as well as spiritual matters.

“ them, and to exercise their jurisdiction over the monasteries, which he pretended were subject to himself; by harassing in the most despotic manner, the noble church at Lyons, although it was not within his kingdom; and by treating it so cruelly that it found itself reduced to a state of poverty the most wretched; that he gave offence to all the nobles of the realm by his violent proceedings, by refusing to grant them justice when they asked it, and to acknowledge the competence of any court to decide between them and their sovereign; and that he appointed to vacant livings, in contempt of the holy see, which alone had the right to dispose of them.” Besides these grounds of complaint Boniface enumerates a long list of grievances of a similar nature, and concludes by citing Philip to appear, either in person, or by a representative, at the court of Rome, “ in order to hear *God’s judgment and his own.*”

By a fifth bull, which followed close upon the preceding one, the arrogant pontiff summoned all the clergy of France to attend a council, which he had convened at Rome, for the purpose of administering a remedy to the dreadful disorders which, he said, prevailed in the kingdom.

Philip committed to the flames the most offensive of these bulls, and expelled the legate from his presence. But the superstitious reverence which the people were wont to pay to the sovereign pontiff rendered it necessary to act with a certain degree of caution: he therefore sought to interest his subjects in his cause, and to strengthen himself with their approbation, in opposing the unjust machinations of the pope.—With this view he convened the nobles and prelates of the kingdom; two deputies from each town, community, chapter, and university, with the superiors, or heads, of religious houses.—This was the first time that the commons were summoned to attend these national assemblies.—The members all met, on the tenth of April, 1302, in the church of Notre-Dame, at Paris; and, after duly investigating the conduct and pretensions of the pope, were unanimous in their opinion, that Philip should persevere in the same line of conduct he had hitherto pursued, in order to preserve the rights and franchises of the kingdom from all illegal invasions and foreign encroachments: the clergy, indeed, desired permission to obey the summons they had received from Boniface, to attend the council; but this the king and nobility protested they would never allow; many of them, however, notwithstanding the prohibition, repaired to Rome, where the council was holden, on the thirtieth of October. The pope there expressed his determination of enforcing the claims he had already advanced—new disputes were the consequence; and all the thunders of the vatican were launched against Philip, who, in revenge, formed a project for seizing the person of the sovereign pontiff, at Anagni: the plan was conducted with secrecy, and executed with success; but the pity of the inhabitants operated in his favour, and released him from captivity. The quarrel continued to rage with unabated violence; and the pope hastened to

Rome, in order to prepare fresh censures for his persevering foe ; but soon after his arrival, the anxiety occasioned by the insults he had sustained threw him into a fever, which put an end to his existence, on the eleventh of October, 1303.

During these transactions the king and queen had made the tour of Flanders, and endeavoured to reconcile the Flemings to their new masters ; but the oppressive conduct of the count of Saint Paul, to whom the government of that province had been entrusted, rendered their efforts ineffectual, and roused the latent sparks of freedom which glowed in the bosoms of the natives. This nobleman paid an implicit obedience to the orders of Peter Flotte, chancellor of France, whose ingenuity was incessantly exerted in the invention of new taxes, without any regard to the ability of the people to bear such additional burdens ; not content with renewing all the imposts which had been taken off by the king, he levied a considerable sum, for the purpose of building citadels at Bruges, Courtray, Cassel, and Lille, to keep the inhabitants in awe. The patience of the Flemings being at length exhausted, they publicly displayed the banners of revolt ; and chose for their leader one Peter le Roi, a weaver, a man advanced in years, and small in stature, but endued with a daring spirit, a strong understanding, and a mind every way capable of taking the lead in any intricate and arduous enterprise. Le Roi was assisted by John Breyel, a butcher, who had recently distinguished himself by a successful attack on a body of French troops, who had been sent to seize his person, for having killed, in a scuffle, the servant of the governor of Male.

The first symptoms of revolt appeared at Bruges ; where the citizens were enraged at the partiality shewn in the distribution of a tax, which had been levied for the purpose of defraying the expences incurred by the king's visit to that place*. Peter le Roi, as one of those who had betrayed the greatest discontent on the occasion, was, with five and twenty of his companions, arrested and thrown into prison ; but they were soon released by the people. Chatillon, instead of soothing the minds of the citizens, thought to secure obedience by severity ; he approached the town with five hundred horse ; and the sound of a particular bell was to be the signal for the magistrates to fly to arms, and, after securing the different passages, join him in putting all the insurgents to the sword. The inhabitants, however, being apprised of their intentions, made every preparation for giving them a vigorous reception ; and, having laid their plan with great secrecy, fixed on the same signal as their enemies ; accordingly, when the fatal bell rang, they issued from their houses, attacked the French party, and killed a great number of them. Chatillon, informed of what was passing in the town, kept aloof with the cavalry, till he was joined by a strong reinforcement, under the command of his brother : he then invested the place ; but, through the mediation of the magistrates, a capitulation was

* Meyer, *Annal.* p. 89.

concluded, by which it was agreed, that the principal insurgents should leave the town, and the remainder throw themselves on the mercy of the governor.

A proper exertion of lenity might probably have stifled the revolt in its infancy; but the soul of Chatillon was a stranger to all the milder virtues; he proceeded to demolish the fortifications of this devoted town, to pull down its gates, to load the citizens with new taxes, and, finally, to deprive them of all their rights and privileges. In vain did their deputies appeal to Philip for redress; all their remonstrances were treated with disdain, and their only hope of relief was founded on their own resolution. Driven to despair, they at length summoned their exiled champion to their aid; and the return of Peter le Roi, who had been negotiating at Namur, with two of the sons of Guy count of Flanders, was signalised by the expulsion of the French from Bruges; Ghent, Dam, Ardembourg, and Male, next shook off the yoke of oppression; but the appearance of Chatillon, with a formidable body of troops, occasioned a temporary change in the situation of affairs; the brave Peter le Roi, deserted by his faithless countrymen, was compelled to return to Namur, while Bruges consented to capitulate, on condition that the insurgents might have liberty to retire whither they chose; and that the governor would only enter the place at the head of three hundred horse. The terms of capitulation were rigorously observed on the part of the citizens; but Chatillon, enraged at a successful attack on Ostbourg, where the French garrison was put to the sword, marched into Bruges, with seventeen hundred horse, and insultingly displayed two hogsheds of ropes, the instruments of the executions he impatiently meditated. The danger to which the people were reduced revived their courage; they invited their exiled comrades to return; and Peter le Roi accordingly arrived, during the night, with seven thousand of his countrymen, and massacred all the French. Fifteen hundred horse, and two thousand foot are said to have perished on this memorable occasion; but Chatillon had the good fortune to escape in the disguise of a priest, and, repairing to court, sheltered his own imprudence beneath the influence and authority of his niece.

This event proved fatal to the authority of Philip; the Flemings, being joined by Guy, one of the sons of their captive count, bore down all before them; Furnes, Bergue, Vindale, the town of Courtray, Oudenarde, and Ypres surrendered to their arms; and, such was the rapidity of their progress, that the king deemed it necessary to oppose them with an army of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, under the command of the count of Artois, an able general, but obstinate, imperious, and violent*. He advanced against the enemy; and the hatred he bore them leading him to hold them in two great contempt, he neglected those precautions which prudence should have suggested. The Flemings, who were now commanded by Peter le Roi, were strongly en-

* Contin. Nang.; Spicil. t. iii. p. 15; Meyer, p. 93, 94.

trenched between Bruges and Courtray, covered by the river Lis to the north, protected on the east and west by deep ditches, and defended on the south by a large canal. The constable de Nesle, and some other officers of note, were of opinion, that they ought not to be attacked in entrenchments that were almost inaccessible; but that an attempt should be made to reduce them by cutting off their provisions: the count, however, regarding them as a vile rabble, undisciplined and inexperienced, deemed all such precautions useless; and, accusing the constable of a wish to spare the seditious mob, because he had married his daughter to a son of the count of Flanders, gave orders for the attack: "You shall see, (replied the brave warrior) that I am no traitor; you have only to follow me—I'll lead you so far, that you'll never return."—The event verified the prediction.

The French rushed forward to the attack with more impetuosity than order, not doubting but that the enemy they so much despised would fly at their approach*; they were, however, mistaken in their conjectures; the Flemings, inspired by the love of freedom, stood their ground with firmness and resolution; and, such was the vigorous reception which the French experienced, that they were soon obliged to fly with precipitation, leaving, according to some historians, twenty thousand men dead on the field. Among those who fell were, the count of Artois; Chatillon; the constable de Nesle, who refused quarter, though repeatedly pressed to accept it; his brother Guy de Nesle, a marshal of France; Peter Flotte, keeper of the seals; Godfrey of Brabant, and his son; the counts of Eu, Aumale, Dammartin, Dreux, and Soissons; John, son to the count of Hainault; the count of Tancarville, grand chamberlain; Renaud de Trie; Henry de Ligni; Alberic de Longueval; the count de Vimeu; Simon de Melun, a marshal of France; near two hundred knights, and a great number of esquires. "It is a certain fact," says Mezeray†, with greater confidence than truth, "that France never received such an affront as this." Their loss, indeed, must have been very great, since four thousand pairs of gilt spurs, the spoils of as many gentlemen, were taken by the Flemish, who suspended five hundred of them in the church at Courtray. The entire conquest of Flanders was the result of this victory; the citadel of Courtray, which made a brave resistance, was at length compelled to surrender at discretion; Ghent followed the example; and the castle of Cassel, with the important cities of Lille and Douay, next submitted to the conquerors. Thus the whole province, except Dendermonde, which held out till the middle of winter, was lost to the French; and John, count of Namur, son to the count of Flanders, by his second wife, was proclaimed lieutenant-general of Flanders, till such time as his father or eldest brother should be released from captivity.

* Cont. Nang. p. 55; Mezer, *ibid.*

† Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 132.

Philip, enraged at this second disaster, resolved to raise such an army as should amply suffice for the recovery of the places he had lost, and for the chastisement of those who had dared to oppose his authority. But, as his treasury was exhausted, he was obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means for raising the money he wanted; a tax, therefore, of one fifth of his revenue, was imposed on each individual, and such as had to the amount of five hundred livres in moveables, were made to contribute five-and-twenty. The value of money was also enhanced a third; without making any alteration in the weight, each coin was made to pass for a third more than it had passed for in the preceding reign—an oppressive regulation that excited great murmurs both in and out of the kingdom.

By resources thus ruinous to his people, the king was enabled to collect an army of eighty thousand men; but, though the Flemings advanced with an inferior force, within a league of the French camp, Philip neither dared to attack them, nor to make any attempt for avenging the disgrace which his arms had recently sustained. This inactivity is, indeed, ascribed to the artful policy of the English monarch, who, beholding with concern the danger of his allies, imparted, as a secret to his queen, a feigned correspondence of the nobles of France with the hostile court of Rome. Margaret communicated the intelligence to her brother Philip, and the king, distrustful of the fidelity of his army, dismissed his troops, and returned, without glory, to his capital*.

But, neither the war in Flanders, nor the inclinations of the pope, could so far engross the attention of Philip, as to make him neglect the internal government of the state. A famous ordinance appeared, on the eighteenth of March, 1303†, by which several abuses, that had crept into the administration, were abolished; regulations, in particular, were adopted, for enforcing a strict and impartial administration of justice, and for putting a stop to the venality of judges. But the most remarkable article of this edict is the sixty-second, which gave rise to the institution of parliaments in France; it appointed that of Paris to be holden twice a year. It is the ancient court of the king's palace new modelled, rendered sedentary, and invested with an extensive and ascertained jurisdiction. This regulation, however, did not take place till the following year, or the year 1305. The officers and members of the parliament were at first nominated by the king, were paid by him, and, on several occasions, were removed by him at pleasure. The parliament was originally composed of the most eminent persons in the kingdom. The peers of France, ecclesiastics of the highest order, and noblemen of illustrious birth, were members of it, to whom were, afterwards added, some clerks and counsellors learned in the law‡.

The Flemings, intent on the total expulsion of the French, laid siege to Tournay, which Philip had garrisoned previous to the dismissal of his troops; and

* Meyer, p. 96. † Laur. Ord. tom. i. p. 357, et suiv. ‡ Pasquier Rech. de la Fra. p. 44, &c.; Encyclopedie, tom. xii. (Art. Parlement), p. 3 et 5.

though, by two different fallies, they had lost three thousand men, they persevered in their attack, and reduced the place to the last extremity; the king, apprised of this circumstance, collected a fresh army*, but, when he had advanced as far as Peronne, he was prevailed upon, by the duke of Savoy, to conclude a truce with the Flemings for eight months, during which time attempts were made to settle a lasting peace. For this purpose, the old count of Flanders was released from prison, and sent to negotiate with his former subjects; but, elated by their recent successes, the Flemings refused to submit to Philip, and Guy, unable to accomplish the object of his mission, returned to his prison at Compiègne, where he soon after died.

A. D. 1304.] The truce being expired, both parties prepared for renewing the war. John of Hainault had lately succeeded to the county of Holland, by the death of count Florent, and his son John. The Flemings, pretending that that principality was a fief of the county of Flanders, made incursions into Zealand, defeated William the count's son, took his uncle, the bishop of Maestricht, prisoner, and reduced a great part of the province. William, however, had the good fortune to escape, and shut himself up in a strong fortress; and, as the house of Hainault, had constantly adhered to the French, Philip equipped a naval armament, which he sent, under the command of Grimaldi, a noble Genoese, to his relief. The fleet was ordered to steer toward Zuric-Zee, which was besieged by an army of fifteen thousand Flemings, assisted by some rebel Zealanders, commanded by Guy of Flanders. After an obstinate action the Flemish fleet was dispersed, Guy taken prisoner, and Zuric-Zee relieved.

The king, in the mean time, entered Flanders, at the head of fifty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, accompanied by his two brothers, Charles, count of Valois, and Lewis, count of Evreux, with all the chief nobles of the realm. The enemy, under the conduct of Philip of Flanders, who had left Sicily, where he had extensive possessions, to come to the assistance of his country, was encamped between Lille and Douay, at a small distance from *Mons-en Puelle* or *Pevelle*, their camp was hastily fortified with their carriages; it was attacked, however by the French, who, after securing some of the baggage, retreated. But the Flemings, eager to revenge this affront, followed them to their own camp, which they endeavoured to force, when a fierce conflict ensued; for some time fortune appeared to favour the Flemings, who put the count of Valois, with the bravest of the nobility, to flight, and even penetrated to the royal tent; but, animated by the example of their sovereign, the French soon rallied, when the Flemings were compelled to retire, and to abandon their camp with precipitation. Their loss, on this occasion, is said, by Velly, to have amounted to six thousand men; but Mezeray affirms, with less probability indeed, that six-and-thirty thousand Flemings, among whom was

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 56.

William de Juliers, grandson to the old count of Flanders, were left on the field. On the part of the French, five hundred gentlemen, and several noblemen of distinction, were slain.

Still undismayed, and resolved to die sooner than resign their liberty, the Flemings speedily returned, to the number of sixty thousand. Philip was then engaged in the siege of Lille, the garrison of which had already consented to surrender, unless relieved before the first of October. After a defeat so recent and destructive, he was astonished at the sight of an army thus numerous, and could not forbear exclaiming, "*Shall we never have done?—I verily believe it rains Flemings!*" But his surprise increased on the arrival of their heralds, who came to offer him the choice of an immediate battle, or an honourable peace: the king, doubtful of the event, wisely preferred the latter. He consented to release Robert, the eldest son of the count of Flanders; to receive his homage for the county; to give up all the Flemish prisoners; to accept of two hundred thousand livres as an indemnification for the expences of the war, for the payment of which sum he was to retain Lille, Douay, Orchies, and Bethune*.

A. D. 1305, 1306, 1307.] The accession of the archbishop of Bourdeaux to the papal throne, under the title of Clement the Fifth, gave Philip an opportunity of procuring a reconciliation with the church. As he had been instrumental in the elevation of that prelate, Clement immediately took off all the censures which had been inflicted on the king and the kingdom by pope Boniface; granted him a tenth of all the revenues of the church of France during five years; and created ten cardinals, nine of which were either Frenchmen or Gascons, and all of them friends, creatures, or subjects of Philip. It is pretended, indeed, by Villani†, that the king had made a previous treaty with the prelate, and insisted on his compliance with *six* requests he had to make, before he would consent to his promotion; and these friendly measures are cited by Velly‡ as a confirmation of Villani's assertion;—but, as that author allows that the conference between them took place in a wood, (the forest of St. Jean d'Angeli) to prevent a possibility of being overheard, and that either party took an oath of secrecy; and considering, moreover, that, independent of an obligation so sacred, they were both interested in concealing a transaction by no means honourable—we cannot but regard the account of Villani, which displays all the particulars of this secret interview, as doubtful, if not fabulous. Be that as it may, Philip had no longer occasion to fear the thunders of the vatican; the pope was his friend, and every assistance the church could afford him, he had reason to expect.

But, though the kingdom was released from the dread of foreign attacks, or ecclesiastical censures, the conduct of Philip had excited a spirit of discontent among his subjects that evinced itself in frequent murmurs. During the late

* Velly, tom. vii. p. 332. † L. viii. c. 80. ‡ Tom. vii. p. 374.

wars, he had not only recourse to the dangerous and impolitic practice of debasing the coin, and of raising its value; but, finding a scarcity of silver, he compelled* all his subjects, except the barons and prelates, to carry one half of of their silver plate to the mint; he also forbade the exportation of gold and silver, and commanded all men, under the most severe penalties, to receive the base coin which he put in circulation; this was naturally attended with great detriment to the national commerce, and with various other inconveniences that rendered him odious to the people. In short, such was the confusion it occasioned, that, in 1303, the prelates of the kingdom offered the king two twentieths of their revenues†, on condition that neither he nor his successors would debase the coin, unless it should become indispensably necessary; which necessity should be certified by the privy-council, and confirmed by an assembly of nobles and prelates; and the moment it should cease, the coin should be restored to its primitive purity. This proposal, however, was rejected, which sufficiently proves, that the king preferred his own interest to the welfare of his subjects. The excess to which this shameful debasement of coin was carried, may be known from the price of silver: at the commencement of Philip's reign the mark of silver was worth fifty-five *sols six deniers*; in 1305, it was worth eight *livres ten sols*; and, in 1306, *one denier* of the old coin was worth *three* of the new.

The king's inattention to the remonstrances of the people on a circumstance in which their interest was so materially affected, at length produced an insurrection at Paris, where Philip was besieged in his palace, and exposed to every kind of insult and indignity; with the assistance of his troops, however, he contrived to quell the tumult, and eight-and-twenty of the insurgents were hanged at the gates of the city. In Normandy, too, the people revolted, in consequence of an oppressive tax, which the king found himself obliged to repeal. The universal clamours that began to prevail in the kingdom, at length induced him to think of finding a remedy for a grievance that was productive of so many disorders; he accordingly assembled the states, and made several regulations for restoring the coin to its ancient standard, but they were never enforced, and the evil was suffered to continue during his whole reign.

Nor was the oppression of his subjects the only instance in which Philip displayed his rapacity; the Jews, alternately banished and recalled, encouraged and persecuted, offered him a rich harvest, which he hastened to reap, by the publication of an ordinance, in consequence of which they were all arrested on the same day, banished the kingdom, forbidden to return under pain of death, and all their effects confiscated. Some of them, indeed, escaped by receiving baptism; many died on the road, from fatigue or vexation; and all of them

* Laur. Ord. tom. i. p. 482, 372, 379.

† Le Blanc. Traité des Monnoies, p. 187.

were reduced to a state of poverty, as they were only permitted to carry with them as much money as would defray their expences to the frontiers.

On the death of Edward the First (who died in July, 1307) his son Edward the Second succeeded to the throne of England. This prince was betrothed to Isabella, the daughter of Philip; and, in consideration of his marriage, he endeavoured to obtain from the king the sovereignty of Guienne. But Philip was too jealous of his authority to suffer the smallest diminution of it; Edward, therefore, was compelled to do homage for his continental dominions, and having celebrated his nuptials at Boulogne, took his queen with him to England*. About the same time, Philip's eldest son, Lewis Hutin, who was king of Navarre in right of his mother, (who died on the second of April, 1305) was crowned at Pampeluna, amidst the acclamations of the people. Immediately after the ceremony was performed, he advanced against Don Fortunio Almoravid, who, having been entrusted with the government of the kingdom, had formed a powerful faction, and even aspired to the throne. Lewis, however, soon reduced him to obedience; and, having re-established tranquillity in his own dominions, returned to his father's court.

A. D. 1308, 1309, 1310.] The imperial throne becoming vacant by the death of Albert, who was assassinated by his own nephew, John duke of Suabia, Philip was anxious to procure the election of his brother Charles of Valois, as king of the Romans†. It is pretended that he had previously secured the interest of the pope, by exacting from him a solemn promise to comply with a request which he would not then mention, but which should be made known to him in due time. He therefore assembled his council, to whom he communicated his intentions, and they were unanimous in their opinion, that an immediate application should be made to the sovereign pontiff. Clement, who was secretly apprised of the king's designs, foresaw the danger to which the holy see would be exposed, from such an accession of power to a family; whose influence was already so extensive; on the other hand, his obligations to Philip rendered him extremely cautious of offending that monarch. In this dilemma, he applied to the cardinal di Patro, who advised him secretly to dispatch couriers to the different electors, in order to apprise them of Philip's intentions, and strenuously to recommend, as an object worthy of their choice, Henry of Luxembourg, whose courage and integrity were known to the whole world‡. The intrigue was conducted with so much skill and success, that, in the course of a week, the electors assembled, and unanimously elected that nobleman king of the

* Nothing can more strongly prove the ignorance, or the prejudices, of the French writers, on all matters relating to England, than the assertion of the abbé Velly with regard to Isabella, wife to Edward the Second; who, he has the confidence to tell us, tom. vii. p. 387, was highly respected and beloved by the English, though she is known to have dishonoured the bed of their sovereign, and is strongly suspected of having been an accomplice in his murder.

† Villani, l. viii. c. 101.

‡ Spicil. t. iii. p. 62.

Romans. Philip was greatly enraged at the disappointment ; and, guessing from whence the blow came, displayed the most lively resentment against the pope, who in vain attempted to excuse himself, by pleading ignorance of his designs ; they were apparently reconciled indeed ; but, in their future connections, true friendship was superseded by artifice and dissimulation.

A. D. 1312.] It was necessary for Philip to maintain a good correspondence with the pope, since he had a project in view, in which the assistance of the sovereign pontiff was indispensably requisite ; viz. the abolition of the order of knights-templars. This order had been established at Jerusalem, in the year 1118, by Hugh des Payens, Geoffrey de Saint Omer, and seven other French gentlemen, who took a vow of chastity and obedience, and devoted their lives and fortunes to the service and defence of christian pilgrims. Alike famous for their piety and their valour, they excited the admiration and gratitude of the christian world, and soon acquired, from the generous devotion of the faithful, ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France. Their great riches, joined to the course of time, had, by degrees, relaxed the severity of these virtues ; and the templars had, in a great measure, lost that popularity, which first raised them to honour and distinction. Acquainted, from experience, with the fatigues and dangers of those fruitless expeditions to the east, which had given birth and strength to their order, they rather chose to enjoy in ease their opulent revenues in Europe : and, being all men of birth, educated, according to the custom of that age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. To the last they were peculiarly addicted, and a French proverb is still in use—*Boire comme un templier* (to drink like a templar), which attests their attachment to the bottle. Their rival order, that of Saint John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from like corruptions, still distinguished themselves by the enterprises against the infidels, and succeeded to all the popularity which was lost by the indolence and luxury of the templars. But, though these reasons had weakened the foundations of this order, once so celebrated and revered, the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip, who, having entertained some private disgust against some eminent templars, determined to gratify at once his avidity and revenge, by involving the whole order in an undistinguished ruin.

As it was necessary, however, to preserve some colour of justice in his proceedings, he waited for a favourable opportunity, before he would signify his intentions ; but, as his enmity to the templars was sufficiently known, it was not likely he should be kept long in suspense. We are told by the author of the life of Clement the Fifth, that a citizen of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, being confined in the same prison with an apostate templar, whose life, like his own, was justly forfeited to the offended laws of his country, proposed

to his fellow-prisoner, that they should confess their sins to each other, a circumstance by no means uncommon in those days, when a criminal was never allowed to have a confessor; accordingly, having heard the confession of the templar, he sent to a magistrate, and informed him, that he had a secret to impart of more importance to the king than the conquest of a new kingdom; but that he would not disclose it to any other person than Philip; impatient to discover this mystery, the king ordered the culprit to be conveyed to Paris, and, when he was brought into his presence, he assured him, that if he spoke the truth, he might rely on not only obtaining a pardon, but on being amply rewarded. Squin, who had previously formed the plan of his accusation, then charged the whole body of templars with crimes so atrocious and absurd, that, as an English historian has justly remarked*, they were of themselves sufficient to destroy all the credit of the charge; though Velly observes, that they are so well attested by authentic records that it would be imprudent to call the truth of them in question. :

It was pretended, that every one whom they received into their order, was obliged to kiss the superior on the mouth, navel, and breech†; that they employed exhortations, menaces, and even tortures, to make him renounce his Saviour, and spit three times on a crucifix that was presented to him‡—a custom adopted by one of their grand-masters, who, having been taken prisoner by an eastern sultan, could only obtain his release on condition of swearing to introduce it into the order||; that, at their nocturnal meetings, the knights worshipped a gilded head§; that they were forbidden to have any criminal connection with women, lest the objects of their amours should cast reflections on the order; but, in return for these sacrifices, they were permitted to indulge in vices the most shocking to human nature: that if, by chance, a templar had commerce with a girl, and a child was the result of their connection, it was brought to their assemblies, when the knights ranged themselves in a circle, and tossed the infant from one to the other, till it expired: they then roasted it, and, with the fat that issued from the body, they anointed the head and whiskers of their idol which was covered with a human skin; that, when a templar died, his body was burnt, and the ashes mixed with a beverage which the knights drank, in the hope that it would increase their intrepidity, and render them more faithful to each other: that when the priests of the order celebrated the mass, they omitted the words of the consecration; and, finally, that, having secretly abjured their religion, and embraced the tenets of Mahomet, they had sold the Holy Land to the infidels.

Philip mentioned these accusations to the pope in the month of May, 1307;

* Hume, vol. ii. † Du Puy, Hist. des Tem. p. 17 et suiv. ‡ Chron. de S. Denis, in la Vie de Phil. le Bel.; Walsing. p. 73. || Rob. Gaguin. Hist. p. 12; Ezovius, An. 1308, p. 103; Guil. Paradin. Hist. de Savoie. l. ii. c. 106. § Nostrad. Hist. de Prov. p. 324; Hist. de Malthe, t. i. p. 509; Spicil. tom. iii. p. 69.

but it does not appear that Clement was disposed to favour his iniquitous projects, since, by a bull dated the twenty-fourth of August in the same year, he declared the crimes ascribed to the templars appeared to him to be not only incredible, but impossible; that the heads of the order, informed of the charges exhibited against them, demanded justice on those who had caluminated them, in case the accusation should prove to be false, and submitted themselves to the most severe punishments should they be found guilty; that, in consequence, he was about to enter into a juridical examination of the matter, for the satisfaction of the king, whom he requested to send him all the proofs he had collected, that could tend to establish the charge. But a trial of this solemn and public nature would not have answered Philip's purpose; the proceedings of *justice*, were, he pretended, too slow for him; he, therefore, had recourse to a violent exertion of authority: he issued a secret order, which was executed on the thirteenth of October, 1307, to arrest, in one day, all the templars in France, and throw them into prison; he then took possession of the temple, their place of residence at Paris, and seized all their property. In order to justify this act of violence, he assembled all the canons of the cathedral of Notre-Dame, and the doctors of the university, to whom he imparted the motives for his conduct; two days after this, the clergy and their parishioners were summoned, by sound of trumpet, to attend in the garden of the palace, where the long list of charges against the persecuted templars was read to them. The credulous mob was imposed upon; but every man of common sense saw through the shallow artifice.

Philip would fain have had the templars tried by his own officers; but, on consulting the university, he was told, that no secular judge could take cognizance of heresy, unless required to do so by the church*; that the templars, as belonging to a religious order, that had been confirmed by the holy see, were exempt from all civil jurisdiction; and that their possessions ought certainly to be preserved, that they might be appropriated to those purposes for which they were destined by the donors. The king, on this decision, ordered William de Paris, a Dominican, his own confessor, and a member of the inquisition, to interrogate the prisoners, in the presence of several of the nobility.—The monk executed the commission with a degree of zeal that he knew would be highly agreeable to his master.

The imprisonment of the knights-templars excited a general surprise throughout the christian world; the pope, in particular, expressed his indignation at the conduct of Philip, and regarded the proceedings of the inquisitor as an encroachment on his own authority†; in the first heat of passion he suspended the powers of William de Paris, and forbade the French prelates to take cognizance of an affair, the decision of which he reserved to himself. He wrote to the king,

* Du Puy, p. 10; Hist. de Malthe, t. i. p. 515.

† Du Puy, p. 11.

at the same time, to complain of his conduct in imprisoning a set of men who were solely dependent on the see of Rome; and informed him, with some warmth, that he had sent two cardinals, into whose hands he desired the persons and effects of the templars might be immediately resigned.

The king, enraged at these obstacles to the completion of his sanguinary projects, arrogantly replied, that he had done nothing but at the request of the inquisitor, who was an officer of the court of Rome; that, by suspending the powers of that monk, and of the prelates of the kingdom, who were the actual judges in points of doctrine, he did a great prejudice to religion; that the templars would not fail to avail themselves of that circumstance; that they already began to vary in their depositions; that they even flattered themselves with the idea of being supported by the court of Rome; that it was shameful in a sovereign pontiff to display such tardiness in seconding a prince in the pursuit of so just a cause; that God detested lukewarm minds; that, not to punish a crime with sufficient promptitude, was, in some degree, to approve of it; that, far from prohibiting the prelates from discharging those functions attached to their dignity, he ought, on the contrary, to excite their zeal for the extirpation of an order so corrupted; that, after all, the bishops were appointed to partake with him the care of the church of God; that it would be a flagrant injustice to deprive them of a power which they had received immediately from Jesus Christ; that they had not deserved such treatment, nor would they endure it; and that he himself could not, consistent with his coronation oath, suffer it to pass unnoticed; he concluded his letter with some threatening expressions to the pope, and many professions of his own disinterestedness; as a proof of which, he consented to surrender the templars and their property into the custody of the pope's ministers; but they still continued to be guarded by his own subjects.

Philip had convened the states of his kingdom, at Tours, in the month of May, 1308, when the meeting was very numerous: he presided in person, and his chancellor was ordered to detail all the various proofs that had been collected in support of the charges preferred against the templars*. From thence the king repaired to Poitiers, where he had a private interview with the pope, at which it was settled—that the knights should be kept in the king's custody, in the name of the pope, the prelates, and the church; that the two powers should engage, in case the order was abolished, to devote their property to the defence of the Holy Land; that their revenues should be employed for no other purpose, and that they should be immediately consigned to the care of some trusty persons chosen by the Roman pontiff. This regulation, however, produced but a trifling change in the affairs of the templars; among those who were appointed to take charge of their property were two of the king's domestics,

* Du Puy, p. 37, &c.; Hist. de Malthe, p. 508.

William Pidoue and Rene Bourdon; and, at Philip's solicitation, his confessor was suffered to exercise those functions which the pope had suspended, and to conduct the prosecution, or rather *persecution*, against the knights.

The pope, however, continued to manifest a mistrust of Philip, and displayed, in the different bulls he published on the occasion, an anxiety to preserve the property of the templars from the avidity of that rapacious prince. Such precautions could not fail to enrage the king, who accordingly expressed his resentment very freely*; and Clement, intimidated by his threats, appears to have sacrificed his own sentiments of propriety, to the gratification of his vindictive spirit. All obstacles being thus removed, the tyrant proceeded to the examination of the devoted victims. Tortures were employed to extort a confession of their guilt; several, to procure immediate ease, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them; forged confessions were imputed to others; but many of them preserved their fortitude in the midst of pain, and bravely refused to purchase ease by the promulgation of a falsehood.

The pope, in the mean time, instigated the different powers of Europe to imitate the example of Philip; and the templars were every where thrown into prison. "They confessed," says Velly†, "in England and Provence, at Ravenna, Pisa, and Florence, all the abominations of which they had been accused in France." But this assertion is evidently false; Hume, with a greater regard to truth, observes‡, that, though their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny, and the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them, no where, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found: England, says that author, *sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals*. In Arragon, the knights retired to their own fortresses, which they had erected for defending the country against the incursions of the Moors. From thence they wrote to the sovereign pontiff, to repel the base imputations that had been urged against them; they insisted on the purity of their faith, in defence of which they had so often shed their blood; they observed, that a great number of the templars were then prisoners with the Moors, who daily offered them their liberty on condition that they should abjure their religion; that it was shameful to burn those knights as infidels, whose brethren, slaves to the enemies of their God, were incessantly exposed to the most cruel punishments as christians; that, if some individuals of the order had acknowledged themselves guilty of crimes, whether they had really committed them, or had been induced to say so from the pain of the torture, they deserved punishment, either as criminals, or as cowards who had belied their conscience; but that an honourable order, which, for two centuries had deserved well of the church, ought not to suffer for the guilt or prevarication of a few of its members; that

* Du Puy, p. 15, 108.

† Tom. vii. p. 436.

‡ Hist. of England, vol. ii.

it was easy to perceive their great wealth was the true cause of the persecution they experienced; they entreated his holiness either to grant them his protection, or else to suffer them, according to the custom of the times, to defend their innocence with their swords. It is not known what reply Clement made to this spirited request; but the king of Arragon besieged the knights in their castles, and, having taken them prisoners, confined them in different places, till they could be tried by the bishop of Valencia, who had received the pope's orders for that purpose.

In France, they were preparing to continue the proceedings against them, when, to the astonishment of the judges, most of the knights disavowed their confessions*, which they declared had been extorted from them by the violence of their agonies. This retraction embarrassed the king who was at a loss how to proceed; but, as one iniquity too frequently leads on to another, it was soon determined that such as disavowed their first confessions should be considered as *relapsed heretics*—by which wise decision heresy was made to consist in an adherence to the doctrine of christianity; fifty-nine of these unhappy victims, among whom was one of the king's chaplains, were accordingly condemned to the stake†; and, in a field near the abbey of Saint Anthony, in the suburbs of Paris, they were all consumed by a slow fire. In the midst of the flames, they called aloud upon their God, and stedfastly refused to accept the pardon that was offered them on condition of abiding by their first confessions. Numbers perished, in the same cruel manner, in different parts of the kingdom; but not one of them could be prevailed on to purchase his life by retracting his last assertion.

Though all the knights had been tried, the grand question, with regard to the abolition of the order, as well as the trial of the grand-master, and the principal officers, still remained to be decided; as the pope had reserved this decision for himself, he appointed eight commissioners—all ecclesiastics—who cited the whole order to appear before them at Paris. When the grand-master came into their presence, he was asked what he had to offer in defence of the order; he replied, that the order having been confirmed by the holy see, it was strange they should think of abolishing it without mature deliberation; that, for his part, he was unable to undertake the defence of so large a body of men, who had been grossly calumniated, but that the obligations he had received from them were such, that he should be a wretch indeed were he not to exert his utmost efforts for that purpose; he therefore would engage to defend their interests, difficult as was the task in his situation—a prisoner to the pope and the king, with no assistance but that of a single domestic; unable either to read or write, and plundered of all his money except four deniers; he concluded by demanding the assistance of council.

* Ex Secundâ vitâ Clem. v. p. 37.

† Chron. de S. Denis, An. 1309.

His judges, however, informed him that in trials for heresy, no advocate was allowed; they advised him to reflect seriously before he embarked in such an undertaking; and reminded him of the confession he had made at Chinon, which was immediately read to him. The unhappy knight evinced the utmost surprise; twice he crossed himself, and then exclaimed, that if the three cardinals, who had subscribed his interrogatory, were of a different profession, he should know how to talk to them. On being admonished that prelates could not accept a challenge, he affirmed, that what he had said had been grossly mistated. When pressed to explain himself farther, he was unable to contain his resentment, and declared that such men deserved the punishment inflicted by the Saracens and Tartars, on liars and forgers;—"They rip up their bellies," said he, "and cut off their heads."

At a subsequent examination, the grand-master defended his order with great spirit; but still persisted in his demand for farther assistance, and the king, afraid to press a sentence thus important, without observing at least some *appearance* of justice in his proceedings, issued letters-patent (on the twenty-sixth of November, 1309) authorising such of the templars as were confined in the provinces, and chose to stand forward in defence of their order, to repair to Paris. Seventy-four knights accordingly appeared before the judges in the month of March following, when the pope's commission, and the articles on which they were to be interrogated, were read to them; after which they were remanded to prison, whilst notaries were sent to take their defence in writing. Peter de Boulogne, a priest, who was attorney-general to the order, dictated, in the name of them all, a short apology, in which he observed, "That the templars had a chief, without whose permission they were unable to appoint agents; that, nevertheless, they were ready to appear before the commissaries of his holiness, in order to justify themselves with regard to the crimes of which they had been accused; that the charges sent by the pope were infamous, detestable, abominable, horribly false, fabricated by imposters who were their enemies; that the religion of the temple was pure and unpolluted, exempt from the abominations which had been falsely ascribed to it; that those who dared to maintain the contrary, spoke like infidels and heretics; that they were resolved to defend the honour of their order at the risk of their lives: that, for this purpose, they required to be set at liberty, and permitted to attend the general council, or at least to entrust their cause to such of their brethren as might be suffered to go thither; that those knights who had advanced falsehoods for truth were either cowards, who had been induced, through the fear of tortures, to make such confessions; or else wretches that had been bribed by money, won by solicitations, or intimidated by threats; whose depositions could not, of course, be suffered to operate to the prejudice of the order."

Some time after, a fresh apology appeared, in which the knights renewed their complaints of the violence of the proceedings against them, unaccompa-

nied by any of the usual forms of justice. They represented to the commissaries that the most unfair methods had been employed to extort a confession of the crimes laid to their charge ; that they had been assured the abolition of their order had been resolved on, and that it was to be solemnly confirmed by the pope, at the council of Vienne ; they had been shewn letters-patent, with the king's seal annexed, by which they were offered their lives and their liberties, together with an annual pension, if they would but make the confession required of them ; that such as had resisted those temptations, had been put to the torture ; that it was a matter of astonishment, that the depositions of a few men, who, unable to withstand pain, had confessed whatever their tormentors had required of them, should receive more credit than the affirmations of those generous warriors, who had supported the severest torments sooner than advance a falsehood ; that many of these unfortunate knights had expired in obscure dungeons ; that their brethren requested their gaolers and their executioners might be examined, to know in what sentiments they had died, and whether it was not true, that in those moments when man has nothing farther to hope or to fear, they had persisted in maintaining their own innocence, and the purity of their faith to the last ; that it was not to be supposed any man of common sense would enter or remain in a society which led to the destruction of his soul ; that their order was composed of gentlemen of the first families in Europe ; and it was not probable that so many men of illustrious birth would have been silent, had they known, seen, or heard, the abominations with which they had been charged. They concluded by appealing to the pope, from all the decisions of the provincial synods.

As this prosecution, however, was not conducted according to the usual forms of justice, the appeal was rejected, and matters went on as before ; two hundred and twenty-one depositions were taken in different parts of the kingdom, between the month of August, 1309, and May, 1311 ; when the examinations were finished, two copies of them were drawn up, one of which was forwarded to the pope, and the other deposited in the treasury of the cathedral at Paris.

A. D. 1313, 1314.] All the proceedings having been read in full council, the pope asked the fathers, separately, if they did not think it proper to suppress an order against which more than two thousand witnesses had been heard ; an order which had been guilty of such flagrant abuses, and such enormous crimes. All the prelates, and the most celebrated doctors, unanimously replied, that, previous to the abolition of such an illustrious society, which, since its first institution had rendered such essential service to religion, it would be necessary to hear what the grand-master, and principal officers, had to urge in its defence ; this justice required, this humanity enforced*. All the bishops of France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, and Ireland, were of the same

* Ex secundâ vitâ Clem. v. p. 43.

opinion, except one Italian prelate, and the archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen: these four, against every principle of natural equity, pretended, that the templars had had sufficient opportunities of defending themselves before the commissaries appointed by the holy see; that there was nothing new to say, and that they had now a perfect knowledge of the whole affair. Though Clement himself inclined to this latter opinion, he was fearful of acting in direct opposition to the general sentiments of the council; six months therefore were passed, not so much in deliberation, as in secret negotiations on this important object; the purport of which intrigues was to persuade the prelates that, in a cause which appeared so *clear*, the usual forms of justice should be overlooked. It is even affirmed*, that the pope, enraged at the resistance he experienced from all the members of the assembly, petulantly exclaimed, that the plenitude of his pontifical power should supply any defect in form, and he was resolved to condemn the templars at any rate, *sooner than offend his dear son, the king of France*. In fact, having assembled the cardinals, and several of the prelates whom he had brought over to his side, he pronounced, on the twenty-second of March, 1312, in a *secret* consistory, the fatal sentence, which broke, suppressed, and annulled the military order of the Temple; a suppression which he published in the second session of the council, April the third, in presence of the king, the princes, (sons to Philip) and the whole court of France. *Although*, said he, *it could not be done according to law, we suppress it provisionally, and by apostolic authority, reserving to ourselves and to the church of Rome, the disposal of the persons and possessions of the templars*†. This provisional sentence was *definitive*; the order was finally proscribed and abolished; and the riches belonging to it were bestowed on the knights-hospitallers‡.

The fate of the grand master, and the principal officers, still remained to be decided; the pope, who had reserved to himself the right of pronouncing their sentence, had resolved only to condemn them to perpetual imprisonment; but, in order to convince the people that the numerous executions they had witnessed were founded in justice, he wished to extort from them a confession of the crimes imputed to their order. Two cardinals were deputed to assist at the ceremony, and, on a scaffold erected before the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris, the four great officers of the order were brought into their presence—these were James de Molay, grand master, who had stood godfather to one of the king's sons; Guy, commander of Normandy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne; Hugh de Peralde, grand-visitor of France; and the grand-prior of Aquitaine, who, previous to his imprisonment, had been minister of the finances. The confessions which they had before made of the abominations of their order, and the sentence of perpetual imprisonment, were read to them; one of the legates then made a long harangue which he finished by calling on the

* Hist. de Malthe, t. i. p. 530.

† Du Pay, p. 106.

‡ Ibid. p. 184.

grand master to renew in public the confession which he had privately made before the pope ; but he was greatly surpris'd, when this respectable personage, shaking the chains with which he was loaded, advanced to the front of the scaffold, with a steady countenance, and, raising his voice, pointing to the pile which the executioners were preparing in order to burn him should he retract what had been extorted from him, thus address'd the surrounding multitude :
 “ The horrid spectacle now presented to my sight can never make me confirm my first deviation from truth, by the utterance of a second falsehood—I have belied my conscience ; it is time that truth should triumph in her turn—I swear, then, in the face of heaven and earth, that all which has been now said of the crimes and impiety of the templars is a horrible calumny ; it is a holy, just, and orthodox order ; I deserve to die for having, *at the solicitation of the pope and the king*, dared to accuse it. Why cannot I expiate this crime by a punishment still more dreadful than that of fire ? It is the only means now left me for obtaining the compassion of men and the mercy of God* !” Guy, brother to the dauphin, held nearly the same language ; and solemnly asserted the innocence of their brethren. The other two were less courageous ; they persisted in their former confessions, and were treated accordingly.

The embarrassment into which the legates were thrown by this unexpected incident could only be equalled by their disappointment. At a loss how to proceed, they adjourned the business to the next day ; and, making the unfortunate noblemen descend from the scaffold, they delivered them into the hands of the provost of Paris. The king, informed of their retraction, immediately assembled the lay-members of his council†, and, in the evening of the same day, James de Molay, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, were conducted to a small island on the Seine, situated between the king's garden and the convent of the Augustins, where they were consumed by a slow fire. In the midst of the flames they evinced the same firmness they had displayed in the morning, and renewed the protestations which they then made ; with their last breath they asserted the innocence of their order, and acknowledged, with the utmost humility and contrition, that they had deserved death, for having maintained the contrary in the presence of the pope and the king‡. The eyes of the people were now opened ; terrified at the scene of *murder* before them, and astonished at the resolution of the victims, they lamented their cruel fate with tears, and did that justice to their memory which they had refused to their conduct.

Thus finished that dreadful persecution which reflects an eternal disgrace on the memory of Philip, and brands with infamy the name of Clement—the first

* Villani, l. viii. c. 92 ; Pap. Mafs. in Phil. Pul. ; Paul. Emil. in eumd. ; Mariana, t. iii. l. 15, p. 332.

† Spicil. t. iii. p. 67.

‡ Pap. Mafs. l. iii. p. 393.

as the projector, the second as the instrument, of a plan, which, for its iniquity, is scarcely to be exceeded in the annals of human depravity. The king is said, by Velly, to have received only one-third of the money and moveable effects belonging to the templars, in order to defray the immense expence of the prosecution; but, as he neither tells us what was the amount of that property, nor of those expences, we may safely admit the justice of his assertion, without, however, exempting Philip from the charge of rapaciousness, which the whole tenor of his conduct most strongly corroborates. That the pope had been influenced, in this affair, by motives of avarice, has likewise been asserted; though it must be confessed that no proof has been adduced to establish the accusation*—but, whatever were their motives, the manner in which they conducted the prosecution is *alone* sufficient to prove, that they were not swayed by any regard to justice. The crimes, too, imputed to the templars, are, from their absurdity and inconsistency, incredible; of all the numerous depositions taken in behalf of the prosecution, *one* only is preserved in history—that of Ralph de Presse, an advocate for the king's court (quoted by Du Puy); and this does not furnish the shadow of a proof, since it merely relates to a conversation which the deponent had with one of the knights, who told him that there were so many strange things passed at their meetings, that he would sooner loose his head than reveal them; and that, at their general chapter, there was one point, with regard to which such secrecy was observed, that, were any man by chance, to become acquainted with it, the knights would certainly put him to death. The extorted confessions of the knights themselves were, we have every reason to believe, the principal grounds of condemnation; and, by the severe punishments inflicted on such as retracted, we may form some idea of the means which were employed to procure them. Had any farther proofs existed, it is fair to presume, they would have been preserved either in the vatican, or in the royal library at Paris; we cannot, with Walsingham, Albert Krants, Zurita, Volaterran, Blondus, Belleforest, Du Puy, and Father Daniel, conceive these to have been sufficient to justify the execution of the knights, and the abolition of the order; on the contrary, we fully subscribe to the opinion of those numerous writers, both ancient and modern, who consider the templars as objects of an unjust and unprincipled persecution.—The *vindictive* Philip we regard as an inhuman tyrant; the *servile* Clement as a faithless minister of Christ.

A. D. 1313, 1314.] On the king's return from the council of Vienne, he conferred the honour of knighthood on his three sons, on which occasion there were great rejoicings at Paris, which lasted for several days; but the attention

* Voltaire, indeed, (t. xii. p. 268.) has gravely advanced, "that the frank and precise Du Puy says the pope did not forget himself, in the division of the spoil;" but, unfortunately for this faithless historian, no such assertion is to be found in the author he quotes; nor, indeed, is it probable that Du Puy should have made such a remark, when it is well known that he wrote his account of this famous (or rather infamous) transaction, for the express purpose of justifying Philip and Clement.

of Philip was speedily called from scenes of joy to the dismal theatre of war.—The count of Flanders having refused to appear in the king's court, his dominions were confiscated, and declared to be annexed to the crown. An army was accordingly assembled to put this sentence in execution; and the troops had advanced as far as Courtray, when the count offered to submit to such terms as Philip should be pleased to impose. In consequence of this proposal, the nobles of either army had a meeting, and it was settled*, that the Flemings should pay the king the remainder of the sum that had been fixed on at the last treaty of peace; that the count should disengage all his fortresses, at such time as the king should appoint, beginning by Bruges and Ghent; that the expences of this demolition should be defrayed by the Flemings, in the presence of commissaries nominated by Philip; and that, till the final execution of these articles, Courtray, with all its forts, should be surrendered to the French, together with the count's youngest son, Robert de Cassel.—The Flemings, however, embraced the first opportunity of violating this ignominious treaty; they flew to arms, and expelled the French governor of Courtray; and, though Philip sent a fresh army to reduce them to obedience, he was glad to accept the proposals of the count of Flanders, to restore the hostages he had received, and to conclude a truce. By these indecisive measures he exhausted his treasury, without extending his dominions.

The situation of his kingdom, indeed, was not such as to justify any attempts at conquest; the people were loud in their complaints of the taxes which had been recently imposed; a new debasement of the coin had almost driven them to an open insurrection; in Champagne, Picardy, Artois, Forez, and Burgundy, confederacies had been formed as well for resisting the exaction of imposts hitherto unknown, as for effecting the restoration of certain privileges, of which the nobles pretended to have been unjustly deprived; in short, there was every reason to apprehend a general revolt. Philip, to quiet the minds of the people, suppressed the taxes complained of, and endeavoured to throw all the odium on his ministers, by insinuating that they had imposed and levied them without his orders.

The king's uneasiness at the disposition of his subjects to resist those proceedings which they deemed tyrannical and oppressive, was greatly increased by a calamity of a more domestic nature. He had three sons, Lewis Hutin, king of Navarre; Philip the Long, count of Poitiers; and Charles the Fair; they were all three married, and so singularly unfortunate had they been in the choice of their wives, that an accusation of adultery was exhibited against each of them, about the same time. Margaret, queen of Navarre, daughter to Robert the Second, duke of Burgundy; and Blanche, the youngest daughter of Otho the Fourth, count palatine of Burgundy†, wife to Charles, were convicted of the

* Spic. t. iii. p. 66. † Chron. envers de Godefroy de Paris; MSS. du Roi. N. 6812.

crime, and imprisoned in a castle at Andely, after undergoing the ignominious operation of having their hair cut off, and their heads shaved, the punishment annexed by the law to the crime of adultery in females. The former was afterwards strangled by order of her husband; the latter, after remaining seven years in prison, was removed to the castle of Gauroy, near Coutances, and from thence to the abbey of Maubouillon, where she took the veil, and passed the remainder of her days. Suspicions were equally strong against Jane, countess of Poitiers, eldest sister to Blanche, and heiress of Burgundy; but, after a strict investigation of the fact, the cause was tried by the parliament, in presence of the count of Valois, the count of Evreux, and many other of the nobility, when the princess was acquitted—*Inculpabilis et omnino innoxia judicatur*. Her husband was the first to acknowledge her innocence:—"thus was he more fortunate, or at least more prudent," says Mezeray, "than his brothers."

The objects of the princesses criminal attachment were two brothers—Philip and Gautier de Launai, gentlemen of Normandy, and officers of the household to Lewis and Philip*. They were tried by an assembly, purposely convened by the king, at Pontoise; and the sentence passed on them favoured not a little of the barbarity of the age. They were first strangled alive, then dragged through a stubble field, after which their private parts were cut off; and, lastly, their heads were severed from their bodies. When dead, they were suspended, with an usher of the chamber, the confidant of their amours, on a public gibbet. Many persons of both sexes were involved in their disgrace, either as accomplices, or as being suspected of having observed a criminal silence. Some of these were drowned, and others privately smothered. A bishop, in particular, of the order of Saint Dominick, is said to have been privy to the intrigue, but historians differ as to the nature of his punishment. They agree, however, in blaming the king for making public an affair which a just regard for the honour of his family should have induced him to bury in oblivion.

These various sources of anxiety proved fatal to Philip's constitution; finding his strength decay, he repaired to Fontainebleau, in the hope that his native air would prove favourable to his health; but nature was too far advanced to admit of recovery. He, therefore, thought of making a final settlement for his children; his second son, Philip, had already received, as his appanage, the county of Poitiers; Charles, the youngest, he now invested with the county of Marche, but on condition that, in case he should die without male heirs, it should revert to the crown. This was the origin of a new order of jurisprudence; at the commencement of the third race of kings, appanages had been considered as fees-simple, they were then subjected to some restrictions, afterwards limited to the heirs of the person to whom they were granted, and now they were confined to the male heirs. The motive for these restrictions was, to prevent them

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 68.

from passing, by marriage, into the hands of foreigners; a circumstance which endangered the tranquillity of the kingdom.

A. D. 1315.] On his death-bed, Philip cast a retrospective eye on the various transactions of his reign; and, at that moment when the voice of adulation had lost its wonted power, he found his own gratifications had ever been consulted, in preference to the welfare of his people. Stricken with remorse, he sought to repair, as far as in him lay, the misery he had occasioned. To Lewis, his eldest son and successor, he gave the most salutary advice: he strictly enjoined him to suppress the new taxes, and revoked, himself, all the edicts by which they had been established; he conjured his children to relieve his subjects from the oppression under which they laboured; gave orders for reducing the current coin to its just value, and for repairing all the injuries he had committed. After he had made some other just and pious regulations, he expired, at Fontainbleau, on the twenty-ninth of November, in the year 1315, which was the thirtieth of his reign, and the forty-sixth of his age*. His body was conveyed to Saint Denis, and his heart to Poissy.

Philip is said, by contemporary writers, to have been the handsomest man of the age; but the beauties of his mind by no means corresponded to those of his person. Prodigal and ambitious, he sacrificed the happiness of his subjects to the gratification of his own destructive passions; cruel and vindictive, the objects of his hatred or revenge were exposed to persecution the most unprincipled and sanguinary; his conduct to the templars was alone sufficient to stamp him a tyrant. But while, in recording his defects, we pay a tribute to justice, candour requires we should notice his virtues as a husband and a parent; and bestow a just commendation on his patronage of the sciences, and on the firmness and vigour he displayed in asserting the rights of his crown against the daring pretensions of Boniface the Eighth.

Philip had, by his queen, Jane of Navarre, four sons and three daughters. Lewis, Philip, and Charles, who successively attained to the regal dignity; and Robert, who was affianced to Constantia of Arragon, daughter of Frederic the Third, king of Sicily, but died in his twelfth year. His daughters were, Margaret, who was promised to Ferdinand the Fourth, but who died ere the marriage was celebrated; Isabella, wife to Edward the Second, king of England; and Blanche, who was betrothed to Ferdinand, Infant of Castille, but died young.

Philip was attached to the study of the belles lettres, and extended his patronage and protection to all who cultivated the sciences. He founded the university of Orleans; besides which several colleges were founded during his reign: that of Navarre, by his queen; that of the cardinal le Moine, by a prelate of that name; and that of Montagu, by Gilles Aycelin de Montagu, archbishop of Narbonne.

* P. Anf. Hist. Gen. t. i. p. 52.

Among the celebrated characters that flourished during this reign, were, William de Nangis, John de Meun, and William Duranti. The first of these, who was a monk of Saint Denis, finished the life of Saint Lewis, which had been begun by one of his brethren named Gillon de Rheims; he also compiled that of Philip the Hardy, and continued the history of Sigebert, the monk of Gemblours, from 1114 to 1300. John de Neun is famous for his continuation of the celebrated poem entitled, "The Romance of the Rose," which was begun forty years before by William de Lorris; he was likewise author of a French translation of the Epistles of Abelard, and of some other works of inferior note.

William Duranti, a native of Puimisson in the diocese of Beziers, one of the most learned lawyers of the age, was the first law-professor at Bologna and Modena, then chaplain and auditor of the holy palace, governor of the patrimony of Saint Peter, general of the ecclesiastical troops, legate to pope Gregory the Tenth at the council of Lyons, canon of Beauvais and Narbonne, dean of Chartres, and, lastly, bishop of Mende. He has left several curious works; his two principal publications are, *Spēculum Juris*, by which he gained the appellation of *Speculator*; and *Rationale divinarum, Officiorum*.

The celebrated John Duns Scotus, so famous for his genius and learning, that England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honour of his birth*, was commanded, by the general of his order, (the Franciscans) to remove from Oxford to Paris, in the year 1304, to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, which is generally believed to have been first maintained by him, though Velly asserts†, that it had been taught by many of the Parisian doctors before his time. Be that as it may, it was now impugned by the divines of Paris, who were successfully opposed by Duns Scotus, before an assembly of the university, called for the determination of that important question. The adversaries of the immaculate conception collected all their force on this occasion, and produced no less, it is said, than two hundred objections to that doctrine. "Scotus heard them with great composure; and, in his reply, he recapitulated all their objections, and refuted them with as much ease as Sampson broke the cords of the Philistines; after which he proved, by many strong arguments, to the amazement and conviction of all who heard him, that the most holy virgin conceived without the stain of original sin. The university of Paris bestowed on him the title of the *Subtle Doctor*, as a reward for his victory in this famous dispute‡." One of the assembly, who was a stranger to the person, but not to the fame, of Scotus, was so highly delighted, that he exclaimed—"This is either an angel from heaven, a devil from hell, or John Duns Scotus||."

* Du Pin. Cent. xiv. p. 52.

† Tom. vii. p. 500.

‡ Balœi Hist. Univ. Paris, t. iv. p. 70.

|| Hugo Cavillus in vitâ J. Duns Scoti.

When Scotus had passed about four years at Paris, he was sent, by Gonfhalvo, the general of the Franciscan order, to Cologne, in the year 1308, to found an university in that city, in imitation of that of Paris, and to defend his favourite doctrine of the immaculate conception against the disciples of Albert the Great*. He experienced a most favourable reception at Cologne, but died, soon after his arrival, in November, 1308.

John Duns Scotus possessed a great fertility of invention, a very retentive memory, an acute and penetrating genius, and an unremitting application to study; but his talents, from the false taste of the age, were unfortunately misapplied to the subtleties of school-philosophy, and the absurdities of scholastic theology. When the shortness of his life is considered, he was one of the most voluminous writers that ever lived. Many of his writings have been several times published; but the most complete edition of his works is that published by Waddingus, at Lyons, in 1639, in twelve volumes folio†.

A great depravity of manners prevailed in the thirteenth century, particularly among the clergy; it appears, by the acts of the council of Virsbourg‡, which was holden in 1287, that the ecclesiastics wore gaudy dresses, frequented public houses, attended tournaments, and publicly kept mistresses||. By another council, assembled at Rouen, in 1299, we learn, that vicars and curates appeared in public with short coats and swords by their sides; that they took women of suspicious characters to their houses; that they filled civil offices; lent money on usurious interest, and were grossly addicted to the pleasures of the table, and every other species of debauchery. In the annals of the counts of Oldenberg, it is related, that, in certain dioceses, the *officials* granted licences, for a stipulated sum, to commit adultery during a year; that, in other places, a person who had committed fornication was excused on paying a quart of wine—a tax which was exacted for the remainder of his life—once inscribed on the register, his tribute was perpetual, although he ceased to have the inclination, or ability, to commit that sin, for which it served as an absolution.

The vices and irregularities of the clergy were amply detailed in two memorials, presented by two French bishops, to the council of Vienne, in 1312. These may be seen in the ecclesiastical history of M. Fleury. After noticing the gross ignorance and depravity of manners which pervaded the different orders of the clergy, they observed, that the archdeacons, in their visitations, either from want of knowledge, or abuse of power, excommunicated people for the most trivial offences; one of the prelates asserted, that he had known *seven hundred* persons under a sentence of excommunication in one parish. The canons were accused of behaving with the utmost indecency during the celebration of divine service; the monks quitted their cloisters to attend fairs and markets, where

* Buzoi Hist. tom. iv. p. 70.

† Du Pin. Cent. xiv.

‡ Concil. tom. xi. p. 1319, 1332, 1426.

|| Rer. Gerin. Meibom. t. ii. p. 17, &c.

they carried on a regular trade, and gave themselves up to the most shameful vices. The nuns wore silks and rich furs; dressed their hair in the fashionable style; went to balls, concerts, and all public places, and walked the streets, even at night. Rome is represented as the seat of despotism, cupidity, and licentiousness; where money alone could ensure preferment; whence it was that men, destitute of knowledge, and depraved in manners, obtained the best livings, and dishonoured religion by the irregularity of their lives. Incontinence was so common, that brothels were established close to the churches, and even near the palace of the pope, the marshal of whose court received a part of the wages of prostitution. The sovereign pontiff himself was accused of an intrigue with a lady of quality; and some historians* have made no scruple to ascribe the removal of the holy see to France (which took place at this period) to the pope's attachment to the countess of Perigord, daughter to the count de Foix, a lady of exquisite beauty, from whom he could not bear to part.

During the reign of Philip the Fourth, in 1293, a sumptuary law was passed, prescribing the number of dishes which a person was to have on his table at each meal; the number of dresses he was permitted to buy every year, and the price of the stuffs of which they were composed, with various other economical regulations. It enacted, that no person should give more than two dishes of meat, and a soup or ragout for supper, which was the principal meal; and, at dinner, one dish of meat and an *entremets*. On fast days (when he had only one meal) he was allowed to have two dishes of herrings, and two of meat, or one of herrings and three of meat—but never more than four dishes on fast-days, and three on others†. But, lest this law might be evaded, it was farther enacted, that no dish should contain more than one kind of meat or fish—cheese, however, was not considered as meat, unless enclosed in a paste, or boiled. The same economical regulations which the kings prescribed to their subjects they observed themselves; they never suffered more than three dishes to appear at their tables; and never drank any wine but such as came from their own vineyards, which were all situated in the Orleansois.

By another part of this law it was decreed, that no duke, count, nor baron, possessing a territorial revenue of six thousand livres, should have more than four robes a year, and their wives as many; prelates and knights were restricted to two, except such knights as had a landed estate of three thousand livres a year, who were allowed to have three; an esquire, two; a bachelor, one; and every woman, single or married, who had less than two thousand livres a year in land, one. It was usual for noblemen to make presents of their robes to their dependants; these also were limited; knights were forbidden to give more than two, and prelates more than one. The usual dress of the men, in these times, were

* Villani, l. ix. c. 58; S. Anton. de Conc. Vien. tit. xxi. parag. 3. † *Traité de la Police*, l. iii. tit. 50, p. 386, 387. ‡ *Cont. de Beauv. Observ.* p. 371, 372; *Mœurs des François*, p. 157, 158; *Lettr. Hist. sur. le-Parl.* 2 part. p. 344, & suiv.

the long tunic, with a robe or a cloak, and sometimes both, over it; the short jacket, except in camp, was confined to servants. At one time the robes had no sleeves; and, when sleeves were introduced, they were at first very tight, and afterwards very full and large. The cloak, particularly when trimmed with fur, was only worn by persons of a certain rank. It was fastened with a clasp on the right shoulder, so as to leave the right arm at full liberty: tucked up on the left side above the sword, and hung loose behind as low as the ground. The different classes of nobility were distinguished by the breadth of the border of their cloaks, by the quality of the fur or ermine with which it was trimmed, the size of the cape, and length of the train. The cloak of a duke, count, baron, or knight, was made of scarlet or violet cloth; this last colour was generally used by the peers for their long court dress. Hats were not yet known; caps were worn of velvet, or of cloth; the first, which were laced, were confined to kings, princes, and knights. Over the cap a kind of hood was worn with a cushion at top, and a tail hanging down behind; this part of the head-dress, which was called a *chaperon*, was common to both sexes. The *chaperons* of people of distinction were larger than the others, and trimmed with fur; those of the common people were plain, and formed like a sugar-loaf.

With regard to the price of the different stuffs of which the robes were composed, it was decreed, that no prelate or baron should wear a robe that cost more than five-and-twenty sous an ell; the wives of barons were allowed to exceed this price, by one fifth. The knight-banneret could not exceed eighteen sous the ell; the baron's son, fifteen; the esquire, ten; the dignified clerk, or son of a count, sixteen; the simple clerk, twelve and a half, and the canon of a cathedral, fifteen. Citizens who were worth two thousand livres, were limited to twelve sous six deniers the ell; their wives allowed to go as high as sixteen; others, less opulent, were limited to ten sous, and their wives to twelve.

By an account of the expences of the king's household in 1202, it appears, that the complete dress of a page cost a *hundred and seven sous*; that of a lady of the court, *eight livres*; of women of inferior rank, one third less; of female domestics, *fifty-eight sous*. The price of cloth for the shifts of women of the highest rank, was fixed at *one sol, eight deniers* the ell; the scarlet robe, which Philip Augustus wore at the festival of Easter, cost *sixteen livres and a half*; his tunics, each *fifteen sous*; and the queen's best robe and furred cloak, *twenty-seven livres, seventeen sous*. Another account of the year 1217, states, that the robes of M. Lewis, the king's eldest son, and those of the princess his wife, amounted to a *hundred and sixteen livres, eleven sous*—the richest which the prince had, in the month of September, cost *nine livres, fifteen sous*; there was one which cost only *thirty-six sous*.

In those days, as in the present times, the citizen affected to ape his superiors, and to mimic the manners of the courtier; like him he had his carriage, his

flambeaus, his rich dresses, and brilliant trinkets. The new edict sought to restrain these abuses, and to make men live according to their respective situations in life; it was ordained, that no citizen's wife should have a carriage, or be lighted home at night with waxen torches; that neither she nor her husband should wear ermine or any other expensive furs, or gold, or precious stones, or crowns of gold or silver.

But no sumptuary law could suffice to check the vanity of the times; the fines annexed to a violation of the edict proved inadequate to enforce its execution; and, as soon as one article of luxury was forbidden, another was introduced in its place. During the reign of Philip, the long shoes, turned up at the toes, were introduced into France; they are said to have been first worn by a nobleman, who had a large fleshy excrescence at the end of his foot, for the purpose of concealing that defect. They soon became general, and thenceforth a man's rank was known by the length of his shoes; the shoes of a prince were two feet and a half in length; those of a baron two feet, while a simple knight was reduced to eighteen inches, and a plain cit to twelve. Hence the French proverb—*Etre sur un grand pied dans le monde*. The shoes were frequently adorned with horns, claws, or some grotesque figure; the more ridiculous it was, the greater its beauty. The bishops long exclaimed in vain against this absurd custom, which the continuator of William de Nangis calls—"a sin against nature," "an insult to the Creator;" and the wearing such shoes was very near being declared *heresy**. Charles the Fifth, in order to please the clergy, declared the custom to be "contrary to good manners, invented in derision of God and the church, by worldly vanity, and mad presumption†;" to affect its abolition, all those who followed it were sentenced to pay a fine of ten florins. This regulation had the desired effect; but the long shoes were succeeded by large slippers, above a foot wide‡.

An absurd and most irrational credulity prevailed, in all the nations of Europe, during the thirteenth century, not only among the vulgar, but among persons of the highest rank and best education. No prince engaged in any enterprise of importance till his astrologers had consulted the stars, and discovered the auspicious moment for carrying it into execution. Of this a very curious example is exhibited by Matthew Paris, in his account of the marriage of Frederic, emperor of Germany, with Isabella, sister to Henry the Third, of England, in the year 1235.—"Nocte vero prima qua concubuit imperator eum ea, noluit eam carnaliter cognoscere, donec competens hora ab astrologis ei nunciaretur||."

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 138.

† Liv. Vert. ayc du Châtelet, fol. 148.
|| M. Paris, p. 285. ad Ann. 1235.

‡ Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, ch. 7.

LEWIS THE TENTH,

SURNAMED HUTIN.*

A. D. 1314.] ON the accession of Lewis to the throne of his ancestors, all Europe was convulsed by intestine commotions. Edward the Second, of England, a weak but well-disposed prince, was harassed by his factious and turbulent barons, for entrusting to others the weighty cares of government which he was unable to bear himself. His kingdom was divided into parties; the standard of revolt was hoisted in every quarter; and justice and order gave way to violence and bloodshed.

Germany, by the death of the emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, was equally convulsed by two contending factions†. The princes, on whom the appointment of a successor devolved, were divided in their choice; and the want of a proper regulation to prevent disorder, on the decease of the sovereign, occasioned an interregnum of fourteen months, which was terminated by a double election; the particulars whereof are variously related by historians. The most common opinion is, that five electors—the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mayence and Treves, the duke of Saxe, and the marquis of Brandenburg, elected Lewis of Bavaria, grandson, by his mother's side, to the emperor Rodolphus the First; and that the two others, the archbishop of Cologne, and the count Palatine, proclaimed Frederic the Handsome, son to the emperor Albert of Austria. They were both crowned; the first at Aix la Chapelle, by the archbishop of Mayence, and the last at Rouen, by the archbishop of Cologne. After their coronation, each of them prepared to assert his right by force of arms; which gave rise to those dreadful disorders, that desolated Germany during

* Why the appellation of 'Hutin' was bestowed on this monarch has not been determined; the literal meaning of this obsolete term is, 'imperious,' 'peevish,' or 'quarrelsome;' but there was nothing in the disposition of Lewis the Tenth that could possibly justify the annexation of such epithets to his name. Mezeray is of opinion, that he was called 'Hutin,' either from the circumstance of his having been sent by his father to quell the 'Hutins,' or insurgents of Navarre and Lyons, or because, in his infancy, he had given symptoms of a martial disposition, by assembling the young noblemen of the court, whom he drew up in order of battle, and made them go through their exercise.

† Essai sur l'Hist. Gen. t. xii. p. 278.

eight years. At length a battle, that was fought in the vicinity of Muhldorff, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1322, in which the Austrian was defeated and taken prisoner, secured the crown to his competitor; and Frederic was glad to procure his liberty by resigning his pretensions to Lewis.

Rome was exposed to the same disorders, and from a similar cause. The pontifical throne had been some time vacant, by the death of Clement the Fifth, and the cardinals, assembled at Carpentras, could not agree in the choice of a successor. The Gascons, who formed a powerful party in the conclave, wished for a pontiff of their own nation; but they were strenuously opposed by the French and Italians; and, such was the equality between these two factions, that neither could preponderate; thus there was no prospect of putting an end to the contest. The Gascons, tired with the length of their confinement, engaged their servants to set fire to the conclave, by which the cardinals were compelled to separate; they promised, indeed, to meet again as soon as a convenient place should be fixed upon; but, as they firmly adhered to their respective opinions, they were in no haste to fulfil their engagement. Lewis, soon after his accession, sent his brother, the count of Poitiers, to affect an accommodation between the different parties; and, having assembled all the cardinals in a convent at Lyons, he declared that they should not stir from thence, till they had given a head to the church.

The Castilians were engaged in a war with the Moors, whom, though they often defeated, they could never reduce*. Their kingdom, in the mean time, was infested with formidable troops of banditti, who plundered travellers, pillaged the country, and committed a thousand acts of violence and outrage, which no care was taken to repress. The throne was filled by an infant monarch, and the princes of the blood, wholly occupied by projects of ambition, violated all laws, human and divine, in order to obtain the regency.

Such was the situation of the neighbouring powers, when Lewis ascended the throne; nor was his own kingdom in a state of greater tranquillity†. Most of the provinces had either actually revolted, or were ready to revolt; in that of Sens, a conspiracy, of a very singular nature, had been formed. Many of the inhabitants, oppressed by the shameful extortions, and enraged at the uncontrolled insolence of the officers of the archbishop's court, elected a king, a pope, and cardinals of their own; and prepared to retaliate on their enemies by the commission of similar outrages. They pronounced sentences of excommunication, gave absolution, administered the sacraments, or else compelled the priests to administer them, by threatening them with death. They proceeded so far that Lewis was obliged to interpose his authority, and to put a stop to the disorders, by consigning the principal authors of them to condign punishment. But a league between the people of Vermandois, Beauvaisis,

* Mariana, t. iii. l. 15, p. 342, &c.

† Spicil. t. iii. p. 70.

Champagne, Burgundy, and Forez, which had been formed during the preceding reign, and lately renewed, gave him more serious apprehensions. He sent his uncle, the count of Valois, to hear the complaints of the insurgents, and to do them justice. Charles, after many negotiations, had at length the good fortune to succeed in quelling this dangerous revolt. He satisfied the nobles, by the re-establishment of all the prerogatives which they had enjoyed under the reign of Saint Lewis, and he appeased the people by repealing the taxes which occasioned their discontent, and by sacrificing to their resentment the life and honour of Enguerrand de Marigny, whom they had long been taught to regard as the author of their misery.

Enguerrand was descended from an ancient and noble family in Normandy; the name of which was originally Le Portier, but his grandfather Hugh, lord of Rosely and Lyons, having married the heiress of the count of Marigny, gave her name to his children. The moment young Marigny made his appearance at court, he was universally admired for the graces of his person, the elegance of his wit, and the strength of his talents. The late king, finding him possessed of much political knowledge, appointed him a member of his council, gave him the post of chamberlain, created him count of Longueville, made him governor of the Louvre, master of the household, superintendant of the finances, and prime minister*. This accumulation of favours naturally excited the envy of the great, whose enmity increased in proportion to his merit. The imprudence of Philip, in the multiplication of imposts, rendered his minister an object of public indignation. But of all his enemies, the count of Valois was the most violent and implacable; during the life of his brother, however, he was under the necessity of confining his animosity to his own bosom. A change of government, attended by a general insurrection, appeared to him a proper season for revenge; he therefore laid his plan of persecution, and veiled it under the specious mask of public good.

Notwithstanding the immense sums which had been levied, during the late reign, on the king's decease the treasury was so far exhausted, that there was not sufficient money to defray the expence of a coronation†. "Where then," said Lewis one day in full council, "are the tenths which were levied on the clergy? What has become of the numerous subsidies exacted from the people? Where are the riches that must have been derived from the debasement of the coin?" "Sire," said the count of Valois, "Marigny was entrusted with all this money, it is his place to give an account of it." Enguerrand protested that he was ready so to do, whenever he should receive the king's orders for that purpose. "Let it be done, then, immediately," exclaimed the count. "With all my heart," replied the minister; "I gave you, Sir, a great part of it; the rest was employed in defraying the expences of the state, and

* Hist. des Minif. d'Etat, p. 504.

† Le Blanc Traité des Mon. p. 196.

“in carrying on the war against the Flemings.” “*You lye!*” said Charles in a rage.—“It is yourself, who are the liar, Sir,” returned the minister, with more spirit than prudence. The count immediately drew his sword; Marigny put himself in a posture of defence, and the consequences must have been serious but for the interference of the council, who hastened to separate them. The prince no longer placed any bounds to his resentment; all his credit was exerted for the infliction of vengeance; and his friends, the count of Saint Paul, and the vidame of Amiens, were, in the mean time, ordered to intimate to the young monarch that the superintendant of his finances was the only victim capable of assuaging the rage of the people.

Some days after this incident, Marigny, relying too much on his own innocence, attended the council as usual; but he was arrested as he entered the king's apartment, and conveyed to the prison of the Louvre, of which he was governor; from thence, at the intercession of the count of Valois, he was transferred to the temple, and thrown into a dungeon*. Ralph de Preles, a celebrated advocate, the intimate friend of Marigny, was also arrested, through fear that he might furnish the minister with such means of defence as might baffle all the efforts of his adversaries. Some pretext, however, was necessary to cover the iniquity of this proceeding; he was therefore accused of having conspired against the life of the late king; and, by an instance of unparalleled injustice, his effects were immediately confiscated, and were not restored even after his innocence had been established. The king, indeed, on his death-bed, felt a remorse of conscience, and did all that he could to repair this injury. In his last will he ordered all the lands and effects belonging to Ralph de Preles to be restored, whether they were in possession of the crown or of individuals†. But it is not known, whether his orders were executed.

Many other persons were involved in the disgrace of Marigny, particularly all such as had been any wise concerned with him in the administration of the finances. These were committed to different prisons; some put to the torture, for the purpose of extorting from them something that might tend to criminate the minister; but, either from gratitude to their benefactor, or from respect for truth, they bore the pain with fortitude, and made no confession. The count of Valois was highly disappointed; nor did he succeed better in a proclamation he issued, inviting all persons, whether rich or poor, who had any complaints to make against the superintendant of the finances, to appear in the king's court, where they might depend upon having justice done them—Not a soul appeared; not a single complaint was preferred‡.

The prosecution, however, was carried on; and, when every thing was prepared, Marigny was conducted to the wood of Vincennes, to hear the charges:

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 70; Mezeray, t. ii. p. 302. Edit. in 4to.

† Hist. des Min. d'Etat, p. 580.

‡ Ibid. p. 567.

exhibited against him before an assembly at which the king presided in person, assisted by a great number of nobles and prelates. The accusations were numerous; but the most serious were these—that he had debased the coin; burthened people with taxes; artfully persuaded the late king to make him presents to an immense amount; stolen considerable sums, that had been destined for the use of Edmond de Goth, a relation of the pope's; issued various orders unauthorised by the command of his sovereign; and maintained a traitorous correspondence with the Flemings.

Such of these charges as were founded on facts had been acts of the king, and not of the minister; the rest were wholly unsupported by proof;—nor, indeed, did the count of Valois attempt to bring any proof; so little regard did he pay, even to the forms of justice, that he refused to hear what the party accused had to urge in his own defence. Marigny's brothers, however, the bishop of Beauvais, and the archbishop of Sens, used all their credit with the king, to obtain for him a permission, that had never been denied to the most atrocious culprits—that of answering juridically to the various charges that had been brought against him. The king, conscious that what he desired was just, readily complied with it; he went still farther; enraged at finding nothing was produced against the minister but vague assertions, unsupported by proof, he expressed his determination to do him justice by immediately releasing him from confinement; but he was prevented, by the interference of his uncle, from executing this laudable resolution: Charles had proceeded too far to retract, and his influence over the mind of his nephew was such, that he persuaded him to let the matter rest for some days, when he did not doubt of being able to convince him more fully of his minister's guilt.

He then proceeded to suborn some witnesses, who deposed that Alips de Mons, wife to Marigny, and the lady of Canteleu, his sister, had had recourse to witchcraft in order to save him, and that they had made the images of the king, the count of Valois, and some of the barons in wax*. In these days of ignorance and superstition, it was believed that any operations performed on such images would affect the persons they represented; and in the ancient chronicle of Saint Denis, it is gravely asserted, that so long as these had lasted, the said king, count, and barons, would have daily wasted away, till they had died. Absurd as this may appear, the two ladies were seized and confined in the prison of the Louvre, and the magician, James de Lor, who had assisted them in their magic incantations, was committed to the Chatelet, with his wife, who was afterwards burned, and his servant, who expired on a gibbet. A report was presently propagated that De Lor had hanged himself in prison; it is probable he had been privately strangled. Be that as it may, his death was received as a proof of his guilt. Lewis was young, simple, and inexperienced; the waxen

* Hist. des Min. d'Etat, p. 576, 577.

images were shewn to him ; the self-inflicted punishment of the magician was enforced ; his credulity proved stronger than his judgment ; he withdrew his protection from Marigny, and consigned him to the care and disposal of his implacable foe.

The count of Valois, having now attained the summit of his wishes, assembled a few barons and knights, at the wood of Vincennes, ordered the accusations to be read to them, and spared no pains to convince them of their truth—without hearing any evidence, without admitting the prisoner to speak in his defence, he was declared guilty of all the crimes that were laid to his charge, and, notwithstanding his rank, was sentenced to be hanged. This iniquitous sentence was executed on the thirtieth of April, 1315, at break of day, (the time at which all executions were then performed) and his body was afterwards suspended on a gibbet at Montfaucon.

Charles was disappointed in his expectations of applause ; nothing is more common in the minds of the people than sudden transitions from rage to compassion ; highly irritable, their resentment is easily roused ; but, destroy its object, it instantly subsides, and they are the first to accuse themselves of injustice. This was precisely the case with regard to Marigny ; they had been dazzled by his splendour, and had been eager to promote his downfall ; when that was effected, they were moved by his misfortunes, and began to enquire into the justice of his condemnation. What to resentment had seemed clear, to compassion appeared mysterious ; the irregularity of the proceedings now struck them in a forcible point of view, and they loudly condemned those measures which before they had, as loudly, commended. The count of Valois himself, on his death-bed, acknowledged the injustice of his own conduct, and the innocence of Marigny, whose family was, at a subsequent period, reinstated in all the honours and possessions of which he had been unjustly deprived.

A. D. 1316.] A great famine prevailed at this time, occasioned by the heavy rains, which, falling incessantly for four months*, rotted the corn upon the ground, and destroyed the vines. Provisions of all kinds were so dear that the poor, unable to purchase them, died with hunger in the streets. The evil was increased by the avarice of the bakers, who mixed all kinds of filth with their bread, in order to render it more weighty. Being detected by the vigilance of a citizen of Paris, named Roger Bon-Tems, they were exposed upon wheels, to the insults of the populace, and then banished the kingdom. The nation was at length relieved from this dreadful situation, by the supplies it received from Gascony, where commerce was in a more flourishing state than any other part of France.

Lewis having resolved to reduce the Flemings to subjection, but being afraid of risking a civil war by the exaction of new imposts, issued an edict, by which

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 70, 71 ; Godefroi de Paris, MSS. du Roi, N. 6812. fol. 88. col. 1.

he declared, that, as king of the Franks, he wished to have none but free men in his dominions; and that he would, therefore, emancipate from slavery all such of his subjects as would pay him a certain sum*. As all the inhabitants of the country were in a state of feudal servitude—the nature of which we have before had occasion to explain—it was expected that the contribution would be considerable. The greater part of the *serfs*, however, preferring money to liberty, he determined to force them to accept his proffered kindness. For this purpose he issued orders to his officers† to exact from them such sums as their situation and fortune would admit of. But even this was found insufficient; recourse, therefore, was had to another expedient. The Jews were permitted to return to France, on condition of paying a very heavy tax, and to remain there for twelve years, during which they were at liberty to enter into trade, or to live by the labour of their hands; they were allowed, also, to sue for their old debts, two-thirds of which the king claimed for himself; to purchase their synagogues, their burying-places, and their books, except the Thalmud. But the joy which this persecuted people experienced on receiving a favour which they had so long solicited in vain, was considerably damped by the hard conditions annexed to the acceptance of it. They were obliged to wear, as formerly, a particular mark; they were prohibited from lending money on usurious interest, or written obligations; or, in short, on any thing but pledges; and they were forbidden to dispute on matters of faith, either in public or private.

Such was the situation of affairs when Clemence, daughter to the king of Hungary, who had been betrothed to Lewis, arrived in France. The king gave her the meeting at Saint Lie, near Troyes in Champagne, where the marriage was celebrated; and, in a few days after, (on the twenty-fourth of August) they were both crowned at Rheims. Lewis then placed himself at the head of the army which he had assembled for the reduction of Flanders; an army more numerous, and better equipped, than any which France had seen for some time; but the inclemency of the season marred all its operations. On the approach of the French, the Flemings, who were employed in the siege of Marquette, retired in disorder, and fled to Courtray, where they were invested by Lewis. But the heavy rains which fell, without intermission, for a great length of time, prevented the besiegers from proceeding with their works. The whole army, officers as well as men, were up to their knees in mud; to add to their distress, a dearth of provisions soon prevailed in the camp; the roads being so deep that thirty horses were scarcely sufficient to draw a ton of wine. The king, therefore, was reduced to the necessity of raising the siege, and of abandoning his tents, and setting fire to his baggage, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. Enraged at having inconsiderately embarked in this enterprise, against the advice of his council, he swore, that, if he lived till the ensuing sum-

* Ordon, des Rois de France, t. i. p. 583.

† Spicil. t. iii. p. 707.

mer, he would not grant a peace to the Flemings, until he had reduced them to unconditional submission; but Robert de Bethune, count of Flanders, was involved in the same distress with the king; his troops were exposed to the same inconvenience as the French, and the ravages of famine excited them to murmur, and urged them to submit. Unable to quiet their discontents, by removing the difficulties that gave rise to them, the count was compelled to have recourse to the clemency of Lewis. Having attended a parliament which that prince had assembled at Pontoise, he there sued for mercy, and, by promising to submit to such terms as the king should impose, obtained it. But, no sooner had he restored plenty to his dominions, by the assistance of the French, than he broke through his engagements, and again hoisted the standard of revolt.

On his return from this unfortunate expedition, Lewis received a variety of complaints from all parts of the kingdom, against his officers, who took every opportunity of oppressing the people*. He sent commissioners into the provinces to investigate the nature of the abuses complained of, and to inflict an exemplary punishment on those who had committed them. But two only of the poorest were hanged—Jeannot le Portier, and Renaut le Grollier; those who were most guilty had the best means of bribing their judges, and therefore escaped the severity of the law.

While the king was thus employed in repressing the disorders which prevailed in his dominions, and revolving new preparations for his projected attack upon Flanders, he was seized with a disorder that put an end to his life. It is affirmed, by some†, that, having heated himself extremely in playing at tennis, at the wood of Vincennes, he retired to a grotto, the cold air of which, by chilling his blood, proved fatal to him. Others pretend that he was poisoned; but, as they neither mention the author of the crime, nor assign any motive for it, their testimony must be rejected. Lewis was of a liberal and generous disposition, but wanted prudence and firmness; his concern for the welfare of his subjects was evinced by the repeal of those oppressive taxes, which had been imposed during the preceding reign; his intentions, indeed, were generally good, but he had not always sufficient resolution to put them in execution. Had his life been lengthened, he might probably have corrected his errors, and proved a good king. He only reigned a year and a half, and was interred, with regal pomp, at Saint Denis. In his will, he ordered all his debts to be paid, and all the possessions he had usurped to be restored. He also bequeathed a sufficient sum for the maintenance of a hundred scholars during ten years; four thousand livres as a marriage portion for young ladies who had no fortunes; fifty thousand for the recovery of the Holy Land; and ten thousand to the children of Marigny, *as some consolation for the misfortune they had sustained.*

* Chron. MSS. de Godefroi de Paris.

† Id. ib.

Three regulations adopted during the reign of Lewis, evince his attention to the public weal. First, he issued an edict* for enforcing a constitution of the emperor Frederic, by which, among other prohibitions, it was forbidden, under any pretext whatever, to interrupt the farmers in their work, to seize their goods, their persons, their implements of husbandry, or their oxen. Secondly, he issued the most positive orders, for ensuring the liberties of the church, the prerogatives of the nobility, and the happiness of the people. Thirdly, he enacted several laws for remedying the abuses which prevailed with regard to the coin, which proved of great detriment to the kingdom. He would fain have abolished the privilege enjoyed by several nobles and prelates to coin money, but the opposition was so violent, that he was compelled to give up his intentions, and to content himself with prescribing the form and impression of each coin.

I N T E R R E G N U M.

A. D. 1316.] LEWIS the Tenth left no male child. By his first wife, Margaret, he had only one daughter, named Jane, who was afterwards queen of Navarre; on his death-bed he sent for her, and, notwithstanding the licentiousness of her mother, acknowledged her for his child†. His second wife Clemence, was pregnant when he died; and, as it was uncertain whether she would bring forth a prince or a princess, the throne was left vacant, and the regency destined for the count of Poitiers. That prince, who was at Lyons hastening the election of a pope, repaired to Paris with the utmost expedition, in order to take upon him the administration of affairs. But, before he set out, he shut up the cardinals, and left them under the care of the count de Forez. On his arrival in the capital, he convened an assembly of the states; a precaution which he deemed necessary; for though, by the custom of the realm, the crown was limited to the male heirs, yet, as, from the time of Hugh Capet, no instance had occurred in which it was necessary to proceed to a formal exclusion of the females, the friends and relations of the young princess might possibly, he thought, form intrigues in her favour, and perhaps seduce the people to follow the example of the great siefs, most of which devolved to the females.

* Ordon. des Rois, t. i. p. 610, 612.

† God; de Paris, MSS. du Roi, N. 68.

To obviate these difficulties, and the machinations of his secret enemies, he wished to have his right to the regency confirmed by law. The twelve peers accordingly waited on him at the palace, and, holding a parliament, decreed, that, if the queen should bring forth a son, Philip should enjoy the regency, and the guardianship of the young prince, till he should have attained the age of eighteen; or, according to some, four-and-twenty; that he should have the disposal of the national revenue; be president of all the councils; have the right of making peace or war; that, far from diminishing the queen's dower, which had been fixed at twenty thousand livres, he should add four thousand to it, to be taken out of the exchequer of Rouen; and, lastly, that, if Clemence should have a girl, he should be declared king. It was farther decreed, that he should have a particular seal, on which this inscription should be engraved:—"Philip son to the king of the French, governing the kingdoms of France and Navarre*." All the barons then swore fealty to him, acknowledged him for *Guardian of the State*, and did homage to him as such.

The utmost exertions of the regent to maintain the tranquillity of the kingdom proved inadequate to prevent the renewal of a dispute, which had been formerly decided by the king his father†, and which was not finally settled till long after the present period. The author of these disturbances may be regarded as the principal instigator of the war which afterwards broke out between France and England, and raged with unexampled violence, for a hundred and twenty years. The importance of this point of history renders it necessary to trace it to its source. The county of Artois had passed into the royal family of France, by the marriage of Philip Augustus with Isabella of Hainault, who received it as a dowry from her uncle Philip, count of Flanders. Lewis the Eighth, son to Isabella, enjoyed it as *an hereditary estate*. On his accession to the throne he annexed it to the crown; and he afterwards assigned it as a dowry to his queen Blanche. At length it was given by Saint Lewis, as an appanage, to his brother Robert, who was killed at Maffoura. Robert the Second, heir to that prince, had two children by Amicia de Courtenai—Philip who married Blanche of Brittany; and Maude or Matilda, wife to Otho the Fourth, count of Burgundy. Philip died, four years before his father, of the wounds he had received at the battle of Furnes, leaving one son, Robert the Third, and four daughters, Margaret, Jane, Mary and Isabella. His sister Maude, authorised by the custom of the country, claimed, on the death of her father, the greatest part of the succession, as being his nearest heir. Philip the Fair acknowledged the validity of her claim, and put her in possession of the county of Artois, with a reservation, however, in favour of any rights to which her nephew and nieces, the children of Robert the Second, might pretend. Robert the Third when he came of age, preferred his claim, and demanded the re-

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 71.

† Ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. viii. p. 670. tom. x. p. 572.

stitution of the county. After much altercation, both parties consented to leave their respective pretensions to the arbitration of Philip the Fair; and engaged to pay a fine of one hundred thousand livres in case they refused to abide by his decision. The sentence was again favourable to Maude, but the king decreed, that she should pay her nephew, as well for his own claims, as for those of his sisters, and of his mother, Blanche of Brittany, a pension of four thousand livres, chargeable on the lands of Charny, Chateau-Regnard, and other estates then specified; that she should, moreover, pay Robert, for his own use, an annuity of one thousand livres, also chargeable on estates; and the net sum of twenty thousand livres, payable in four years. Robert confirmed this decision; and, during the reigns of Philip the Fair, and his son Lewis Hutin, it does not appear that he made any attempt to disturb the countess Maude in the possession of Artois; but the period of an interregnum appeared to him favourable for the execution of his designs.

The nobility of Artois and the Cambresis, as well as those on the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, discontented with the government of Maude, who was wholly swayed by the advice of Thierri d'Inchon, or de Herisson, then provost of Aire, but afterward bishop of Arras, had entered into a confederacy for remedying the abuses introduced into the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue. Lewis Hutin, aware of the consequences of these commotions, endeavoured to quell them, by ordering the countess to enforce the observance of those laws and customs which had prevailed in Artois, in the time of Saint Lewis. This regulation restored tranquillity; but Maude was not punctual in enforcing it; and the death of her son, together with that of the king, once more induced the insurgents to have recourse to arms. Robert of Artois, eagerly embraced the opportunity of again advancing his own claims, and, placing himself at the head of the conspirators, proceeded to make himself master of the county. Hedin, Avennes, and Arras opened their gates to receive him: and Saint Omer, after some resistance, was compelled to surrender. The regent, enraged at this daring attack on the royal authority, summoned the prince to appear in his court, to answer for his conduct; and, as Robert refused to obey the citation, he resolved to march against him.

With this view Philip assembled his troops, and, in the beginning of November, advanced towards Artois; but, when he had proceeded as far as Amiens, the insurgents, being intimidated at the magnitude of his force, hastened to meet him with offers of submission. The regent consented to pardon them, on condition that they should restore all that they had taken from the countess, and make proper concessions for their misconduct. With regard to the succession, it was settled, that the pretensions of Robert should be submitted to arbitration; that if the appointed umpires could not agree in their decision, the matter should then be referred to the peers and principal nobles of the realm, who were the proper and natural judges of such an affair; that, in the mean time, every

thing should be put on the same footing as on the death of Robert's grandfather ; that the county should be sequestered in the hands of the counts of Valois and Evreux, who should receive the revenue ; and lastly, that Robert himself should be kept prisoner till the business was formally settled. The regent then returned to Paris, where the count surrendered himself, and was detained in prison near two years.

This dispute being deemed an object of importance, it was resolved to investigate the pretensions of the different claimants with the utmost care and impartiality. Every necessary formality was observed, and every delay, required by either party, accorded ; and, after the most solemn deliberation, a sentence was pronounced (in the month of May, 1318,) by which it was determined—that the county of Artois, with all its dependencies, should remain in possession of Maude, her heirs and successors for ever ; that she should consign to oblivion the past misconduct of her nephew ; that, in future, a good correspondence should subsist between them, both parties engaging to refer any difference that might occur to the decision of the king ; and that Robert, for the better enforcement of tranquillity, should promise to get his present engagements ratified by his uncle, the count of Richemont, and his brother-in-law, the count of Namur. Both parties expressed their submission to this sentence, and bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to abide by it. Robert immediately signed letters of ratification, which were confirmed, not only by the counts of Richemont and Namur, but also by the princes of the blood—Charles of France, count of La Marche ; Charles, count of Valois ; Lewis, count of Evreux ; Lewis, count of Clermont ; Philip of Valois, count of Mans ; and his brother Charles ; all of whom bound themselves to see this decision duly enforced, and even to take up arms against such as should presume to attack it. Thus was finished, for the second time, the famous contest for the county of Artois. To console Robert for his disappointment, the princess Jane, youngest daughter to the count of Valois was given him in marriage ; he had already received from Philip the Fair the county of Beaumont-le-Roger, on which the privilege of bestowing the dignity of a peer was afterwards conferred ; but nothing could make him forget a succession to which his ambition led him to aspire, in violation of the law of the country. Under the reign of Philip of Valois, this dispute was revived, and was attended with the most serious consequences to the kingdom.

JOHN THE FIRST.

A. D. 1316.] On the return of Philip from his expedition to Artois, Clemence gave birth to a prince who was named John. But the grief she had experienced on the death of her husband gave rise to a disorder which proved fatal to the infant monarch, who lived but five days*. He was conveyed from the Louvre, where he was born, to the abbey of St. Denis, where he was interred at the feet of his father. The princes of the blood attended the funeral procession of John, who had been formally proclaimed king of France and Navarre; a title by which he is distinguished in all the ancient records, which are still extant in *the treasury of the charters*. The regent now became heir to the throne; and, for the first time since the accession of Hugh Capet, the crown passed from the direct line of succession.

PHILIP THE FIFTH,

SURNAMED THE LONG.

A. D. 1316.] ALTHOUGH Philip was the undoubted heir to the throne, he nevertheless met with some obstacles to his accession. Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy, and his mother, Agnes of France, daughter to Saint Lewis, insisted, that, before Philip was proclaimed king, the pretensions of Jane, daughter to Lewis Hutin, should undergo an examination; and they were openly seconded, in this proposal, by several of the nobility, and secretly, it is pretended, by the count of Valois*. Even the count of La Marche, brother to the new monarch, withdrew from Rheims the very morning appointed for the corona-

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 72.

† Id. ib.

tion. That the princes of the blood, who were interested in rejecting the demands of the confederates, since it eventually affected their own right to the succession, should, by their conduct, give encouragement to their schemes, is a matter of astonishment—their personal enmity to the regent must have overcome their concern for their own interest; though we are not told, by contemporary writers, whence that enmity arose.

A. D. 1317.] Thus a serious opposition arose on all sides; and the peers, particularly the bishops, received a formal notice not to proceed with the coronation*, till the pretended rights of the princess Jane had been duly discussed. This notice, however, was disregarded; and, on the Sunday after the Epiphany, Philip and his queen were crowned at Rheims by Robert de Courtenay, archbishop of that diocese, in the presence of Charles, count of Valois, and Lewis, count of Evreux. But the apprehensions excited by the retreat of the count of la Marche, and the protest of the court of Burgundy, induced the king to order the doors of the church to be kept shut during the ceremony, and the guard to be doubled.

No sooner had the young monarch, who had just entered his twenty-fourth year, returned to Paris, than he convened an assembly of the prelates, nobles, and citizens of the capital, who all swore to yield him obedience as their lawful sovereign, and, after him, to obey his son, Lewis, who died, in a few days, at the age of seven months. At this assembly an express law was made, for excluding females from the throne†. It was, indeed, only declaratory of that which had been in force from the commencement of the monarchy, though no occasion for calling it into action had ever occurred; since all the sovereigns from Hugh Capet to the present time, that is, for the space of three hundred and thirty years, had succeeded to throne, from father to son.

Philip's next care was, to quell the discontents which prevailed in different parts of the kingdom, by the alternate exertion of force and address. While his armies were calculated to operate on the fears of the insurgents, his offers were successfully applied to the passions of their leaders. It had been already agreed, by a treaty concluded the preceding year, between the regent and the house of Burgundy, that, if the queen should give birth to a daughter, that princess, and Jane, the late king's daughter by his first wife, or the survivor, in case either should die, should enjoy the kingdom of Navarre, with the counties of Champagne and Brie, of which Philip should have the government, until they had attained to years of maturity; that, on their marriage, they should formally resign all their pretensions to the rest of the kingdom of France, or, if they rather chose to adhere to those pretensions, the cession of Navarre, Champagne, and Brie, should be null; that Jane should be entrusted to the

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 72. † Tunc etiam declaratum fuit, quod ad coronam regni Franciæ mulier non succedit; Contin' Chron. Guill. de Nangis; Spicil. tom. iii. p. 72.

care of her grandmother, Agnes, duchess of Burgundy, but that she should not marry without the consent of the king, and the princes of the blood; but that, if the queen should give birth to a son, this agreement was to be void*. It was made in the presence, with the consent and advice, of the princes of the blood, and the principal nobles of France, who swore to observe it.

Philip, however, when he came to the throne, was unwilling to execute this treaty. Belleforet ascribes his refusal to the licentiousness of Jane's mother, which rendered her daughter's legitimacy doubtful; but the supposition is absurd, since by the preceding convention, he had formally acknowledged her to be the lawful child of king Lewis. The duke of Burgundy warmly espoused the interest of his niece, and entered into a league with the nobles of Champagne, for the purpose of compelling Philip to fulfil his engagements; but, when hostilities were on the point of commencing, the evils with which the kingdom was threatened were fortunately averted by the conclusion of a treaty between the contending parties. The duke, in the name of the princess, gave up all pretensions to the kingdoms of France and Navarre, as well as to the counties of Champagne and Brie, which last, however, were to revert to her in case Philip should die without male heirs. The king, on his part, agreed to give her a pension of fifteen thousand livres, chargeable on the county of Angouleme; and the sum of fifty thousand, to be laid out in the purchase of an estate. In case Champagne and Brie should revert to the princess, she engaged to restore to the crown all the money she should have received by way of recompence for the renunciation of her rights: but those two counties were to remain in the hands of the reigning prince till she should attain her thirteenth year; nor was she to be put in full possession of them, till, in concert with her husband, she should have ratified the present treaty, of which the duke of Burgundy became the guarantee. If the princess should die without children, they were to return to the crown, the pension was to cease, and the lands purchased to be restored. Jane was then affianced to Philip, the eldest son of the count of Evreux; and it was resolved, in order to prevent any impediment to the projected alliance, that the marriage should be immediately celebrated, *by words* ("par paroles") if a dispensation could not be obtained, which the tender age of the princess rendered requisite, she being only in her seventh year; and, lastly, that, as soon as the ceremony was over, Jane should be entrusted to the care of queen Mary, widow to Philip the Hardy, and grandmother to the bridegroom. The treaty was fully executed, and, from this marriage, sprang Charles, surnamed *the Bad*.

The insurgents were highly discontented with the duke of Burgundy, who, they asserted, had sacrificed the interest of his ward, to some private schemes of ambition. In fact this soon appeared to be the case, for Eudes, shortly after,

* Tref. des Ch. Nav. Layette iii. pièce 7; Du Puy, Tr. de la maison des Rois, p. 149; Leibnitz in Cod. Diplom. p. 70; Mém de l'Ac. des B. L. tom. xvii. p. 295, & suiv.

married the eldest daughter of Philip, by which alliance he acquired the county of Burgundy in addition to the duchy, which territory belonged to his wife's mother. Philip had always recourse to the same means of quelling a revolt, and he always found it successful.

Isabella, his third daughter, had been affianced to Alfonso the Eleventh, king of Castile; but, from political motives, he now judged it prudent to break that engagement; and to promise the hand of the princess to Guigne the Twelfth, dauphin of Viennois and count of Albon. It is said* that the lord of Sassenage, one of the dauphin's vassals, being sent to demand his bride, one of the king's *maitres d'hotel* brutally replied—"That so beautiful a lady was not made for such a great hog as the dauphin!" The ambassador, enraged at the insult offered to his master, drew his sword, and killed the *maitre d'hotel* on the spot; he then took refuge with Amadeus of Savoy, who was, at that time, at the court of France; and the count concealed him till he had found means to appease the king, and obtain his pardon. This service did not pass unrewarded; for Amadeus, at a subsequent period, having been taken prisoner in an action with the dauphin, the Savoyards hastened to his rescue, when Sassenage, who might easily have repulsed them, not only forbore to oppose them, but even carried his generosity so far, as to make way through his own men, to facilitate the count's escape.

Margaret, the king's second daughter, was promised to Lewis of Crecy, son to Lewis, count of Nevers, and grandson to Robert, count of Flanders. This young prince had sought an alliance with the house of Evreux, but the count of Valois interfered, and proposed to him his own daughter, who was accordingly accepted. The day was fixed for the celebration of the nuptials, when the king, under pretence of removing every ground of jealousy between the counts of Evreux and Valois, supplanted them both, by giving the princess Margaret to Lewis. But, previous to the ceremony, it was deemed necessary to settle the disturbances which still prevailed in Flanders; where the inhabitants, accustomed to regard the French as their enemies, had almost forgotten that they were in any wise dependent on the king. Philip, at the commencement of his regency, had projected a treaty, by which the count of Flanders was to have been re-established in his peerage, and the people restored to their privileges; but the conditions on which these indulgences were to be granted appeared too hard to a nation averse from every kind of restraint. The treaty, therefore, being rejected by Robert, a fresh army was sent to reduce the Flemings, and, after their country had been laid waste by the troops, they obtained from Philip a truce, after which the negotiations for a peace were renewed, but without success.

* Mezeray, t. ii. p. 365.

A. D. 1318, 1319, 1320.] It was agreed to leave the matter to be decided by the pope, but the Flemings entertained a proper mistrust of a pontiff, who, besides being born a Frenchman, had particular reasons for wishing to please the king. In vain did he employ both solicitations and menaces to make them submit to his arbitration; both were alike resisted for a considerable time; at length, however, the count of Flanders, finding his subjects so strongly inclined to pacific measures, that they refused to follow him, when, by an attack on the territory of Lille he committed an infraction of the truce, repaired to Paris, attended by his eldest son, and by deputies from the principal towns in Flanders.

When every thing was apparently settled, and nothing remained but to sign the treaty, the count protested that he would never consent to make peace, unless the towns of Orchies, Lille, and Douay were restored to him. With this demand Philip peremptorily refused to comply, and exacted an oath from the princes of the blood, and such of the barons as were present at the time, that they would never consent to the cession of those places. Robert escaped from Paris during the night, with a full resolution to renew the war, but the deputies sent after him, and positively declared, that they would not leave France till an accommodation had been settled on a solid basis. He was therefore compelled to return and give his consent to the terms proposed.

It was stipulated that Orchies, Lille, and Douay, should remain in the king's possession; that the Flemings should pay him a considerable sum of money; according to some, ninety thousand livres; according to others, two hundred thousand; that they should bind themselves, by oath, to take up arms against their prince, in case he violated any of the articles of the present treaty; and that Lewis, son to the count of Nevers, should marry Margaret of France, on condition that he should succeed to the county of Flanders, even should his father die before his grandfather. Thus finished a destructive war, which had lasted five-and-twenty years; the Flemings were serious in their professions of submission, and the moderation of Philip at length surmounted their inveterate hatred.

While these transactions were passing in France, Italy was the theatre of a cruel and sanguinary war. The two powerful factions of the Guelfs and the Ghibelines, had arisen in Germany during the contests of pope Gregory the Eighth, with the emperor Henry the Fourth; and, for successive centuries, they divided and distracted the different states of Italy. The Guelfs supported the pretensions of the pope, the Ghibelines the rights of the emperor. The schism which now prevailed in Germany renewed their animosity—the former espoused the cause of Frederic of Austria, while the latter declared for Lewis of Bavaria, whom the sovereign pontiff refused to acknowledge. The pope's pretext for his refusal was, that Lewis had presumed to exercise the sovereign authority, without *his* consent, who alone, he pretended, had

the right of confirming or annulling his election. But the most formidable partisans that appeared on either side, were the Visconti. Masco, head of this family, had three sons, all deeply versed in the art of war. Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Novara, Vercelli, Alexandria, and several other places in Lombardy, owned his sway. The emperor, too weak to humble, feigned to protect him, and left him the title of his lieutenant. Proud of this distinction, which placed him at the head of the Ghibelines, he laid siege to Genoa; and, to an order which he received from the pope to abandon his enterprise, he replied, "That that city was not within the dominions of the church, but of the empire, and that the pontiff, therefore, had no right to interfere." Such a declaration was sufficient to induce the inquisition to pronounce him a heretic. He was, accordingly, condemned as a wretch* who had abused, stricken, and poisoned the pope's nuncios; pillaged the churches; first whipped, and then expelled several bishops and abbots; burned the hospitals and temples consecrated to God; disturbed the ecclesiastics, at their synods, councils, or chapters; debauched several young virgins; seduced the married women; ravished the nuns, and—what was still worse—compelled the clergy to celebrate divine service, notwithstanding the interdicts pronounced by the holy see! He was also accused of denying the resurrection, or at least of calling it in question; and, as a proof of this assertion, it was affirmed, that his grandfather, grandmother, and sister had been burned as heretics. They next had recourse to excommunications, the frequent use of which, in those times of superstition, had rendered them almost ineffectual; a crusade, therefore, was determined on, to reduce this rebellious son of the church, and the same indulgences were granted to those who would engage in it, as had formerly been accorded to the crusaders in Palestine.

At the same time a dispute arose, ridiculous in its nature†, and only worthy of historical notice from the importance attached to it by a spirit of party. The cordeliers, by the rules of their order, were compelled to renounce, by a solemn vow, all kind of property whatever, reserving to themselves only the simple use of the things of this world. The full extent of this engagement was not at first properly understood, or at least, if understood, was not attended to; and, although no distinction was made between a property in the articles they consumed, and the use they made of those articles, the brethren of the order were suffered to take their soup in peace, and without experiencing any qualms of conscience. Thus things went on in their usual train, some eating their bread as proprietors, others as simple usufructuaries, exercising the rights of the church of Rome, in which the *property* was exclusively vested. But certain casuists having taken it into their heads to lay it down as a maxim,

* Spicil. t. iii. p. 73.

† Ibid. p. 74; Hist. des Ouvrag. des Scav. An. 1700. p. 72, 73; Lettres sur le Péché. Imagin. p. 22 and suiv.

that this mode of life approached the nearest to perfection, was the most conformable to the rules prescribed by the gospel, was the very life, in short, which Jesus and his apostles had taught and practised;—the other religious orders thought themselves insulted; both sides grew warm in the dispute; and, in a short time, it became a question in which the conscience and future salvation of disputants appeared to be deeply affected. The enemies to the new dogma reasoned thus—It is evident that the cordeliers have a right to eat, but they cannot eat lawfully, without having a property in their food, a property which is inseparable from the consumption of it; thus each morsel which they eat is an infraction of the rules of their order, a violation of their vow, consequently a perjury and a mortal sin; every cordelier therefore is evidently out of the path of salvation, and a public sinner. It is, in fact, impossible to live without eating and drinking; if then it be notorious that a cordelier lives, it is equally so that he eats and drinks, consequently, that he habitually violates the constitutions of his order, and that he is habitually guilty of perjury and sacrilege; they carried this curious mode of reasoning still farther—to say that a life polluted by mortal sins was the same kind of life which Christ and his apostles led, was, they affirmed, a horrible blasphemy; the cordeliers, therefore, who maintained that the life they led was the life which Christ had led, were impious blasphemers. Besides, it was mentioned in the scriptures, they observed, that our Saviour had some money for the subsistence of his apostles: it was then an established article of faith that he was a proprietor: the cordeliers, therefore, who deemed that to be the case, were heretics*.

Nothing could be more frivolous or absurd than this dispute; it was nevertheless productive of serious consequences, by the disturbance and schisms which it occasioned in the church. John the Twenty-second (who then filled the papal chair) disliked the cordeliers; he did not thank them for their gift of a property whence he derived no emolument, and which neither added to the wealth of the holy see, nor increased the poverty of the monks; he therefore issued bulls, in order to render them, in spite of themselves and their rules, proprietors of the food they consumed†. These bulls were published in all the schools; it was forbidden, under pain of being deemed a heretic, to maintain a contrary doctrine; and the pontiff burnt, without mercy, all the refractory Franciscans who fell into his hands. The persecuted monks applied to the emperor, who, being already at variance with the pope, did not hesitate to afford them protection, and strenuously opposed the severe censure which had been issued against them. But, according to the custom of these times, not content with defending the friars, he wished to prove their adversaries heretics; and pretended, “that the holy father could not, without a breach of the catholic and christian faith, subvert a rule so sacred as that of the corde-

* Hist. de France, par Villaret, tom. viii. p. 92. et suiv.

† Spicil. t. iii. p. 75.

“ liers ; a rule founded on the gospel, and authorifed by the example of Christ “ and his apoftles.” The Ghibelines, too, ftill more from their hatred to the pope, than from their attachment to the emperor, declared in favour of the monks, and made incurfions on the lands which had been given to the church by the countefs Matilda—a fatal prefent, which had become an eternal fubject of difpute.

The pope, however, continued to fulminate his excommunications—arms, the impotency whereof was beft proved by the fuccefs of his enemies. He applied to the French, formed a treaty with the count of Mons, who afterwards fucceeded to the throne, under the title of Phillip of Valois, and appointed him lieutenant-general of the holy church, for defending it againft the Vifcomti, the moft powerful of all the Ghibelines. The young prince accepted this dignity with joy, and fet out for Italy, accompanied by feveral gentlemen, at the head of whom was his youngeft brother Charles. He marched ftrait to Vercelli, where he was received amidft the acclamations of the Guelfs, who, being mafters of one part of the town, were engaged in continual skirmifhes with the Ghibelines, who had taken poffeffion of the other. Thefe laft, not being fufficiently ftiong to keep the field, fhut themfelves up within their walls, and prepared for a vigorous defence ; but Philip, who had only fifteen hundred horfe, was unable to inveft the place, fo that provifions and other fuccours had a free paffage into the town, which, of courfe, impeded the progrefs of the fieve. A council was called ; and it was refolved, that the prince, while he waited for the reinforcements he expected, fhould place himfelf in an advantageous fituation, on the great road, for intercepting all the convoys. This expedient fucceeded, and the befieged foon found themfelves fo deftitute of every thing that was neceffary for their defence, that they began to think of furrendering at difcretion.

Maffeo, informed of their fituation, fent his fon Galleazzo to their relief, with a force greatly fuperior to that of the French. Philip, apprifed of his arrival, fent to ask him, whether he meant to offer him battle. He anfwered, that it was not his intention to attack any prince of France, but merely to defend his territories and relieve his friends ; with that view he fhould ufe his utmoft efforts to introduce provifions into the town ; and that, if any attempts were made to oppofe him, he fhould defend himfelf with vigour. As the party was by no means equal, Galleazzo having ten times more troops than Philip, it became neceffary to negotiate. The young prince, whofe impatience to fignalife his valour, had prevented him from waiting for the re-inforcements from Gascony, Provence, Naples, Bologna, Vienna, and Florence, demanded a conference with Vifcomti. The Italian, who had been knighted by count Charles of Valois, accepted the propofal, and both of them having advanced to fome diftance from their refpective armies, they had a long converfation together, in which Galleazzo appears to have had the advantage. Prayers, compliments, prefents—all were employed, and fo opportunely, that Philip, won by his profefions of refpect and

attachment, abandoned his enterprize, dismissed his troops, and returned to France, without having achieved any thing either to the advantage of the sovereign pontiff, or to his own reputation or glory.

The tranquillity which the kingdom enjoyed at this period revived the project of a crusade. The king, who had bound himself by a vow to assume the cross*, during the reign of his father, Philip the Hardy, expressed a great eagerness for the expedition. But the pope—with more wisdom than his predecessors had displayed in similar circumstances—endeavoured to moderate his imprudent zeal; he represented to him that the time was unfavourable; that peace, so essential to the success of such an enterprize, was totally banished from the christian world; that all the horrors of discord were combined to desolate Germany, England, Scotland, the two Sicilies, Lombardy, Cyprus, and Armenia; that the order of knights-hospitallers, from whom the most effectual assistance might be expected, were in debt, to the amount of three hundred and sixty thousand florins; but that if, in spite of all these obstacles, he should still persevere in his intentions, he ought first to enquire into the expence of such an expedition, and the means of providing for it, without attempting impossibilities, as his predecessors had done before him. This letter made some impression on the king, though it did not prevent him from continuing his preparations.

The execution of this plan, however, was retarded by the intervention of an occurrence that caused no little confusion in the kingdom. The shepherds and other inhabitants of the country, abandoning their flocks, assembled, with no other arms than a pilgrim's staff, and gave out that they were going to Jerusalem, the relief of the Holy Land being reserved for them†. They marched in great bodies which daily encreased, by the junction of all the idlers, vagabonds and rogues that met them on the road. They took with them children of sixteen; even women were led to imitate the example, and were not ashamed to leave their husbands to follow them. They were called *pastoureaux*‡; their leaders were two profligate priests, one of whom had been deprived of his living on account of his crimes, and the other was an apostate monk of the order of St. Benedict. At first, they observed a strict discipline, marching in procession two by two, carrying a cross before them, paying their devotion at all the principal churches, and begging a subsistence in a manner corresponding to the poverty they professed. The people supplied them with great plenty of provisions, and the king himself, led away by the fanatical spirit of crusading, encouraged them with more zeal than prudence. But they soon contracted the habits of those vagabonds who had joined them, and began to commit every species of depredation and outrage. Some of them being apprehended by an order from the magistrates, the rest hastened to the prison, burst open the doors, and relea-

* Rain. An. 1319, No. 19.

† Rain. Ann. 1320. No. 21, 22, 23; Spicil. t. v. p. 77.

‡ Little

Shepherds,

sed the captives. When they arrived at the capital, they forced the Chatelet, threw the provost of Paris, who had opposed their entrance, down stairs, and rescued all their companions. From thence they repaired to a meadow near the abbey of St. Germain, where they drew up in order of battle, in expectation of being attacked; but, nobody appearing, they marched off quietly, and neither the king nor his ministers took any step for preventing their insolence, or checking their rebellious proceedings.

The Jews, in particular, were the objects of their persecution; left to the choice of death or baptism, they collected their most valuable effects, and fled before this tumultuous rabble. A considerable number of them having taken refuge in the royal castle of Verdun on the Garonne, in the diocese of Toulouse, were there besieged by the *pastoureaux*; they defended themselves with vigour, throwing large beams, stones, and even their own children at the enemy; the besiegers, however, displayed equal resolution, and at length succeeded in setting fire to the fortrefs. The Jews, half suffocated by the surrounding smoke, perceived there was no means of escape; and, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy, they requested one of their fellow-citizens, a young man of great strength, to put them all to death. The wretch accepted the fatal commission; and, after he had massacred five hundred, he presented himself to the besiegers, with a few children whose lives he had spared, and demanded baptism. This request however was rejected, and he instantly met the punishment that was due to his barbarity*.

From thence the *pastoureaux* passed into Languedoc, and had advanced nearly as far as Carcassonne, when the seneschal, Aymeri de Cros, published a prohibition to commit any act of violence on the Jews who belonged to the king, but this order being disregarded, he was compelled to assemble troops, and adopt more vigorous and decisive measures. A great number of these vagabonds were apprehended and hanged in different places, particularly at Toulouse, where they had massacred all the Jews in the city; the rest marched towards Avignon, but, finding the gates of the town shut against them, they were obliged to retreat, when many of them were killed; others were taken and executed, and the whole body of them now meeting with a general resistance, speedily dispersed and retired to their respective habitations.

A. D. 1321.] The infidels, informed of this occurrence, imagined that the rage for crusading was revived in France†; and, in order to avert the danger with which they conceived themselves to be threatened, they had recourse to a stratagem the most treacherous and base. Knowing that the Jews, from the persecution they had continually experienced in France, entertained an implacable hatred against the nation; they applied to them to poison all the wells and springs in the kingdom, which would of course effect the destruction of

* Villaret, tom. viii. p. 101, & suiv.

† Spicil. tom. iii. p. 78, 79.

thousands, and thereby prevent the king's intended expedition into Palestine. The king of Grenada, urged on by the mahometans of Asia, and excited, moreover, by his own resentment against the christians, whose victorious armies had laid waste his dominions, was the principal contriver of this detestable plot. The Jews being closely watched, were afraid to undertake a commission so pregnant with danger, but they promised to use their utmost endeavours to prevail on the lepers, who were then very numerous in France, to execute the plan. These unfortunate people, whose malady was contagious, bore with impatience the humiliating degradation of being considered not only as outcasts of society, but as objects of public execration and horror. They were easily persuaded that all who should drink of the poisoned waters, and escape with life, would be afflicted with the leprosy; by which means the disorder would become general, and no longer be regarded as ignominious. This flattering hope, so natural to man, of seeing others reduced to the same wretched situation with themselves; and the farther inducement of a bribe, proved too powerful to be resisted; all the waters in Upper-Guienne were poisoned, and, in a short time, the country was almost depopulated. But they did not conduct the matter with such secrecy as to escape suspicion; their motions were watched; and several of them being detected, avowed the crime, and were burned alive.

In Poitou, a similar attempt was made; but it was fortunately discovered ere the evil had spread, and an adequate remedy was applied. The authors of it were apprehended, and, full proof of their guilt being obtained, the king published an edict, commanding such of the lepers as should be convicted to be burned alive, and the rest to be imprisoned for life; and this edict was rigorously enforced. As to the Jews, in many places they were burned without any discrimination; at Chinon, it is said, a large fire was made in a deep hole dug for the purpose, and one hundred and sixty of them were cast into the flames. Several, we are told, jumped into the fire of their own accord, and exhibited every symptom of joy*; the women, too, followed the example, and devoted their children to destruction, through fear that the christians might seize them, and convert them to christianity. At Paris, the guilty were punished with equal severity; and the innocent were banished the kingdom; the king, however, was careful to detain the most opulent Jews till he had procured an account of the debts that were due to them, which he appropriated to his own use, together with all their effects, which were estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand livres—a considerable sum in those times. At Vitry, forty of this wretched people, being condemned to the flames, determined to anticipate the executioner. For this purpose they selected one of the oldest among them, a man of high repute and great sanctity; he refused, however, to undertake the office, unless

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 78, 79; Villaret. t. viii. p. 109. et suiv.

a young man was associated with him. This being immediately done, the two executioners proceeded to massacre their companions; when they had accomplished their sanguinary task, a dispute arose between them, as to which should die the first; at length the young man yielded, and dispatched the old one. Left to himself, and alarmed at the prospect of death, and tying the robes of his dead countrymen together, he sought to escape by the window; but he fell in the attempt, and having broken his leg, was seized and burned.

Though the fanaticism of Philip had led him to connive, in a great measure, at the disorders committed by the *pastoureaux*, he generally enforced a due obedience to the laws, and administered justice with strictness and impartiality. Of this, a striking instance is recorded in history*. A rich citizen was confined in the prison of the Chatelet, on a charge of murder, under the care of Henry Capetal, provost of Paris. The crime was so notorious, and the proofs were so clear, that the culprit was unanimously convicted, and sentenced to die. But the provost, tempted by the offer of a considerable sum of money, consented to save his life; and, ordering a *poor* prisoner, who was confined on a false accusation to be hanged in his stead, suffered the *rich* criminal to escape. This iniquitous transaction being communicated to the king, he appointed commissaries to try the magistrate, and the fact being ascertained, very properly ordered him to be suspended on the same gibbet.

A. D. 1322.] The king was employed, during the greater part of his reign, in the adoption of salutary regulations, as well for checking abuses in the administration of justice, as for facilitating the internal traffic of the kingdom, by establishing an uniformity of coin, weights, and measures. But this last design, laudable as it was, had nearly excited a revolt†. A report was industriously propagated, that, in order to indemnify those who enjoyed the privilege of coining, he had resolved to impose a tax upon all his subjects, amounting to one-fifth of their property. Associations were immediately formed in various parts of the kingdom: and the nobility and clergy joined the people in their efforts to resist an impost, both onerous and unprecedented. Philip, therefore, was obliged to give up the scheme; but, such was the misery occasioned by the debasement of the coin, that he resolved, at all events, to deprive the barons and prelates of that dangerous privilege. This measure he enforced with equal spirit and success, in Chartres, Anjou, Clermont, and the Bourbonnois, and there is little doubt but he would finally have accomplished the total abolition of private mints, had he not been seized with a violent fever, accompanied by a dysentery, which put an end to his life. He expired at Long-Champ, on the third of January, 1322, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the sixth of his reign. His body was conveyed to Saint-Denis; his heart, to the convent of the cordeliers, at Paris; and his entrails to the Jacobins. "Those good fathers,"

* Spicil. tom. iii. p. 76.

† Ibid. p. 79.

says Mezeray*, “ had, from the time of Saint Lewis, claimed a right of having “ a part of the entrails of their sovereigns—less for the honour of the circumstance, than for the emoluments with which it was generally accompanied.”

Philip was a just and virtuous prince, whose only fault appears to have been an exorbitant love of money, which sometimes led him to the adoption of measures, that were inconsistent with the general tenour of his conduct. He was pious and devout; ever faithful to his word; vigilant, active, and resolute in all his undertakings; but in manners mild, and possessed of a capacious and cultivated mind. Attached to the study of the belles-lettres, he patronised all who had the same propensity. Million, and Bernard Marquis, two celebrated poets, the first of Poitou, the last of Provence, were, in consideration of their talents, honoured with his friendship, and rewarded with places in his household.

Philip had, by his queen Jane, heiress of Burgundy, one son, named Lewis, who died in his infancy; and four daughters—Jane, married to Eudes the Fourth, duke of Burgundy; Margaret, wife to Lewis, count of Flanders; Isabella, who was first married to Guigue, dauphin of Viennois, and afterwards to John, baron of Faucongnay, in Franche-Comte; and Blanche, who took the veil in the monastery of Long-Champ.

It was under this reign that the constitutions of pope Clement the Fifth, vulgarly called *Clementines*, were published; that Thoulouse became a metropolis; and that the bishoprics of Montauban, Saint Papoul, Rieux, Lombes, Lavaur, Mirépoix, Alet, Saint-Pons, Castres, Condom, Sarlet, Tulle, Saint Flour, Vabres, Lucon, and Maillezais, were erected; the last was afterwards transferred to Rochelle.

It was customary, at this period, to admit children of eight years to take the veil; but they neither made the usual vows, nor received the solemn benediction; if they afterwards left the convent, and married, which they were at liberty to do, they were obliged to obtain letters of *legitimation* for their children, in order to render them capable of inheriting; whence it would appear, that, without such letters, they would have been deemed bastards. “ The case was very different”—says the president Henault—“ two hundred years before, when Hugh, abbot of Cluni, supported by the authority of the church, forbade the reception of any girl under twenty, at the abbey of Marcigny, which he had founded.”

In these times, nuns were required to learn Latin, which had ceased to be the vulgar tongue; this custom was observed till the latter end of the fourteenth century.

Philip, by a law, excluded the clergy from sitting in parliament, in order that they might have more leisure to attend to the duties of their profession. He revoked all the grants of crown-lands which had been made during the reigns of his father, Philip the Fair, and his brother, Lewis Hutin; and, from that time, the domains of the crown became *inalienable*.

* Hist. de Fr. t. ii. p. 365.

† Abreg. Chron. de l'Hist. de Fr.

CHARLES THE FIFTH,

SURNAMED THE FAIR.

A. D. 1322.] PHILIP leaving no male issue, his brother Charles, count of la Marche, succeeded to the throne without opposition* ; and was crowned at Rheims, by Robert de Courtenai, archbishop of that diocese†. His first care was to procure a divorce from his wife, Blanche of Burgundy, who, for adultery, was still confined in the prison of Chateau-Gaillard. He had recourse to the usual convenient pretext of consanguinity, which, in this instance, however, was strengthened by a farther impediment, arising from the circumstance of Maude of Artois, mother to Blanche, having stood godmother to Charles. A dispensation from pope Clement the Fifth was indeed produced, in opposition to this plea, but the attorney-general undertook to prove its invalidity, from the insertion of several false facts, which had tended to impose on the sovereign pontiff. The court of Rome being inclined to gratify his inclinations, readily admitted the strength of his reasons ; the divorce was accordingly pronounced, and Charles, soon after, gave his hand to Mary of Luxembourg, daughter to the emperor, Henry the Seventh, and sister to John, duke of Bohemia.

The pope was induced to grant this indulgence to the king, from a promise which he made to undertake a crusade for the relief of the Cyprian and Armenian christians, who were cruelly harassed by the infidels. But though considerable preparations were made for this expedition, to command which Amalric, viscount of Narbonne, was released from prison, while Berenger Blanc was appointed admiral of the fleet, it never took place ; Charles finding the immediate concerns of his kingdom sufficient to employ his attention, and to occupy his forces. The Lombards and Italians, to whom the administration of the finances were principally entrusted, being accused of malversation and oppression, were stripped of their property, and sent back in a state of poverty to their native country. Gerard Laguerre, a native of Clermont in Auvergne, a man of low extraction, formerly master of the mint, now receiver-

* Rain. Ann. 8322. No. 23.

† Baluz. tom. i. p. 440.

general of the revenues of the crown, died on the rack, to which he had been applied in order to extort from him a confession of the hidden treasures which he was *suspected* of possessing*. His body was afterwards dragged through the streets, and suspended on a gibbet at Paris.

A. D. 1323.] Apprised of the tyrannical proceedings of the nobility, who seized with impunity the property of their neighbours, and exerted the most despotic sway over the country in which they resided, Charles sent commissioners of approved integrity and known talents into the different provinces, as well to repress their licentious proceedings, as to check the abuses arising from the venality and ignorance of the provincial judges. The commissioners had orders to shew no favour to any one, but to administer justice with the utmost rigour and the strictest impartiality; having recourse less to the exaction of pecuniary fines than to the infliction of corporeal punishments. A gentleman of note, named Jourdain, lord of Lille, in Aquitaine, the most considerable of these petty tyrants, the scourge of the country in which he lived, was cited to appear before the king, to answer to eighteen different charges that had been exhibited against him, the least of which merited death. The criminal, knowing the king's severity, made application to the pope, to whom he was related by marriage; and, the intercession of John proving successful, he obtained a pardon for all his crimes: but, rather encouraged than dismayed by his recent escape, he soon committed fresh enormities, and gave way to every species of oppression and licentiousness—ravished the virgins, putting to death all such as opposed his iniquitous proceedings, declaring himself the protector of thieves and public predators, and openly resisting the royal authority. Cited a second time to appear in the king's court, he had the temerity to slay the usher of the council, who brought him the summons; and, even after this act of violence, he presumed to appear, accompanied by the principal nobility of the province. He relied on the dignity of his birth, and the influence of the pope, who again interfered to rescue him from the hands of justice; but the viscount de Lomagne, and the lord of Albret, his principal accusers, having established the facts laid to his charge, he was committed to the prison of the Chatelet, and, being tried and condemned by the *Mayors of the Palace*‡, was tied to a horse's tail, dragged to the place of execution, and there hanged.

Charles was equally severe in asserting his authority over the most powerful vassals of the crown. We have before observed, that Philip the Long, when he married his daughter Margaret to Lewis, son to the count of Nevers, insisted that the young prince should succeed to the county of Flanders, even should his father die before his grandfather. The event justified the precaution, as the old count survived his eldest son two months. On his death, Robert de Cassel, his youngest son, laid claim to the succession, and, assisted by the count of Namur,

* Le Gendre, *Hist. de Fr.* t. ii. p. 149. † Idem, *Ibid.* ‡ Villaret, t. viii. p. 133.

took possession of several forts. He founded his pretensions on proximity of blood, being son to the last proprietor, whereas Lewis was only his grandson. The king took upon himself the decision of the affair, and forbade the rival claimants to proceed till he should have pronounced sentence. The Flemings, being strongly attached to Lewis, sent a deputation to Charles to request he would confirm the last treaty, and to assure him, that they would convert the country into an independent republic, if he attempted to give them any other sovereign. The young prince, flattered by these professions of attachment, entertained no doubt of gaining his cause, and, without waiting for the king's consent, received the homage of his new subjects. Charles, enraged at this act of disobedience to his mandates, arrested Lewis, and confined him for some days in the prison of the Louvre; but, appeased by his submissions, he restored him to liberty, gave a sentence in his favour, received his homage, and exacted an oath that he would never require the cession of Orchies, Lille, and Douay.

Lewis soon lost the affection of his subjects, by the great confidence which he imprudently reposed in the abbot of Vezelay, son to the famous chancellor of France, Peter Flotte, who was killed at the battle of Courtray. The Flemings compelled him to dismiss his favourite; and his condescension, in this instance, increased their audacity; having imposed a tax, which, though onerous in itself, was rendered more so by the extortions of the collectors, the inhabitants of Bruges took up arms, and massacred all those tyrannical ministers of the court. Robert de Cassel, being suspected of giving birth to this insurrection, his death was resolved on, and the inhabitants of Warneton, where he resided, received orders to kill him. But, having received intelligence of their design from the count's chancellor, he had time to effect his escape. Lewis, enraged at losing his prey, ordered the worthy magistrate to be apprehended; when brought into his presence, he was asked by the count, why he had betrayed his secret?—"To preserve your honour," replied the intrepid minister. Lewis, who had neither sufficient sense to perceive the dignity of the reply, nor sufficient merit to appreciate and reward the sentiments that influenced the conduct of his chancellor, threw him into prison.—This incident occurred in 1325.

Unimproved by experience, the count of Flanders continued to impose new taxes on his subjects, who resisted them by the same means as before. They again flew to arms; and, in a pitched battle, Lewis was defeated, taken prisoner, and confined in the prison of Bruges. Robert de Cassel was then recalled, and the whole country, except Ghent, acknowledged him for their prince. The king now interfered, and exhorted the Flemings to restore their count to liberty; but they rejected his solicitations, and refused to submit; but, alarmed at his formidable preparations for attacking them, they were at length induced to accept such conditions as he chose to dictate. After releasing Lewis, and re-establishing him in his former dignity, they were compelled to dismantle Ypres and Bruges, and to demolish all the other fortifications which had been recent-

ly erected ; to renounce, under pain of death, all leagues and associations for opposing the authority of their prince ; to pay four thousand livres tournois, for founding a convent of Carthusians in the district of Courtray ; and to repair all the damages done to the churches during the commotions. The inhabitants of Bruges and Ypres promised to send a hundred pilgrims to Saint-James, in Galicia ; a hundred to Notre-Dame de Vanvert, and a hundred to Notre-Dame de Roque Madour, or else to pay the king ten thousand livres tournois, in case he should incline to dispense with this engagement*.

A. D. 1324.] Charles, about the same time, made his public entry into Toulouse, accompanied by his queen, his brother-in-law, the king of Bohemia, his uncle Charles of Valois, and Sancho king of Majorca. On his return to Paris, the queen, who was pregnant, oppressed by the fatigue of the journey, was brought to bed before her time at Issoudun, of a son, who only lived long enough to receive baptism ; and his mother survived him but a few days. The king, before the expiration of the year, having procured a dispensation of the pope, married Jane, daughter to Lewis, count of Evreux, his paternal uncle ; this princess was crowned with great pomp, in the chapel adjoining the palace.

The attention of Charles was now called to an object of less magnitude, from its immediate consequence, than from its probable effects. A nobleman of Agenois, named Montpesat, had erected a fortress on a spot, which, he pretended, belonged to the king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, but which the king's officers maintained to be situated on the domains of the crown. The dispute was carried before the parliament, who decided in favour of the French monarch. Montpesat, enraged at a sentence which he believed to be unjust, had recourse to the sénéchal of Guienne, who supplied him with troops, and, laying siege to the fortress, which had been taken from him in consequence of the decision of the parliament, carried it by assault, put the garrison to the sword, and hanged some of the officers.

Charles, instead of making reprisals, applied for reparation to the king of England. Edward promised him satisfaction, and even dispatched his brother, Edmond earl of Kent, to Paris, with full power to investigate the fact, and to decide on the nature of the reparation to be made to the French monarch ; who required that the fortress which had occasioned the dispute should be surrendered to him, and that Montpesat, with the sénéchal of Guienne, and all their accomplices, should be delivered into his hands, in order to be punished according to the magnitude of their offence. The earl of Kent, after a long negotiation, expressed his determination to comply with the demands of Charles ; and desired some one might be sent to receive, in the king's name, the fortress and the prisoners. John d'Arablai was accordingly appointed to accompany him, but, when they arrived on the frontiers of Gascony, the earl dismissed him with derision, threatening to kill him if he dared to advance any farther†.

* P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 275.

† Villaret, tom. viii. p. 148.

Charles, to revenge this insult, sent an army into Gascony, under the command of his uncle, the count of Valois, who was attended by his two sons, Philip and Charles, and by his son-in-law, Robert of Artois. His first attempt was on Agen, which immediately surrendered, and the other towns of the province followed the example of the capital. He then marched against Reole, whither the earl of Kent had retired; a party of volunteers, advancing to the gates of the city, dared the English to come forth and give them battle; the challenge was accepted, and they paid dear for their presumption; oppressed by superior numbers they were completely routed, and the lord of Florentin, with several brave knights, was left on the field. The count of Valois, apprised of this disaster, hastened to remedy it; but, before he arrived at the scene of action, the English had re-entered the town; which, however, was soon reduced to the necessity of capitulating. The fortress which occasioned the war, was, in the mean time, taken and demolished; and all Guienne, except Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Saint Sever, was reduced by the French arms. In this situation, the earl of Kent sued for a truce, which was accordingly granted till the octave of Easter, 1325. It was stipulated, that he should return to England, and engage his brother to repair to the court of France, to do homage to Charles, (a ceremony which he had hitherto omitted) as well as to prefer his claims, and exhibit his complaints before the peers; but, in case Edward refused to appear, the earl of Kent engaged to return and surrender himself a prisoner to the king. Four English knights were left as hostages, who consented to lose their heads, should he fail to perform his engagements.

A. D. 1325.] The king of England sent the bishops of Norwich and Winchester, the earl of Richmond, and Sir Henry Beaumont to Paris, in order to accommodate the difference between the two nations. The first thing they settled was a prolongation of the truce till the twenty-fifth of July; but, finding their negotiations of little avail, they dispatched the bishop of Winchester to London, to intimate to Edward that his queen Isabella was the most likely person to procure favourable conditions from her brother Charles. The queen willingly accepted the commission; not, however, with any view to promote the interest of her husband, but to exhibit complaints against him, and to forward her own flagitious schemes. Her enmity had been chiefly provoked by a young man of the name of Spenser, descended from a noble family, who now enjoyed that portion of her husband's confidence and favour, which she thought only due to herself. Charles, moved by her affected sorrow, vowed to assist her in obtaining vengeance for the injuries she complained of; but having convened an assembly of the nobles, they all dissuaded him from engaging in a war with England, merely on his sister's account; though they treacherously advised him to grant her *secret* assistance, by permitting her to levy troops in the kingdom, and by supplying her with money for that purpose*—

* Villaret, tom. viii. p. 160.

mean and pitiful conduct, which, viewed either in a moral or political light, must appear equally deserving of reprobation. This advice, being conformable to the views and wishes of the monarch, was followed; and the queen was informed of her brother's determination by Robert of Artois.

Isabella, contented with these assurances of protection, withdrew her opposition, and a peace was immediately concluded with the English plenipotentiaries*. It was agreed, that the duchy of Guienne should be surrendered to the French monarch, who might appoint a seneschal to govern it in his name, but without the power of changing the captains or commanders of fortified places; that in the mean time, to prevent any interruption in the exercise of his authority, all the troops, belonging to either monarch should quit the country; that Edward should repair to Beauvais, on the festival of the Assumption, to pay homage to Charles, who should then, through friendship to the queen his sister, restore all the places which had been surrendered to him in Guienne; that Agenois, however, and the other territories which had been reduced, should not be comprised in this restitution, but that the king of England should be at liberty to prefer his demands on this subject before the court of peers; that if the court decreed he should be put in possession of that country, he should then discharge all the expences of the war; but if, on the contrary, they should declare his pretensions to be unfounded, no demand of that sort should be made on him; and, finally, that after the publication of the peace, the prisoners, on either side, should be released. This treaty, which is dated the thirty-first of May, 1325, was ratified by Edward.

The article by which Edward obliged himself to repair to France, for the purpose of performing homage, could not but prove highly disagreeable to his favourite, the younger Spenser, who was afraid to remain in the kingdom, during the absence of his sovereign, as he knew his enemies, who were numerous, would not fail to take advantage of an opportunity so favourable for effecting his destruction; and he was equally averse from accompanying Edward to France, where the queen, (of whose hatred to his family he was firmly convinced, though of late she had been studious to conceal it, by a display of the most consummate hypocrisy) was possessed of sufficient power to accomplish any project, which the native cruelty of her mind might suggest, and the inveteracy of her revenge induce her to execute. Urged by these powerful motives, he had ever strenuously opposed the king's departure from his dominions; and his opposition to that measure, so pregnant with danger to himself, was now more violent than ever. But a parliament which assembled at London, on the twenty-fifth of June, having advised Edward to comply with the terms of the treaty, that prince made preparations for his journey, and actually set out for Dover; when he arrived, however, at the abbey of Langton, in the vicinity of Dover,

* Rymer, vol. ii. p. 237.

a sickness, either real or pretended, impeded his progress, and impelled him to send a messenger to Charles, to acquaint him with his indisposition, and to desire that a more distant day might be appointed for the performance of the intended ceremony*.

At this crisis Edward received a new and unexpected overture from the court of France—probably, at the instigation of Isabella—purporting, that if he would resign his continental dominions to his son—now thirteen years of age—Charles would accept the homage of the prince, and grant him the investiture of Guienne and Ponthieu. This expedient, which seemed so happily to remove all difficulties, was eagerly embraced, through the persuasions of Spenser, and executed with a rapidity almost incredible. The deed of conveyance being signed by the king of England at Dover, on the tenth of September, the prince embarked for the continent on the twelfth, and performed homage to Charles, at Beauvais, on the fourteenth of the same month†. Hence it is evident, that neither the king nor his favourite was aware of the insidious snare concealed beneath this project; and, indeed, the whole of this mysterious transaction was managed with such extreme caution, that a prince of much greater sagacity than Edward possessed, might have been equally imposed upon.

It appears, that when Isabella arrived in France, she there found a great number of English fugitives, who had been either banished their country for treasonable practices, or had submitted to a voluntary exile, in order to avoid the punishment that was due to their crimes. These were the shattered remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser proving a strong recommendation to the favour of Isabella, they were admitted to the friendship of that princess, who maintained a secret correspondence with them. Among the rest was young Roger Mortimer, one of the factious barons who had been reduced to submission by Edward; and had been condemned for high treason, but had received a pardon on condition of submitting to perpetual imprisonment in the tower, from whence, however, he was so lucky as to effect his escape into France. This nobleman being one of the most considerable persons now remaining of the party, and being particularly distinguished for the violence of his animosity against Spenser, was received by the queen with peculiar marks of attention. The graces of his person, and the elegance of his address, soon made an impression upon her heart; he became her sole counsellor; she adopted no measure, however trivial, without his previous advice or approbation, and the gradation from an intimacy so close and unreserved to a criminal intercourse, being easy and natural to a mind unbiassed by the restraints of virtue, or unawed by the rules of decorum, he at last prevailed on her to yield to the dictates of passion, and sacrifice to its gratification

* Rymer, vol. iv. p. 163. † Du Tillet, *Receuil des Traités*, Rymer, vol. iv. p. 165, 166: *Walsingham*, p. 121; *T. de la More*, p. 592; *Mon. Malms.* p. 239.

her honour and conjugal fidelity*. In consequence of her crime and its effects, she willingly entered into the treacherous plans of her paramour, and, having gotten the prince of Wales, the heir to the throne, into her possession, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. When Edward, therefore, on the conclusion of peace, required her to return, the purpose of her journey being effected, she peremptorily refused to comply with his request; declaring that she would never set foot in England, till Spenser was banished not only from the court, but the kingdom†.

Mezeray pretends that as soon as Charles discovered the criminal connection which subsisted between his sister and Mortimer, he shewed the strongest marks of resentment to the former, treating her with great coolness, seldom seeing her, and scarcely ever exchanging a word with her. This, however, rests solely on his own testimony, and the assertion is too gross to be credited; since he is compelled to acknowledge, that, notwithstanding Charles's disapprobation of Isabella's irregularities, he permitted her to remain in France as long as she pleased, and promised that, during her residence there, she should want for nothing; his previous conduct too, is alone sufficient to prove that if not the open accomplice, he was, at least, the secret encourager of her nefarious practices. When the queen's determination was made known to her husband, he informed her brother, that so far from her having just ground of complaints against Spenser, he could justify the conduct of his favourite by Isabella's own testimony, she having written several letters to that nobleman, since her departure from England, replete with professions of confidence and esteem—to such a height had this artful and malicious princess carried her dissimulation. Edward farther observed, that he would never suffer Spenser, nor any other subject, to show the smallest disrespect to the partner of his throne. The justice of these remonstrances, however, had no weight with the queen; and the consternation of Edward and his favourite was soon after greatly augmented by the intelligence brought them from the court of France, by the bishop of Exeter. That prelate, who was equally distinguished for his wisdom and loyalty, had been sent by the king of England, as guardian and counsellor to the prince of Wales; and having observed that the court of Isabella was daily filled with the fugitive partisans of the Lancastrian faction, and having discovered the criminal nature of her connection with Mortimer, who now lived in the most declared intimacy with her, he quitted Paris in disguise, and hastened home to impart these important particulars to his injured sovereign‡.

Edward, alarmed at the discovery, reiterated his orders to the queen and prince to return without delay; and also wrote to Charles requesting he would hasten their departure. He farther summoned a council of his prelates and nobles, which met at Westminster on the tenth of November, and having asked

* T. de la More, p. 568; Adam Muremuth, p. 65. † Walsing. p. 122; Mon. Malms. p. 239.

‡ Idem. p. 240.

their advice, the bishops all agreed to write, themselves, to the queen, to desire she would immediately return with the prince*. But these importunities, as may easily be conceived, were treated with contempt; Isabella had advanced too far in infamy to think of retreating: having injured the honour of her husband, she determined to effect the deposition of her sovereign.

Hostilities, in the mean time, commenced between France and England; Edward deeming the countenance showed by Charles to his sister an infraction of the peace, directed his officers to seize all the French ships that fell in their way†. Twenty vessels were accordingly seized by the English in the ports of Normandy; Xaintes was taken by assault, and Charles found it necessary to send an army into Guienne, where the flames of war began to rage with more than usual fury. In order to encrease the animosity of the people, a report was purposely spread that Edward had massacred all the French who were in England, and seized their effects; and, under this pretext, Charles ordered all the English, resident in France, to be arrested and thrown into prison, and their property to be sequestered. These orders were vigorously executed the same day, (the day after the Assumption) and at the same hour, throughout the kingdom; and though, when the report was proved to be false, the king‡ was obliged to release his prisoners, yet he took care to keep their property—a circumstance, says Villaret, which excited the indignation of all honest men. Indeed the murmurs on this account were general; and it was openly asserted, that Charles and his ministers were rather actuated by motives of avarice, than by zeal for the glory of the throne‡.

A. D. 1326.] Edward and his ministers were still urgent in their solicitations to the king to withdraw his protection from Isabella; but, though callous to their entreaties, he was moved by their bribes, and the gold which they lavished on him and his council||, at length effected what justice and reason proved inadequate to enforce. Charles forbade his subjects, under pain of banishment, to assist the queen; still, however, he neglected to urge her departure from the kingdom, till a letter from the pope, (produced, also, if the historian we last quoted may be credited, by English gold) threatening him with all the censures of the church, by alarming his fears, compelled him to the adoption of that measure.

Isabella was reduced to the necessity of making application for assistance to some other power; in this emergency she had recourse to William, count of Hainault and Holland, who soon concluded a treaty with her, by which he engaged to supply her with a fleet and a small body of troops, to enable her to make a descent upon England; and, in return for this favour, she affianced the prince of Wales, who was too young to foresee the consequences of so imprudent an alliance, to Philippa, the count's second daughter. Having collected a force of nearly three thousand men, she landed at Orewell Haven, in Suffolk, on the

* Rymer, vol. iv. p. 180, 181, 182; T. de la More, p. 598; Adam Muremuth, p. 65. Mon. Malmf. p. 242, 243. † Villaret, t. viii. p. 167. ‡ Idem. p. 168. || Froissard, fol. 3. tom. i.

twenty-fourth of September*, and soon found herself at the head of a formidable army. The forces of the royalists were too weak to oppose her progress; the two Spencers were soon taken, and executed without any previous trial; and the unfortunate king himself, after the indignity of a formal deposition, and a short confinement, was barbarously murdered, in Berkley-castle, by the orders of his lascivious consort, and her infamous paramour†.

A. D. 1327.] Charles, on the accession of Edward the Third to the throne of England, summoned that monarch to do homage for his continental territories; but the unsettled state of his kingdom was pleaded and accepted as an excuse for delaying the ceremony; and commissioners were immediately appointed for settling the disputes between the two nations. A peace was accordingly concluded on the following terms—that all the places taken, by either party, in the course of the war, should be restored; that the king of England should pay the king of France fifty thousand pounds sterling‡, to defray the expences of the war; and that a general amnesty should be passed.

A. D. 1328.] Charles died soon after the conclusion of this peace, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. He was a prince neither distinguished for any great virtues, nor remarkable vices; avarice was his chief defect, but, where that did not lead him to acts of oppression, he was careful to enforce a due observance of order, and an impartial administration of justice. An impulse of ambition had urged him to profit by the troubles in Germany, to depose Lewis of Bavaria, and transfer the imperial diadem to his own brows; but the pope was unable to afford the assistance he had promised, and Charles, duped by the German princes, failed in his enterprise.

Charles had three wives; Blanche, of Burgundy; Mary, of Luxembourg; and Jane, of Evreux. By the first, he had a son and daughter, who both died in their infancy. The second gave birth to a prince who lived but a few hours. By the third, he had two daughters, Jane, who died when a year old, and, Mary, who was cut off in the prime of her youth. At his death the queen was far advanced in her pregnancy; for which reason, as soon as he was convinced of the impossibility of his recovery, he sent for the principal nobles of his court, and told them, that if the queen should bring forth a prince, he had no doubt but that they would cheerfully acknowledge him for their sovereign; but if she brought forth a princess, it would then rest with the chief barons of France to decide on whom the crown would devolve; but that, in the interim, he appointed Philip of Valois regent of the kingdom.

Charles the Fair was the last of the immediate descendants of Hugh Capet, who had swayed, for near three centuries and a half, the sceptre of France, which was now transferred to the House of Valois.

* Walsing. p. 123; Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 336.

† F. de la More, p. 603; Walsing. p. 127.

‡ Villaret.

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