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Book 543



THE DEATH OF HAROLD.

TALES

FROM

FRENCH HISTORY.

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

FROM THE LAST REVISED EDITION, CONTAINING THE
AUTHOR'S FINAL CORRECTIONS, ETC.

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TO

MASTER JOHN HUGH LOCKHART.

MY DEAR BOY,

I MUST no longer treat you as a child ; so I now lay aside the pet appellation of Hugh Littlejohn, Esq and address you by your name. Heaven, at whose pleasure we receive good and evil—and we are bound to receive both with thanks and gratitude—has afflicted you from infancy with a delicacy of constitution. With this misfortune there are often connected tastes and habits the most valuable any man can acquire, but which are indispensable to those who are liable, from indolent health, to be occasionally confined to the solitude of their own apartment. The hours you now employ in reading are passed happily, and render you independent of the society of others, but will yet prove far more valuable to you in future life, since, if your studies are well directed, and earnestly pursued, there is nothing to prevent your rising to be at once an ornament and a benefit to society. It is with great pleasure, my dearest boy, that your parents remark in you early attention to your book, and a marked desire to profit by what you read ; nor can I, as one of the number, make a better use of a part of my leisure time than to dedicate it to your advantage and that of your contemporaries, who, I trust, will play their parts honourably in the world, long after

the generation to which your grandfathers belongs has mouldered into earth.

The volumes which I formerly inscribed related to a part of Great Britain only : but it was to that portion which should be dear to us both, as the land of our fathers ; and I was therefore induced to descend more into particulars than I should have ventured upon in any other narrative. I have been assured from many quarters that the Tales from Scottish History have been found useful and interesting to the young persons to whom they were addressed, and that some even of those whose wild spirits and youthful years had hitherto left them little time or inclination to study, have been nevertheless captivated by stories, which, while they are addressed to the imagination, are, at the same time, instructive to the understanding.

It would have been natural that I should next have adopted English history as my theme ; but there are so many excellent abridgments, that I willingly leave you to acquire a knowledge of that important subject from other sources. The History of England, in Letters, said to be from a nobleman to his son, and sometimes called Lord Lyttleton's Letters, but in reality written or compiled by Dr. Oliver Goldsmith, gives the liveliest and best views of it ; to this you must, in due time, add the perusal of the many and interesting volumes which give a fuller account of the history of the more important part of our island of Britain.

In the meantime, it is highly proper you should know something of the history of France, whose influence upon the Continent of Europe has almost always been struggling and contending with that of England herself, and with such obstinacy as to give rise to wars the most

bloody by which the peace of the world has been at any period disturbed.

I have, as you will observe, been occasionally called to interrupt the current of the work by remarks which the incidents demanded. Still, however, I have endeavoured to make amusement the mode of introducing instruction ; remembering always that I am no longer writing for the amusement of a child of five years, but composing a work to be submitted to the criticism of a young person who wears masculine garments, and will soon be nine years old. Under these increasing difficulties, it will give me pleasure to find that I still possess the power to interest and instruct you ; being, with warm regard,

My dear John Hugh,

Your very affectionate Grandfather,

WALTER SCOTT.

ABBOTSFORD, *29th July, 1830.*



TALES FROM FRENCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The most Patriotic States have been generally the most Ambitious—Aggressions of Rome upon the Independence of Foreign Nations—Gaul—its Description and Inhabitants—Their Religion—The Order of Druids—The Military Character of the Gauls—They invade Italy—and Greece—Their vicinity dangerous to Rome—Cæsar appointed General in Gaul—Resolution of the Helvetians to emigrate—The difficulties of their Route—Cæsar blocks up the Passage between Geneva and Mount Jura—Pursues the Helvetians as far as the Arar, and destroys their Rear-guard—At last, totally defeats them—The Germans cross the Rhine to invade Gaul—Their Character, Genius, and Manners—The Roman Soldiers mutiny, but are pacified by Cæsar's Address—Cæsar defeats Ariovistus and the Germans—Conquest of Gaul by Cæsar.

THE LOVE of power is deeply impressed on mankind, whether they have a political existence in the relation of states and empires, or remain in their individual capacity. Even in those strict republics, where individuals find it most difficult to raise themselves to superior stations, whether by address, eloquence, or any other influential superiority, the desire to add to the power which may be enjoyed and wielded by the public at large, is more strongly

felt by each person, exactly in proportion to his own exclusion from individual authority ; and the reason is plain, because the poorest and most humble citizen beholds himself, in idea, enriched with a portion of the fame and power acquired by the state, and considers himself as a gainer in the good fortune of the commonwealth. It thus follows, that, for a time at least, the love of the republic supersedes the plans which men entertain under other forms of government for their private advantage.

It cannot be denied, that a state which can thus engross, for the public service, all the estimable and useful qualities of its citizens, presents an imposing spectacle, grand and unconquerable in the talents and capacities which it unites, and commanding at pleasure all that can be sacrificed in its cause, from the knowledge of the most profound philosopher, to the courage and life of its hardest peasant. Yet, pushed to excess, this disinterested patriotism must, far from a virtue, be numbered in the rolls of vice. To pillage and oppress, to conquer and subdue the freedom and independence of other states, is not laudable, any more than to rob and slay for the maintenance of our own household ; though, to provide for our family by lawful means, is an imperious duty. Rome, the mistress, or rather the tyrant, of the world, as it was then known to exist, grew to her excess of power by the injustice of her children, who held it as the principle of their being, that the empire should be extended as far as the habitable world permitted.

That extensive yet compact country, now called France, and at an earlier period known by the name of Gallia, or Gaul, was one of the most important which was liable to the general encroachments made by Rome on her neighbours. But the inhabitants being a very numerous, courageous people, and much disposed to martial achievements, were addicted, like most other nations, to leave their own country when they found their population increase, and hive off in military colonies, to establish new settlements elsewhere. They were, in this respect, neighbours who struck terror even into the Romans themselves.

and who, although often at war with that great republic, were not finally or effectually subdued until the last days of Roman freedom.

Gaul was understood to contain the whole country bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Ocean, but considerable portions have been since detached from modern France. Such were the Cantons of Switzerland, with the German territories on the Rhine.

This portion of Europe, considerable not only from its extent, but from its climate and fertility, was chiefly, but not entirely, inhabited by the descendants of the Celtic race. These Celts, by whom Gaul was first peopled, appear to have been the great family by which the habitable parts of Europe were first settled, though their descendants were afterwards conquered and overcome by the Gothic tribes—the second great colonists of the most civilized quarter of the globe.

But two great portions of the Gallic Celts had admitted such modifications of language and manners, the one from the neighbouring Germans, the other from its connexion with the Spaniards, that the one people were called Belgæ, the other Celtiberians, distinguishing them from the more genuine and unmixed Celts. That they were originally all descended from the same race, is proved by the remains of their language, names, and customs.

The manners of the Celts, and especially their religious institutions, were peculiar. They had one supreme Deity whom they called Esus, and they performed their rites of adoration in the depths of forests, or surrounded by huge circles of stones, rough, unhewn, and placed upright. Their chief priests were the Druids, a race set apart among them for conducting the public worship, as well as for preserving the knowledge of their laws and histories. These were usually couched in poetry, which the Druids committed to memory, and recited at their periodical meetings and festivals.

These Druids seem to have erected one of the most artful and complete systems of priesthood which the world

ever saw. The authority permitted to magistrates, kings, or princes, according to the constitution of the community, was always held to be sanctioned and delegated by the priests, and the government was always directed by their opinion. They had absolute influence over the gentry of the tribe, to whom they gave the epithet of riders, or horse-men, the value of a warrior being always raised by the possession of a horse. Human sacrifices were frequently offered up, under a mistaken impression, that we ought to present to the Deity what our race holds most dear, which undoubtedly is the principle of human life.

The Bards were a class of men only inferior to the Druids in importance. Music and poetry were eagerly cultivated by the Gauls. These national poets sung hymns to their deity, and the praises of deceased warriors; and such was the affection of the people for these arts, that when, at a later period, it was the object to fix their attention upon the Scriptures, it was found the best method to translate the Sacred Writings into poetry, and set them to music.

The government in Gaul was various among the different independent states, which, according as custom prevailed among them, were governed by kings, or by elective magistrates. They were prompt and ready in battle; a bold, fiery, warlike race, whose very women used to sustain the fight when the men were defeated, and who often slew themselves rather than surrender to an enemy.

In appearance they were a handsome people; bold in their manners, yet not untinged with civility. They combed their hair forward, so as to give a wildness and ferocity to their aspect, wore tight trowsers and a loose mantle. Their chiefs wore a chain of gold, twisted out of flexible rods of that metal, such as children make out of bulrushes. Manlius, an ancient Roman, who killed a champion thus decorated, assumed from thence the additional name of *Torquatus*, or him with the Chain. Besides this *Torques*, or Twist, as it was called, the Gauls wore bracelets, and ornaments round the ankle, and the wealthy had them made of the same precious metal.

The Gauls carried hospitality to strangers to the utmost extent. They were profuse in eating, and still more in the use of strong liquors. The Romans accused them of being fickle, uncertain, and treacherous to their engagements. But they were probably not more so than the Romans themselves.

We have mentioned that the nation of Gaul, or rather the infinity of small states into which it was divided, were so very populous, that, when their numbers seemed about to exceed the means of subsistence produced by their imperfect agriculture, great colonies of them departed from their native country, with a view to provide themselves new settlements at the expense of some richer or more thinly peopled region.

In this manner the Gauls, in olden times, were frequently troublesome neighbours to the Romans, surmounting the Alps, and extending themselves to Lombardy, where they established strong colonies. They frequently invaded the southern parts of Italy, acquired lands there, and under their general, Brennus, burnt and pillaged the city of Rome itself, three hundred and eighty-five years before the Christian era; they were, however, obliged to retreat from the citadel, or Capitol, and were finally defeated by the Dictator Camillus. The Gauls also rendered themselves formidable at a later period, by an invasion of Greece under a second general of the name of Brennus, who seized upon the treasures which had been stored up by the devotion of ages, in the celebrated Temple of Apollo at Delphos. In these excursions, you must not conceive that the Gallic invaders acted as the forces of one united kingdom, but rather as an assembly of independent bands belonging to the various states, cities, and communities, into which the country was subdivided, convoked for a time under a single chief, to whom the rest yielded the supreme authority, as to the most powerful or the most skillful in war.

The rapine of these desultory hosts was the more dreaded and execrated, that from their religious principles turning on the worship of one only Deity, whom they

adored in the depths of forests, and not in houses made with human hands, they were in the habit of dishonouring and destroying the temples and altars of other nations.

Nor was their conduct in battle less formidable than their principles were obnoxious. The Gauls were famous for their bravery and love of war, which they carried so far, that they accounted it cowardice to make use of defensive armour, and rushed upon the spears of their enemies with undefended bosoms. This contempt of precaution was joined with other faults, which exposed them to great loss in regular actions with the experienced Romans; yet, so dangerous were they, from their great numbers, and the fury of their assault, undisciplined as it was, that Cicero declares, that had not the passage of the Alps, by which alone they could reach Italy, been too difficult, and had not the mountains possessed too few means of sustenance for the passage of a Gallic army in its full numbers, that nation must have destroyed the city of Rome itself, even before its greatness was established. On this account, according to the opinion of Cicero, the Gauls, until the conquests of Julius Cæsar, continued to be the most obstinate and formidable enemies of the Romans. So generally were they considered as such, that in the celebrated conspiracy of Catiline, it was partly the intention of the plotters to have drawn from Gaul a considerable force for the execution of their purpose, which comprehended nothing less than the total destruction of the Roman form of government. The Gauls, indeed, did not snatch at this bait; certain ambassadors of the Allobroges, a people of Savoy in alliance with Rome, having informed the Consul Sanga of the proposals which had been made to them, materially assisted the discovery of the plot. Nevertheless, the risk of their future interference with other internal feuds of the same nature, was a secret reason for urging the subjugation of this powerful people.

The Romans also possessed one small province in Gaul, in which they claimed a special and peculiar interest. It was more than a century before Christ's birth

that the Consul Marcius Rex took one step towards the subjection of Gaul, by establishing a Roman colony between the Pyrenean chain of mountains and the city of Toulouse, where he founded the state called Narbonne. This colony was connected with Italy by a military road between the Alps and Pyrenees, and afforded, as you will presently see, most of the pretexts which the Republic brought forward for interfering with the affairs of Gaul. The protection of the Allobroges, and other states in the neighbourhood of the province who had embraced the friendship of Rome, formed a perpetual apology for such intermeddling.

Thus the conquest of Gaul, though undoubtedly Cæsar was encouraged in the attempt by the hope of adding to the power and renown of the Republic, and raising himself in the opinion of his fellow-citizens, was, in a certain degree, founded on state necessity. But, besides the ordinary reasons for which Rome took up arms, grounds of serious political envy and hatred impelled the conquerors of the world to make a war of subjection on a people who were always restless neighbours, and occasionally dangerous enemies.

In Cæsar, the Romans enjoyed the advantage of a general equally wise and skilful, and who, considering his own ambitious views as inseparably connected with the conquest and final subjection of Gaul, neglected no means of accomplishing an object so much desired by his countrymen, and so essential to his own fortunes.

The principal circumstance which afforded exercise for Julius Cæsar's political sagacity, and a pretext at the same time for his military exploits, was the subdivision of this great country into a numberless variety of cities, governments, and states, trespassing almost always on each other, and engaged in endless and complicated feuds, which perpetually called for, or at least served to excuse, the interference of the Roman general, who, while he pretended to advocate the rights, and protect the cause, of such Gallic nations as were the allies of Rome, failed

not to seize the opportunity of destroying the state by the arms of another, of which his Commentaries, as you are already aware, afford a most curious, as well as elegant narrative.

A singular resolution on the part of the Helvetians, a Gallic tribe of great numbers and bravery, afforded the Romans the first opportunity and apology for armed interference in the affairs of Gaul. This nation were the more hostile to the Romans, that they had, at no distant period, defeated a considerable army of the Republic, forced them to lay down their arms, and only spared their lives on condition of their passing beneath the yoke, accounted at the time an acknowledgment of the most abject surrender. One of Cæsar's own relatives had shared in this degradation.

The habit of emigration was then so general, that the spirit of local attachment, which is at this day one of the strongest principles of the modern Swiss, had no weight with the ancient Helvetians. With the same impatience which had formerly induced their Celtic forefathers to change their position from one place to another, the Helvetians determined to quit the barren mountains where they were born, and march forth in a body to establish, by fair means or by force, new settlements in other regions. After some feuds among themselves, which terminated in the death of a great chief, named Orgetorix, with whom the design of emigration originated, the Helvetii set forth as a nation upon their adventurous expedition. Turning their backs, as they designed, for ever, on their native valleys and mountains, they burnt their towns, twelve in number, with forty villages, and, with their wives and children, cattle and slaves, set out upon their extraordinary adventure. In our day, hardly any thing could be accounted so strange as the resolution of a nation to leave its own familiar abode, and set forth on a vague expedition to settle in foreign parts. But, at the period I mention, fifty-eight years before the birth of our Saviour, this wandering people had little of what we now call love of their native land, and willingly underook the

labour and risk of such a journey, in the hardy confidence, that they would easily find a country more pleasant and fertile than their own barren regions, and that they could scarcely be obliged to encounter, in defence of it, a nation of more bravery and warlike temper than they were conscious of bringing along with them.

An incursion so bold as that which the Helvetians proposed, the Romans had a fair pretence for resisting ; the more, as the Helvetians proposed to march into Gaul itself through the territory of the Allobroges, whom we have already mentioned as allies of the Romans, and near neighbours to the Roman province, and of course under the protection of the Republic.

At this extraordinary intelligence, Cæsar, who had been lately appointed Prætor, set off with the utmost speed from Rome, to look after the pressing affairs of the Gallic province which had been committed to his charge. Here he defended the frontiers of the Allobroges by raising a long wall, flanked with towers, hastily erected, indeed, but with such judgment, that the Helvetians did not venture to attack it.

The expatriated nation being obliged to change their line of march, had only one road remaining, which led into Gaul through the territory of the Sequani, now called Burgundy. This road, running among cliffs and torrents, was judged totally inaccessible without the consent of the Sequani themselves ; but by the intercession of Dumnorix, a chief of the Æduans, a people whose territory lay near Autun, the Helvetians obtained permission to pass through the defiles of the Burgundians unopposed, so that they might afterwards march in a direction which should enable them to approach the ancient Tolosatium, now Toulouse. By this movement the Roman province was highly endangered. The Æduans, friends, if not allies of the Romans, were mortal enemies of the Sequani, and besought assistance from Cæsar against the stream of Helvetians, who were thus poured into their territory. Cæsar hastened the motions of his army, for the purpose of intercepting the proposed march of the

Helvetians, and preventing the threatened devastation of Gaul. So rapid were his movements, that finding the rear of their army, consisting of one-fourth of the whole, still encamped on the eastern banks of the Arar, or Saone, though the other three-fourths had passed the river, he fell upon the rearmost division, thus separated from their main body, surprised and cut them to pieces, astonishing the invaders not less with this unexpected blow, than with the activity with which he constructed, in a single day, a bridge to pass his army across the Arar, although the task had occupied the barbarians twenty days. After he had crossed the river, Cæsar detected the treachery of Dumnorix, but forgave it, in consideration of the fidelity to the Romans exhibited by his brother Divitiacus. He then engaged in a decisive battle with the main body of the Helvetians, whom, after a severe contest, he defeated with much slaughter. The Helvetians, submitted to the conqueror, and by Cæsar's order returned to their ancient possessions, excepting only one tribe, called the Boii, who, at the intercession of the Ædui, were permitted by that tribe to settle in the territory of Autun, their junction being considered as a decided advantage.

Julius Cæsar having thus established the terror of his name by the conquest, and almost the annihilation of the warlike Helvetians, was soon called to undertake a war, which, according to the belief of the Gauls, brought him in contact with adversaries still more formidable. Of this he was informed in a private council held by the Ædui. They acquainted him, that, according to the custom of the Gauls, who were constantly divided among themselves, a long feud had existed between them (the Æduans) on one hand, and on the other the Sequani, already frequently mentioned, as well as another powerful tribe, called the Arverni, a people situated on the Loire, and who were united with the Sequani against the Ædui. Finding that their combined strength was unable to conquer the Ædui, these tribes agreed to call to their assistance the warlike German nations which inhabited

the opposite side of the Rhine, where that river bounded the country of the Gauls.

I must here briefly remind you, that though a part of Germany had been originally settled by the Celtic tribes, yet the successors of these first colonists had been at a subsequent period subdued, or banished, by a people so different in manners, language, religion, and even in form and countenance, as to present in their general appearance all the qualities of a different race. This great and most important division of mankind, finally constituted the grand source from which the modern nations of Europe have derived their principal materials of population, and the peculiarities of their several governments. They were generally termed Goths, having among themselves a great variety of distinctive names. They spoke another language, differing from and opposed to that of the Celts, insomuch that some writers have held them altogether different. They are found, however, by more accurate inquirers, so far connected as to warrant their being referred to a common source, at a period probably previous to the remarkable event described in Scripture as the Confusion of tongues. The Goths did not follow the religion of the Celtic tribes, nor were they acquainted with the order of the Druids, neither did they acknowledge the existence or worship of Esus, the one and only deity of the Gauls. They worshipped the sun and the moon, to which they added several imaginary deities. They were much attached to the arts of divination, and as these were chiefly used by the matrons of the tribe, the females received, from this cause, as well as others presently to be mentioned, a degree of honour seldom paid to them by the males of barbarous tribes; who generally devolve on their women all labour save those of hunting and war.

This race of Goths possessed some qualities, which, in the eyes of barbarians, are of high value. They were large-limbed, tall, and of great personal strength, having generally red hair and blue eyes. Their chiefs only

enjoyed command during the time of war, and a species of princes, called kings by the Romans, were elected as their judges during peace; each of these magistrates had a council of one hundred persons, supported by the public. Their women, who held a high rank amongst them, were remarkable for their chaste and honourable character; and as no one was allowed to marry until he was one-and-twenty at least, their young men looked forward with anxiety and hope to a period when they should undertake the duties and dignities of men, and in the meanwhile practised those habits of patient restraint and subdued passions, which made them fit for the duties of manhood, when the period should arrive that they were permitted to assume the situation of a husband and a father. The women, on their part, finding themselves the universal objects of respect and attention, were anxious to assume a higher and more lofty character in society, than is usually assigned to females in the savage state. They partook in the toils and dangers of war, accompanied their husbands in their expeditions, and when the battle was irretrievably lost, they often, by slaying themselves and their children, gave dreadful examples that they preferred death to slavery.

The character of these Gothic tribes had something superior even to that of the Gauls; braver they could hardly be, but in war they were more steady, more persevering, could better endure the fatigues of a long and doubtful fight; and if inferior to the Gauls and other Celtic nations in the fury of a headlong onset, they possessed powers of keeping their ground, and rallying which rendered the event of the day doubtful, even after a long struggle. We can dimly perceive, by the history of ancient times, that the approach of these Goths from the east gradually overpowered and subdued the Celtic colonies who occupied Germany; some penetrating northwards into Scandinavia, while others rolled their emigration rather to the south and east, till their course was checked by the mountainous regions of Switzerland and the Tyrol, and by the broad course of the Rhine

It followed, as a matter of course, that the fair regions of Gaul beyond this great river should become objects of covetousness to the Germans, whose crops were raised with difficulty, and who were as much strangers to wine as they were enamoured with the occasional use of it. It is not therefore wonderful, that the Germans, under the command of a powerful and haughty chief, named Ariovistus, should have willingly accepted the invitation of the Arverni and Sequani, to cross the Rhine, as I have told you, to support them against the Ædui; nor was it surprising that Cæsar, foreseeing the danger of permitting these martial people to establish settlements beyond the great river which had hitherto been their barrier, willingly inquired into the nature of their proceeding, with the purpose of putting a stop to it. He soon learned that Ariovistus and the Germans had already taken from the Sequani one third of their territory, and occupied the lands with his people, while he demanded a third more for the accommodation of reinforcements, which were about to join him from Germany.

When Cæsar applied to Ariovistus to know why he assaulted and injured the allies of the Roman people, the German prince returned him the contemptuous answer, that he was yet to learn what pretence Cæsar or the Romans could have for interfering with his operations in Gaul. The Romans marched against this new enemy; but the Gauls raised such exaggerated reports concerning the strength and ferocity of the Germans, that they spread a sort of panic even among the legionary troops themselves. Cæsar, by his address and eloquence, put a stop to this mutiny of the troops. He declared that he himself would proceed on the expedition, though only the Tenth Legion should attend him. This select body of men were flattered by the praise and confidence of their general, while the rest called out to be led against the Germans.

Cæsar then marched against Ariovistus, and after some manœuvres, forced the German prince to come to an action, in which he routed his whole army with much

slaughter, eighty thousand Germans falling, and Ariovistus himself escaping with great difficulty across the Rhine.

By this decisive victory over the Germans, to whom the Gauls yielded the superiority in valour, the reputation of the Roman general was so highly raised, that it enabled him to assume the situation most convenient for reducing the whole country to obedience, which was the ultimate purpose to which he directed his schemes and interest. He became, or constituted himself, judge in the numerous quarrels which took place amid so many independent states. His decisions encouraged wars amongst them, which he so managed that the victory always fell to the side on which the Roman eagles were ranked. The Belgæ, a people of Gaul, who occupied modern Flanders, were the first to see in this supremacy of the Roman general, the future seeds of absolute subjugation. This people, residing nearest to the Germans, and probably being rather of German than Gallic descent, were remarkable above the proper Gauls for their courage and skill in war. Yet their alliance against the Romans was only the means of weakening their country by repeated invasions, and very bloody defeats, which increased the fame of Cæsar's arms, and rendered the other nations careful how they provoked a contest with a people whose attacks the most powerful nations of Gaul had proved unequal to sustain.

But although it was easy for Cæsar to maintain the office of a Governor of Gaul for a short time, yet the temper of that people, equally fierce and fickle, was scarcely subdued, or the country, as a Roman would have said, half pacified, before they were again forming plans and alliances together for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of Rome. Ten years of the active life of Cæsar were spent in constant labour to reduce Gaul to the condition of a Roman province, but for a long time with very little success; for no sooner did there appear a show of tranquillity, than it became the signal of wider combinations against the foreigners than had taken place before.

It was in vain that Cæsar laid aside the clemency which he practised, both from policy, and as most agreeable to his own temper. It was in vain, that in one action the river Aisne was so filled up and gorged with the dead bodies of the Gauls, that the corpses served as a bridge to their comrades who escaped from the slaughter. The victory only led to a more terrible obstinate struggle with the Nervii and other Belgic clans. Fifty thousand of a nation called Aduatici were sold at once for slaves. All these, and other severities, did not prevent a more powerful and almost universal insurrection against the Romans, in which the Ædui themselves, the constant friends of Rome, wearied out by exactions of various kinds, did not refuse to join. The chief of the league, whose name was Vercingetorix, after many brave exploits, was at length made prisoner, and Cæsar remained finally triumphant.

The wars of Gaul, of which this is a very hasty and imperfect review, terminated by the storming of a very strong fortress, called Uxellodunum, where Cæsar cruelly commanded the right hands of all the garrison who were fit to bear arms to be struck off.

The nature of the labours undergone by Cæsar will best appear from Plutarch's catalogue of his victories. "In less than ten years, during the Gallic war," says that biographer, "Cæsar took more than eighty cities by storm, subdued three hundred states or communities, and fought upon different occasions with no less than thirteen millions of men, one million of whom had fallen into captivity, and another had been taken captive and driven into slavery." The marvel in this report will be greatly diminished, if the reader recollects that Cæsar seldom encountered one nation of Gauls without the aid of auxiliaries, money, and provisions from the others with whom he was in alliance at the time; and thus, though it was the talents of the Roman general which conducted the campaign, yet, considering the actual character of the soldiers engaged, Gaul was principally overcome by the disunion of her own native forces.

In the 49th year before the Christian era, Cæsar returned to Rome to exercise against the liberties of his own countrymen, those troops, and that discipline, which had been so admirably formed during ten years' wars against the Gauls. In this manner, Providence makes our own crimes the means of bringing on our punishment. The unjust ambition of the Romans was the proximate cause of their own loss of freedom. The effects produced upon Gaul by the conquest of the Romans, will form the subject of the next chapter, which will bring us down to the time when the reviving free spirit of Europe began to burst asunder, and cast from her the fetters of Rome; or rather, when Rome herself, who had deprived so many nations of their freedom, and who had so absolutely lost her own, found she had at the same time lost her hardihood, her discipline, and her powers of conflict, and lay exposed at the mercy of her own armies, like the fabled hunter to the attack of his own hounds.

CHAPTER II.

Policy of the Romans towards the Conquered Tribes—Human Sacrifice Forbidden—Polytheism Introduced—Human Victims Secretly Sacrificed by the Druids—Plans of Insurrection agitated at these Solemnities—Combination among the Gallic Provinces against Rome—Expedition of Drusus—Insurrection of Vindex in Nero's time—Its Suppression—Persecution of Christians in Gaul in the reign of Severus—Origin of the Franks—Inroads of the Franks into the Roman Provinces in the time of Posthumus and Gallienus—The Allemanni Defeated, and Peace for a time Restored to Gaul, by Julian the Apostate—Radagaisus, King of the Goths, invades Italy, is taken Captive with part of his Army—The rest of his Forces Invade and Ravage Gaul.

WHEN Rome seized upon the dominions of an independent state, she usually prevailed on the suffering party to rest satisfied with some mess of pottage, like Esau in the Scriptures, in place of what may be justly termed the most precious birthright of humanity, excepting that spiritual benediction which the eldest born of Jacob so rashly exchanged for a dish of food.

Rome professed to give to the conquered states her protection, her acknowledgment of the authority of their magistrates, with perhaps a golden diadem, a curule chair of ivory, or some other emblem of more show than use; the true sense of which toys implied, that the laws, ordinances, and authorities of the once free country could not now be said to exist, unless in so far as they were acknowledged by Rome. The various cities, states, or provinces throughout Gaul, were all subjected to Rome; but the servile connexion they bore to her varied according to the circumstances of surrender. Some cities or common-

wealths were permitted to retain the name of freedom ; others were termed confederates of the Roman people ; while others were reduced to the condition of a province, to which a Roman governor was appointed, with full power over the property and persons of the unhappy natives. But in all those cases, whether the subjugated Gauls were mocked with the name of freemen or confederates, or called in plain terms subjects, the Roman legions alike occupied their strongholds. A capitation tax was levied for the benefit of the Republic, and the children of the soil, forcibly arrayed as soldiers, were made to serve in different countries, so that, having lost their own freedom, they might be used as tools to deprive other nations of theirs.

But the vain and imaginary distinctions, comprehended in these various orders of subjugation, were soon entirely melted down, and merged into sixteen grand divisions, called provinces, which, it is believed, was an arrangement made under the reign of Augustus ; for so short a time were the Romans disposed to abide by the veil of decency with which they themselves had in the commencement thought it necessary to disguise their conquest.

What, then, you may be tempted to ask, did the conquered Gauls obtain in exchange for the right of managing their own affairs, which the Romans had wrested from them ? In reply, it cannot be denied that the coin in which the Republic of Rome paid for her aggressions was not all false money. It was her boast to extend some degree of civilization among the prostrated vassals of her empire, and to impress on them a milder species of spiritual rites than that which had animated them in their days of savage freedom. With this view, the abominable mode of worship by human sacrifice was forbidden throughout the Gallic states, so soon as they had bent the knee to Rome. In abolishing this wretched and barbarous custom, whatever might be the intention of the Romans, there can be no doubt that the morals of the people were proportionally amended. Nor, when it is considered what a species of priestcraft was exercised by the

Druids, and how much they strove to keep their votaries in ignorance in order to increase their own power, can we blame the means by which the Romans endeavoured to diminish that power, although the actual cause of their doing so was the reiterated efforts of this peculiar priesthood to inflame their countrymen against the yoke of the conquerors.

But if the injunctions of Rome were highly laudable in prohibiting the practice of human sacrifices, and were in a great measure salutary, as they tried to loosen the fetters which an ambitious priesthood had fixed on the people, other innovations which they introduced upon the Gallic creed were of a different nature, and tended to deprive them of their primitive worship, which, although erroneous, was founded upon the grand system of acknowledging one sole divinity. The Druids resisted these innovations at first with tolerable success, for it is said that no temples were built in Gaul until the time of Tiberius, when a general tax, or census, over the whole country was proposed at Rome, and only abandoned on the chiefs of Gaul consenting to erect a temple to the memory of Cæsar, and for the adoration of Augustus. Thus, as associates in the throne of the single deity, Esus, in whom, no doubt, they recognised, though imperfectly, the unity and power of the Creator of all things, were placed that very Julius Cæsar, who had been the invader and tyrant of their own country, and that Augustus himself, the cruelties of whose early life were combined with the brutal pollutions of his later years.

Polytheism, or a variety of deities, being thus introduced into Gaul, that belief took root and throve among that people to a most wonderful degree. The rich exhausted themselves in building temples, some to the gods recognised by the Romans, but fancifully distinguished by other epithets and attributes; and others to imaginary deities, whom they had sanctified according to their own wild fancy. Another melancholy part attending this perversion to the grossest errors of paganism, was, that

whilst the Gauls imbibed all the superstitions of ido atry and polytheism, and renounced the approach which they had made to the grand truth, that the world was created and governed by one great being, they retained at the same time their custom of human sacrifice.

These infernal rites, the worst part of the original worship of the Druidical system, the Gauls continued to practise in secret, in defiance of the edicts of the Emperors for abolishing it, thus perversely retaining what was inhuman and cruel in their original system, and adopting from that of their victors the whole childish puerilities of a superstition which the Romans had been borrowing for so many centuries from every country, whenever any thing could be found to interweave into their own creed. But it must not be supposed that the human victims of the Druidical system were, after the conquest of Gaul, executed in the temples which they had erected after the fashion of the Romans. It would appear that animals alone were sacrificed within these new places of worship; nor is it natural to believe that the Gauls should transgress the edict of the conquerors, under the eye of their garrisons, or governors. The people, who, looking back to the days of their freedom, desired to worship as they had formerly worshipped, met by appointment in some dark recess of unfrequented woods, under the direction of the Druids, who resumed, at such secret conclaves, the power which they were no longer permitted to exercise in public. Bearing on their head the coronet of oak leaves, which they esteemed sacred—clad in white robes, as was their custom, the ancient priests then met the people in the deep forest, to adore in secrecy and silence, according to the bloody rites of their forefathers. The victim who fell under the axe of the sacrificing pontiff, or who, sometimes bound to a tree, was shot to death with arrows, was usually a criminal who had deserved death, or some individual of small account, who had been kidnapped and reserved for this inhuman purpose. A other times, it was a voluntary victim, who offered himself as an expiatory offering for the sins of the people, like the scape-

goat of the Israelites. When an individual could be wrought up to such a point of insane patriotism, the Druids announced to him, as his reward, eternal happiness in the society of the gods, to propitiate whom, he consented to suffer death; and the people, if circumstances permitted, took care that he whose sacrifice was to be the price of the public prosperity, should, for some time before his death, taste of as many of the pleasures of this life as they had the means of procuring him. His death then took place by the hand of the consecrated Druids. They observed every circumstance of his mortal agony; the manner in which he fell; the course of his blood down the rugged front of the sacred stone: and from these circumstances affected to divine how far the deity was propitious to their designs. It may be well believed that, at these secret meetings, the occasional return of the Gauls to the barbarous rites of their Celtic ancestors, the bards were also called in to assist, by music and melody, the impression which was made on the assistants by the eloquence and mystic predictions of the priests. The themes naturally chosen were the ancient glory of Gaul and her inhabitants, who, having been long the terror of distant countries, were now found unable to protect their own against the Romans. The feelings of the hearers, a nation readily excited, passionately fond of fame, their prejudices easily acted upon by the gloomy fanaticism of their priests, and their quick fierce tempers, resentful of the injuries received from the Romans, became much agitated by such solemnities, and it was not to be wondered at that general schemes of revolt were laid or extended at such meetings.

Besides these internal plans of insurrection against the foreign yoke, the vicinity of the free Germans, and their incursions and conquests upon the Gallic territory, were another vexation which instigated the inhabitants to revolt. The Gauls had a right to complain, that while the Romans assumed the title of their masters, and drained the provinces of the youth with whom they could have

maintained their own defence, they left them exposed to the inroads of a barbarous and formidable enemy.

These dissensions produced very general convulsions throughout Gaul, in the year 741, after the foundation of Rome. The various states and principalities of the whole sixteen subdivisions or provinces, communicated and combined together. Drusus, who was sent by the emperor to still these commotions, had art and authority sufficient to convoke all the Gallic chiefs and principal magistrates at Lyons, under pretence of dedicating the temple to Augustus, which we have already noticed.—Here, by promises and actual benefits, he managed to disconcert the plot of the disaffected. And as he proceeded across the Rhine, and repulsed the Germans, the time when the Gauls might have at least shaken off the Roman yoke passed away in inactivity.

In the year of the Christian era 78, during the reign of the tyrant Nero, an opportunity occurred, when the Gauls, by the rise of an enterprising leader, were very near accomplishing their often meditated project of successful insurrection. The leader, according to Dion Cassius, named Caius Julius Vindex, was the son of a Romanized Gaul, whose father had become a Roman senator. He was descended from the line of one of the ancient kings of Aquitaine, endowed with great strength of body, and wisdom ; above all, an accomplished soldier.

Availing himself of the cruel exactions with which the tyrant then oppressed Gaul, Vindex, who was governor of Celtic Gaul, ascended the tribunal, and in an animated oration denounced the vices of Nero, his cruelties, his infamies, the death of his mother by his orders, and the crimes which to this day cling to his memory, as one of the most depraved monsters that ever existed. He called upon his hearers, not to rise in insurrection against the Roman empire, but to combine for the more limited purpose of removing Nero from the government. The people, being already greatly exasperated, took arms at this exhortation, and Vindex was soon at the head of a hundred thousand men. It is said that Nero was rather pleaseu

than alarmed by this formidable insurrection, conceiving it would afford his treasury great wealth from the forfeited estates of the insurgents. He placed a reward of two hundred and fifty myriads of drachms upon the head of Vindex. When this was told to the daring leader, he replied, "To whomsoever will deliver to me the head of Nero, I will be contented to resign my own life in return, for having destroyed so great an enemy of the human race." But of all Vindex's reproaches, Nero was most moved by that in which the Gallic insurgent called him a wretched fiddler. Leaving the topic of his mother's death, and similar horrors, he complained bitterly to the Roman people of the aspersions thrown out against his taste and power as a musical performer; and, that the Romans might judge how little they were deserved, he introduced a voluntary or two into the oration which he delivered on that occasion.

Meantime, Virgilius Rufus, a Roman general who commanded on the banks of the Rhine, advanced against Vindex. It was thought the two commanders would have come to an understanding; but the armies approaching each other, skirmishes ensued, which led to a general action, in which Vindex was defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand men. Hurried on by a species of despair, of which the ancient Romans were but too susceptible, the defeated general killed himself just before the time of Nero's dethronement and death.

After the death of Vindex, there is little worthy of notice in the history of Gaul, except that, like other provinces of the empire, it suffered the most severe and tyrannical exactions at the hands of the Roman governors; and that the generals who commanded there often assumed the purple, and gave place, by their ambition, to wars, of which Gaul became the scene. The Gauls were, for example, among the first to recognise as emperor the celebrated Septimius Severus, who, in beginning his career of ambition, was governor of the province of Lyons. The last scene of the civil wars which completed the elevation

of Severus to the imperial throne, was the defeat of his rival Albinus, at a place called Timurteum, about twenty leagues from Lyons. A severe, but local persecution of the Christians disturbed Gaul under the reign of this able emperor, who was indignant at a Christian soldier who refused to wear a crown or coronet, delivered to him as a donation, agreeably to the command of his general, but which a religious dread of committing idolatry prohibited him from making use of. St. Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, fell, among other martyrs, about the year of God 202.

As the Roman empire began now to totter towards its fall, different barbarous nations, whom by force of arms she had first compelled to retire from her boundaries, began to thicken around her, in some instances with the purpose of mere ravage and plunder, in others, with the more resolved intent of making conquests and settlements within the imperial territory. Three of the nations or coalitions of tribes, who had regarded Gaul as their natural conquest, require to be distinguished from each other. The most remarkable, from their becoming the corner stone of the great monarchy to which they afforded a name, are the Franks, the undoubted founders of the present kingdom of France. From whence the people were derived, whose memory has been preserved by such distinction, has been the subject of much discussion.

In olden times, a fanciful origin was imagined for the Franks, which England had also adopted, namely, that they claimed their descent from the Trojans of classical antiquity. At a later period, Pannonia and Gaul were fixed upon as the native country of the Franks. But a more probable opinion has gained ground in later days, which has been generally recommended by its simplicity. The Germans, the most formidable enemies of Rome since the days of Cæsar, repeatedly defeated by the discipline of the Romans, but always resisting them, and often victorious in their turn, are supposed, about the middle of the third century, to have formed a new association or alliance among their eastern tribes, for the purpose of

mutual defence, to which, in token of their love of liberty, and their resolution to maintain it, they gave the name of Franks, or Freemen, though each tribe was individually known from the others by its own name. In this confederacy, they at first acknowledged no supreme head, nor was authority assumed by any one state over the others. The purest equality, and the plan of acting for each other's mutual support, seem to have been at once the object and the conditions of the confederacy. This formidable people commenced a set of furious incursions upon Gaul, which the Romans, under Gallienus and Posthumus, endeavoured to repel, in a long series of bloody wars, and in which both parties unquestionably sustained great losses. The province itself suffered greatly from the military operations, being necessarily exposed to the ravages of both parties, whether Romans or Franks. Indeed, notwithstanding the opposition of Gallienus and Posthumus, the south-eastern provinces of Gaul were so cruelly ravaged, that they afforded little spoil to the invaders; so that latterly the Franks only used them as a road to the Pyrenees, and from thence into Spain, which, unharassed as yet by similar invasions, contained a spoil far more tempting. They even seized upon vessels, and crossed to Africa, where they also found provinces plentiful of spoil, and colonies little acquainted with the art of war.

The Franks, who thus laid waste by rapid excursions the provinces of the Roman empire, had yet a country which they called their own, where they resided, when they chose for a time to abide at rest. To their original settlements on the eastern or German side of the Rhine they had added a considerable tract, called at that time *Toxandria*, which appears to have comprehended great part of the present province of Brabant, their habitations being in woods and morasses, or on the adjacent banks of lakes and rivers, as they could best surround them with rude fortifications, formed out of the trunks of trees.

The Allemanni were another and separate association, resembling that of the Franks, and instituted upon simi

lar principles. The Suevi formed the strength of this confederation; a tribe so much esteemed for courage by the neighbouring nations, that the Germans told Cæsar even the immortal gods could scarcely match them in fight. This brave people comprehended, besides, so many members, that they assumed the title of Allemanni, or All-men, to mark the comprehensive principle of general union on which their league rested. Besides making distant and extensive excursions, one of which brought them almost to the city of Rome itself, which was in great danger of falling into their hands, they, like the Franks, had a fixed abode. This second confederacy of the German tribes had their settlements on the eastern banks of the Upper Rhine; and their vicinity was not less formidable to Gaul than that of the Franks.

About the year 357, Julian, who, from his renouncing the Christian religion, obtained the hateful epithet of the *Apostate*, was sent, with very insufficient forces, to rescue Gaul from the ravages of the barbarians, and discharged his duty with unexpected success. He defeated the Allemanni in the battle of Strasburg, and after obtaining this victory, he crossed the Rhine three times, and upon each occasion took forts, won battles, or gained other successes; so that Gaul was for a time relieved from the incursions of these barbarous enemies, and with the assistance of Julian, its towns were rebuilt, and its prosperity re-established.

The historian Gibbon, who, from his enmity to the Christian religion, shows a great desire to make a hero out of Julian, has not, it is true, said more than enough in praise of his talents. But though certainly a prince of lively parts, and great personal activity, we cannot attribute soundness of understanding to the man of education, who should prefer the mysterious jargon of Plato's philosophy, and the coarse polytheism of the heathen religion, to the pure simplicity of the Gospel.

The provinces of Gaul shared for some time the advantages procured by the active talents of Julian; and it would seem, that although the Franks were celebrated

for a rude and fickle temper, yet for a period of years they remained faithful to Rome; a fidelity which was probably purchased by occasional subsidies. They even resisted the strong temptation of an opportunity to break their alliance with the Romans, in the great invasion of Rhodagast, or Radagaisus, which may be said in its event altogether to have destroyed the very slight remains of the Roman empire, excepting in Italy itself. This barbarian prince had collected an immense army from the shores of the Baltic sea, in which so many were sprung of pure Gothic descent, that the name of King of the Goths was generally, though inaccurately, given to their commander. The Vandals, the Suevi, the Burgundians, joined his standard. But though the Western Emperor Honorius was a timid and inefficient prince, his minister, Stilicho, a man of ambition, warlike skill, and political talent, with an army, the last apparently which he could raise, came upon the King of the Goths while he was engaged in the siege of Florence, and by a hasty circumvallation, surrounded the besiegers, who, in their turn were besieged, reduced to a starving condition, and obliged to surrender.

But though Radagaisus and his host were made captive, yet two-thirds of his original forces, amounting to one hundred thousand men, were still in arms in the north of Italy. It is said that Stilicho insinuated to them the advice to attack Gaul, as perhaps the only means by which he could relieve Italy of such unwelcome guests. They took the hint accordingly, and, ascending the Alps at different points, and approaching the Rhine on various quarters, appeared as invaders on the frontiers of Gaul. In this exploit, those who attacked Gaul from the Upper Rhine experienced neither assistance nor opposition from the Allemanni. But the Vandals, whose great numbers had enabled, or perhaps obliged, them to separate from the barbaric host, approached the territories occupied by the Franks, on the lower part of the river. The Franks, faithful to their engagements with the Romans, advanced in arms to oppose them and in the battle which ensued

twenty thousand Vandals were slain. But the arrival of the Alani, another nation of barbarians, who came up during the conflict, compelled the Franks to retreat, and to desist from the defence of the river, to which their numbers were unequal. Without further opposition then, the roving barbarians, consisting of several tribes, the remains of the army of Radagaisus, crossed the Rhine, which was then frozen, and carried fire and sword into the rich country, which had in a few years recovered from the devastations of the Franks and Allemanni, and reduced it again to a smoking desert, never more to assume the name of a civilized province of Rome, but to remain the theatre in which contending races of barbarians were to exercise themselves against each other in bloody conflict. This invasion of Gaul took place in 407.

CHAPTER III.

Successive Tribes of Barbarians by whom Europe was overrun—the Celts its Original Settlers—Invasions of the Goths, Sarmatians, and Alani—Irruption of the Huns, who settle in the Eastern parts of Germany,—Wars of Attila with the Eastern Empire—League between Ætius, the Roman Patrician, and Theodoric, King of the Goths—Attila invades Gaul, and besieges Orleans—Ætius and Theodoric advance against him, and defeat his Army in the Battle of Chalons—the Victors suffer the Defeated Army to retreat, without molestation—Death of Attila—Extinction of the Western Empire—Erection of Italy into a Kingdom.

GAUL could be no longer considered as an appendage to the Roman empire, if indeed the empire itself could be said still to exist. The province was filled with tribes of barbarians of Gothic or Celtic descent, carrying on desultory warfare with each other, which having neither a permanent result nor motive, becomes of as little conse-

quence to history, as, to use an expression of Milton, the battles of the kites and the crows. The name of Rome was still used in these scenes of confusion ; Ætius, the minister and general of Valentinian III., a man of courage, doubtless, but who had no means to follow up his attempts to reclaim the province of Gaul from the barbarous hordes by which it had been ravaged, save by the arms of others yet more barbarous than those by which Gaul was overrun and occupied, made, nevertheless, by the aid of such auxiliaries, a considerable stand. We are compelled to notice one or two of the more important nations, to whom some degree of settled government had given the appearance of a certain advancement in social life.

The Franks are in this case to be peculiarly attended to, as in their descendants we must look for the origin of the powerful kingdom of France we have already seen that they occupied both sides of the Rhine in its lower course, and at first opposed the remains of Radagaisus's army, till overpowered by the joint force of the Vandals and the other hordes. The Franks seem then to have resolved to seize upon a share of the prize which they could no longer defend. They advanced their banners accordingly, and amidst the general confusion, found no difficulty in adding to their western frontier a large portion of territory, comprehending nearly two of the prætorian governments, into sixteen of which the Romans had divided Gaul. At this period they had established kingly government by hereditary descent in the Merovingian family. These princes allowed their hair to descend in long curls over their shoulders, while the rest of the Franks shaved the hair on the back part of the head, from whence the Merovingian dynasty were entitled the Long-haired Kings. Their dominions extended as far westward as the eastern bank of the Somme.

The Goths, meaning that part of them called Visigoths, or Western Goths, had established themselves in the province of Gascony, and the adjacent parts of Spain ; and their chief, Theodoric, a prince of great resolution, having been converted with his subjects to the Christian faith,

had shown more wisdom and strength of mind than were usually the attributes of barbaric princes. With Theodoric, Ætius, the Roman general, made war, as one by whose arms Gaul was most likely to be detached from the empire. But a common enemy was approaching, of a power so formidable as to compel both parties to unite in resisting him.

The latter days of the Roman empire were marked by many of those emigrations upon a great scale, by which the nations who were put in motion were precipitated upon such as remained quiet, with the impulse of a river in inundation, overwhelming or bearing before them the settlements of former ages, and sometimes destroying all memory of their existence. Thus had one race succeeded another in Europe. The Celts had been its original settlers, the Goths, more strong, wise, and powerful, had driven this primitive people into the retreats of the mountains and valleys, where their remains are still to be found. The Sarmatian race also showed itself amid these successive revolutions; and the Alani, sometimes the scourge, sometimes the protectors, of the Roman provinces, were of the third great family, who were distinguished by a language and manners considerably different from those of the Goths, and their predecessors the Celts. But this unhappy period, the fourth and fifth centuries, was yet to see and suffer the remorseless rage of a fourth division of mankind, a race yet different from those by whom they had hitherto suffered. It seemed the will of Heaven, to punish perhaps the wickedness of the Roman people, that so fast as one horde of barbarians had begun to settle into peaceful inhabitants of the regions which they had wasted, new bands were brought from the extremities of the earth to renew the devastations, which had become more infrequent; and between the fresh invaders and their precursors, there was so little of connexion, or possibility of alliance, that they did not even understand each other's language. A remarkable feature of this extraordinary course of events, was the unexpected ap

pearance of a countless army of Asiatics on the borders of the still harassed Eastern Empire.

This extraordinary emigration had arisen out of convulsions so far to the eastward as the Great Wall, by which the Chinese emperors endeavoured in vain to protect themselves against the Tartars of the desert. Whatever was the original cause of communicating a movement so general, it must have been of a most formidable character, since it acted so widely upon the bosom of the Great Desert. Myriads of the mounted Tartar tribes collected together, dragging or driving on each other, and poured on to the westward, as if directed by the instinct of the locust-swarm, which holds undeviatingly upon its destined track to the country which it is called to ravage and destroy. Wherever this tide of armed emigration came, it struck universal terror. Their numbers were in themselves great, and the velocity with which their equestrian habits enabled them to move, magnified them into innumerable shoals. Nor was their external appearance less terrible than their numerical force. The Gothic and German tribes had shown the astonished provincials a strength of limb, and a loftiness of stature, seemingly beyond the usual growth. On the other hand, the Huns, as these new invaders were called, were dwarfish in stature, and their limbs, though strongly formed, exhibited a disproportion to each other, which almost amounted to deformity. Their countenances were of the cast commonly called Chinese; and their small sparkling eyes deep sunk beneath the skull, were placed at a distance from each other on the extremities of an unnatural breadth of forehead, while a flat nose and a large mouth added peculiar hideousness to the wild and frightful expression of the face. Their manners were almost as horrible as their appearance. Under the arbitrary despotism of their chiefs, they became familiarized with all the evils which despotism usually teaches its subjects to inflict, and to submit to. Their manners were altogether ferocious and brutal, and if we could implicitly trust the accounts transmitted to us, few mortals

could more resemble demons in features and actions, than did these hordes of Tartar savages, who appeared in Europe towards the end of the fourth century.

The Gothic tribes who inhabited the northern bank of the Danube, were the first to experience the furious attack of these new enemies, and were so much struck with terror, that, like one wave pursued by another, the body of the nation poured towards the banks of the Danube, and implored permission to cross that mighty barrier, and to take shelter under the protection of the Roman Emperor of the East, from the tide of barbarians which were pouring upon them from the deserts of Tartary. The Goths were incautiously admitted to take refuge within the limits of the empire; but as at the same time, the venal lieutenants of the frontier treated them with harshness and injustice, the incensed strangers became the most formidable enemies to its tranquillity. They never again left the territory of the Empire, but remained there, sometimes in the character of avowed enemies, and at others in that of doubtful auxiliaries and friends, changing their relations as often as caprice or desire of gain could afford a motive for doing so.

The Huns, whose approach had impressed so much terror on the Goths, and constrained that redoubted nation to advance upon the Roman Empire, did not themselves take the same direction with the fugitives. They took undisturbed possession of Hungary, to which they gave their name, and of great part of eastern Germany. These fertile regions seemed sufficient for their wants, and what incursions they might make upon the Empire of the East, were not of a grand or terrific character. It may be conjectured, that at this period the power of this wandering people was not combined under one general head, and that the thousand tribes of the Huns lived for the time each under the dominion of its own chief, in consequence of which the strength of the whole nation was not readily brought to exert itself.

But in 433, (A. D.) we find the forces of the Huns again combined under the guidance of one well qualified to

use a power so tremendous. This was Attila, or Etzell, as he is called by German tradition, surnamed by his terrified contemporaries the Scourge of God. By the ferocious activity of his followers actively seconding his own natural disposition, he was enabled to make good the inhuman boast, that grass never grew on the spot over which he passed. His first wars were with the Eastern Empire, from which he exacted a large yearly tribute, besides an extensive cession of territory, and obliged Theodosius, then Emperor of the East, to submit to the most humiliating demands. His protection was eagerly sought after by Ætius, called the Patrician, already mentioned, who obtained, by the influence of the king of the Huns, the highest position of power and trust at the court of Theodosius. But Ætius forgot gratitude in the virtue of patriotism.

Attila, after hesitating whether he should attack the Eastern or Western Empire, and after having insulted the weakness of both, determined at last to pour upon Gaul the terrors of a Tartar invasion. Ætius, so much was the pride of Rome fallen, could only attempt to defend the Roman province against the barbarians of the east, by forming an alliance with one of those nations of barbarians which issued from the north. I have already told you that the Visigoths, or Gothic tribes of the west, were in possession of Aquitaine, and had fixed their capital at Toulouse. This powerful nation was commanded by Theodoric, the son of a king of the Goths, called Alaric, and the policy of Ætius induced him to obtain the aid of the Gothic king for the defence of Gaul against the Huns. These Tartars advanced with all their tribes; and Attila, whose policy, like that of most barbarians, consisted chiefly in cunning and duplicity, flattered Ætius and Theodoric alternately with his friendship, and threatened them with his formidable enmity; thus preventing them, for a time, from combining their forces for the common safety, by suggesting to each that the peril respected the other alone. While thus amusing Theodoric and Ætius, Attila, by a march seldom equalled passed from Hungary to Gaul,

crossed the Rhine by a bridge of boats, penetrated into the centre of the province of Gaul, which he wasted, and laid siege to the important town of Orleans. But mutual alarm had now accomplished that union between the Roman patrician and the valiant Gothic monarch, which mutual distrust had so long impeded. Theodoric raised a powerful army, and appeared at their head; Ætius called to arms the other barbarous people in Gaul, who still set some value on the name of Roman confederates, and among them brought to the field Merovæus, the long-haired king of the Franks, though Attila called that nation his allies. Having formed the plan of their campaign, the allies marched forward with such rapidity, that they well-nigh surprised Attila while he was engaged in the attack on Orleans. On their approach, he was compelled to raise the siege, and, recrossing the river Seine, concentrated his immense clouds of cavalry near Chalons, in the province of Champagne. The Goths, with the army of Ætius, advanced against him, and the crisis seemed to approach, in which the fate of battle was to decide to whom this fair portion of Europe was doomed to belong. Both were barbarians; but the Goths, having received the Christian faith, had at the same time adopted some of the attendant doctrines of morality, which mitigated the ferocity of their natural manners. But even ere they enjoyed these inestimable advantages, they possessed as much superiority over the Tartars in the turn of their mind and manners, as in their stately and well-formed persons, which showed to such advantage, compared to their misshapen and fiendish-looking enemies. They were a people accustomed to pride themselves in subduing and resisting the brutal impulses of their nature; without which power of restraint man is levelled with the beasts that perish. The Huns, on the contrary, wallowed in every pleasure that could gratify their animal instinct. The plurality of wives in which they indulged, produced among them all the usual consequences of degradation of the female sex, and indifference between the parents and the offspring. The battle of Chalons, therefore, was likely to determine

whether the European or the Asiatic savage, alike in rude and ferocious courage, but differing in so many other qualities, was to predominate in the province of Gaul. This engagement, fought in the year 450, (A. D.) was disputed with an obstinacy and fury, befitting the great stake for which these fearless nations, on fire with rivalry, and each proud of its ancient name, pursued the bloody game of war. The aged but valiant king of the Goths, Theodoric, was killed in the front of the battle, but his place being bravely filled by his eldest son, Torrimond, the impetuous career of his followers was not checked, and Attila himself was compelled, by the strength and fury of the Goths, to seek, after the Scythian custom, a retreat among his wagons, which were sometimes the means of transporting their families, and sometimes their fortification against a prevailing enemy. The troops, which sustained the once formidable name of Romans, suffered greatly, and Ætius, their leader, was separated from his soldiers, and with difficulty found refuge in the camp of his allies. But such a battle was dreadful to the victors as well as the vanquished, and the Goths and Romans judged it more prudent to suffer Attila to effect a sullen and slow retreat, watched by a part of their army, than to risk the glory of their hard-won victory, in an attempt to cut off the retreat of the Tartar prince. Attila arrived in the northern parts of Italy, without having, in his retreat, suffered any considerable abatement of power, or by his defeat lost much of his renown. He died not long after, having compelled the Roman emperor of the East to give to him, as one of his many wives, a beautiful daughter with an immense dowery. Shortly after this event the Western Empire was entirely extinguished, and a kingdom of Italy erected in its place.

CHAPTER IV.

Conquests of Clovis—His Conversion to Christianity—War between him and Alaric, King of the Visigoths—Defeat of the Goths at Poitiers—Laws and Customs of the Franks—Death of Clovis—Division of his Empire among his Sons—The Saracens invade France, and are repulsed by Charles Martel—The Merovingian Race of Kings deposed by Pepin Founder of the Carolingian Dynasty—Conquests of Charlemagne—Division of the Empire among his Successors—Invasion of the Northmen or Normans—Charles the Gross deposed.

I HAVE already fixed your attention upon the Franks as the people who were destined to become the founders of modern France. But the original extent of their dominions was small; the increase of their power slow; nor did they for a length of time bear much comparison with the Burgundians, who occupied the south-east of France, or with the still more numerous Visigoths, who repulsed the formidable host under Attila. We have already given some account of them and their long-haired kings, who were called after Merovæus, the ally of Ætius and of Theodoric, at the famous battle of Chalons. But in his time the Franks can only be said to have kept their ground. In the time of Clovis (which is the same name with Louis, the *chl* of the Celtic tribes resembling the aspirated consonant *hl*,) the power of the nation made great advances, rather by the address and ability of the monarch, than by the superior valour of his followers, though the Franks were allowed to be among the bravest of the German tribes who invaded Gaul. Such of the Gallic colonists as still chose to retain the name of Romans, endeavoured to embody themselves under the command of one Syagrius, who established his head-quarters at Soissons.

But Clovis, with his warlike Franks, commenced his career of conquest by defeating him; and obtaining possession of his person, caused him to be beheaded, and seized upon his dominions, which added to the territories of the Franks the provinces of Gaul betwixt the Rhine and the Loire. (486.) Clovis afterwards conquered a king of Thuringia, named Basin, and extended his sway over his country, the inhabitants of which were the more severely treated, that they had formerly joined Attila, and committed frightful cruelties upon the Goths and Franks, after the battle of Chalons.

But Clovis's destiny was principally determined by his adopting the Christian faith. The chief agent in his conversion, was his queen, Clotilda, daughter of Gundobald, King of Burgundy, his neighbour and ally. By her affectionate exhortations, the mind of her husband was disposed to Christianity, though he long hesitated to embrace a religion which imposed many restrictions. At length, in a battle with the Allemanni, often already mentioned as holding the upper part of the Rhine, Clovis, hard pressed, was induced to vow, that if he should obtain a victory, which seemed extremely doubtful, he would become a Christian. The King of the Allemanni was slain, his army discomfited, and the acquisition of his dominions greatly augmented the power of the Franks. (A. D. 496.) After this conquest, Clovis adopted the Christian faith, according to his vow, and was baptized in the Cathedral of Rheims, where it has been ever since the custom to crown and consecrate the monarchs of France.

Burgundy, the country of his wife, was afterwards subjected by this ambitious King; for Clovis was equally a dexterous politician, an accomplished soldier, and, we must add, an ambitious and unscrupulous man: by such characters are kingdoms acquired, and their limits augmented. Gundobald was attacked and defeated, and, after his death, his son Sigismund was taken and put to death; the sons of Clovis causing him and his family to be thrown into a well.

But, before the conquest of Burgundy was perfected a war broke out between Clovis and those Visigoths who, in the time of Theodoric, had assisted in defeating Attila at the battle of Chalons. These Visigoths were Arians, that is, they held certain opinions on the most abstruse and mysterious doctrines of Christianity, taught by a clergyman called Arius, which are contrary to those accepted by the Catholic Church. Unhappily for both sides, the Christians of those early ages chose rather to make these differences in speculative opinion the means of persecuting each other, than listen to the great precept of the Gospel, which imposes on us the duty to love our neighbour as ourselves.

The Visigoths were at this time governed by a prince called Alaric, who was stirred, doubtless, by the blood of his renowned ancestor of the same name, and jealous of the growing conquests of the Catholic Clovis. The two monarchs met as friends upon an island in the Loire, which now divided their dominions. But it is remarkable how seldom such interviews serve to prolong peace and good understanding betwixt princes. They feasted together, and parted in appearance as friends, but with mutual rancour at heart. Clovis held a council of his barons ;—"Let not these Arian heretics," he said, "longer enjoy the choicest portion of Gaul !" He was answered by loud acclamations, and, to give evidence of his own zeal, rode to the front of his nobles, and darting his battle-axe forward with a strong arm and desperate aim, "Where my francisca alights," he said, (such was the name which the Franks gave to their war-axes,) "will I dedicate a church to the blessed St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and to his holy brethren !" The weapon lighted on the spot where Clovis erected the Great Church, now called that of St. Genevieve, formerly of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Under these auspices, Clovis advanced against Alaric, who appeared at the head of an army of Goths, far superior to that of the Franks. In the anxiety of the moment, Clovis endeavoured to propitiate the saints by magnificent promises. St. Martin of Tours, who had been active in

the general conversion of Gaul, was the principal object of his vows. He endeavoured to propitiate that saint with many promises, and particularly that of dedicating to him a favourite charger, which was perhaps the thing in the world which he loved most dearly. The King of Franks joined battle with Alaric, near Poitiers, where the usual good fortune of Clovis prevailed. (A.D.500.) He showed his personal gallantry in the pursuit, and, attaching himself to the person of Alaric, slew him with his own lance, while at the same time he made his escape with difficulty from two desperate Gothic champions, who united to avenge their monarch's death by that of his conqueror. The risk which Clovis had eluded by his own dexterity, and the excellent qualities of his approved charger, endeared the noble animal to him, and he endeavoured to repurchase him at the price of one hundred golden pieces, from the saint to whom the good horse had been pledged by the royal vow. But he was displeased to learn that St. Martin had vindicated his property, and that the steed would not stir from his stable till redeemed at a higher rate by his secular master. "An excellent friend in time of need, this St. Martin," said the king, somewhat fretted at the saint's tenacity; "but rather difficult to transact business with." He continued, however, his attachment to the saint, and his bounty to the existing clergy, which secured for the founder of the Frank monarchy a fairer character in the pages of the monkish historians than his crimes deserve. Clovis's reputation as a conqueror was, in his latter years, somewhat tarnished by a defeat received before Arles, from Theodoric the Great, King of the Ostrogoths, but it did not greatly affect his power. His religion, however, consisted chiefly in superstition, and his esteem for St. Martin never interrupted the course of unscrupulous ambition which, on every possible occasion, seized the opportunity of extending his dominions either by fraud or violence. Such princes of the Merovingian race, whose interests seemed likely to interfere with his own family, he cut off without mercy. Of others, he shaved the long hair, and having thus rendered them incapable of assuming the

established mark of regal sway, shut them up in cloisters. If he suspected them to be capable of reflecting that their hair would grow again, he took sterner and more fatal means of shutting the paths of ambition against them.

Yet, though stained with the blood of his own relatives as well as others, Clovis, with many crimes as an individual, had great virtues as a monarch. He not only extended the power of his tribe, over what we must in future call France, combining into one strong monarchy the shattered and broken fragments of so many barbarous tribes, as well as the feeble remains of the Roman settlers in Gaul ; but he ruled them by equitable and humane laws, being the first of the barbarous conquerors of what had constituted the Roman empire, who tried to restore order in the dominions he acquired, and engaged himself in creating, as well as destroying, the social union. His code of laws were called the Salic and Ripuarian, from having their origin on the banks of the Saal, and the eastern side of the Rhine ; and in their peculiar character they bore the stamp of the warlike freedom which distinguished the ancient Franks. The King of the Franks gave to his friends and followers the personal and temporary possession of benefices, fiefs, or farms, varying in extent and value, stipulating the service of the vassal, in peace or war, in return for abandoning to him the profits of the soil. Originally, these grants terminated at the will of the holder of the soil, at least at the death of the tenant ; but at last it became usual to renew the grant, as a matter of course, on the death of the vassal, and in favour of his eldest son, or nearest heir, who paid, or rendered, a certain acknowledgment for receiving this preference.

The female inheritance of fiefs was prohibited by the Salic law, and the consequence, by excluding the Kings of England from the throne of France, led to those long and bloody wars which perpetuate the remembrance of the original edict.

In many respects, the Frank institutions were those of barbarians. Slaughter was only punished by a fine, which differed according to the arbitrary value at which the law

rated the persons slain. Ordeals of various kinds were referred to, in which the Deity was expected to work a miracle, in order to make manifest the guilt or innocence of an accused person, by protecting him from being burnt when walking bare-foot among masses of hot iron; and similar unreasonable appeals were admitted, for obtaining a special testimony of innocence, at the expense of a suspension of the laws of nature. But a mode of trial, far more suitable to the manners of these martial barbarians, was the referring the issue of a lawsuit, or dispute of any kind, to the encounter of two champions, espousing the different sides of the contest in the lists. This regulation was so well suited to the genius and disposition of the barbaric tribes, that it was soon generally introduced throughout Europe. Thus arose in France, the first germ of those institutions, called the feudal system, the trial by combat, and other peculiarities, which distinguished the jurisprudence of the middle ages.

We can also trace, in the customs and laws of the Franks, the same rude marks of the trial by jury, which seem originally to have been formed among all the northern people,—though it is very worthy of your notice, that the British alone have been able to mould it into such a form as to adapt it to a civilized state. The jurymen were, in the days of the origin of law, called compurgators. They were little more than witnesses brought forward to give evidence in behalf of the character of an accused person. “You have heard things alleged against me,” said the accused, “but I will produce a certain number of compurgators, men that are well acquainted with me, and who will pledge their oath that I am incapable of what has been imputed to me.” By steps which it is something curious to trace, the compurgators, limited to a convenient number, came to be the judges in the cause, listening to the proof adduced, whether in favour of guilt or innocence, and deciding by their verdict which of the two predominated. So that, from being witnesses in behalf of the accused, the opinion of the compurgators became the

means of deciding the truth or falsehood of the charge against him.

The high and excessive preponderance which the Franks allowed to their own warlike habits induced them to claim such superiority over the Gallic or Roman colonists, that it must have reduced the whole, as it doubtless did a very great part of them, into the condition of bondsmen and Helotes to their haughty conquerors, had not the more refined, but less gallant provincialists, found a retreat in the church, by which they were raised in general opinion above the condition of their conquerors, and, in their character as priests, dealt forth to them, as they pretended, the good and evil things of the next world, in consideration of being admitted to a large share of temporal wealth and power as a recompense in the present. As the clergy were men of information, and possessed what learning still existed in Europe, their lot was gradually rendered better than at first was threatened, and the rude warriors were frequently, even to their own surprise, obliged to submit to the well-informed and wily priest. But when the oppressed provincial of Roman or Gallic descent remained in a lay condition, he was considered as incalculably meaner and more worthless than the descendant of the Frank, or freeman, by whom he had been conquered, and the distinction betwixt him and the warlike barbarian remained long, and may be traced deep in the history and manners of the kingdom of France.

Clovis having laid the foundation of a mighty state, which he extended by victory, and guarded by laws, died at Paris, which he had fixed upon for the capital of his dominions, in the year of God 511. The monarchy which he founded was not in all appearance likely to survive him; for upon his death, it was divided among his four sons; but it was the singular fortune of the French monarchy to be often put in danger of dismemberment by a division of territory, from which it repeatedly escaped, by the reunion of the detached portions, upon the first opportunity. This spirit of individuality it perhaps re

ceived from the impulse of the institutions of Clovis, since those people who live under the same laws are predisposed to unite in the same government.

But it is at least unnecessary to trace with accuracy the minute actions, separations, and reunions of territory, during the sway of the kings of the First, or Merovingian race. They were never remarkable for family concord, and while their empire was divided into departments, they seem to have fallen into absolute anarchy. Their wars against their neighbours and each other were conducted with the utmost cruelty, and their social regulations seem to have been broken through by the general propensity to insubordination. One of Clovis' grandsons, Theodihert, King of Metz, passed the Alps into Italy: and although that irruption, like all which the French have hitherto directed against their transalpine neighbours, was in the end nugatory, yet he might have revived it with greater advantage at the head of a more numerous army, had he not been slain at a hunting-match by a wild bull, no unfit opponent to a headlong conqueror.

He left a son, but Clotaire, his uncle, had the address to seduce the allegiance of the people from the young heir of Metz, and to prevail on them to acknowledge his own better right, as nearer to the blood of the great Clovis; and in the end this prince succeeded, by one means or other, in uniting once more under his sway all the dominions of that great conqueror and legislator. After the death of Clotaire, the Frank empire was again subdivided, and then again followed a succession of wars, murders, and treacheries, which might be the stain of any kingdom, if the like could be found elsewhere.

About this time, the punishment of the kings of the Merovingian race began to descend upon them in a manner which was the natural fruit of their offences. These princes had repeatedly neglected their kingly duties, to plunge themselves into sensual pleasures, and had used their regal power for the gratification of their own selfish wishes and desires, instead of applying it to the adminis-

tration of justice among their subjects, or the maintenance of the laws. By a natural consequence, their powers of understanding became limited to the petty subjects in which alone their own unworthy passions induced them to take interest, while the real exercise of authority, whether in time of peace or war, devolved upon a minister known by the name of *Maire du Palais*, or, as we would say, the high-steward of the royal household, who had the complete administration in his own hand, to the total exclusion of the monarch. The kings, retiring into the interior of their palace, led a life so useless, and so totally without object, that they attained the name of *Rois Faineans*, or *Idiot Princes*, while their *Maires de Palais*, or ministers, assumed the command of the armies, administered justice, invaded some provinces, and protected others, and made war and peace at pleasure, without even consulting the wish or inclination of the long-haired puppet who held the name of king.

There are few countries which have not at some time or other been cursed by imbecile princes, who have let their power slip from their hands, and abandoned themselves to the pleasures of luxurious indolence, while their ministers discharged the duties of government. But at no time in Europe has the surrender been so complete, so absolute, and so enduring, as in the case of the Merovingian family.

Pepin de Heristhal, so called from chiefly residing in a castle of that name, upon the Meuse, was one of the most distinguished of those ministers whose increasing, and finally exclusive power, prepared the way for the final extinction of the race of Merovæus. Yet he still observed decency towards his supposed master. The unfortunate monarch was treated with such state as fully satisfied the popular regard, which still venerated the blood of Clovis. This sort of parade was but of a coarse clumsy character, suitable to the rudeness of the age. The king, when exhibited to the people, was driven about the streets, like a show of modern days, in a large wagon drawn by oxen, surrounded by guards, who, under pretence of protecting

himself, suffered no one to approach him, and on public occasions he kept aloof from his people, and was environed by the great officers of state. Thus, though an essential part of the ceremony, the king took as little interest in it as one of his own draught oxen. Every thing approaching to real business was settled by Pepin, who, to the title of Maire du Palais, expressive of the highest ministerial authority, added that of Duke, or leader of the Franks; and under these modest epithets, disposed of the full power of the crown, preserving in his person a simplicity of manners and appearance which astonished all strangers when contrasted with the idle pomp which attended on the king's person.

Pepin d'Heristhal did not escape the dangers attendant on the actual possession of power. He was attacked and stabbed at his devotions, by the dagger of an emulous rival. He recovered, however, and his authority was so easily transmissible, that he named his son Theobald his successor, as Maire du Palais, though only six years old, and died shortly after having done so. (A. D. 714.)

But the fortunes of this favoured child, though the only legitimate son of Pepin de Heristhal, gave way before those of the illegitimate offspring of the same minister. This was the famous Charles, called Martel, or the Hammerer, from the resistless weight of the blows which he discharged on his enemies in battle. After various victories, improved with talent, he found himself able to compel the king, Thierry of Chelles, who then supported the dignity of the long-haired and weak descendants of Clovis, to admit him to the dignity of Maire du Palais, that is, to the administration of the kingdom of France. Most fortunate that kingdom was, in possessing his abilities at the time, for an awful crisis was approaching, threatening more imminent danger to France, than had menaced it since the great inroad of Attila.

As in the days of that Scythian monarch, the rising kingdom was threatened with the invasion, to use the language of Scripture, of "a nation from far, whose tongue

‘they did not understand,’ and who, in all the pride of victory, came with the Moslem form of faith in the one hand, and the sword in the other, to propound to the Christians of France the choice of apostacy or death. These were the Saracens, or descendants of the Arabian believers in Mahomet, who, having accepted the law of that impostor, had burst forth from their deserts, their natural ferocity and courage enhanced by their fanaticism, to lay waste the world, and preach the Alcoran. From the extremity of Africa, they crossed into Spain, and destroyed, after a brief struggle, the kingdom which the Goths had erected there, and which they found under the government of a profligate and unpopular monarch. (A. D. 713.) And now their arms were turned against France. Aquitaine, an independent dukedom, a remnant of what had been the empire of the Visigoths in that province, was first exposed to their inroads. It was governed by a prince named Eudo, who had hitherto been opposed to Charles Martel and his family, but now implored his assistance against the common enemy of Christianity.

As the kingdom of the Franks still preserved extensive possessions on the east side of the Rhine, the Maire du Palais levied in Germany a large body of troops, whose lofty size, massive strength, and fair complexion, were likely to inspire surprise and terror into the swarthy and slender Arabs. Charles Martel, having communicated his plans to Eudo, took his measures for the approaching campaign, where a defeat might have proved irreparable, with a degree of caution which seemed foreign to his character. Permitting, and almost encouraging, the numerous bands of the invaders to enfeeble their force by dispersing themselves through the country in search of plunder, he kept his own army strongly concentrated. The Saracens and Christians at length encountered near the city of Tours, and the contest, which lasted several days, seemed to endure with an obstinacy worthy of the object of debate, namely, to what religion, and whose government, this fair portion of the European world should in future be subjected. (A. D. 732.) While the battle

continued desultory, which was the case during the first days of the strife, the Saracens, from the numbers and activity of their light squadrons, obtained some advantage over the Christians. But this was lost when the light-armed Arabs came to mingle in close combat with the warriors of the north, who were so much stronger in their persons, mounted on more powerful horses, and, above all, accustomed to seek out and to sustain the dangers of close encounter. Thus the battalions of the Saracens were already hard pressed, and beginning to give ground, when the cry of conflict was heard in their rear, and the infidels discovered that their camp was assaulted by Eudo, at the head of the people of Aquitaine, who had concerted with Charles Martel the time and manner of so seasonable an attack. The Saracens then gave way, and were defeated with an immense slaughter; even if we decline believing that no less than three hundred and seventy-five thousand infidels, and only fifteen hundred Christians, were slain in the battle. This great victory decided the campaign, and the event of the war; and Charles Martel pressed his success vigorously. The Saracens lost the footing they had gained beyond the Pyrenees, and Europe was saved from the imminent risk it had run of being darkened by the religious dreams of the African prophet. Charles, planning yet more important achievements than he had executed, was removed by death. (A. D. 741.) The clergy, notwithstanding his great services to Christianity, pretended that, his tomb being opened by accident, nothing was discovered but an ugly dragon, which, they boldly affirmed, was an explicit mark of his eternal reprobation. The truth is, he had offended the churchmen, by calling upon them, with an irresistible voice, to surrender part of their wealth for the service of the state.

Charles Martel was succeeded in his title of Duke and Prince of France, and guardian of its long-haired kings, by his sons, Carloman and Pepin, whilst a third son, Grignon, struggled hard to obtain a share of authority. Car-

loman early retired from the world into an Italian convent and Gripon died, after various attempts against Pepin which had been repeatedly forgiven.

About this period, Pepin, who had been hitherto content to govern in the name of Childeric, the last of the Merovingian kings, to whom, as to his fathers, the empty honours of sovereignty had been paid, began at last to tire of the obstacle interposed betwixt him and the name of king, while he already possessed the power. (A. D. 750.) The important question, whether the Faineant, or Simpleton, should continue to possess the royal title, rather than the active and effective minister who discharged the duties of the situation, was referred to Pope Zacharias, then Bishop of Rome. This pontiff had already received the most important services from Pepin, who had protected him against the arms of the Lombards, a nation of barbarians who had usurped the command of Italy. He was therefore warmly disposed to favour Pepin in his present object, on account of the regard he had for one who had rendered him such services; and at the same time, by assuming the office of arbitrator in a matter of such consequence, Zacharias established a precedent for the superb claims which the Popes of Rome had already formed to become the general umpires of the Christian world. He had no hesitation to declare his opinion, that, in a contract like that betwixt the kings of France and their people, if the former should totally neglect and retire from all the duties of a sovereign, they lost the right of exacting allegiance from their subjects. Founding on the award or sentence of the pontiff, and availing himself of the power which was entirely in his hands, Pepin held an assembly of the Frank nobles, and degraded Childeric III., the last of the race of Merovæus. His long hair was shaved, to prevent him from again ascending the throne; and for the same reason he was obliged to take religious vows, and retire into a monastery. Thus ended the First, or Merovingian race of the kings of France, in consequence of their total indolence and incapacity. You will hereafter see, that the family of Pe

pin did not themselves profit by the severe lesson imparted by their ancestor to his predecessors, and had in their turn their term of decay and degradation.

Pepin, called by his historians *Bref*, or the Short, to distinguish him from his ancestor Pepin d'Heristhal, was elevated upon a buckler, after the ancient custom of the Franks, and declared king of the nation, of which he had been long the effectual ruler. He became the parent of the Carlovingian, or second race of French kings, who, like the Merovingians, their predecessors, commenced their dynasty in glory and conquest, and declined into degeneracy, sloth, and effeminacy, until they were superseded by another royal family, as their ancestor succeeded Childeric. At this period, what had been the fragments of the Roman empire, had been repeatedly conquered and divided by barbarians of different origin, but yet, like the animal called a polypus, the severed parts showed a disposition to frame new combinations of government. Pepin and his son Charles, who obtained the name of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, made great progress in erecting a new Western empire, differing widely from that which had formerly existed under the name and authority of the Romans, both in laws and institutions, the more recent of which were in a great measure founded on those of the Franks, which we have since called the Feudal System.

To give their power the venerable aspect of religion, and the better to confirm their sway, both Pepin and Charlemagne engaged in repeated invasions of Italy, for the purpose of supporting the Bishops of Rome against the oppressions of the Lombards, a people already mentioned. This nation was finally conquered and annihilated by Charlemagne. He was then not unmindful that the Popes, as they were called, had been the first to sanctify Pepin's assumption of the crown by a formal sentence, and began to study a recompense which should at once attest his gratitude and his devotion. For this purpose, Charlemagne gave to the Bishops of Rome, who had hitherto been spiritual prelates only, a right of temporal

dominion over their city and territories adjacent, which raised them to the rank of princes of this world. Future Popes were discontented that their power should be supposed to rest on the narrow basis of Charlemagne's grant, and asserted that they possessed a right of the same tenor from Constantine the Great, not only more ancient, but more ample. But this pretended document is generally supposed to have been a forgery. At any rate, you must observe, and remember, that it was by the grant of Charlemagne that the Pope first laid the foundation of his power as a temporal prince, as it was in the case of Pepin Bref that Pope Zacharias first exercised his authority in disposing, or authenticating the disposal of the crown of France, as if he could have had any title either to depose the Long-haired Simpleton, or to elevate the Maire du Palais to the throne in his room.

The Popes failed not to evince their gratitude to Charlemagne, from whom they had experienced so many favours. In return for having made the Bishop of Rome a temporal prince, that prelate solemnly raised his benefactor, Charles, to the rank of Emperor. The realms which were united under the sway of this victorious prince, might well be termed a renewal of the Roman empire. As king of the Franks, he succeeded to their dominions both in France and Italy ; for when, under the long-haired kings, that people advanced their conquests in France, they still retained their original German possessions on the east of the Rhine, which had been the land of their fathers, when they first formed their association, or league of freemen. But Charlemagne greatly enlarged these German possessions by overrunning Saxony. That province was inhabited by a fierce people, still heathens ; and it cost a war of thirty years and upwards, ere they were conquered and converted. In Germany, Charlemagne also defeated the remains of the great nations of the Huns, or Tartars, and added to his limits the provinces of Bohemia and Pannonia, so as to reach the frontiers of the Eastern, or Grecian empire. In Spain, he gained considerable advantage over the Saracens, until he extended his Chris

tian power from the line of the Pyrenees, the natural boundary between France and Spain, to the banks of the Ebro, which river bounded his empire. It was especially in his battles with the Saracens, that the romancers, who made the adventures of this great prince the subject of their poems, found materials for the numerous fables with which they altogether disguised and obscured his exploits. The battle of Roncesvalles, in which Charlemagne, though the chief of Christian and European chivalry, suffered a terrible defeat, and lost a great part of his Paladins, a select band of renowned champions so called, is supposed to have taken place in a pass of the Pyrenees, descending from these mountains. The rear-guard of the Franks was attacked by the natives of Gascony, whom the Moors had bribed to assist on the occasion, and very many slain. The celebrated Orlando, or Roland, of whom romance says so much, and history so little, fell on this occasion.

But although the incidents of the reign of Charlemagne have been made the theme of many fables or exaggerations, there can be no doubt that Charles, by his courage, constant activity, and frequent successes, deserved the title of *Great*. He was a legislator as well as a conqueror and studied those arts by which society is cemented and bound together, as well as the rules of war, by which its frame is dissolved and burst asunder.

It would be difficult to compute the consequences to the world at large, if Charlemagne could have transmitted his great and powerful empire to a single successor, as capable as himself of wielding the government. But the French diadem, it would seem, had something benumbing in its effect upon the wearer; and the desire among the descendants of Charlemagne to divide the succession, each seizing upon independent portions of the empire, prevented this great experiment from being made. The German Empire, so much more feeble than that of the French, has subsisted, as a rickety and unhealthy child sometimes survives its more robust brother. Habit, in the one case, kept together a people accustomed to one lan-

guage and the same system of laws. The Carlovingian Empire, on the other hand, fell to pieces for want of those principles of cohesion.

Charlemagne, indeed, transmitted great part of his dominions to his only surviving son Louis, previously created King of Aquitaine, and associated with his father in the empire. But in the course of two or three generations, the various descendants of the great Emperor Charles made war among themselves, and by treaties divided and subdivided their empire into fragments. It had, indeed, required all the sagacity and activity of Charles, from whom they derived their descent, to keep together a large empire, consisting of unconnected kingdoms, inhabited in most cases by distinct races of people, Huns, Alani, Allemanni, Lombards, and other tribes, who had in their turn laid waste the European world. Charlemagne endeavoured to give strength and unity to this mass, by assigning to vassals of warlike skill, and of distinction at his court, the government of different provinces, they always holding their authority from and under himself as superior of the whole : and while a man of such wisdom and power was at the head of the empire, these governors were compelled to do their duty, and as but few of them had yet obtained hereditary rights to their offices, they were liable to lose them upon incurring the emperor's displeasure. In the assemblies of the crown vassals, Charlemagne made, by the advice of his clergy and nobles, those laws which were called Capitulars, and which regulated his empire. In these general councils of the nation, there reigned among the hardy vassals, who composed them, a strong spirit of freedom, mingled with a deference to the will of their emperor, which was naturally founded on the wisdom and high talents of this great monarch, the extent of his power, and the number of his conquests. He had also a mode of giving advice to those around him on such occasions, in which mirth was joined with sober counsel, and a serious lesson given under the appearance of a jest. For example, although Charlemagne himself displayed upon public occasions a considerable degree of

rude magnificence, yet it was merely for the support of his imperial dignity in the public eye, and not from any pleasure which he received from the gratification of personal vanity. He dreaded, therefore, the introduction of luxury among his subjects. On one occasion, observing that his nobility and vassals had indulged to extravagance in silk dresses, lined with fur, he invited them, thus arrayed, to a royal hunting party, though the weather was the depth of winter, and the day rainy. He then, after they had been completely drenched in the forest, led them back to the royal hall, where the heat of the fire shrivelled up the wet furs. Charles on this gloried in his own plain sheepskin cloak, which had neither suffered by the storm nor by the heat, and exhorted the tattered crew by whom he was surrounded, to reserve silk and furs for days of ceremony, and to use in war and in the chase the plain but serviceable dress of their ancestors.

In this anecdote there is more meaning than may be at first seen. In the decay of the Roman Empire, the successive defeats sustained by the various warlike tribes, which, seizing on the provinces of that immense ruin, had become in their turn a prey to luxury and effeminacy, and sunk under the sway of barbarians, who retained their wild courage and simple manners, there was a strong lesson to future conquerors. From this, Charlemagne was naturally led to foresee the degeneracy which might sap the foundations of his own throne, and bring down upon the Carlovingian race, of which he himself was the founder, a fate similar to that of the Merovingian dynasty, which his father, Pepin *Bref*, had extinguished. Neither were his apprehensions far removed from the truth.

Charles was succeeded in his throne by Louis, called the Debonnaire, from his obliging and gentle character (A. D. 814.) That character was, however, greatly too soft for the times in which he lived; and the instructions with which his father had carefully imbued him, proved inadequate to form his courteous and yielding temper to encounter the difficulties of his situation. His sense of

religion took an unhappy direction, and subjected him to undue influence on the part of the prelates and clergy, who abused his weakness, and usurped the royal privileges. The near relations of the new emperor conspired against his crown and life, and he felt a degree of remorse at the necessity of punishing them, which increased the indirect authority of the priesthood, and induced him to submit to the most degrading penances. The Empress Judith, of the House of Guelf, obtained also a power over her husband's mind, which she used to pernicious purposes, persuading him to raise Charles, a son whom she bore to him, to a right of succession in the empire, and estates dependent thereon. This incensed the sons whom Louis the Debonnaire had by his former marriage. Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis, engaged in an ungrateful and unnatural rebellion against the good-natured king. (A. D. 835.) He even became prisoner to his insurgent sons, and was solemnly degraded from his royal dignity, although he was afterwards recalled to the throne. This was only to be disturbed by fresh family intrigues, in which, embarrassed by the solicitations of his young wife, and the pretensions of his adult sons, Louis the Debonnaire died broken-hearted, but left no part of his dominions to his son Louis, whom he considered as especially undutiful. (A. D. 840.) "Yet you must forgive him as a Christian," was the suggestion of the Bishop of Mentz. "I forgive him with all my heart," said the dying emperor, "but let him beseech God's forgiveness for bringing my gray hairs with sorrow to the ground." Thus died the Emperor Louis le Debonnaire, son of the Great Charles, on whose tomb the adage might have been inscribed, that, "Mere good-nature is only a fool."

Immediately upon the death of Louis, a general war ensued among his children; and in a dreadful battle which took place near Fontenoy, upwards of one hundred thousand men of the Frank nation fell in defence of the pretensions of the various claimants. It was not till five years afterwards that this fraternal discord was terminated by a treaty, by which the dominions of Charlemagne were divid

ed into three parts, and shared among the three brothers. The eldest, Lothaire, kept the title of Emperor ; he also retained all Italy, with the city of Rome, and the whole tract of country lying betwixt the rivers Rhine, Rhone, Saone, Meuse, and Scheldt, which was from him called Lotharingia, the memory of which word survives in the word Lorraine, still applied to a part of what were Lothaire's dominions. Louis the Second, his brother, enjoyed all the dominions of Germany beyond the Rhine, and was thence called Louis the German. Charles, whose pretensions had during his father's lifetime, given so much occasion for disturbance, was declared King of the third portion into which the empire of Charlemagne was divided. This comprehended Aquitaine, and all the provinces lying between the Loire and the Meuse. Thus the empire of Charlemagne was once more partitioned among his descendants, and their civil quarrels ended for a season. But their unnatural and bloody war had reduced them to such a state of weakness, as encouraged enemies to rise against them on all sides

The Saracens, no longer restrained by such generals as Pepin, Charles Martel, or Charlemagne, again attempted to extend their incursions into Gaul by land, into Italy by sea, and afforded no rest to the afflicted provinces of Charlemagne's empire. A still more formidable people had taken up arms for the purpose of harassing the coasts of Europe and at their pleasure filling their vessels with spoil, or landing and acquiring settlements by force. These new and powerful conquerors were the inhabitants of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, called by the ancients Scandinavia. The fleets equipped by these people were extremely numerous, and commanded by such chiefs as, either from hereditary descent or election, had aspired to authority. Undaunted courage was necessary in the commander of a people, who scarcely knew even the name of fear, and made it their boast that they signalized their courage at the expense of all other people on earth. As they were very expert sailors, they equipped numberless fleets, which

ravaged all the coasts of Britain, France, and Spain and sometimes even entered the Mediterranean. Though of various nations, yet being all of northern extraction, these pirates were known to the inhabitants of the south under the name of Northmen or Normans, by which they became so formidable, that public prayers were put up to Heaven for delivery from their visitations. The people, too terrified to resist a nation whose profession was piracy, their religion heathenism, and their element war, endeavoured to pacify them by humble submission : the kings attempted to bribe them by money. But though one squadron might be thus induced to relinquish their purpose for a season, the next summer was sure to bring fresh swarms of spoilers ; and the invasions of the Normans upon the coasts of Southern Europe make the most remarkable feature of the ninth and tenth centuries.

To this incalculable evil the coasts of France were exposed, while its interior was ravaged by the many evils which attend on the inability and disunion of princes. The epithets bestowed by history on the line of Charlemagne, are taken from personal imperfections ; and such nicknames as the Bald, the Simple, the Hammerer, and the Gross, could only be conferred on men who were without more worthy claims of distinction over the rest of mankind. It is impossible to suppose that these last descendants of Charlemagne possessed either mental energy or virtue from which a distinction could have been assigned to them. In the year 885, the disasters of France, from the misconduct of their Princes, and the assaults of foreign enemies, seemed to approach a crisis which threatened its national existence.

At this period Charles, called the Gross, or *fat*, had after the death of most of the direct descendants of Charlemagne, obtained the title of Emperor, with which he united for a time that of King of France. This prince had been formerly induced to consent to the settlement of a body of Normans in his province of Friezeland, hoping their presence and co-operation might protect the coast of the Netherlands against visitations from their

countrymen. Finding that the Normans continued their incursions, and that Godfrey, the king of the settlers, intrigued against him with Hugo, a bastard nephew, he resolved by a daring crime to redeem the consequences of a political error. Henry, Duke of Saxony, one of the Emperor's high officers, by the orders of his master, prevailed upon Godfrey to hold a friendly interview with him. To this interview Duke Henry brought one Count Berard, whom Godfrey had driven from his estate. The consequence was easily to be foreseen. Berard upbraided the Norman prince with his wrongs, and in the altercation killed him with his battle-axe. The Normans who attended their leader shared his fate. The Emperor having, in like manner, treasonably obtained possession of his nephew Hugo's person, caused his eyes to be put out, to render him incapable of reigning, and shut him up in the great convent of St. Gal, in Switzerland.

The death of Godfrey was followed by the most alarming consequences. The furious Normans, justly incensed at the treacherous murder of their leader, assembled a fleet of seven hundred sail, small vessels certainly, since they came up the Seine, which is inaccessible to large barks, but having on board a great army of their countrymen. Their object was to attack the city of Paris, the capital of France since the time of Clovis. (A.D. 885.) When assaulted by the Normans, the city occupied only what is still called the Isle of Paris, which was surrounded by the Seine on both sides, and accessible by two bridges, the approaches to which were strongly fortified with towers. In those times it held a high rank as a strong fortification, and was accounted one of the ramparts of Christendom. To protect and defend these walls and towers, the city was filled with the best of the French warriors, who devoted themselves to its defence. The Normans, who had expected to carry the place by surprise, were in that respect disappointed. But although their habits did not render them peculiarly fit for undertaking regular sieges, they disembarked their numerous bands, and pressed the city both with a blockade, and also by repeated assaults

at the sword-point. Much courage was shown in the attack and defence, and all the weapons of war then known were called into exercise. The bridges were defended by Eudes, an officer of courage and talent. Hugo the Abbot, so called from his possessing, though a layman and a military leader, the revenues of some abbeys, threw himself into the city of Paris, of which he was count, and with Goselin, bishop of the diocess, arranged its defence. Both distinguished themselves by their conduct, and both died in the course of the siege.

The Normans erected three movable towers, each capable of sheltering sixty men, and mounted upon wheels, by which they attacked the defences of the bridges. But these towers were dashed to pieces by the stones hurled on them, or consumed by combustibles discharged from engines for that purpose. Battering rams were also used by the Northmen, with the like indifferent success, being broken by the weight of stones hurled from the machines of the besieged. The historians of Paris still commemorate the courage of twelve warriors who defended to the last the tower of the Little Chatelet. Being separated from the rest of the fortifications by a breach made by the river, they could receive no assistance. When they perceived the desperation of their situation, they gave liberty to the hawks which each had along with him, and died in continuing an unavailing defence, with a resolution which would have surprised any people but the Normans, to whom such deeds of desperate valour were familiar.

But though the defence of Paris was obstinate, the loss of men and scarcity of provisions began to be distressing. Sigefroy, the king of the Normans, having under him thirty thousand men of that warlike nation, did not confine himself to the operations of the siege, but spread his forces through France, laying waste the country, and collecting supplies for his army. His cavalry and chariots of war (which are then for the last time mentioned in history,) performed this duty so completely, that the Parisians despatched Eudes, who had succeeded

Hugo the Abbot, in the command of the place, to the Emperor Charles the Gross, with an account of their situation, and supplications for relief.

Charles sent Henry, Duke of Saxony, the perfidious agent in the murder of Godfrey, to try if his courage could extinguish the flame which his treachery had kindled. But as the Duke led but few troops, he could only throw himself into the city with provisions and reinforcements. Shortly afterwards, in an attempt to reconnoitre the lines of the besiegers, this leader fell, horse and man, into a ditch covered with loose straw, laid upon slight hurdles, out of which he could not extricate himself, but was slain, and spoiled of his armour.

Paris was now more exposed than ever, for the troops of Henry of Saxony disbanded after his death. Eudes was now, as we have said, Count of Paris, and did what man could to animate the spirit of resistance. Another great danger was indeed approaching the Parisians. It was the heat of summer, and the river Seine became so low as to be fordable. Suddenly, at the hour of dinner, when the besieged kept but slender watch, the Normans rushed to the river side in one or two bodies, plunged in, and, gaining the opposite bank, began to ascend, by ladders, the low walls, with which, trusting to the usual depth of the water, its margin had been defended. A few gallant French champions rushed to arms, and made good the defence, till more came up, and drove back the besiegers, chiefly by the aid, according to the clergy, of the relics of St. Genevieve, which were displayed upon the rampart.

The day after these extreme dangers, the banners of France appeared on the hill called Mont-Martre, which is hard by Paris, and the approach of the army of the emperor diffusing the utmost joy and hope among the citizens, obliged the Normans to retire within their own lines. Sigefroy was at bay, but he was a lion, and Charles the Gross deserved his name too well to undertake such a risk, as his ancestor, Charles viigne, would

have willingly ventured upon. So soon as the Emperor was convinced that the Normans would abide the event of battle, or prosecute their siege of Paris, even in his very sight, if he lay still to await the event, he resolved to end the war by treaty, which he became unwilling to peril upon the event of a battle. By a base composition, he agreed to purchase the retreat of the Normans (whom his own treachery had been the cause of bringing to Paris,) for a sum of seven hundred pounds of silver, and consented that the foreigners should take up their winter quarters in Burgundy. For this purpose, the Normans desired to ascend the Seine, and Charles would have been willing to permit them to pass under the armed walls of Paris, which they had so often assaulted in vain. But the Parisians, who were conscious that they owed their escape from plunder, conflagration, and massacre, more to their own vigilance and bravery, than to the tardy aid of the Emperor, refused to permit the Normans to approach so near their ramparts, that a breach of faith might have endangered their city. Sigefroy and his Normans, therefore, had no other or convenient road to Burgundy, than to draw their light galleys over land, and again to launch them in the river Seine, at a certain distance above Paris; and so loaded with spoil, they left the neighbourhood of the metropolis, whose dignity they had so long insulted.

As Charles the Gross had made a great effort throughout all his dominions, to collect the army which he headed on this occasion, and, as very decisive and triumphant results had been anticipated, his subjects were equally mortified and incensed at the paltry and dishonourable treaty, by which he bought what he might have gained by the sword. Domestic quarrels with his wife, arising out of jealousy, increased the pain, mortification, and dishonour of his situation. His senses appear to have given way under these complicated distresses. He sunk into a kind of idiocy; and it was only by the charity of the Bishop of Mentz, that he was saved from being in want of the most ordinary necessaries of life. Arnold,

one of his nephews, was chosen emperor in his place ; and the terms in which Charles petitioned him for even a bare subsistence, seem to show that his mental disorder had lucid intervals, since he was able to draw so touching a picture of the uncertainty of human affairs.

“ You,” says the deposed emperor, “ are now elevated to the state from which I have lately fallen. I pray the All-Powerful to confirm you in your place, and to grant you the protection which He has withdrawn from me—You are on the throne, and I am on the dunghill which my misconduct has spread for myself. The advantages of mind are still at my command ; and no king can grant, or take these away. But for the support necessary to life, I must ask it from others ; and from none so naturally as from you, one of the race of my fathers, and holding the place from which I have fallen. Among so numerous a household, among so many knights and gentlemen, who share your bounty daily, the simple necessaries of life bestowed on an old man will be no additional burden.” The new emperor was touched by the petition of his humbled predecessor, and fixed upon him the rent of some villages for his maintenance. Charles the Gross did not long survive his humiliation, dying (as some say) by assassination, shortly after he was deposed. (A. D. 888.)

CHAPTER V.

Elevation of Eudes to the Throne of France—Disorders during the reign of Charles the Simple—Encroachments of the Nobility—The Feudal System—Its Advantages and Disadvantages—Invasion of Rollo, who obtains the Duchy of Normandy, and the Daughter of Charles the Simple in Marriage—Death of Charles—Reign of Louis d'Outremer—Descent of Hugo the Great, ancestor of the Bourbons—Reign of Lothaire—War with Normandy, and with Germany—Dissatisfaction of the French on account of Lothaire's Treaty with Germany—Reign of Louis the Fainéant, the last of the Carlovingian Dynasty.

We have seen that Arnold, a prince of the blood of Charlemagne, was chosen emperor on the deposition of the unfortunate Charles the Gross. In that part of the deposed monarch's dominions, however, which retained the name of France, the inhabitants appear to have determined to seek for the virtues and talents of Charlemagne elsewhere than in his line, where these fair qualities seem to have become extinct. Eudes, the valiant Count of Paris, so distinguished for his defence of that town, and dear to the people both for his own and his father's virtues, was elevated to the throne by the voice of the people. He showed himself worthy of their good opinion; for when he proposed himself to the Emperor Arnold, as a candidate for the crown of France, he declared himself willing to resign his pretensions, rather than incur the guilt of causing a civil war. The Emperor, struck with the generosity of Eudes, at once acknowledged his title; and he entered accordingly upon the government of France. But either the talents and courage of Eudes, though allowed to be great, were inadequate to the purpose of saving this distracted king-

dom, or at least he had no opportunity of exercising them to that extent. The harassing and repeated encroachments of the Normans, and the rebellions among his own subjects, continued, although the courage of Eudes repressed the one, and subdued the other. (A. D. 898.) He died, esteemed as a patriot monarch by the common people, whom he protected, but detested by the nobility, whom he endeavoured to subject to the strict dependence on the crown, from which they were in the course of altogether freeing themselves. We shall hereafter see, that he was an ancestor of the royal family of Bourbon.

Eudes left a son, Arnold ; but he did not succeed to the crown of thorns worn by his father, it being occupied by Charles, a prince of the Carlovingian race, being the son of one of this degenerate family, called Louis the Stammerer. This Charles wanted neither courage nor good nature. Indeed, it seems to have been an excess of the last, joined to a great degree of indolence, which procured him the historical distinction of *The Simple*, which he does not seem otherwise to have deserved. Under the reign of so weak a prince, the disorders of the state, which had already risen to so great a pitch, had become general and systematic. To understand this, you have only to recollect, that in the time of Charlemagne, who held his sceptre with a firm hand, governments, offices, and even landed estates, were only granted for life to such individuals as the Emperor chose to distinguish. At the death of the person who held the benefice, as the subject of the grant was called, it passed again to the crown, and was conferred elsewhere. But in the declining state of the French monarchy, the great men who were in possession of offices or lands, were naturally desirous of perpetuating their authority in their offices, and their property in estates, to their families. Hence arose, at first in a few instances and at length from general custom, the formidable novelty, that the vassal had an hereditary interest in the fief, and that, far from falling, on the death of the original holder, it was transmitted to

his eldest son as a matter of right, he being of course obliged to perform the same services to which his ancestor had subjected himself by accepting the benefice in the first instance. Thus the nobles of the first rank, who now took the title indifferently of Duke, Marquis, Count, or the like, were no longer the mere delegates of the sovereign who had conferred the gift upon their predecessors, but in all respects, except the title, formed an order of petty kings, distributing justice in their own right, coining money, making laws and ordinances, and, except the deference and allegiance which they owed to their superior, the monarch who originally conferred the fief, acting as independent princes, each in his own province.

In the courts of these petty princes or great vassals of the crown, the same form of feudal grants took place. The Duke, Count, or Marquis, assigned offices, connected with his own little court, and distributed lands to nobles of lower rank, on condition of obtaining their assistance in war and their counsels in peace, being the services which the great vassal himself rendered to the sovereign. These tenures descended still lower. Thus, if the great vassal had his officers of the household, and his soldiers, who gave him their service, and that of their followers in war, each of these persons had their own household arranged on the same footing, differing only as their vassals and dependants were fewer in number, and less liberally recompensed. The system descended so low, that even private gentlemen had their domestic establishments upon a scale resembling that of the sovereign himself; and though he had only the rank of a vassal, while rendering his attendance on the court of the lord from whom he held his fief, each was, notwithstanding, himself a prince when seated in his own tower, and surrounded by his own dependants, bearing the pompous epithets of chief steward, chief butler, or grand huntsman, and distinguished as such by these duties at home and abroad.

When this system of feudal dependence, from the highest to the lowest rank of society, began to assume the

form of fixed and assured law, it produced an influence upon government and manners, which was, on several accounts, extremely advantageous, and on others very much the reverse. In the first point of view, it gave a high tone of independence and courage to the nation, thus divided into vassals and superiors, each, from the private gentleman to the sovereign upon the throne, rendering the same or similar service to his superior, which he received from his vassals, all jealous of their privileges as freemen, tenaciously fond of their personal rights, and equally so of their military reputation. Each vassal paid to his superior that service and homage which his fief, in its peculiar nature, required ; but that being once discharged, his obligation was ended, and he was as free a man as his superior himself. This proud reflection seemed the more justly founded, that those vassals who had divided and subdivided among them the province of Gaul, were almost all descended from the Franks, Burgundians, and other tribes of the barbarous but free conquerors of the Roman state, equal, therefore, from the beginning, as natives of the same tribe of freemen, who acknowledged no distinction. You will recollect that these conquerors seized upon two-thirds of the land, and apportioned it among themselves, assuming the title of Leodes, signifying freemen. The Roman colonists, on the other hand, whom the barbarians had subdued, were permitted to cultivate the remaining third, which was left by the conquerors for their subsistence. It was by their hands that almost all the agriculture of the country was carried on, which necessary, though irksome task, the Leodes left to the charge of the *serfs*, or bondsmen, for to that station were the unhappy Romans reduced, and by that disgraceful epithet were they known. Not only did their labours supply the country with corn, but such tribute as was levied in the province, was exclusively paid by this degraded class of the nation. The freeman hunted, fished, or went to war, at the call of his superior, or his own inclination ; but he paid no tax, and put his hand to no labour. The pasturages were stocked with cattle, often the spoils of war, which

were kept either by serfs or domestic slaves; the kinds of servitude were known to the French, and the laws of war placed the captive at the pleasure of the conqueror, unless he was able to purchase his freedom by a ransom. It naturally followed, that the men who thus enjoyed independence, and escaped every species of toil except that of warfare, were a bold and high-spirited race, and that sensible of the value of their freedom, accustomed to connect their liberty with the feats of their ancestors, they were alive to every encroachment upon it, and always ready to vindicate what they held so dear, from the slightest attack of domestic oppression. Their nobles and gentry grew up a fine race, and were improved by such Normans as settled among them; and you will presently see that the numbers of these were very great. They were ready warriors, generous, and true to their word, and in so far the character of the French nation was highly improved by the introduction of the feudal system.

In other respects, the independence of the crown vassals on the king, and that of the barons of the second order upon the crown vassals, an independence which descended to the lowest link of the feudal chain, formed but a feeble system of government, and gave an insecurity to the ties which bound together the national compact. The whole kingdom, instead of a country having one interest and one government, seemed at first sight divided among the great vassals of the crown, none of whom was disposed to admit the king to possess or exercise more power over him than the monarch was strictly entitled to by the rules of the feudal tenure. This spirit of resistance was the more awake, as these great feudatories considered the diminution of the king's influence as the ready mode of increasing their own, and many probably looked forward to the time when each grand vassal might altogether shake himself free from the feudal yoke, and possess his dukedom or county in his own right, as an independent prince.

Upon looking at the condition of the crown vassals more closely, it might be observed, that the same princi-

ple of disunion which induced them to encroach upon the rightful claims of the crown for obedience and support, was undermining their own, and that their vassals and dependants were frequently disposed to refuse that service to them which they hesitated to grant to the crown. It was the result of both circumstances, that the unanimous power of the nation could not be easily exerted, while it was divided and torn asunder by so many subjects of dispute and hostility. To this disunion was also to be attributed the oppressive rights assumed by the feudal lords within their own territories, where the barons of inferior rank, without even the pretence of right or justice, oppressed and ruined the unhappy serfs, and robbed, spoiled, and murdered without any check, save their own haughty pleasure. It could not be said, as an excuse for these abuses, that there was no king in France, but it might have been well urged, that the crown, besides being placed on the head of the simple Charles, was divested in a great measure of that authority which prevents crimes, and the power which inflicts upon them condign punishment.

Amid these internal disorders of the French, the repeated invasions of the Northmen assumed an aspect so formidable, that it was plain they were not made with the mere purpose of spoil, but in order to establish a lasting conquest either of the whole kingdom, or of some of its principal provinces. A large army and fleet of this brave and lawless people appeared at the mouth of the Seine, formidable from their unwonted degree of discipline, and the respect and obedience which they paid to their prince. This was Hrolfe, or Rollo. By birth he was son of the King of Denmark, distinguished by his conduct in many expeditions both in Britain and France, and having in his personal character a respect for truth and fidelity to his word, which was not a usual characteristic of his countrymen. One large body of his forces sailed up the river Loire, and destroyed the cathedral of St. Martin of Tours, the same patron of whose rigid exactions Clovis

formerly complained, and whose shrine had been enriched in proportion to his popularity. Another body, commanded by Rollo in person, ascended the Seine, took the city of Rouen, and treating the inhabitants with moderation, fixed their head-quarters there, and deposited within its walls the spoil which they accumulated from all parts of the province of Neustria, of which Rouen is the capital.

Charles the Simple, though courageous enough in his person, was, according to the indolent habits of his race, desirous of putting a stop to this peril by composition rather than by battle. He made a truce with the Norman prince, in order, as he pretended, to give time for a more solid peace. But by the advice of Richard, Duke of Burgundy, Charles broke the truce he had himself made, and engaged in hostilities. Rollo was defeated near Chartres, owing, it is said, to the excitation given to the French by the appearance of the Bishop of Chartres, in front of the battle, in his episcopal robes, and holding in his hand the supposed veil of the Virgin. After the battle, the victors drew a circumvallation around a hill to which Rollo had retreated with the remainder of his army. But the Norman was not without his resource. He alarmed the camp of the French by a charge blown near to their bulwarks at the dead of night, and while the besiegers were running about in terror and disorder, the Norman prince cut his way through them, and his army being greatly reinforced, soon found the means of making more merciless havoc than he had done before the truce.

Charles was now obliged to resume his negotiations with the Norman prince, with more good faith than formerly. Using the Bishop as an ambassador, he suggested to Rollo, that if he consented to embrace the Christian religion, and assume the character of a loyal vassal, the king was willing to confer upon him as a fief the fertile province hitherto called Neustria. This princely district Charles proposed as the dowery of his daughter Giselé,

who was to become the wife of Rollo, although she was only ten or twelve years old, and her redoubted bridegroom fifty years at least. Rollo accepted of these favourable terms, with the sole addition, that as Neustria, the name of which he changed to Normandy, was exhausted by his previous ravages, he stipulated that part of Bretagne, or Brittany, should be assigned to him in the interim, for the more easy support of his army. Rollo adopted the Christian faith with sufficient decency, and at the font exchanged the heathen name of Rollo for that of Robert. But when the new Duke was to receive investiture of Normandy from Charles, his pride was startled at the form, which required him, in acknowledgment of the favour bestowed on him, to kneel to his liege lord, and kiss his foot. "My knee shall never bend to mortal," said the haughty Norman; "and I will be, on no account, persuaded to kiss the foot of any one whatever." The French counsellors present suggested that this difficulty might be surmounted by Rollo, or Robert, appointing a deputy to kiss, in his name, the foot of Charles. Accordingly, the Duke commanded a common soldier to perform the ceremony in his stead. The man showed the small value he attached to the ceremony, by the careless and disrespectful manner in which he performed it. Instead of kneeling to salute the royal foot, he caught it up and performed the ceremony by lifting it to his mouth. In this awkward operation, the rude Norman well-nigh overturned the simple king, throne and all, and exposed him to the laughter of all around.

The essentials of the treaty were more satisfactorily settled. Rollo entered upon his new dominions, and governed them with the strictest justice, becoming, from a fierce and lawless pirate, a wise and beneficent prince. He was so severe in the execution of robbers, the multitude of whom was one of the great abuses of his time, that at length, it is said, rings of gold were exposed publicly in waste places, without incurring the least risk that any one should take them away. The very exclamation

of the name of Raou., or Rollo,* was, long after the good prince's death, uttered by persons who were suffering what they conceived to be injustice. Hence the frequent repetition of "Haro! and Well away!" as expressions of sorrow, in our ancient authors. The Norman followers of Rollo were also converted to the Christian creed, and reclaimed from the errors of paganism. They abandoned the bloody ritual of their own ancient faith, without losing any part of the dauntless courage and contempt of death which it inspired. They also received readily such ideas of honour as the French began to entertain, which afterwards led to the system of chivalry; and under that process we shall soon see the Normans distinguished for the eagerness with which they tempered their courage and contempt of danger with the high-minded metaphysics of Love and Honour. This is easily understood, if we consider, that the hardest pebbles are most fit to receive the highest polish.

The state of Normandy, thus established in independence, save the uncertain allegiance of its Duke being a crown vassal to the sovereign of France, was destined, a century afterwards, to give a dynasty of kings to England, and has been rendered illustrious by producing as many men of courage and gallantry as have ever adorned any country of the world.

The unfortunate Charles the Simple was so sunk in indolence, that he added to his other weaknesses that of throwing himself and his affairs into the hands of a gentleman named Haganon, of moderate birth, and as moderate talents. To this obscure and unworthy favourite Charles was so obviously and extravagantly attached, that the Duke of Saxony said, "Surely these men are so much united, that by and by they will be equal in con-

* Pronounced *Haro*, which shows, that the strict course of justice for which this duke of Normandy was famous, had commenced before he had adopted the Christian name of Robert. Haro is the word still used in the courts of Jersey and Guernsey, when a judgment is complained of, and an appeal entered.

dition, either by Haganon becoming a king, like Charles or Charles a private gentleman, like Haganon."

This unworthy attachment was the source of various rebellions, in repressing which, Charles showed himself to advantage, as a man of action, killing with his own hand one of his most formidable competitors. But in counsel he was as rash and impolitic as ever. His reign was disturbed, not only by the invasion of bands of Normans, whom the Duke of Normandy's success had drawn to the shores of France by shoals, but that of Hungarians, or Bulgarians, a people descended from the ancient Huns. These barbarians were guilty of great cruelty, leaving a terrible impression upon the minds of the French, which is said to survive in the nursery tales concerning the cannibals called Ogres, the origin of which is to be found in the atrocities of the Bulgarians, or Huns, of the ninth and tenth centuries.

At length, amidst these disasters, the simple King Charles intrusted himself in the power of a treacherous subject, Hebert, Count of Vermandois, one of his overgrown vassals, who, after a show of great respect, seized upon his person, and imprisoned him in the Castle of Peronne. Here he is at length supposed to have been murdered.

Rodolph succeeded Charles, who, as regards the line of Charlemagne, may be termed a usurper, for he was not descended from that emperor. He filled the throne for fourteen years of perpetual war and tumult, which his talents, though considerable, were unequal to subdue effectually. (A. D. 936.)

Charles the Simple had left a child, Louis by name, who, upon his father's death, had been transported to England by his mother, Ogene, or Theagine, who was an English woman, born soon after Rodolph's death. He received encouragement to return and assume the throne of France, when he became distinguished by the title of Louis d'Outremer, or from beyond sea. Like his predecessors he was involved in the quarrels and intrigues of

the Dukes and Counts, who were too mighty subjects to endure the supremacy of the Crown, and whom he could only rule by the policy of stirring up one against the other. Louis was called from the scene of dissension by his death, occasioned by his horse falling while at full speed, in pursuit of a wolf. (A. D. 954.)

It was now supposed that the Crown, or at least great part of its remaining authority, would be seized on by Hugo, the Duke of France, called the Great, who had been one of those potent vassals with whom Louis d'Outremer had been repeatedly at war during his life. It is certain that this peer, then the most powerful in France, was descended from Robert, called the Strong, who flourished in the ninth century. Flattery, for the gratification of his descendants, has invented several genealogies for this person, one of which connects him with Charlemagne, though by an illegitimate branch. It is more certain that his successors rose to great consequence. His eldest son, Eudes, distinguished at the siege of Paris, was afterwards chosen King of Aquitaine, and was proclaimed King of Western France, in 888; but his line was extinguished in the person of his son Rodolph. The second son of Robert the Strong was that Robert II., Duke of France, who made war against Charles the Simple, and whom that monarch is said to have slain with his own hand. The grandson of Robert I., and son of Robert II., was this Hugo, called the Great, Duke of France and Burgundy, and Count of Paris. He had various disputes with Louis the Ultramarine, so that, as we have hinted, it was expected by many that at his death the Duke would have seized on the crown, which had been worn by his uncle Eudes. But Duke Hugo, as was prophesied of Banquo, was destined, though he never wore the crown himself, to be father of the powerful family of Bourbon, so distinguished in past ages for their power, and in our own for their misfortunes.

The Duke Hugo, of whom we have spoken, followed the dictates of principle rather than ambition. He took up the cause of Louis's son Lothaire, a boy of about

fourteen years old, and conducted him to Rheims, where he directed the ceremony of his coronation, and afterwards deported himself in every respect as a dutiful subject. He defeated the Count of Poitiers in a decisive battle, and gave a sharp lesson of submission to the great vassals who might be disposed to rebel against the king. In the subsequent year he died, leaving behind him four sons. The eldest, Hugo, was distinguished from his father of the same name, by the surname of Capet, (or Caput,) but whether from the unusual size of his head, or the extent of his powers of understanding, is somewhat uncertain. The brothers of Hugo Capet were Otho, Eudes, and Henry, who were successively Dukes of Burgundy. For Hugo himself, fate reserved a fairer diadem.

Lothaire, sensible of the father's merits, received the sons into favour, and acknowledged them as successors in the fiefs of the great Hugo. But he embroiled himself in a quarrel with Duke Richard, of Normandy, the second successor of Rollo, or Robert I., in that almost independent principality; and, by advice of Theobald, Count of Chartres, called the Trickster, endeavoured to overreach him by inviting him to an interview. Duke Richard complied with the invitation without hesitation, and set out on his journey to the place appointed. He was met by two knights of the Count of Chartres, who, pitying his unsuspecting loyalty, gave him indirect notice of the design against his person, by asking him, whether he was tired of his ducal coronet, and had a mind to become a shepherd. Duke Richard, taking the hint which this question conveyed, rewarded the knights who gave it, bestowing on the one a gold chain which he wore, and on the other his sword. He instantly returned to Rouen, and took up arms against the treacherous king, obtaining such succours from his original country of Denmark, as soon brought Lothaire to request a peace, which was made accordingly.

Another war broke out between Lothaire, King of France, and Otho, Emperor of Germany. Lothaire

showed, in the commencement, both spirit and activity. He marched with such rapidity upon Aix-la-Chapelle, that he had nearly made the Emperor prisoner, who fled, leaving his dinner ready prepared and placed on the table. Otho, to revenge this insult, invaded France with sixty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, sending word to Hugh Capet, count of the city, that he would cause a mass to be sung on the summit of Mont Martre, by so many voices, that the Count should hear the sound in the Isle of Paris. The King of France and Hugo Capet revenged this insult by a rapid movement to the relief of Paris, and defeated the Germans with very great slaughter. A nephew of Otho, who had sworn (for oaths of chivalry were then becoming fashionable) to strike his lance into the gate of Paris, was slain in the battle. But Lothaire lost the fruit of this victory by acceding to a peace, which disappointed the hopes of his subjects, and especially of the army, elated by victory. Conscious of a loss of reputation, he endeavoured to strengthen himself in the love and affection of his subjects, by raising to be the partner of his throne his son Louis, known by the discreditable title of the Fainéant, or Foolish. But Lothaire was not permitted to receive any benefit, if such could accrue, from such a stroke of policy, as he died at Rheims immediately afterwards, and not without the suspicion of poison. (A. D. 987.)

Louis, called the Fainéant, did nothing which could be termed inconsistent with his name. He quarrelled with the queen, and wellnigh engaged in a new war with Germany. But before he had reigned fourteen months, he died under the same suspicion of poison which attached to his father's demise. This weak and unhappy prince was the last of the Carlovingian race, which had occupied the throne of France for upwards of two hundred and thirty years.

CHAPTER VI.

Causes which led to the Third Change of Dynasty—Accession and Reign of Hugo Capet, son of Hugo the Great—Reign of Robert the Wise—Dissensions between Robert's Sons—Accession of Henry I.—Pilgrimage of Robert Duke of Normandy to the Holy Land—His son William (afterwards the Conqueror of England) left at the Head of the Government of Normandy—War between Normandy and France—Defeat of the French at Mortemart—Pacification between the two Countries—Death of Henry I.

YOU must keep in memory, that since the institution of the government of France as a monarchy, two races of kings had existed. The Long-haired monarchs, or kings of the Merovingian race, who sank under the rising fortunes of Pepin and Charlemagne, were the first dynasty. The Carolingian race, deriving the title from Charles the Great, which superseded that of Merovæus, and reigned in his stead, constituted the second. The third change of dynasty, which took place at the death of Louis le Fainéant, may be attributed to causes which shall be shortly touched upon.

1. Under neither of these dynasties was the right of hereditary succession so well defined and understood as it was latterly. The brother often succeeded to a deceased monarch, instead of his son, without reference to the degree of propinquity to the last king. After the deposition of the Merovingian line, the Bull of Pope Zacharias, which assigned the royalty to the race of Pepin, enjoined the French in future, in choosing their emperor to select him exclusively from the race of the chosen candidate, to whose family it stood limited. This limitation, however, did not establish a strict hereditary line of succession, for, as understood in practice, it was suffi

ciently adhered to, provided the candidate for sovereignty was of the race of Pepin or Charlemagne ; so that the empire lay open as an object of temptation to all who boasted a descent from the chosen family, however distant from the right of succession in a direct line. The consequence was, that as the covetous eyes of so many princes were fixed on the same tempting object, the want of a regular and fixed rule of inheritance occasioned great disputes, which led to the repeated division and subdivision of the royal dominions, not only weakening the body of the empire, but often terminating in bloody civil wars, by which it was still farther torn to pieces.

II. The empire of Charlemagne, comprehended a huge mass of territory, extending from the Tiber to the Elbe, and from the Pyrenean mountains to the borders of Hungary, consisting of many nations, differing in descent, laws, language, and manners whom chance and the abilities of one individual had united for a time under one government, but which had an internal propensity to fall asunder so soon as the great mind which held them together was removed. Hence, it was not long before the kingdom of France was separated from that of Italy, and from the empire, latterly so called, of Germany.

III. The grants which were made to the great officers of state, and vassals of the crown, had their natural influence in impoverishing the monarchs of France ; so that, during the reign of the two or three last monarchs of the Carolingian line, almost every considerable city in the kingdom was in possession of some duke, count or baron, who collected revenue from it, excepting only Laon and Rheims, and some family estates, which the kings possessed on the same footing, and managed in the same manner, as they would have been administered by private individuals.

The Carolingian family being reduced to so low an ebb in point of power and wealth, it was not to be wondered at, if the nobility of France resolved to fill the throne with some more powerful prince. Charles, Duke of Lorraine was, no doubt, the brother of Lothaire, and

the next heir, therefore, to Louis le Fainéant, his deceased nephew. But he was far inferior in talents to Hugo Capet, who had long been esteemed the first man of the kingdom in point of wealth, the second probably in point of rank, and the first in actual power. He was Duke of Burgundy and Aquitaine, Count of Paris and Orleans, and in addition to these dignities, bore even the title of Duke of France, though antiquaries do not fully state the import of this last title. He brought far more wealth to the crown of France, than he could inherit by succeeding to it, and he was known to his contemporaries as the best general and wisest statesman of his time. Hugo Capet availed himself so well of these advantages, that, on the death of Louis le Fainéant, he assembled the states of the kingdom, consisting probably of the principal crown vassals, with the bishops and prelates, and by unanimous assent was chosen King of France.

With a view, probably, to establish the security of the crown in his own family, Hugo Capet, who had already been successful against some of the lords who had refused him their allegiance, proposed to associate his son Robert in the same dignity, and obtained the assent of the States to that association. Having thus, as far as human prudence could command the future, done his best to secure the crown in his family, Hugo Capet laid aside the royal state and kingly attire, and lived simply and modestly, as before his accession to the throne. Charles of Lorraine, the Carlovingian heir to the crown, attempted, though tardily, to vindicate the succession, but was surprised and made prisoner by the elected monarch; and being thrown into prison at Orleans, was detained there till his death. The son of Charles succeeded him in the Duchy of Lorraine, but died without male issue; and in his person, the legitimate succession of the renowned Charlemagne became extinct. (A. D. 991.)

The head of the new race of kings behaved with a wisdom and steadiness which tended to secure the succession of his family; for though brave men may gain kingdoms, it is wise men only who can transmit them to

their lineage. Hugo Capet bent his mind to soothe all discontents, and to please every class of his subjects. He flattered and gratified the clergy by resigning to them such abbeys as he possessed, and induced many of his nobles to follow his example, for which he was highly lauded by the church.

As a wise man, he saw the danger arising to the kingdom from the independent state of the turbulent nobility ; but he saw, also, that the evil was too great to be remedied, and was contented to confine himself to slow and temporising measures. He demanded little more from the crown vassals than the homage, which, while he limited his claim to it, they had no interest to refuse, and while he encouraged them to weaken each other by intestine wars, he determined silently to await the time when by degrees the power of the crown should rise upon their ruins. The spirit of the present race of nobles was such as would have endured no control ; for when Audibert, Vicomte of Perigux, laid siege to the city of Tours, and the king wrote to him commanding him to desist, asking him reproachfully who had made him vicomte, the feudal chief replied with scorn it was those who had made Capet king ; and persevered in his attack upon Tours, in defiance of the royal mandate. The monarch passed over an insult which he had not sufficient power to revenge.

By a rare mixture of wisdom and firmness, this king transmitted to his family a throne to which he had no hereditary right, with little opposition, and almost without bloodshed. (A. D. 996.) He died, leaving his dominions in perfect tranquillity, after a reign of eight years.

Robert, son of Hugo Capet, long associated with his father, was now sole king. He followed in all respects the sagacious and prudent measures of his predecessor, who had bred him up to an intimate acquaintance with his far-sighted and calm policy. From the steadiness of his conduct, the new king acquired the distinction of 'The Wise.

For securing the succession, in particular, Robert followed his father's policy, which seems for some time to have been peculiar to the Capet family, at least to their earlier princes. He caused his son Hugh to be joined in the government, and he having died without issue, Robert's second son, Henry, was crowned in the same manner, ten years after. By this provision, the chance of an alteration in the succession was much diminished, since the lineal successor was placed in possession of the regal power before the death of his predecessor, and so might instantly assume the reigns of government when that event took place.

The peace of Robert was somewhat disturbed by the political intrigues of his two successive queens, to whose ambition he appears to have given more free course than consisted with the prudence of his character in other respects. He had also some trouble from the disobedience of his sons; but these were only passing disturbances, and soon appeased.

The reputation of Robert for wisdom and justice stood so high, that the Emperor of Germany having some dispute with the Count of Flanders, and others of his vassals, both parties agreed to refer them to the decision of the King of France. Upon this business the two princes had a meeting on the banks of the Meuse. In these unhappy times, such meetings had, from infidelity on the one part or the other, often ended in assassination. The ministers on both sides had accordingly adjusted articles of meeting in person, by which it was proposed, that the two princes should leave the opposite sides of the river, and meet at the same moment in the middle. But the generous emperor, confident in the character of King Robert, set ceremony and suspicion at defiance, and, crossing the Meuse without scruple, surprised the King of France with a visit in his camp. After thus dispensing with all etiquette, the business in dependence was settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

Two years after this interview, the good Emperor,

Henry died, and was succeeded in his German dominions by Conrade, Duke of Worms. The Italian subjects of Henry by no means wished to share the same fate, and intimated their desire to submit themselves to the King of France, to whom accordingly they offered the imperial crown, and the kingdom of Italy. But Robert, though this acquisition of another fair portion of Constantine's empire was a brilliant and tempting offer, perceived at the same time he should, by accepting it, be hurried into a German war, for the sake of a territory separated from France by the line of the Alps, and by no means likely to form either an obedient or a useful part of that kingdom. He therefore wisely rejected the dominion offered to him, considering it preferable to increase his influence by the improvement of his kingdom at home, than to expend its strength in the task of making himself master of imposing but useless and unprofitable acquisitions of foreign territories.

King Robert's domestic government was of the same judicious and moderate character which distinguished his foreign politics. He used his royal power for the benefit of his subjects, and protected the lower and oppressed part of them, as much as the temper of the times permitted. His private charity was so extensive, that upwards of a thousand poor persons dined at his expense every day, and, in the excess of his royal humility, were, notwithstanding their disgusting rags and sores, permitted to approach his person. It is pretended he used to exercise upon them the supposed gift, claimed afterwards both by the Kings of France and England, of curing the disease called the king's evil, by their touch and their prayers. King Robert I. of France died universally regretted in 1031.

Upon the death of Robert I., the line of Capet began to show some symptoms of the dissension which had brought to ruin those of Merovæus and of Charles the Great. The succession of Henry, the eldest son and rightful heir of Robert, was disputed by his younger brother: Robert. He was encouraged by his mother, who

had always hated Henry, and by several powerful nobles, who were probably unwilling that in another reign resembling in moderation and firmness that of Robert I., the crown should again obtain the advantage which such a tranquil period afforded the king over his nobility.

Robert took his measures so suddenly, and was so well supported, that Henry, with a retinue of only ten or eleven persons, was fain to save himself from captivity, by flying to the country of Robert, then Duke of Normandy, for protection. He was received in the strong castle of Fescamp, and the duke, discharging the duty of a faithful vassal, raised all his forces in defence of his liege lord, against the traitorous attempts of his younger brother. The Duke of Normandy advanced into France with his forces, and ravaged the country with such extreme severity, that he obtained for himself the nickname of Robert *le Diable*, or Robin the Devil, which gave rise to several fabulous legends, by which minstrels and romancers attempted to account for the origin of so strange an epithet. The two armies were on the point of engaging in a decisive conflict, when Robert, returning to a sense of duty, thought it better to submit to his elder brother, than run the risk of so great a crime as that of slaying him. He submitted accordingly, and was rewarded with the Duchy of Burgundy, after which the brothers lived in concert together. Duke Robert of Normandy was rewarded with a considerable accession of territory, so that the strife between the brothers, though brief, was attended with the usual consequences of weakening the crown.

Henry I., however, did not lose any opportunity which events offered of strengthening his throne. Disturbances arose concerning part of Burgundy, next to Mount Jura, which was separate from the portion assigned to the king's brother Robert, as above noticed. In the course of the wars which ensued, many forfeitures were made, and the reunion of the fiefs so forfeited with the crown, served to repair the losses it had sustained in the war between the brothers.

Neither did Henry I. fail to avail himself of troubles which arose in Normandy, although he owed a great debt of gratitude to the Duke whose timely aid had, as we have seen, replaced him on the throne. This prince, advancing now in age, began to think of making amends for those violent actions which had in the war procured him the title of Robin the Devil. For this purpose, as was the custom of that superstitious period, he conceived no mode of penitence could be so effectual as to go on a pilgrimage to Palestine, called the Holy Land. The desire to see the scenes of miracles, and sufferings the most momentous which could be undergone, was sufficiently rational, and they might no doubt be often visited with effectual advantage to the pilgrim, since we can never be so much disposed to devotion as when we are placed in the very localities where such events have actually passed. But to forsake the moral duties which we are called to discharge, and to ramble over strange countries, neglecting the subjects, families, or whomsoever else have been designed by Providence to rely on our active exertions for support, is gross superstition, not rational religion. At this early period, however, the idea prevailed, that men obtained by their toils, in such a journey, not only pardon for past faults, but indulgence for such as they should commit in future.

Duke Robert of Normandy, then, prepared for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Previous to his departure, he assembled a council of his prelates and high vassals; for you cannot have forgotten, that, like all other feudatories of France, that prince had his own country divided among vassals, who held of him by the same tenure by which he held his duchy of the King of France. He placed before the assembly a son of his own, not born in lawful wedlock, but the child of a woman named Arlotta. This was the famous William, afterwards Conqueror of England. This youth was of so fair a person, and such promising talents, that his father, notwithstanding his illegitimacy, desired he should succeed him as his heir in the dukedom. He prevailed on the states of Normandy

to recognise William in this capacity, recommended him to the protection of Henry of France, and Alan, Duke of Bretagne, and having thus provided for his succession, he set off upon his pilgrimage, from which he never returned.

William, the future Conqueror of England, was thus early put in a conspicuous situation, and was thereby exposed to misfortunes and dangers, which undoubtedly contributed to mature and exercise those qualities which form the character of a great man. His feudal vassals, no longer restrained by the authority of the duke himself, took advantage of the minority of the sovereign to enter into feuds with each other, to raise troops, fortify castles, and levy wars at their own pleasure, without awaiting the consent of William, or regarding his prohibition. On the other hand, King Henry, taking advantage of these troubles, invaded the Norman frontiers, burnt the town of Argeuton, and demolished the Castle of Thilleres, under pretext that it ought not to have been fortified without his consent, as liege lord and paramount. William, or rather those who acted in his behalf, beset with dangers on every side, thought it best to accommodate these quarrels with the King of France, even at some sacrifices; and thus for a time secured the alliance and countenance of Henry I.

It was time, indeed, to acquire some effectual support, for a considerable number of malecontent Norman lords had formed a league against Duke William, and had raised an army amounting to twenty-five thousand men, having for its head, Guy of Franche Compté. The united forces of King Henry and the young Duke William, which together did not exceed three thousand men, marched against the insurgents. They engaged the opposing forces near Caen, at a place called *Val de Dunes*. King Henry was unhorsed by a Norman knight, and nearly slain; he was rescued, however, and gained a decisive victory, in which very many of the insurgents were killed. William, whose subjects were completely reduced to obe-

dience, reaped all the advantage of this war. But Henry soon after engaged in other quarrels and discussions, by which new dissensions were created in Normandy. These disputes he wilfully fostered, with the view of diminishing the strength of this overgrown vassal, which he looked upon as dangerous to the crown. He was not deterred from this interference by the assistance faithfully and loyally rendered him by Duke William, in his quarrel with Stephen and Theobald, two sons and successors of Eudes, Count of Champagne, or by the recollection that the Duke of Normandy had involved himself in those quarrels, purely to serve him. On the contrary, Henry showed either an enmity against William's person, or a jealousy of his power, which he took the following method to manifest :—First, he engaged William of Normandy in a quarrel with Godefroy, Count of Anjou, called by the formidable name of Martel, and thus involved these two great feudatories in a war which must necessarily operate to the diminution of the strength of both.

When the Duke of Normandy extricated himself from this struggle also with reputation and advantage, he became the object of the unconcealed jealousy and displeasure of the French king, who then publicly espoused the cause of William of Arques, Count of Toulouse, who laid claim to the duchy of Normandy, as son of Duke Richard II., and therefore rightful heir to the crown, on account of William's illegitimacy. Henry accordingly entered Normandy with a strong army to dispossess the young friend, with whom he had been so lately in alliance. But William was now of an age to display his wisdom and courage. (A. D. 1054.) By a rapid and sudden night attack near Mortenart, and a severe battle on the following day, he worsted the French army, with the loss of ten thousand men. This, followed by other severe checks, induced Henry to consent to peace. Cordiality, however, never was restored between William and the king; and, in those mutual feuds, first began that enmity which cost so many bloody wars between the descendants of Henry

King of France, and of William, whose posterity succeeded him as kings of England.

After his pacification with the Duke of Normandy, Henry turned himself to that which was a favourite piece of policy in the House of Capet. We have already explained, that this was the association of a successor in the throne, in order to secure stability in the royal succession. Philip, the eldest of Henry's sons, was raised, at the early age of seven years, to share the throne of his father, who died in the same year, leaving his son under the guardianship of Baldwin of Flanders, called, from his worth and religion, the Pious. (A. D. 1060.) Henry left behind him a tolerably fair character, except in regard to his Machiavellian intrigues to diminish the power of his great vassals. It is true, the precarious situation of the kings of France had, for some time, suggested such a policy; but in following it, Henry I. trampled not only upon the virtue of justice, but of gratitude.

CHAPTER VII.

Minority of Philip—Origin of Chivalry—Training of the young Knights—Ceremony of conferring Knight-hood—Duties of those who acquired that honour—Devotion to the Fair Sex—Wager of Battle—Tournaments—Chivalry took its rise in France—Its Institutions were speedily adopted by the Normans, who found a Field for the exercise of their valour in the Wars of Italy—Bravery and Conquests of the Guisards—Battle of Durazzo.

It is necessary to say little more of the minority of Philip, than that, for a country so disturbed as France, it passed with little interruption of the public peace. This was chiefly owing to the wise government of Count Baldwin, who remained always upon his guard against treachery from every quarter, taking care, at the same time, to give

no pretence for such practices, by offending any of the great nobles. The Gascons indeed, a people of a fiery and changeable disposition, at one period meditated a revolt. But the Count of Flanders, raising a considerable force, under pretence of threatened invasion by the Saracens, led an army so suddenly into Aquitaine, as to render their design abortive.

But although France had, in its interior, little materials for history during this period, enterprises were undertaken by individuals who emigrated from thence during the reign of Henry I. and the minority of Philip, which strike the mind with astonishment, considering the important effects produced by the desperate courage of a few men. The ruling character of the agents, in the extraordinary efforts which I am about to relate to you, requires now to be stated. It was in many respects different from the principles by which mere barbarians are guided, but varied no less from those views and notions which direct civilized nations.

On this account it becomes necessary, perhaps, to look far back into the commencement of society, to find the original germ of that system of chivalry, which occasioned so many marvellous actions during the middle ages, and, in some important particulars, still preserves its effects upon our present manners.

The origin of the institution of knighthood, being the basis of chivalry, may be easily traced. The warriors of the ancient Gallic tribes, who fought on horseback, and were more highly esteemed than the infantry, were termed, by the Romans, Equites, or horsemen, a rank of soldiery possessing considerable precedence over others. The Germans approached the modern ideas of knighthood more closely. The youth was not accounted fit for sharing the councils of his tribe, until the age of twenty-one years was attained, when, certain ceremonies being used, he was brought into the public assembly, invested with arms resembling those of his elder brethren; and, in short, admitted to all the privileges of an adult warrior. The period of his admission into the councils of the freemen

and warriors of the nation, added, of consequence, to the young man's importance, and qualified him to act as a chief and principal in war, where his services hitherto had been only used as a private soldier and follower.

These regulations led to the establishment of an order of champions among the Franks, and other German nations, who had achieved settlements in Gaul, or France, as it was now called. Those who were ambitious to distinguish themselves by military fame, which comprehended, speaking generally, almost all who held fiefs, whether of the sovereign or the subjects, or who were otherwise entitled to the name of freemen, were carefully educated in horsemanship, the use of the lance and sword, management of the horse, and other warlike exercises. During this training, the young men, who were for the time called pages, resided as a part of the household of some king, noble, or man of rank, whose family was supposed to be a school of military discipline. When arrived at a certain age, the page, as able to support the duties of war, became an esquire, and waited immediately upon his lord in battle, or during travel, serving him as a close and confidential attendant, and always ready to peril his life for him. This, though a species of servitude, was not reckoned degrading; but, on the contrary, the candidate for the highest honours of chivalry was not accounted worthy of them, until he had shown, by the patient obedience of years as a squire, that he was worthy to command others in the capacity of a knight. When he was esteemed fit for the rank, the candidate was then dubbed knight. In the ceremony, some things were taken from the ancient mode of receiving the youths into the councils of the warriors, while their ancestors still inhabited the forests and swamps of Germany. A sword was girded around the aspirant's body; spurs were bound upon his heels; the person by whom the ceremony was performed, struck the acolyte of chivalry on the shoulders with the flat of his naked sword, and he was thus invested with a high military dignity, which, in a certain sense, placed him, however poor, upon a level with the wealthiest and

most powerful nobles; for, in theory, all knights were equal, except in so far as they excelled each other in military fame. Other ceremonies were mingled with those we have mentioned, which had been introduced by the churchmen, who naturally desired to attach to a solemnity so striking something connected with the forms of religion. In many cases, accordingly, the young knight watched his arms for the night in some church or chapel, and occupied himself in watching and prayer. He also took a solemn oath to protect, at his utmost risk, the cause of the Catholic religion; to redress by his valour such wrongs, and abolish such evil customs as he might discover; an Herculean task, at the time when almost every district groaned under the tyranny of some petty despot, who oppressed the poor without their having any one to appeal to. The protection of widows and orphans, and of the female sex in all ranks of society, was also enjoined. Lastly, fidelity to the king, chief, or lord, was sworn to by the young knight. By these means the order of knighthood was rendered in theory an association, bound by oath to forward the discharge of all the social duties which religion enjoined. It is not to be supposed that all, or many of the knights thus created, arrived even within a few points of the excellence which they were in this respect required to attain. Some, however, whose character in adhering to these vows, had recommended them to the age as very perfect examples of chivalry, obtained the general approbation of prince and people; and he was most valued who exposed himself to the most extravagant dangers in the support of his character for courage.

It cannot be denied, that while the institutions of chivalry gave an air of romantic dignity and grandeur to the manners of the age, while the system continued to flourish, stigmatizing all that was base and selfish, and encouraging the knights, who would be held desirous of public applause, to seek it by exhibiting the purest faith, and the most undaunted courage, without being seduced from their purpose by the prospect of advantage, or deterred from it by the most alarming dangers, there mixed, nev

ertheless, with these generous maxims, much that was extravagant, wild, and sometimes absolutely ridiculous. Every knight, for example, was expected to devote his affections to some fair lady, whom he was to serve for years, and with unaltered fidelity, although, perhaps, neither her rank in life, nor her inclinations, entitled him to expect any return of her affections; nay although the lady, having conferred her hand on some other person, could return his supposed passion with no other regard than gratitude might permit. All the deeds of valour which he performed, were supposed to be owing to the influence of this terrestrial goddess, and the champions wearied out their imaginations in outvying each other in the feats of arms which they did, or proposed to do, in the name of their mistresses.

The system of chivalry also involved the great error of intrusting the guardianship of almost all civil rights to the decision of the sword, so that it was scarcely possible for a man of low rank to obtain justice, unless he was prepared to fight for it in the lists, or had some champion willing to fight in his cause.

The very sports of chivalry involved the risk of life. The military exercises of tilts and tournaments in which they encountered each other with lances, each endeavouring to keep his own saddle, and at the same time to unhorse his antagonist, were their favourite pastime. On this occasion each knight supported the beauty and merit of some particular lady, the influence of whose charms was supposed to stimulate him to victory, as her fame was, on the other hand, extended by his success. These warlike entertainments were the delight of the age, and though repeatedly prohibited by the church as inhuman and unchristian, were solemnly practised, nevertheless, at the courts of the different sovereigns of Europe, who displayed their magnificence in the splendour with which the feats of chivalry were performed in their own presence, while the ladies looked on from the balconies, to grace the victors with their applause. The encounter professed to be a friendly one, and amicable trial in arms.

and the combatants expressed the utmost regard for each other. But this did not prevent the lives of many brave champions being lost in the rough sport, which was rather a regular and modified kind of actual battle, than, as it professed to be, a mere imitation of war.

It is certain that, from the respect towards the female sex enjoined by the laws of chivalry, our modern times have derived that courteous deference and respect for women, which assigns to the ladies in the cultivated countries of Europe, an importance in society so different from the state of degradation to which they are reduced in other quarters of the world. But it is more difficult to imagine how this high and romantic tone had been breathed into the institutions of the Franks while a barbarous people. It is probable, that the origin may have been found in the institutions of the old Germans, which, as we before noticed, admitted the females of the tribe to a high degree of estimation; and as they did not permit their youth to marry till twenty-one years complete, their young warriors were trained up in the habit of distant respect, awe, and veneration for those who were to be the companions of their future lives.

There is no precise account of the origin of chivalry; but there can be no doubt, that, considered under a modern aspect, that remarkable system had its rise in France, to the natural manners of which country the gallantry and devotion to the fair sex which it dictated—not to mention a certain tone of national and personal vanity which it was well calculated to advance—were peculiarly congenial.

In France, the young warrior, when admitted to the dignity of the new order, was called *chevalier*, that is, *horseman*, from *cheval*, a horse, the ancient name of *eques*, translated into the language of the country, being seized upon to express the newly inaugurated knight. In Germany, the equivalent term of *ritter*, or rider, was made use of. The origin of the English word *knight*, which bears the same meaning, is more doubtful. In the Anglo-Saxon language, where the meaning must be sought,

knecht signifies a servant, and was applied, by way of distinction, to the select attendants on the prince (as we still call a soldier a servant of the king)—a title readily transferred to the newly-dubbed cavalier, as expressing a chosen and trained warrior. The word does not, however, present the idea of the origin of the institution so accurately as either the French or German word. Nor, although the order of chivalry rose to the highest esteem in Britain, do we suppose that it was, in a proper sense, known in that island, till, as you shall presently hear, it was brought thither by the Normans, who travelled in arms into various parts of Europe during the 11th century, overthrowing ancient kingdoms, establishing new ones, and outdoing, if that were possible, all the wonders and marvels of chivalrous romance, by the display they made of it in their own persons.

The Normans, we have seen, had now, for a considerable time, been inhabitants of France, and established themselves in the province to which they gave their name. They had become softened, rather than corrupted or subdued, by the advantages and luxuries of their new settlements. They still retained unimpaired the daring and desperate courage with which their fathers had sallied from their frozen oceans to ravage and to conquer the domains of a milder climate; but they exercised it with more humanity, inspired doubtless by their conversion to Christianity. The new institutions of chivalry were speedily adopted by a nation which possessed already so many points in common with them. So brave a race, imbued from infancy with the principle that death was preferable, not only to flight, but to the manifestation of the least symptom of fear, thought little of the dangers which might have terrified others in the exercise of chivalry. Like other nations of the north also, the Normans had practised, ere they left their own climate, that reverent and respectful conduct towards the female sex, which was another basis of chivalry. The tilt and tournament were, in the opinion of these warlike nations only a

variation of their own combats with clubs and swords, in which the pretence was sport, though often turned into earnest by the fury of the encounter. Above all, the more modern Normans united the utter carelessness of danger, and contempt of life, which characterised their ancestors who fought under Rollo, with the gay valour and love of adventure which was proper to the inhabitants of France, and which this race kept in practice by the quarrels of their duke with his sovereign of France, and with his compeers, the great vassals of the crown. Chivalry flourished in so fertile a soil, and the Norman knights held the first rank among those of Europe. Such being their character, a part of this brave nation found sudden exercise for their feats of arms in the wars of Italy, where they made conquests which flattered their vanity, and gratified their love of glory.

To understand this, you must be informed, that, after the descendants of Charlemagne had degenerated into feeble princes, the towns and coasts of Italy became divided between the Greeks (who reclaimed the possession of that fine country as the original seat of the empire, which was removed to Constantinople by Constantine) and the Saracens. The various incursions of the latter people upon the Christian world had been set on foot for the purpose of conquering and converting the provinces which they invaded. They conquered Sicily, and colonized it. The dominions of the present kingdom of Naples next invited their arms, and a strong colony, for a long time maintained at Bari, placed the Adriatic gulf under the command of the naval power of the Saracens. Notwithstanding this, the Greeks, a politic and sagacious nation, contrived to recover Bari, and to establish their authority in a great part of the eastern half of Italy. Luxury, and its enervating consequences, had, however, rendered their armies very unfit to meet the eastern fanatics. But the Empire of Constantinople still commanded the services of experienced and cautious generals, and they supplied the deficiencies of their own troops by the daring courage of Franks, Lombards, and other harba-

rians, whom they engaged in their cause. They were also masters of the art of negotiation, and little scrupulous in keeping the terms which they had made, when an opportunity occurred of gaining an advantage, though at the expense of good faith. By such means, the Greeks maintained a doubtful struggle with the Saracens, which of them should obtain the exclusive possession of Italy.

About this period the natives of Normandy, whose temper and habits we have described, began to think of amending their fortunes, by undertaking expeditions on their own account, to free the peninsula of Italy at once from the bondage of the Greeks and of the Saracens. The former they considered as effeminate tyrants, heretics, also, as the Greek church holds some tenets different from that of Rome. As to the Saracens, their character of infidels was sufficient to render war against them not only lawful, but a religious and meritorious task. The first attempts of these Norman adventurers were undertaken with too great inferiority of numbers, to be decidedly successful. For a time they were only remarkable for their desperate courage, which displayed itself in behalf of Germans, Greeks, or even Saracens, who were best able to reward their exertions; and it was observed that victory seemed to attend in every case the side on which they fought. Their numbers, however, were gradually increased by additional recruits from their own country of Normandy, and by some Italians, who joined their ranks, on the condition of observing their customs, and emulating their valour.

In the year 1029, the Normans in Italy assumed a more national appearance, and fixed their head-quarters at Aversa, a town conferred on them by the Duke of Naples. Here they lived under the government of counts, or chieftains, of their own election; and, joining their forces with those of the Greek emperor, did much to achieve the reconquest of Sicily. Being ungratefully requited by the Grecian general, Maniaces, the Normans took arms to punish the ingratitude of their allies. The

Greeks assembled a large army, and, confident in their numbers, sent to the Normans to offer them either battle or a safe retreat. "To battle!" exclaimed the Normans, while one of their knights struck down with a blow of his fist the horse of the Grecian messenger. The Greeks, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, received a total defeat, and the Normans gained possession of a great part of their dominions in Apulia, a few strong places excepted. They now arrayed their forces under the command of twelve counts, the chief of whom took the title of Count of Apulia.

The first who held this title of eminence, was a distinguished warrior named William Braccio di Fer, which means Iron-arm, from his irresistible strength, which he displayed at the expense of both the Greeks and Saracens. But his renown was eclipsed by that of the celebrated Robert Guiscard, a Norman, descended from a race of Vavasours, or petty nobles, who had originally their family seat at Hauteville in Normandy. Robert was the most distinguished among the family of Tancred de Hauteville, although consisting of twelve sons, all of whom, as they became severally of age, forsook their father's castle, and followed the steps of their elder brother, to seek glory or death in the wars of Italy. They were distinguished by their valour and skill in obscure warfare, until the convulsed state of the times permitted them to start forth as leaders and as heroes. Wherever any of these brethren appeared, it would seem that fortune attached herself to the standard under which they fought. The great odds of numbers never prevented their obtaining victory; the utmost severity of suffering or distress never effected the slightest change in their unyielding perseverance. The father of this heroic family raised himself from the rank of count to that of duke, and, in fact, of sovereign prince of Apulia and Calabria. The valour of his brother, Roger, achieved the conquest of Sicily from the Saracens, and held the sovereignty with the title of count. Robert Guiscard himself waged open war on Alexius Comnenus, the Grecian Emperor, and in

the celebrated combat of Durazzo, gained a bloody and well-disputed victory, which shook the very foundations of the imperial throne, although then occupied by a sovereign of peculiar sagacity and courage. (A. D. 1085.) But four years afterwards, Guiscard, who had achieved so many wonders, died in his seventieth year, while still waging war against Alexius, and endeavouring, by improving his old and devising new resources, to make up the loss he had sustained, rather by the inclemency of the elements than by the sword of the enemy.

The male line of this daring adventurer became extinct, but that of Roger Count of Sicily survived, to represent the courage, the enterprise, and the ambition of the House of Guiscard. The exploits of the Normans in Italy, and in the East, abound with many interesting and highly chivalrous stories, which would attract your attention, and repay me for the trouble of compiling them, but their connexion with the History of France is not so near as to permit them to enter into the present collection. As brilliant, and a much more durable effect, of the Norman valour was produced by the conquest of England.

CHAPTER VIII.

Saxon Conquest of England—Saxon Heptarchy—Court of Edward the Confessor—Dislike between the English and Normans—Death of Edward, and Accession of Harold—Preparations of William of Normandy for invading England—Invasion and Defeat of Harold of Norway—Battle of Hastings—Effects of the Norman Conquest—Forest Laws—Couvrefeu—The Language changed by the intermixture of Norman-French—Introduction of Chivalry—Connexion with Continental Politics, which was the consequence of England falling into the hands of the Duke of Normandy.

THE Norman Conquest—a great event, which continues its effects even to our own day—was for many centuries the abundant source of wars as inveterate and bloody as the world ever saw. Like other revolutions of that destructive period, it had its remote origin in the feeble and decayed state in which the Romans left the island of Britain, or at least its southern and more fertile moiety, when they withdrew their experienced legions from the defence of the colonists, and, having first deprived them of arms, and allowed their military habits to fall into disuse, left them, unaided, to protect themselves against the unconquered barbarians of the northern parts of the island, then termed Scots and Picts. Finding themselves exposed to the attacks of these fierce people, it is well known that the dispirited Britons summoned to their assistance the Saxons, a people inhabiting the north of Germany, and the southern shores of the Baltic. A nation thus imploring the defence of stranger tribes, exposed themselves of course to their rapacity. The Saxons repelled indeed the irruptions of the northern barbarians but summoning more of their brethren to

share the conquest of a country which the natives could not defend, they gradually occupied the fertile lowlands of the island, which became from them first distinguished by the name of England, (land of the Anglo-Saxons,) and drove the natives, who continued their resistance, into the northern mountains of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and the provinces now called Wales—in which last country the remains of the primitive Gael or Celtic inhabitants of the island are still to be found. This Saxon conquest formed a nation not dissimilar in manners to that of the Franks, as the victors in some degree incorporated with their own nation the conquered Britons and Roman colonists.

The Anglo-Saxons, like the Franks, had no very distinct notions of hereditary succession; and, to add to this great inconvenience, the invaders had been drawn from separate tribes, each of whom expected their portion of the spoil in settlements, and in the privilege of recognizing an independent king or chieftain of their own. Hence the impolitic division of England into seven petty kingdoms, called the Heptarchy, which existed, exclusive of the tract of country still possessed by the native British. A series of intrigues, and of bloody, though petty wars, was the natural consequence of the claims of the little tyrants of each state. During these contests, the country, as a whole, suffered much, though for some time no one kinglet could obtain any decided advantage.

Such small kingdoms have, nevertheless, the same propensities to unite with each other, as may be observed in drops of water which are running down the same plate of glass. By succession, by composition, by conquest, the petty states of the heptarchy were at length melted down into one monarchy, which suffered its full share in the distresses inflicted upon Europe by the invasion of the Normans. Indeed, at that time, the Danes, being the nation of Northmen who chiefly harassed the coasts of England, were able to establish a dynasty of kings

on the English throne, a disgrace to which France had never stooped.

On the death of Hardicanute, however, the last Danish prince, the Saxons were again enabled to restore the crown of England to their own royal family, by the election of Edward, called the Confessor, to that dignity. It was chiefly in this prince's reign that the increasing intercourse between the kingdom of England and the Duchy of Normandy, prepared both countries for the important events which afterwards took place.

The Normans, it must be remembered, were a race possessed of as much civilization as the times admitted, who valued themselves, and were prized in foreign nations, both on account of the elevated and ardent chivalry which they displayed in battle, and the lofty, and somewhat fantastic manners, which were then accounted courtesy in civil life. In their architecture, their theory of feudal law, their habits of society, their rules of hunting, and their practice of military discipline, they affected a difference from, and a superiority over, the blunter manners of the unrefined Saxons, for whose institutions and habits the courtly and chivalrous Normans entertained a degree of contempt amounting to disgust. But England was a land in which estates were to be acquired, and the Normans, who were always of an emigrating and adventurous disposition, came in numbers to the court of Edward the Confessor, where they were courteously received, and liberally provided for. The king was himself Norman by the mother's side, being descended from Emma, a daughter of Richard I. Duke of Normandy, grandson of Rollo, or Robert, who founded the principality. Besides, in his youth, the Saxon king had found refuge at the court of Normandy, during the tumults which agitated England, and had become attached to the people and their mode of life, which had in it something more agreeable to a youthful prince, than the blunt, hardy, and almost rude character, of the ancient English. Edward, in consequence of this partiality, introduced into his court the manners, customs, and language of the Normans

The latter was French, for the descendants of Rollo had long forgotten the Danish, or Norse language, spoken by their fathers.

The Saxons of England saw, with great resentment, the preference given by the king to their Norman neighbours. They were jealous of the freedom of their own laws, unfettered by feudal dependence, which gave an assembly of their estates, called Wittenagemot or the convention of Wise Men, a wholesome control over the will of the sovereign, and provided for the protection of the lives and liberties of the subjects, affording the groundwork of that stubborn and steady independence of principle, which has distinguished the bulk of the English nation for so many ages. They laughed at and ridiculed the affected refinements of the Normans, and, confident in their own courage and their own weapons, were willing to bid defiance to those mail-clad strangers, armed as they were with bows and arrows, the artillery of the period, in which the Normans were held to excel. These missiles could not be totally unknown in Britain, but the archers of Normandy were disciplined, and acted in battle as a separate body. These mutual subjects for scorn and jealousy, spread dislike and hatred between the English and their Norman visitors.

At the head of the English, or rather Saxon interest, were the powerful Godwin, Earl of Kent, and his sons. Under their guidance, the Norman aliens were expelled from England, and the foundation of a lasting animosity laid between them and the Saxons, or English. Edward, the reigning monarch, retained, however, his partiality for his mother's countrymen. The address and flattery of the Normans pleased a monarch who was not a man of strong mind, and their habits of civil deportment and feudal observances were acceptable to a prince, who objected to the rude remonstrances and homely manners of the English. Edward maintained an intimate correspondence with William Duke of Normandy, and appears to have formed a plan of bequeathing to him his kingdom of England. This was, no doubt, a great infringement

of the laws, which assigned the king only a life interest in his kingdom; and besides, by such a bequest the reigning monarch did his utmost to disinherit the real heir of England, Edgar Atheling, in favour of an illegitimate Norman, who, though connected with the Confessor's Norman relations, (for Edward's mother Emma was aunt to Duke William's father,) yet had not a drop of English blood in his veins. But the youth Edgar, who had the lawful title of succession to the crown, was absent in Hungary; and the conduct of Edward, if not blameless, was at least excusable in a well meaning, but weak monarch.

Upon the death of Edward, Harold, one of the sons of Earl Godwin, conscious both of his own great power, extensive influence, and known character for sagacity and courage, resolved to disregard alike the claims of Edgar Atheling, the lawful successor to the crown, and that which was preferred by a more formidable competitor, William Duke of Normandy. (A. D. 1066.) It is true, that Harold, being driven ashore on the coast of Normandy, had taken an oath to favour the pretensions of Duke William to the English throne, after the death of Edward the Confessor; but he denied that such an oath was binding, having been, as he alleged, forcibly compelled to take it. He availed himself, therefore, of his extensive influence with the English nobles, obtained the office of king by a grant from the assembled nobility, assumed the crown, and was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

But the throne which Harold had thus taken possession of, was menaced from three powerful quarters. The first was his own brother Tosti; the Second was Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, a veteran warrior, who threatened instant invasion; the third was William, Duke of Normandy, who founded his claim on the alleged bequest of Edward the Confessor, and on the oath of Harold to support it. Of these dangers, the third is best deserving of consideration.

William of Normandy, though an illegitimate son, had

succeeded to the Dukedom of Normandy as the inheritance of his father, and had been engaged during his youth in so many disputes and wars, both with his own insurgent nobility, and with his liege lord, the King of France, that his understanding was matured and his authority confirmed, so as to give him confidence to embark in the daring expedition which he meditated, being nothing less than the conquest of a kingdom, containing dominions far more extensive, and a population much more numerous, than his own. He was encouraged in this daring attempt by the undaunted valour so peculiar to his Norman subjects, and which they had displayed in such desperate adventures as those of Robert Guiscard and his brethren. If, he might argue, the sons of a simple knight, who led a petty band of ten lances, had, by their indomitable valour, rendered their small resources available to gain great battles, and establish fair principalities, what effects might not be expected from an army composed entirely of Norman warriors, and headed by their duke himself? Still, however, the forces of Normandy bore a fearful disproportion to those of the kingdom which he purposed to invade; and Duke William strove to balance the superiority by every means in his power.

For this purpose, he availed himself of his relation to Baldwin, called the Pious, Count of Flanders, whose daughter he had married. Baldwin was Regent of France during the minority of Philip the First, and, by his license and management, the Duke of Normandy was permitted to publish throughout France proposals to all brave warriors, who wished to gain honour or wealth, to join him in his present enterprise. A vast number of knights and warriors, from different parts of the kingdom, hastened to join an expedition of a character so peculiarly seductive to the imaginations of the age, and the army of Normandy, was augmented, in point of numbers, by the addition of a large proportion of those in France who were ambitious of obtaining fame in chivalry.

Count Baldwin has been in his capacity of Guardian of France, censured for affording the facilities which ena-

bled a vassal of that kingdom, already too powerful to raise himself to a pitch of equality with his liege lord, as was the final consequence of this expedition. But the issue of so dubious an attempt might have fallen out otherwise, and then the power of Normandy, instead of being increased, must have been broken by the invasion of England. Besides, it must for ever remain a question, whether, in granting these means of augmenting the army of William, Baldwin did not avert the risk of a war with Normandy, at the expense of assisting him in a distant and hazardous enterprise, the brilliant success of which could not be foreseen.

The army which the duke assembled for his daring expedition, amounted to fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand infantry. These were all chosen men, and the disproportion between the cavalry and infantry showed William's superiority in the force which was then held the most effective part of an army. To transport this large body of men, William constructed, or assembled, a fleet of three thousand vessels; and to sanctify his undertaking, he obtained the benediction of the Pope, who appears to have had little to do with the quarrel.

While this cloud was gathering on the coast of Normandy, the attention of Harold of England was withdrawn from its progress by a danger yet more imminent. His brother Tosti, after an attempt at insurrection which had been easily subdued, had fled to Harold Hardrada, King of Norway. This gigantic champion and valiant warrior united a large army with the followers of the insurgent Tosti, sailed up the Humber, gained several advantages, and obtained possession of York. The attention of Harold the Saxon was imperiously summoned to this new enemy, against whom he instantly marched. When he arrived in face of the invaders, he endeavoured, by offering terms to his brother Tosti, to induce him to withdraw from his foreign ally. "But if I accept these conditions," said Tosti, "what shall be the compensation to the King of Norway, my ally?"—"Seven feet of English land," answered the envoy; "or, as Hardrada

is a giant, perhaps a little more." On these terms, the English and Norwegians broke off their conference, and a dreadful battle, at Stamford, near York, was the consequence. (A. D. 1066.) The armies fought with incredible valour, and there was much slaughter on both sides; but Harold of Norway lost his life and the battle, while Harold of England, though enfeebled by the loss of many of his best troops, remained victorious. But he was instantly called upon to meet more formidable adversaries in William and his army, who had arrived at Pevensey. Unhappily for Harold, far too little respite was allowed him to recruit his forces after so bloody an action. Three days only intervened between the defeat of the Norwegians, and the arrival of William on the English coast.

The Duke of Normandy was speedily apprized that Harold was approaching at the head of an army flushed with victory. William, who had no re-enforcements to expect, determined not to avoid a battle. Harold, though he might more prudently have delayed till he recruited his diminished army, determined to seek for an encounter without loss of time. Both princes met on the fatal and memorable field of Hastings.

Taillifer, a minstrel of eminence at the court of the Duke of Normandy, began the fight. He sung the war-song of Roland, composed on the victories of Charlemagne. As he advanced, he played tricks with his sword, which he brandished in the air, tossing it up, and again catching it with his hand, to mark, doubtless, his calm courage and self-possession. In this manner, he rushed on the Saxon ranks, killed two men, and was himself slain by a third. The battle then joined with incredible fury. The Saxons, or English, were chiefly drawn up in one solid mass, impenetrable by cavalry. No effort of Duke William's brilliant chivalry, though led on by himself in person, had the least effect upon this unbroken phalanx. At length a military stratagem accomplished what mere force failed in. A body of a thousand Norman horse charged the English with apparent

fury, but retreating in well-dissembled panic, induced a considerable part of their enemies to quit their ranks in pursuit. Those who thus broke their array were cut off by the Norman main body, as, aware of the stratagem, they endeavoured to regain their ranks. But the encounter continued obstinate. In this dreadful battle, which was to decide the fate of England, the Normans derived great advantage from their skill in the long-bow. At length Duke William directed his archers, instead of shooting their arrows horizontally against the faces of the English, to discharge their volleys into the air, so that they might come down upon the heads of the Saxon phalanx with accumulated weight and effect. This species of annoyance did much mischief among the more distant ranks, on whom they descended like hail. One shaft, more fortunate than the rest, decided the obstinate battle, by striking Harold in the face, and piercing through his eye into the brain.

The death of Harold terminated a conflict, one of the most obstinate, as it was the most important, in the annals of England. The immediate success of William's expedition was ensured by the death of the English monarch; for, by submission or force, the Conqueror annexed to his dominions the whole kingdom of England; and though vexed by repeated rebellions among his new subjects, and even among the Normans themselves, disappointed with the share of spoil assigned them, he held, nevertheless, with a firm grasp, the advantages which he had gained by his wisdom and courage.

It is impossible to return to the history of France, from which this is a digression, without pausing to consider the effect of the Norman conquest, not only in its more immediate, but after consequences. The immediate consequence was, that the conquered Saxons became, speaking generally, the serfs, or bondsmen, of the victorious Normans, and that the conqueror distributed his new acquisitions of territory among the valiant partners of his enterprise. In many cases, some colour of right was given to this partition, as where a Saxon maiden, who had suc-

ceeded a father or brother slain at Hastings, or elsewhere in some large inheritance, was bestowed in marriage by the conqueror, on one of his fortunate and favoured companions in arms. More frequently, the estates of Saxons of high birth and great property, were forfeited for alleged insurrection against their new masters.

Upon the whole, the system of feudal law was introduced into England by the conquest, and the Norman knights and nobles received grants of the richest manors and baronies of the crown, to be held of the king by military service. These they again granted in smaller portions, to be enjoyed by men chiefly of their own country, who should depend on them, as they upon the monarch. Such part of the land as the proprietors thought proper to retain for their own use, was cultivated for their advantage by the Saxon bondsmen, the haughty Norman disdaining to employ himself in any occupation save that of battle, tournament, or hunting.

On the last subject, they introduced into England the severe and unjust laws of Normandy and France, which, under the highest and most disproportioned penalties, reserved the pleasure of pursuing the chase to the great vassals alone. William the Conqueror himself led the way in his extravagant passion for such amusements; and the ruthlessness with which he sacrificed to his love of silvan sport the comfort and happiness of his new people, is almost inconceivable. In the county of Hampshire alone, an immense woodland tract of sixty-three thousand acres still termed the New Forest, was reduced to a mere waste, all towns and dwellings of man, as well as the churches intended for the worship of God, being utterly destroyed, and the district reserved exclusively for the abode of wild animals, and the exercise of hunting.

Other laws, peculiarly vexatious to the lower orders of English, were introduced instead of the mild government exercised by the native Saxon monarchs. The harassed natives were easily driven into rebellion, which answered so far the purpose of the Conqueror, as it gave pretence for new confiscations, by which he enriched his followers.

At length, threatened insurrections among the English were so general, and so much suspected, that the memorable law of *Curfew* or *Couvrefeu*, was enacted, by which all the lower classes were compelled to extinguish their fires or lights at the sound of a bell, which rung towards bed time. Numerous Norman garrisons, scattered over the country, at once secured to the victors undisturbed possession of the land, and enforced the subjection of the harassed inhabitants.

In a word, the whole kingdom of England was divided between the Normans, who were the lords and gentry, and the Saxons, who, with a few exceptions, became the cultivators of the soil. These two races did not even enjoy the ordinary means of communicating together, for the Normans spoke French, as well as the king and courtiers; the courts of law used the same language, and the common people alone used or understood the Saxon, which they employed in their own affairs. This separation of language lasted till about a hundred years after the Conquest, when the English language began to be used by all the inhabitants of the kingdom. The gentlemen were, in general, acquainted with French also, but every Englishman spoke the mixed language, which had been gradually formed between the Norman-French and the Anglo-Saxon. This is the language which has finally superseded the use of all others in England, the language of Newton and Bacon, the language of Milton and Shakspeare, in which wisdom and genius have achieved so much to instruct and delight mankind.

The Norman Conquest had another beneficial consequence, though its effects operated slowly. We have already said, that the conquerors, when compared with the vanquished, were a race of a civilized and refined character, who affected the highest tone of chivalry, mingled as it was with much that was gallant, certainly, and that aspired to be laudable. It is probable, that immediately after the battle of Hastings, this distinction in manners only operated to the disadvantage of the humble Saxons, whose rusticity afforded their conquerors an

additional reason for oppressing them, as beings of a lower grade, and beneath their regard. But in time the conquerors and the conquered began to mingle together and assimilate themselves to each other; and there can be no doubt that the refinement of the chivalrous Normans extended its influence, in part at least, over the blunter and ruder Saxons, and introduced among them the spirit of unblemished honour and uncontaminated faith, which was taught by the doctrines of chivalry, if not always regularly practised. On the other hand, the blunt and resolute Anglo-Saxons preserved that sense of their rights, and jealousy of their independence, which has been so long the characteristic of the English people.

It was, perhaps, less for the future advantage of Britain, that in becoming part of the dominions of the Duke of Normandy, the country was necessarily involved in the vortex of continental politics and continental quarrels, with which her insular situation left her naturally unconnected. It is not indeed unlikely that England, whenever she came to a feeling of her own strength, might have been induced to take an interest in the affairs of her neighbours; but it is not improbable that her eyes would have been first turned to make conquests within her own shores, in which case Scotland, in all human probability, must have been completely and permanently subdued, and the crown of all Britain, as well perhaps as that of Ireland, established on the brow of the English monarchs, ere they engaged in more distant, more doubtful, and less politic hostilities with France. But it is in vain to speculate on what might have been. It is sufficiently evident, that the affairs of France must continue to interest the King of England, while he occupied the fair duchy of Normandy, with several feudal rights over Bretagne, which were granted to Rollo along with the dukedom itself, as part of the dowery of the French princess Giselé. And if the domestic security of England was disturbed, and its internal security shaken, by her being engaged in wars with which she had no real concern, t

was some compensation that several brilliant pages were added to her chronicles, recording victories, which, though fruitless, and gained by great sacrifices, contain noble proofs of English valour and magnanimity.

CHAPTER IX.

Rebellion of Robert against his Father, William the Conqueror, instigated by Philip I. of France—Proficiency of Philip—Wise Conduct of Louis—Attempt of Philip's Concubine to Poison Louis—Death of Philip—Origin of the Crusades—Council of Clermont—Army of Crusaders led by Peter the Hermit—its Disasters—Crusade fitted out by the Four Principal Monarchs of Europe—its Reception by the Greek Emperor—Capture of Nice—Battle of Dorylæum—Siege of Antioch—Siege and Capture of Jerusalem—Subjugation of Palestine—Erection of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

PHILIP I. of France was not a little piqued and mortified to find, that by this happy attempt against England, his vassal the Duke of Normandy had started up king of a realm as ample and fair as his own, which, though so recently acquired, and disquieted by insurrections, was upon the whole, ruled by the Conqueror with more absolute sway than France itself by the descendant of Capet.

Philip was determined to shake this new empire. He not only entered into a war with the King of England, but intrigued with his eldest son Robert, whom he encouraged to rebel against his father, William the Conqueror. The pretext assigned for the French hostilities, and the unnatural conduct of the son, was, that when William undertook his English conquest, he engaged, in case of his being successful, that he would resign to his son his Norman dominions. It is probable, that, if such a promise was made, it was given only to allay the fears of the

French court that William, by succeeding in his expedition would become too powerful a vassal ; but the compact was agreed to without any serious intention of keeping it. At any rate, it had become impossible for the duke to yield up Normandy without incurring the risk of losing England also, since it was only in his power to defeat the insurrections of the English by the aid of the soldiery which he drew from his native dominions.

Under the pretence, nevertheless, that William the Conqueror had failed in this agreement to surrender Normandy, his son Robert, a rash young man, and of fiery passions, though in his person brave and generous, actually rebelled against his father, and held out against him the small fortified place of Gerberoi, a station very convenient for the annoyance of Normandy, and where Philip placed his young ally for that very purpose. William of England, incensed at the rebellious conduct of his son, hastened to lay siege to the place of his retreat. The garrison sallied, headed by Prince Robert in person. This leader, one of the bravest men of his time, singled out for his antagonist a knight who appeared in front of the besiegers, in armour, and having his face covered by the visor of his helmet. The onset of the young and fiery prince bore down his antagonist, horse and man ; and Robert, placing his lance to the throat of the dismounted cavalier, would have taken his life, had he not recognized by the accents in which the answer was returned, that he was in the act of slaying his own father. Shocked at this discovery, he flung himself from his horse, and, assisting his father to arise, held the stirrup to him till he mounted it in his stead.

But notwithstanding an incident so touching at once and terrible, the reconciliation between the father and son was not perfected. Robert still expected that his father would resign to him some part of the Norman territories, in fulfilment of the promise said to have been made previous to his undertaking the invasion of England : but he continued to expect in vain. The Conqueror answered the request in homely but intelligible phrase, that he was

not willing to throw off his clothes before he went to bed or part with his dominions before his death. An open war which ensued with France cost William his life. He caught an inflammatory complaint, by directing in person the conflagration of the town of Mantes, and the destruction of the country around. He did all in his power to punish his son Robert for his undutiful conduct, by bequeathing the crown of England to his second son William, called Rufus, or the Red. But although incensed against his eldest son, William the Conqueror left him the duchy of Normandy, chiefly, it is supposed, because he doubted whether the inhabitants would submit to any other prince than Robert, whom they loved for his liberality, good nature, and romantic courage.

While these changes took place in the family and dominions of his formidable vassal and rival, Philip I. of France was engaged in petty wars, by means of which, while affecting to mediate between his dissatisfied peers, he contrived to weaken both the contending parties, and to strengthen the crown at their expense. The morals of this prince were not much more strict than his political conscience. He at length gave a shameful and public instance of profligacy, by seizing upon the wife of Falk, Count of Anjou, called Rechigné, or the Morose. To enjoy her society, Philip parted with his own wife, who died of ill treatment, and during the latter years of his life, lived publicly with the beautiful Countess Bertrade, for such was her name. The court of Rome interfered in vain, and neither the admonitions of Pope or Council, though promulgated under threat of excommunication, which was at length actually pronounced, could deter the King of France from prosecuting this amour. By such conduct, the authority of Philip became as much degraded as his personal character. He was neglected and despised even by his immediate vassals; and the confusion which ensued was so great as to throw all France into disorder.

At length, the king saw fit in some degree to appease these disturbances, by associating, in the office and autho-

city of Monarch of France, Louis, the remaining son whom he had by his lawful queen, by whose activity and judicious exertions, tranquillity was in some measure restored to the distracted kingdom. This active prince might be said to do all that his father had neglected. He kept always around him a body of determined men, with whom he marched with rapidity against the vassals of the crown, who were perpetually in insurrection, and thus gradually acquired general respect and popularity.

Bertrade, in the meanwhile, was the only person to whom the young prince's conduct was unacceptable. She exerted her unbounded influence over her royal lover to the prejudice of his son, on whose exertions, rather than his own, the safe government of the kingdom depended. When Louis, conscious of his father's prejudice against him, withdrew for a while to visit the court of England, Philip was induced to write a letter to the king of that country, instigating him to murder or imprison the young prince. The advice was rejected with disdain by the King of England, who dismissed his guest with safety and honour.

The dangers of Louis were increased on his return to France, for poison was administered to him by his father's concubine, which had so much effect on his constitution, that though he recovered his health in other respects, his complexion remained ever afterwards a deadly pale. Louis upon receiving this new injury, was wellnigh provoked to break entirely with his father; and it is probable that the cause of the son would have been adopted by the kingdom in general, had not Philip become aware of his danger. Overcome by his authority, or terrified for the consequences of Louis's resentment, Bertrade made the most humble submissions to that Prince, succeeded in a reconciliation, and entertained, or affected, during her future life, the utmost deference, and even affection for Louis, to the extent of confiding to him the safety and support of two children whom she had borne to his father, King Philip.

The troubles of France were in some degree allayed

by the agreement between the father and son ; and the latter, after this period, took chiefly on himself the active administration of the government, while the father continued to indulge in the pleasure of luxury and retirement with Bertrade, on whom he doted. Latterly, indeed, he seems to have reconciled the church to his connexion with her, since she receives, in the French annals, the title of queen, and her children are, at the same time, spoken of as legitimate. The acquiescence of the Pope in this promotion of the divorced Countess of Anjou into a legitimate Queen of France, was but imperfectly expressed ; and was purchased, moreover, by such humble submission to the papal see, as degraded the king in the eyes of his own subjects. (A. D 1108.) Philip died at the age of sixty, leaving his son Louis, with diminished resources, to struggle with all the evils which his father's weak government, and the sacrifice of his royal authority to his selfish love of pleasure, had brought upon his country.

In this age of wonderful events, not only did such revolutions as those produced by the success of Guiscard and his brothers, as before mentioned, and the conquest of England by William of Normandy, astonish the world, but the attention of all men was attracted by the Crusades, a species of war bearing, as was pretended, a religious character, and calling upon the Christian princes, as by a command from Heaven, to give up all private feuds and quarrels among themselves, and move in a body to overwhelm the Asiatics. The origin of these extraordinary wars arose, as great events often do, from the efforts of a single individual, which happened in a remarkable degree to concur with the peculiar opinions and manners of the age.

I have told you that the devotional journeys called pilgrimages, to the tombs of the religious persons mentioned in Scripture, or the places where they had wrought their miracles, were accounted in those times meritorious displays of piety, the performance of which, by the tenets of the Catholic Church, was held the surest

and most acceptable mode of averting the wrath of Heaven for past transgressions, or exhibiting gratitude for mercies received. Men who were in difficulties or in dangers, often made a vow that in the event of their being extricated, they would make a journey to some sanctified shrine in Italy or in Palestine, and there testify their sense of the protection of Heaven by alms, prayers, and gifts to the church. The Holy Sepulchre itself, of which the site was handed down by tradition, was naturally a principal object of these religious voyages, as best entitled to the respect and adoration of mankind. While Palestine, or the Holy Land, remained a part of the Grecian empire, the approach of the European pilgrims to the holy places which they desired to visit, was naturally facilitated by every means in the power of the Christian governors of the provinces where they lay, and of the priests to whose keeping the places of sanctity were committed. Their churches were enriched by the gifts which failed not to express the devotion of the pilgrims, and the vanity of the priests was flattered by the resort of so many persons of consequence from the most distant parts of Christendom, to worship at their peculiar shrines.

Even when, in the course of the tenth century, the Holy Land fell under the power of the Saracens, that people, infidels as they were, felt their own interest in permitting, under payment of a certain capitation tax, the concourse of European pilgrims to Jerusalem, and other places which they accounted sacred. Stimulated by love of wealth, the Mahometan possessors of Palestine made the access tolerably easy to the devout men who desired to travel thither, so long as the pilgrims were not unwilling to pay the tolls with which it was guarded. In their intercourse with Christian princes of eminence, the Califs, or successors of Mahomet, derived a certain consequence from being masters of Jerusalem; and Haroun A. raschid, one of the most important of those princes, found no more acceptable compliment to conciliate Charlemagne, with whom he maintained a friendly intercourse, than to send to the Frank Emperor the keys of the Holy

Sepulchre. But when the power of the Saracens was in a great measure divided or destroyed, and the Turks, also followers of Mahomet, but a far more rude and fanatical race, became masters of Jerusalem, the treatment of the Christians, whether natives of Palestine, or pilgrims who came to worship there, was in every respect different. The Saracens, a civilized and refined people compared with the Turks, had governed the country under fixed rules of tribute, and preferred the moderate, but secure profit, derived from the taxes imposed on the pilgrims, to that which might be attained by a system of robbery, plunder, and ill usage, by which the devotees were likely to be at length compelled to desist from their religious duties. But the Turks, a fiercer, more bigoted, and more short-sighted race, preferred the pleasure of insulting and maltreating Christians whom they contemned and hated, and not only harassed them by the most exorbitant exactions, which when paid, did not secure freedom to the oppressed Frank to discharge his religious duty, but often added personal ill usage to the demand of extravagant tribute. In short, with or without the authority of their superiors, every paltry Turkish officer robbed, imprisoned, and slew the Christians at his pleasure; and an act of pilgrimage, in itself perilous and expensive, was rendered frequently an introduction to martyrdom. The clergy of the Christians were insulted, stript, and flung into dungeons; nor was any circumstance omitted by the savage masters of the Holy Sepulchre, which could show the pilgrims at how great hazard they must in future expect permission to pay their homage there.

These evils had been sufficiently felt by all who had visited the East, but at length they made so strong an impression on the spirit of one single man, that, like fire alighting among materials highly combustible, the flame spread throughout all Europe. The person who effected so strong a sensation by so slight means, was Peter, called the Hermit. He was, we are informed, of a slight and indifferent figure, which sometimes exposed him to be neglected; but he was a powerful orator. He had

himself been a pilgrim in Palestine, and possessed the impressive requisite that he could bear testimony as an eye witness to the atrocities of the Turks, and the sufferings of the Christians. He repaired from court to court, from castle to castle, from city to city, setting forth at each the shame done to Christendom, in leaving the holiest places connected with her religion in possession of a heathen and barbarous foe. He appealed to the religion of one sovereign, to the fears of another, to the spirit of chivalry professed by them all. Urban II., then Pope, saw the importance of uniting the European nations, soldiers by habit and inclination, in a task so honourable to religion, and so likely to give importance to the Roman See. At the council of Clermont, ambassadors from the Grecian emperor were introduced to the assembly, who with humble deference, stated to the prelates and the lay chivalry of Europe the dangers to their Christian sovereign, arising from the increasing strength of the Moslem empire, by which he was surrounded, and forgetting the wordy and assuming language which they were accustomed to use, supplicated, with humiliating earnestness, the advantage of some assistance from Europe. The pontiff himself set forth the advantage, or rather necessity of laying all meaner or more worldly tasks aside, until the holy sepulchre should be freed from the heathen usurpers, who were its tyrants. To all, however criminal, who should lend aid to this holy warfare, Urban promised a full remission of their sins here, and an indubitable portion of the joys of heaven hereafter. He then appealed to the temporal princes, with the enthusiastic quotation of such texts of Scripture as were most likely to inflame their natural valour. "Gird on your swords," he said, "ye men of valour; it is our part to pray, it is yours to fight. It is ours, with Moses, to hold up our hands unremittingly to God, it is yours to stretch out the sword against the children of Amalek.—So be it." The assembly answered, as to a summons blown by an archangel,—“It is the will of God—it is the will of

God!" Thousands devoted themselves to the service of God, as they imagined, and to the recovery of Palestine, with its shrines, from the hands of the Turks. Each devoted himself to the prosecution of this holy undertaking, by cutting the form of a cross upon the shoulder of his cloak, being of a different colour from that of the garment itself, which was the especial form by which these soldiers of Heaven announced their being enlisted in the Holy War. The undertaking was thence called a crusade, and those who joined its ranks were termed crusaders. The eagerness with which all men assumed this holy symbol was such, that some of the princes cut their robes to pieces; to furnish crosses for the multitudes around.

The extraordinary proceedings at the council of Clermont were circulated with such amazing celerity, as made those be believed who affirmed that the report of this general movement was heard and known among distant nations even on the very evening of the day of council. But, without listening to what is incredible, it is certain the news of the crusade was every where spread through the Christian world with unexampled speed, and every where received with the utmost interest and applause. The number who assumed the Cross, or, in other words, pledged themselves to the Holy War, amounted probably to half a million of individuals at least. A very great proportion of this multitude were ignorant men, unaccustomed to warfare, and unacquainted with the slightest precautions either in the field of battle, or on the far more complicated subjects of marches and halts which were to be agreed on, and provisions, which were to be got in readiness. We may form some idea of the low rank from which these men were gathered, when we see, that although the strength of every army at the time consisted in cavalry, this miscellaneous rout, though composed of many thousand infantry, contained only *eight* horsemen. It is no wonder, says an historian, that a bird having wings so short, with a train of such disproportioned length, should not take a distant flight. The enthusiasm

of these ignorant and rash plebians, who formed a mob rather than a regular army, and observed no rule of warfare, was so great, that they accounted the slightest precaution not only unnecessary, but even an actual insult to Heaven, as inferring a doubt that Providence would provide and protect the soldiers who had voluntarily enlisted themselves in this holy cause.

This tumultuary rabble, accordingly, did not wait for the great princes and leaders who had engaged in the same expedition, but resolved to set out on the journey by themselves. To ensure divine protection, they placed Peter the Hermit himself at their head. But neither his guidance, nor the military skill of his lieutenant, a valiant but needy knight, called Walter the Pennyless, owing to his ordinary state of poverty, were adequate to the management of a numerous and disorderly host, who rushed, so wretchedly provided, on a march of many thousand miles. These leading squadrons were followed by immense bands, composed of similar materials, as giddy in their expectations, as wild in their sentiments, and as irregular in their discipline, as the host of the Hermit. Their leaders were, a barbarous and ignorant man called Gotteschalk, a German monk, and Emmicho, a tyrannical Rhine-Graf, or count, who had demesnes on the Lower Rhine. Their followers were chiefly collected in the same countries, which have been found in latter times peculiarly accessible to enthusiasm. Some of them formed the unhappy idea, that, in order to expect success over the heathen in Palestine, it might be a good omen to begin with the destruction of the descendants of the Jews, the ancient inhabitants of the Holy Land. They murdered many of these unhappy people, who were the merchants and factors, by whom, in these wild times, the necessary commerce between distant countries was conducted. Their wealth invited the murders and spoliation, which their unbelief rendered, in the eyes of the crusaders, not only venial, but meritorious.

When this tumultuous army had traversed Germany, divided as it were into separate billows of the same

advancing ocean, and committing in their progress unheard-of disorders, they at length reached Hungary, then inhabited by the remains of the Huns and Bulgarians. These fierce people, though professing the Christian faith, finding that the military pilgrims spoiled their villages, and seized their provisions, took arms against them without hesitation, and availing themselves of the swamps and difficult passes of their country, destroyed so many of the crusaders, that only about one-third of the original host of the Hermit Peter escaped into the Greek territories. Here the Emperor Alexius, though somewhat surprised, doubtless, at the miserable appearance of this vanguard of his Western auxiliaries, relieved their wants, and endeavoured to prevail on them to wait for reinforcements from Europe. But when they had once attained the eastern side of the Bosphorus, to which the policy of Alexius had hastily transported them, the enthusiasm of this tumultuous host again induced them to rush on their own destruction.

They entered Asia Minor, and Soliman, the sultan of Antioch, decoyed these ignorant warriors into the plains of Nice, where they fell beneath the arrows of the light armed Turks, and by diseases of the climate. In these tumultuary proceedings, three hundred thousand champions of the Cross lost their lives, before the kings and nobles of Europe, who had taken the same vows with these over-hasty devotees, had been able to accomplish their preliminary preparations.

We are to suppose, naturally, that men of high rank, versed at least in the art of war, and in some degree acquainted with politics as they then existed, if foolish enough to be forced into such an undertaking, which indeed the universal enthusiasm rendered it difficult for them to avoid, would not yet neglect the usual precautions to ensure success, nor expect that provisions, the means of transportation, or other absolute necessities for the success of their expedition, would be furnished by a succession of miracles.

Accordingly, when the storm of destruction had coun-

menced among those disorderly bands which marched under Peter the Hermit, Gotteschalk, Emmicho, and other incapable persons, there remained behind a well-disciplined host, selected out of the four principal nations of Europe, whose leaders may be briefly mentioned.

I. The French chivalry took the Cross with all the eagerness of their national character, and are supposed to have sent as many adventurers as all Europe besides. Philip, their king, immersed in pleasures, and unable to separate himself from his favourite Bertrade, evaded taking the engagement; but his best soldiers followed the steps of Hugo, called the Great, brother to Philip, and of Godfrey of Boulogne, called Duke of Brabant, who for his wisdom and bravery was afterwards chosen chief of the crusade. This last distinguished leader was accompanied by his brothers Baldwin and Eustace. Stephen, Earl of Blois, father to that Stephen who was afterwards King of England, Raymond, Earl of Toulouse, Robert, Earl of Flanders, Hugh, Earl of Saint Paul, and Baldwin de Burgh, princes of high rank, and warriors of great fame, engaged in this expedition with bands of followers becoming their birth and reputation.

II. Italy sent some distinguished soldiers; among others Bohemund, prince of Tarentum, with his nephew Tancred, both worthy descendants of the Norman stock of Guiscard, put to sea at the head of twelve thousand men. The flower of the soldiers of the northern provinces of Italy also took the Cross.

III. England sent many barons, who arrayed themselves under Robert, called Curt-hose, or Short-hose, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, whom he had succeeded as the Duke of Normandy. He also led a great part of the gallant Norman chivalry, to win fame, or meet death, in the eastern deserts. Soldiers from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, are supposed to have joined the English expedition, but in small numbers.

IV. Of Germany we have already spoken, in giving an account of the bands of common men whom she sent

to the war. Her noblemen did not take arms in the same proportion, and as the crusaders marched through that country, it is said they incurred the scorn and ridicule of the more solid part of the nation, who termed them fools for going on so idle an expedition. We will presently see that the Germans themselves afterwards caught the infection.

Such was the composition of the first crusade, a formidable armament, the numbers of which are represented as almost incalculable. Its leaders adopted separate roads, for the more easy collecting of forage and provisions, and the respective divisions performed their march with different degrees of security or danger, corresponding to the sagacity or rashness of their generals. Hugo, brother to the King of France, was defeated and made prisoner on the road by the Bulgarians, and sent captive to Constantinople. The other divisions of the crusading army arrived safe under the walls of that city.

It was the Greek Emperor's turn to be astonished at the numbers and extent of a host assembled from all nations, and pouring with frantic eagerness towards the land of Palestine; so that, as Anna Comnena happily expresses it, all Europe seemed loosened from its foundations, and in the act of precipitating itself upon Asia.

Alexius, then the Emperor of Greece, and already described as a sagacious prince, had expected that the auxiliary forces would extend to no more than a moderate body of men-at-arms, his confidence in whose valour might make amends for the smallness of their numbers, and who for the same reason could not propose to themselves the part of masters instead of allies, or dictate laws to the sovereign whom they had come to assist. Instead of such a moderate reinforcement, the subtle and suspicious Emperor of the East now saw himself begirt by armed legions from every corner of Europe, speaking unknown languages, sheathed in complete armour,—iron men, in short, compared to his effeminate Grecians, owning no common bond or tie, save that of their meane oath, each knight amidst their numbers holding the most un-

daunted confidence in his own courage, and the utmost contempt for all opposition which could be offered to his most unreasonable wishes.

The reflections and apprehensions of Alexius were natural enough; but a generous mind would have subdued them, and rather trusted to the honour of the principal crusaders, than have undermined their strength by indirect practices, and offended their pride by showing a jealousy of their good faith, and at the same time a fear for their numbers and force. He at first altogether refused to let so great a body of armed men pass into his Asiatic dominions, even to attack his enemies the Turks. Nor did he at length grant the crusaders a free passage over the Bosphorus, which divides Europe from Asia, until they would consent to take an oath of fealty to him. Godfrey of Boulogne, and the other leaders of the crusade, consented at length to this unpleasant and jealous preliminary, reconciling themselves to a species of degradation, rather than multiply the difficulties of their situation, or make an attack upon a Christian emperor the first warlike action of the crusade.

It was, however, with infinite difficulty that the numerous and haughty chiefs were induced to take the oath of fealty. Robert of Flanders positively refused to undergo the ceremonial, and could by no means be brought to submit. Many of the chiefs of the crusaders were only induced to take the vow to the emperor by the large gifts which he dealt among them, thus purchasing an apparent submission, to save appearances, and disguise the real debility of the empire.

Nay, the manner in which the ceremonial was performed, showed the contempt which the crusaders entertained for the whole pageant. A French count, called Robert of Paris, appeared before the emperor to take the oath, with the others of his degree. He had no sooner performed the ceremony than he sat down on the same throne where the emperor reposed in state, exclaiming, —“What churl is this who sits when so many noble knights are standing in his presence?” It may be be-

lieved that no officer of the emperor dared interfere, but Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Boulogne, took the count by the hand, and reproaching him for his rudeness, obliged him to rise from the place he had taken. The emperor, preserving his composure, asked the name and quality of the warrior who had taken so great a liberty. "I can but tell you this," answered the Frank, "that in my country there is an ancient church, to which those desirous of proving their valour repair, fully armed for battle, and, having gone through their devotions, remain there, to abide the attack of any adventurous knight that may appear to encounter them. At that church, where three ways meet, have I myself abode for a long space. But the man lives not in France who dared answer my challenge." The emperor confined his answer to the prudent observation, that if the count desired combat, he came to the place where he was sure to get enough of it, and proceeded to instruct the knight, who probably cared but little for his advice, in the particular warfare of the Turks. This story is told by Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius, who seems to have suffered severely when she saw the august imperial dignity of her father so rudely infringed upon.

After much time wasted, and many promises made and broken on the part of the emperor, respecting supplies of provisions, wines, and other necessaries for the army, the first crusade, transported by the Greek shipping to the shores of Asia, began seriously to enter upon their holy warfare. Nice, which was well garrisoned by the Turks, was taken after a siege, and surrendered to the emperor Alexius, to whom it was a valuable acquisition, Soliman, Sultan of the Turks, more offended than dismayed by the loss he had sustained, assembled a very numerous army, amounting to from 150,000 to 200,000 horsemen. These hung round the vanguard of the Christian host, and exhausted them by constant, but desultory attacks. The scorching sun greatly annoyed the northern people, whose complete coats of mail rendered the heat more intolerable. The unusual clang and barbarous

sounds of the Turkish musical instruments disturbed the horses of the Christians ; and in the first general battle between the crusaders and the infidels, the former ran a great risk of defeat. The desperate exertions of the leaders, at length brought the infidels from desultory skirmishes to close action, in which armour of proof, with superior size and strength of body, gave advantage to the Europeans. Bohemund, Count Hugo of France, and Robert of Normandy, did wonderful feats with their own hands. The latter slew three infidels of distinction, in the face of both armies. The Sultan Soliman fled from the battle, which was fought at Dorylæum, in Phrygia. The restoration of his territory, called Roum, to the Emperor Alexius, as it formed a frontier country of importance, was the means of preserving the Greek empire for perhaps a hundred years longer than it was otherwise likely to have subsisted. But Alexius did not make a politic use of his advantages. Instead of assisting the Christians with good faith and sincerity, he took a more indirect course ; he tried to pursue his own interest by holding the balance betwixt the crusaders and their enemies the Turks, in the vain hope that he could make success turn to the one scale or the other, at his pleasure.

The siege of the celebrated city of Antioch, accompanied with dearth of provisions, want of water, scorching heat, and contagious diseases, tried the patience of the military pilgrims, and overcame that of many. But the crusaders were particularly scandalized at the defection of Peter the Hermit, who fled from the camp rather than share the severities to which he had been the means of millions exposing themselves. The fugitive was brought back by force, the rather that the absence of this famous preacher and prophet was deemed an evil omen. Antioch was at length betrayed into the hands of the crusaders by a Christian within the city ; but, enraged at the hardships they had sustained, and thirsting for blood, the besiegers spared, in their rage, neither Christian nor pagan.

A very large host, chiefly of Persians, under an Emir

called Kerboga, in vain advanced to re-take the place, and avenge the slaughtered Moslemah. Their blockade, indeed, reduced the late besiegers to the state of being themselves besieged. Disease followed famine, men and horses died in multitudes. A well-imagined and happily-timed discovery of a supposed relic of great sanctity, restored the enthusiasm which had sunk under bad fortune and sufferings. The gates of Antioch were thrown open, the crusaders rushed out in full confidence of victory; and, being seconded by a fancied apparition of Saint George, Saint Theodore, and Saint Maurice, they totally dispersed the army of the besieging general, which is described as almost innumerable. The strong and wealthy city of Antioch was assigned as the seat of a principality, to be adjudged to Bohemund, for Alexius declined to accept what he was conscious he had no force to preserve. The route to Palestine now lay open to the crusaders—that country for which they had abandoned all their other prospects in life.

Besides the necessity of collecting reinforcements, and the difficulty of coming to a determined conclusion, in cases where so many opinions were to be consulted, the city of Jerusalem, the possession of which was the principal object of the crusade, had of late changed masters, and returned from the possession of the Turks to that of the Saracens of Egypt, who were commanded by the Fatimite Califs. The Saracens, it must be remembered, had always afforded protection to the western pilgrims during the period when they held possession of the Holy City. It was, therefore, with some reason that they endeavoured to persuade the crusaders to put an end to the war, as being now without a motive. The Egyptian ambassadors stated to the assembled chiefs, that Jerusalem which the Turks had made the scene of their oppressions, was now restored to its lawful possessors, the Saracens, who had always given, and would engage always to give, hospitable reception, and free access to the objects of their devotion, to all peaceful pilgrims who should desire to approach them in moderate numbers, and

without arms. The calif also offered great and splendid gifts to the chiefs of the crusade, to induce them to make peace. The European leaders returned for answer, that their vows engaged them to rescue the Holy Land, and its capital, the city of Jerusalem, from infidels, of whatever denomination, whom they should find in possession of it; that they were determined to recover the city accordingly, and would admit no treaty, whether with Turk or Saracen, or other Mahometan whatsoever, which had not the absolute surrender of Jerusalem for its basis.

At length the remains of this mighty crusade advanced on Palestine, and besieged the holy city of Jerusalem, so long the object of their hopes, vows, and wishes. The place was naturally strong, and was defended by thick walls and bulwarks, as well as by rocks and eminences. The crusaders remaining fit for service, out of a host which numbered its warriors by hundreds of thousands, did not amount to forty thousand men. Aladin, lieutenant of the Egyptian calif, commanded nearly an equal number of defenders. The Christians had, therefore, a difficult task before them, especially as they were in want of water, tents, and military engines. They at first attempted to take the city by main force, and make a general assault on the walls within five days after they sat down before them; but being unprepared for such service, they were beaten off with loss and dishonour. The siege was, however, pressed with vigour; the chiefs endured their losses with firmness, and their experience discovered supplies for their wants. Two wooden turrets, constructed upon wheels, were formed by some Genoese workmen, to be advanced to the wall, for the purpose of commanding the defences. The first, under command of Raymond Count of Toulouse, was set on fire, and consumed by the besieged. The second of these engines, under the immediate superintendence of Godfrey of Boulogne, was, with better fortune, rolled up to the walls, where, as it overlooked the parapet, the arrows from the archers within it, cleared the rampart of the defenders. A drawbridge then dropt between the tower and the wall—the attacking

party poured over it, and the besiegers obtained possession of the city. An indiscriminate massacre commenced, in which many thousand Mahometans were slain, although resistance was entirely at an end. When this pitiless slaughter (which lasted three days) was over, the victors, with a devotion strangely contrasted with their late cruelty, joined in a solemn pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, where loud hymns of praise, and devout tears of penitence, were enthusiastically poured forth as an acceptable offering to Heaven, by the very men whose hands were red with the blood spilt in an unprovoked massacre.

The country of Palestine followed the fate of Jerusalem, and the Christian leaders resolved to consummate their victory by erecting a Latin kingdom there, whose swords should for ever defend the Holy Land, which the valour of the crusaders had now gained from the infidels. The crown of Palestine was refused by Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders, who might both have made pretensions to the sovereignty; the more ambitious Bohemund had already settled himself in Antioch, and Baldwin had, in like manner, established himself at Edessa. A hero who, if only the equal of these princes in valour, and their inferior in power, far excelled them in moral qualifications, and in a true sense of religion, was next offered the crown, by the unanimous consent of all who had been engaged in the expedition. This was Godfrey of Boulogne, the foremost in obtaining possession of the city, of which he was now declared king. He would, however, only accept the title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre, and, from the same spirit of devout modesty, he assumed a crown of thorns, instead of gold, as the appropriate symbol of his authority.

In about a fortnight the prince was called upon to defend his newly conquered metropolis against the Calif of Egypt, who was advancing in person to revenge its capture. They met in the valley of Ascalon, where the Egyptians (inferior to the Turks, whom the Christians had hitherto encountered, in the knowledge and practice of war) received a total defeat. Godfrey having thus

established and enlarged his new kingdom, proceeded, by the general assent of the most experienced persons who were present, to adjust a system of laws, called the Assize of Jerusalem, in which the constitution of the Latin kingdom, as it was called, was adapted to the purest feudal principles.

In this manner was established, and thus was regulated, the kingdom of Jerusalem, which endured for about a century after its establishment in the first crusade, till its destruction by Saladin in 1187. During the short period of its turbulent existence, this state, composed of so many proud and independent barons, who often refused obedience to the king of their own choice, underwent so many civil convulsions, as rendered their state peculiarly unfit to defend itself against the Mahometans, who were perpetually bent upon recovering a territory which they considered as their own property. Various attempts were, however, made to support the Christians in their defence.

One was by the erection of two great societies, or communities of knights, who took upon them a vow of celibacy, of poverty, and of obedience to their spiritual superiors, but were, in other respects, soldiers sworn to defend the Temple of Jerusalem against the Pagans. This order of military monks did great service in the protection of the Holy Land. But when these Templars, as they were called, became wealthy and powerful, it appears their manners became corrupted, and their morals dissolute; they were also accused of meditating enterprises promising advantage to their own order, but threatening danger to lawful Christian monarchs, and to Christianity in general; so that, under allegations partly proved, and partly alleged, the order, or association of Templars, was suppressed, about the year 1312, two hundred years after it had been erected. The other association of the same kind was called the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, whose first vow was the providing hospitality for pilgrims, though, like the Templars, they

chiefly devoted themselves to military exploits against the infidels. They did not rise to the eminence of the Templars, nor share in the odium attached to them; accordingly you will see that the Knights of St. John, under the title of the Knights of Malta, continued their sworn war against the Mahometans till a late period.

But besides the support of these two warlike fraternities formed for the preservation of the Holy Land, the same motives which had made the powers of Europe first engage in the original crusade, led to their forming similar expeditions from time to time, to the number of five, by which great armies passed into Asia, with the purpose to delay the fall of Palestine, or to recover it, when lost, to Christendom. These must be mentioned, more or less distinctly, in the course of our story. In the meantime, we may conclude our history of the First Crusade, by mentioning the death of its hero, Godfrey of Boulogne, whose virtues and talents had succeeded in giving a temporary appearance of strength and consistency to the dominions conquered by his valour. This event took place within a year after the capture of the city. A. D. 1100.

CHAPTER X.

Dissensions among the three sons of William the Conqueror—The Kingdom of England and Dukedom of Normandy united in the person of Henry, the Youngest—War undertaken by Louis the Gross, in support of the claim of William Clito, nephew of Henry, to Normandy—Defeat of the French—Fortunes of William Clito—His Death—Death of Louis the Gross—Accession of Louis the Young, who undertakes a crusade, in conjunction with Conrade, Emperor of Germany,—they are accompanied by two bands of Females, the German Amazons, under a leader called the Golden-Footed, and the French under Queen Eleanor—Disasters of the Crusade—Misconduct of Eleanor—Both Monarchs abandon the enterprise.

WHILE the princes and barons of the first crusade were establishing in Palestine the little Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, various alterations took place in Europe, by which the rights of the absentees were materially affected. No one suffered more than Robert Duke of Normandy. To furnish himself forth for the crusade, this eldest son of William the Conqueror had imprudently pawned the duchy of Normandy, being the only part of his father's dominions which had descended to him, to his brother William, called the Red, King of England, for a large sum of money. But while Robert was employed in cleaving Mahometan champions asunder, and exhibiting feats of the most romantic valour, William was privately engaged in securing and rendering permanent the temporary interest which the mortgage gave him in the fief of the duchy, and it soon became evident, that even if Robert should be able and desirous to redeem the territory, it was not likely that his more powerful brother would

renounce the right he had acquired over it. But the death of William Rufus brought into play a third son of the Conqueror. This was Henry, the youngest, whom his brothers, both Robert and William, had treated with considerable severity after their father's death, and refused him every appanage becoming his rank. Civil war ensued among the brothers, and on one memorable occasion, Henry was besieged by his two brethren, in the fortress of Mount Saint Michael, and reduced to the greatest extremity for want of water. His distress being communicated to Robert, who was always generous, he instantly sent him a supply. William, who was of a harder and more inflexible disposition, upbraided Robert with his imprudent generosity. "What else could I do?" answered the generous Norman. "He is our brother. Had he died for lack of water, how were we to supply his loss?"

Upon the surrender of the fortress, however, Henry was reduced to the condition of a private individual, although his bravery was equal to that of either of his brothers; his sagacity much superior, and his learning, which was uncommon in those days, so considerable, that he obtained the name of Beauclerk, or Admirable Scholar.

William Rufus was killed accidentally with an arrow, while hunting in the New Forest, which had been so unscrupulously formed, or enlarged, by his father the Conqueror. Henry, being engaged in the same sport in a different part of the forest, and learning this accident as soon as it happened, rode in post-haste to London, and availed himself of Robert's absence to procure his own election to the crown of England, which was affirmed by Parliament. Robert, whose elder right of inheritance was thus a second time set aside, was at this time in Apulia, where his marriage with a wealthy heiress had supplied him with the means of redeeming his Dukedom of Normandy. He even preferred a title to the crown of England, which was favoured by the Norman barons, the companions of the Conqueror. Henry's chief supporters

were the English, who had been cruelly oppressed by the first William, and with less form and reason tyrannized over by William the Red. Henry, on the contrary, attached the nation to his service and allegiance, by correcting the abuses of his father's and of his brother's administration, and by granting charters, settling the separate interests of the vassals and superiors in the fief, and thus placing both on a legal and equitable footing.

This mitigation of feudal rights was peculiarly agreeable to the English, whose sufferings had been most intolerable, and accordingly secured to Henry the crown of that kingdom. The extension of freedom was at the same time acceptable to the Normans; and Henry began to gain partisans even in his brother's dukedom. But the sudden return of Robert from Apulia, recalled to their allegiance the wavering faith of his vassals, and put the prudence of the great Norman barons to a hard alternative; for in the very probable event of war between the brothers, as most of the followers of the Conqueror held land in both England and Normandy, their English or their Norman fiefs must necessarily be exposed to confiscation, according as they should side with Robert or with Henry. It was soon found, also, that Robert was rash and wasteful, while his brother was the wisest prince of his time. A short peace, or truce, did not prevent the brothers from engaging in a war, which was decided by the battle of Tenchebraie, in Normandy, in which Duke Robert was, in spite of the bravery he displayed, defeated and made prisoner. He was thrown into perpetual imprisonment, but allowed in his captivity all the pleasures of the table, as well as the amusement he could receive from minstrels and jugglers. He was pitied, but not regretted, by the people of his duchy, who thought with the old chronicle, that "he was a prince of the most undaunted courage, and had done many famous things at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem; but his simplicity rendered him unfit for governing, and induced him to listen to light and imprudent counsellors."

The kingdom of England and the dukedom of Normandy being now united in the person of Henry, as they had been formerly in that of William the Conqueror, the former prince became as great an object of jealousy to the King of France, his superior, as his father had formerly been. It was indeed contrary to the nature of feudal dependence, in a correct sense, that the state of vassalage should exist between two princes of equal power, because in such a case, instead of the holder of the fief considering it a benefit, the possession of which formed an indissoluble bond of gratitude between the grantor and the possessor, he was, on the contrary, apt to esteem himself more degraded than enriched by the tenure, and his imagination was eternally at work how he might shake off even his nominal dependence on one whom he probably held his own inferior. There were, therefore, on account of their mutual jealousy, constant bickerings, and several actual wars between Henry of England, and Louis, who, in his latter years, acquired the surname of the Gross, from the largeness of his size.

The most formidable war which the latter monarch incited against the King of England, had for its pretext the interest of the youth, William Clito. This was the only son of the captive Robert Duke of Normandy, in whose behalf the King of France not only took arms himself, but instigated several of the great vassals of the crown to engage in the same cause. A very great number of the barons and knights of Normandy were privately enlisted in the design of placing the ducal coronet, which had been his father's, upon the head of a deserving son. Henry passed over to Normandy to defend his rights in that fair duchy against William Clito, his nephew, and carried with him a gallant army of English, as well as Normans. Louis, the French monarch, at the head of the forces of the confederates of young William, also known by the name of Longsword, from the weapon which he wielded, advanced towards Rouen, and found himself unexpectedly in front of the English.

Young Longsword, well worthy of his descent, and of

he formidable epithet by which he was designated, charged the van of the English army so fiercely as to throw them into disorder. But Henry advanced with his own household troops, and restored the engagement. In those days the generals themselves always fought amongst the foremost. William Crispin, a gallant knight, attacked King Henry personally, dealing him two strokes with the sword, which, though repelled by the temper of the royal helmet, yet beat the metal flat on his head by main force, and caused the blood to gush from nose and mouth. Henry either received timely succour from a gallant Norman baron in his ranks, or else struck Crispin down with his own hand. The life of the brave knight was with difficulty saved. The French were completely defeated in this action. As the combatants were, many of them, friends and neighbours, no great loss was sustained in the flight; and even during the shock of battle, only three knights were slain, though many were taken. The King of France lost his horse and his standard. Henry ransomed them from the captors, and keeping the banner as an honourable trophy, returned the steed to his royal owner, together with that of William Clito, which had been taken by his son. These courtesies led the way to a peace highly advantageous and honourable to the King of England. (A. D. 1120)

Louis of France, at this peace, conceded a point of great consequence to the King of England. Henry had refused to pay homage for Normandy, as had been the custom of the successors of Rollo, and of his own father and brother, William the Conqueror, and William the Red, and as was, indeed, the just right of Louis to demand. Such rendering of homage, said the King of England, was unworthy of a royal person. Louis plainly saw where this pointed, and that it was the object of Henry to shake himself entirely free of his feudal obedience; and this consciousness had made him more anxious to support the claims of William Clito, or Longsword. But now, finding the events of war turn against him, Louis reluctantly consented that William, the only son of Henry,

should be invested with the fief of Normandy, and do homage for that fief, although aware, doubtless, that by this transaction Henry would retain in his own hands all the power and wealth of the duchy, while he would escape the oaths and obligations of the vassal, by the interposition of his son in this character.

But the sudden turns of fate disturb the wisest plans of human policy. The young prince William of England perished at sea; with him died the project of an intermediate vassal in the fief of Normandy; and so the plan of accommodation fell to the ground. The King of France, tempted by the desolate situation of Henry, who was now without a son, renewed his intrigues with William Clito. He caused this young prince to be married to a daughter of the Count of Anjou, with whom he received in dowery the county of Maine. Established thus in a powerful seigniorship near the frontiers of Normandy, to which his birth gave him so strong a title, William Clito, found it easy to form once more a great confederacy against Henry, among the nobles of that dukedom. The King of England's usual prudence, mixed with a shade of that good fortune which prudence alone can render availing, gave Henry again the ascendance over his enemies. He obtained a complete and easy victory over the insurgent nobility, of whom some were made captives, and treated with rigour. (A. D. 1124.) Luke de Barré, a Norman knight of some talent, was an instance of this severity. He had been formerly made prisoner by Henry, and generously dismissed. Notwithstanding this lenity, he not only rebelled a second time against the King of England, but had composed satirical ballads in ridicule of him, and recited or sung them in public. Such affronts excite more bitter resentment than real injuries. The unlucky poet, having fallen a second time into the hands of the irritated monarch, was condemned to lose his eyes. But he struggled so hard with the executioners who came to carry the sentence into force, that he dashed out his brains against the walls of his dungeon, and thus perished. Two

other insurgent nobles sustained the same doom of having their eyes put out, and others were imprisoned.

Triumphant in Normandy, Henry now sought revenge on the king of France, and used for this purpose the assistance of Henry V., Emperor of Germany, to whom Matilda, the monarch of England's only remaining child, had been for some years married. The Emperor retained resentment against Louis, because he had permitted a bull, or writing, by which the Pope excommunicated the Emperor, to be published in his archiepiscopal city of Rheims. He assembled an army from the German states, and threatened to enter France, and burn Rheims, where he had sustained such an affront. But the invasion of France by a German army, was not viewed with indifference by the great vassals of the former country. Even the barons who had private quarrels with their monarch Louis, or private confederacies with Henry of England, acted as obedient vassals of France upon this occasion, and Louis found no difficulty in assembling during this emergency an army of two hundred thousand men. To give them additional ardour in this great national conflict, we hear, for the first time, in this war, of the Oriflamme, or Great Standard of France, being displayed. This was a flag of crimson, attached to a gilded lance, from which it drew its name, which implies a golden flame. The Emperor Henry, unprepared to encounter such an army, retired before the Oriflamme, and the immense body of men assembled around it. Louis would then willingly have employed so gallant a host in driving the King of England out of Normandy, and settling William Clito in that province. But the great vassals of France, whose retainers formed the greater part of the army, refused to serve in a quarrel which they rather accounted personal to the king, than essential to the kingdom; and were alarmed, moreover, lest the weight which success might give the crown in such an enterprise, might cause it to become too powerful for the liberty of the vassals, of which they were strictly tenacious.

The Emperor Henry V. died soon after this war, and

Henry of England recalled to his own court the widowed Empress Matilda, his daughter, and formed the bold plan of appointing her the heir of his dominions, as the sole successor of his blood. (A. D. 1125.) This was an attempt of a novel and hardy kind, for the genius of the times was averse to female succession. It was with them a maxim, that, as it was only the male heir who could do battle or give counsel, so it was only he who could render service for the fief either in war, or in the courts of the superior where the vassals assembled. This feudal rule seemed to exclude the Empress Matilda from succeeding her father in the dukedom of Normandy, and in England the settlement of the crown on a woman was yet unheard of. Henry, however, by the high interest which he possessed among the English clergy and barons, induced the parliament of that country, after long deliberation to agree that his daughter should succeed to the crown on his death.

In Normandy, Matilda's succession to the dukedom was rendered yet more precarious than in England, by the opposing claims of William Clito, to whose father, Duke Robert, the fief had lawfully belonged. Indeed, the fate of this high-spirited and high-born prince was chequered with strange alternations of fortune, which seemed frequently to promise to elevate him to the utmost height of his wishes, but as often disappointed his expectations. Thus, at one time, Henry's influence with the Pope, procured from the head of the church an unexpected decree of separation between William Clito and his wife Sybilla, in whose right he held the earldom of Maine, and once more reduced him to poverty and dependence. But on the other hand, Louis the Gross, partly with a view to traverse the measures of his antagonist King Henry, partly out of a generous compassion for a prince of exalted birth and distinguished merit, whom fortune had defrauded of his birthright, promoted this friendless youth to a marriage as advantageous as that which the Pope had cancelled. The second wife of William Clito was a sister of the Queen of France, whose dowery was the province called

the Vexin, with three adjacent towns. Shortly afterwards the young prince succeeded to the rich and important earldom of Flanders, on the murder of Charles, called the Good, who was killed while hearing mass, and even in the act of prostration, by some of his own rebellious subjects. (A. D. 1127.) The King of France hurried to Bruges, where the deed had been committed, and having taken the murderers after a long siege, caused them to be precipitated from the ramparts. He then conferred the earldom of Flanders upon William Clito, whom he had so long relieved and protected, and whom he now raised to a more hopeful state, with respect to dominion and revenue, than he had ever yet attained. The new Earl of Flanders seems to have had a good right by blood to be the head of this important province, being a great grandson of Baldwin VII.

Henry, alarmed by seeing his nephew thus in possession of the wealthy and powerful earldom of Flanders, began to bethink himself by what means he might best strengthen the title of his daughter to Normandy, which, in case of his own decease, must needs experience risk and opposition from the power of William Clito. For this purpose, he resolved to accomplish a marriage betwixt Matilda and Geoffrey, the heir of Fulk, Earl of Anjou. This house of Anjou had obtained the family title of Plantagenet, because the above-mentioned Fulk, while fighting in the crusades at the head of a hundred knights whom he maintained in that holy warfare, had, in sign of humility, worn in his helmet a sprig of broom, (in Latin, *humilis genista*,) which circumstance somewhat inconsistently gave a name to one of the haughtiest families that ever wore a crown, and became the successors to that of England. Fulk, the reigning Earl of Anjou, received, at the time of his son's marriage with Matilda, an invitation to succeed Baldwin II. in the precarious dignity of King of Jerusalem. His sense of religion, and love of fame, would not allow him to prefer the wealth and safety of his coronet as Earl of Anjou, to the dangers and difficulties of the crown of thorns. He surrendered to his

son Geoffrey the possession of his ample dominions of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; and having seen him united with the Empress Matilda, departed for the Holy Land.

Henry I., fortified by so strong an alliance, conceived himself now able to find his nephew William Clito occupation in his new earldom, so as to prevent his resuming his pretensions to Normandy. He therefore stirred up a German prince, Theodoric, Landgrave of Alsace, to prefer some claim to the county of Flanders, and to support it with arms. William Clito defended himself with equal skill and courage. A plot being formed to murder him, it was betrayed by a young woman with whom he had an intrigue. The girl was engaged in washing her lover's head, when by sighs and tears which escaped from her involuntarily, he conceived an alarm of his danger. Having extorted from the young woman the cause of her distress, he immediately provided for her safety by sending her to the charge of the Duke of Aquitaine, his brother-at-arms. With the same alacrity he armed himself, without even waiting to comb his hair, and attacked the conspirators so alertly as to force them to take shelter in the castle of Alost, where he besieged them. The Landgrave, his competitor, advancing to raise the siege, when the garrison was reduced to extremity, engaged in an action with Longsword's forces, in which he was at first successful. But William Clito, in person, charged at the head of a body of reserved troops, and defeated his German opponent. With the same alacrity the spirited prince returned to the gates of Alost, where a party of the besieged were in the act of sallying to the assistance of the Landgrave. They were instantly charged, and driven back. But in this slight rencontre, as the gallant young count endeavoured to parry with his hand the thrust of a pike made by a private soldier, he was wounded in the fleshy part between the forefinger and thumb. The appearance of the hurt was trifling, but his arm swelled, and the wound turned to a gangrene, of which he died in the space of five days. He was a prince

resembling his father, Robert Curt-hose, in bravery and warlike fame, resembling him also in the continued evil fortune which pursued him ; but unlike his father in that respect, we cannot find that his misfortunes had any source in his own rashness, carelessness, or misconduct. It is said, that the aged and blind Duke Robert, still a miserable prisoner in England, started from his bed in a dream, in which a soldier appeared to him, who, wounding his arm with a pike, exclaimed that his son was slain. William Clito was much regretted by the King of France, whose faithful adherent he had been ever since he began to distinguish himself in the world ; this firm union, as well as Clito's pretensions to Normandy, having afforded the readiest means of embarrassing Louis's formidable rival, King Henry.

Amidst ceaseless though petty wars, and constant though fluctuating negotiations, Louis VI. became aged, and his corpulence, which constantly increased, and procured him the surname of the Gross, affected his alertness both of body and mind. He endeavoured, according to the custom of the house of Capet, to supply his own deficiencies, by associating with him on the throne his eldest son Louis, a youth of great hopes. (A. D. 1129.) But his father did not long enjoy his assistance in the affairs of government, grown too weighty for his own management. Riding in the streets of Paris, not many months after his coronation, the strange accident of a black pig running among his horse's feet, cost the young king a severe fall, the consequence of which he did not survive many days. (A. D. 1131.) The clergy pretended, as usual, to see in the singular death of this prince a judgment of God upon his father for refusing some requests of the prelates ; and in particular, for declining to grant the royal pardon, and to restore the effects to one of their number who had been guilty of treason.

Deprived of his eldest son, the king raised to the throne instead his second son, called Louis le Jeune, in

order to distinguish him from his father. This prince was crowned at Rheims by Pope Innocent himself, who had at that time retired into France, to seek refuge from the resentment of the emperor, with whom he had many quarrels. After a short time, the old king, finding his health continue to decline, surrendered his power altogether to his son. As he delivered his signet to him for this purpose, he used these just and excellent words: "Take this symbol of my sovereign power; but never forget it is only a public trust, for the exercise of which you will hereafter be called to the most strict account before the King of kings." After this virtual resignation, he never again assumed the ornaments or pomp of royalty. Yet he lived to witness an event in his family, of the deepest interest. This was the marriage of his son Louis with Eleanor, daughter of William X. Duke of Guienne and Aquitaine. This nobleman having died while engaged in a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, his daughter succeeded to his extensive territories. On her marriage with Louis VII., she was crowned Queen of France. Shortly afterwards, Louis the Gross died, his constitution yielding, it is said, to the extreme heat of the season. (A. D. 1137.)

The reign of Louis the Young, as he was called, being eighteen years old at his father's death, commenced, as was generally the case in the French monarchy, with violent commotions among the nobility and great vassals of the crown. Having been unwillingly subjected to the authority of a prince like Louis VI., who, notwithstanding his corpulent habit of body, was perpetually in action, and at the head of his troops: these dignitaries now thought the minority of a young prince a convenient time to recover a part of their exorbitant power. Thibault, Earl of Champagne, one of the most artful intriguers and turbulent agitators of the period, engaged himself in forming conspiracies among the nobility, for abridging the privileges, and diminishing the authority, of the crown. Enraged at the sinister intrigues of this factious nobleman whose power was increased by his brother, Stephen of

Mortagne, having usurped the throne of England, from Matilda, daughter of Henry I., the king ravaged his country of Champagne with imprudent and unrelenting severity. The town of Vitry was taken by assault; and the cathedral, containing thirteen hundred persons, who had fled thither as to an inviolable sanctuary, was delivered to the flames, with all who were within it.

Louis was of a fiery, yet of a religious disposition. The cruel deed was scarce done, but it was repented of; and, besides the massacre and conflagration of Vitry, Louis conceived that he had other sins to be penitent for. The conviction that he had committed a great and most inhuman crime, was mingled with the reflection that he had offended the Pope, by refusing to receive, as Archbishop of Bourges, a priest called Pierre de la Chatre, chosen to that office by the chapter of the see, without the royal license. The consciousness of these two offences, one of a deep dye, and one founded in the superstitious prejudice of the age, distracted the mind of the young prince. He laid the state of his conscience before Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, (afterwards canonized as Saint Bernard,) a divine of strict morals, venerated for his good sense, learning, and probity, and incapable of substituting evil counsel for good, as far as his own comprehension of good and evil reached, but from the excess of his zeal, and his devotion to the service of the church, sufficiently apt to be misled by prejudices and passions. This churchman, availing himself of the remorse which agitated the king's heart, both on account of his cruel action at Vitry, and his disobedience to the Papal See, took the opportunity to press upon the afflicted mind of Louis, that the best and only effectual atonement for his misdeeds, would be a crusade to the Holy Land, undertaken with a force strong enough to restore the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, now pressed on every side by the numerous nations of infidels amongst whom it held its precarious existence. Upon the earnest exhortations of St. Bernard, who pledged his word for the fortunate issue of the expedition, Louis le Jeune, was induced to assume

the Cross, and determine on an expedition to the relief of the Holy Land, with the whole strength of his kingdom. At a great parliament, or assembly of the representatives of the French nation, which was, on account of the number who attended, held in the open air, Louis took from the hands of Bernard, a cross, which had been consecrated at Rome for his particular use. The Counts of Toulouse, of Flanders, of Nevres, of Ponthieu, and many others of the great vassals, followed the example of their sovereign. The gentry and nobility took arms in emulation of each other; and those who assumed the cross, sent a distaff and scissors to such as chose the wiser part of remaining at home, as if to upbraid them with cowardice and effeminacy.

The same spirit spread to the court of Conrade III., Emperor of Germany, where the martial spirit of the people favouring the zeal with which the clergy preached the crusade, that prince assembled an army of at least fifty thousand men-at-arms, without taking account of infantry and light cavalry. Among these was a band of women, armed like Amazons, riding in the fashion of men, and armed in like manner. The female who led this band acquired, from her gilded spurs and rich buskins, the title of the *golden-footed*. It may be well imagined, that a band so composed might show the unbounded zeal of the nations that furnished the crusaders, but it could not add to the force, and still less improve the discipline, of the army. It was, indeed, the curse of these expeditions, though undertaken on a religious principle, to comprehend among the adventurers they sent forth, not only a multitude who expected by such service to merit pardon for past offences, but many more of debauched and infamous habits, who looked for little besides the pleasure of practising, unpunished, the grossest vices, amidst the profligacy of an ill-regulated camp.

In the French host, the part of the golden-footed lady was performed by no less a personage than Eleanor herself, to whom Louis le Jeune had been married a short while before his father's death. She had an ample in-

heritance in her own right, as the heiress of her father, the Duke of Aquitaine, which, adding to the arrogance of a character naturally intractable, induced her to use her own pleasure in taking a personal share in this adventure, though her presence and behaviour seem to have acquired little credit either to her husband or herself.

The Queen of France was attended by a large band of the youth of both sexes. Some gallant damsels were mounted on horseback, in masculine fashion, like the German Amazons, while a chosen band of the gayest and most noble young men of France assumed the title of Queen Eleanor's Guard. It may be easily supposed that pilgrims, of such an age and such manners, were more likely to promote the gaiety than the discipline of this pious undertaking. The expedition, however, excited the highest hopes throughout Christendom, which were doomed to meet with a woful reverse.

Louis left his dominions during his absence to the care of his relative and favourite, the Earl of Vermandois, and that of Suger, Abbot of St. Dennis. The latter, though a churchman, entertained more clear political views than those of St. Bernard, of Clairvaux. Unlike the practice of his order, Suger distinguished himself by using every rational persuasion to deter the king from the ruinous undertaking of the crusade. And although he failed to divert him from his purpose, Louis remained satisfied that no man could be more fit to be employed in the administration of France, during the absence of the sovereign, than Abbot Suger.

The crusade now began to set forward. The Germans were the first who advanced into Greece, and they were received by the reigning emperor, Manuel Comnenus, with as much apparent good-will, and still more secret and active hostility, than his predecessor Alexius had nourished against the first crusade. This treacherous prince assigned the strangers false guides, by whom they were induced to take up their quarters on the banks of the unwholesome Melas, a river which consists only of

mud during summer, and forms a sea in the course of winter. Here the natural progress of disease, caused by swamps and unhealthy exhalations, was augmented by bad provisions, such as meal adulterated with lime, supplied to them by their treacherous allies. False and worthless coinage was also circulated amongst them, and no secret artifice spared, by which the formidable numbers of these simple devotees might be diminished and wasted. This usage of the emperor of Greece was the more atrocious, that he was connected with Conrade, whose forces he thus undermined and destroyed, in the character of a relative, as well as ally, as they had married two sisters. The facts are, however, proved against the treacherous Grecian by the evidence of Nicetas, an historian of his own language and country. The object seems to have been, that, by aiding in the destruction of these large armies of crusaders, the Greeks hoped and expected to hold the balance betwixt them and the Saracens, and thus attain the superiority over both the powers whom they feared. It is even certain that Manuel Comnenus entertained a secret, but a close alliance with the Saracens, and that he transmitted to them intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

The host of France, under its young and valiant monarch, now arrived in Asia, and by precaution or good fortune escaped a great number of the snares and dangers which had been spread for the Germans, by the treachery of the Greeks. In the meantime, Conrade, who had proceeded under the conduct of false or ignorant guides, though he found no formal opposition, yet lost what remained of his forces in detail, by skirmishing with the light Turkish cavalry, who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and accustomed to endure the heat of the climate under which the Germans sank by squadrons at a time. At length, with forces totally discouraged, and greatly diminished, the German Emperor took the resolution of falling back on his friend and ally, the king of France whose army, as yet, retained an appearance of order. The two monarchs embraced with tears of

sorrow, and remained for some time unable to give vent to their feelings. It was proposed they should proceed in company towards Palestine. But the German troops were so much reduced, that it no longer became the dignity of the emperor to remain at their head ; and he took the resolution of returning to Constantinople, where he was more kindly received by Manuel, in his misfortunes, than he had been when in his prosperity.

The route of the French army who proceeded in their undertaking, was now opposed by a serious obstacle. A large army of Turks, on the opposite bank of the Mæander, lay determined to defend the passage of that river. It was neither fordable, nor was there bridge, shipping, or other mode of crossing. At the command of the king, the vanguard of the French plunged gallantly into the stream, and fortunately finding it shallower than had been reported, half-swimming, half-dragging each other forward, they attained the opposite bank, when the Turks, too much astonished for resistance, sustained a decisive and bloody defeat. Yet in the future progress of the French, wherever the advantage of ground was on their opponent's side, the light-armed archers of the Turkish army wasted the Christians in many a bold skirmish ; so that, notwithstanding their original numbers, the crusaders suffered extremely ere they made any effectual progress in Asia Minor.

Indeed, the battle on the Mæander was the beginning, and well-nigh the end, of the success of the Christians.

The Saracens and the Turks had now become accustomed to the warfare of the Latins in the Holy Land, understood their mode of fighting better than in the days of Godfrey of Boulogne, and shunned all encounters with those iron warriors of the west and north, while they fatigued their unwieldy strength by ambuscades, alarms, skirmishes, and all the vexatious harassing of light-armed troops. These important advantages, derived from experience, were entirely on the side of the Mahometans, for the soldiers of the second crusade were as heavily armed and as unacquainted with the Eastern mode of skirmish-

ing as their predecessors of the first. The infidels, on the other hand, took advantage of every mistake, and on one occasion had nearly destroyed Louis and his whole army.

The French marching in two divisions, in order to cross a ridge of mountains near Laodicea, Louis, who conducted the rear-guard in person, directed the officer who led the van, to halt on the summit of the chain of hills, and abide there till the second division came up. But Geoffrey de Rançon, who commanded this division of the army, was tempted, by the supposed absence of the enemy, and the fertility of the plain beneath, to march down, leaving the summit of the ridge undefended, and giving the Turks, who were on the alert, an opportunity of occupying the passes in great force.

Thus Louis, when he had reached with the rear-guard the summit of the mountain, where he expected to rejoin the vanguard of his army, found himself involved in a numerous ambuscade of the infidels, who attacked him unexpectedly, with those dreadful yells with which it is their custom to begin battle. The Christians, taken by surprise, were thrown into disorder, especially as the broken and craggy ground was totally unfit for the action of heavy armed cavalry, which were the flower of their army. The unfortunate Louis displayed great personal courage, and rallied his forces by his own example. His exertions were at first in vain; for, though he forced his way to the very summit of the hill, he was soon left almost alone, surrounded by the enemy, many of his bravest knights being slain at his feet. In this emergency, finding himself at the foot of a rock, Louis climbed up a tree, which grew slanting out of the face of the precipice. The Turks discharged their arrows against him in vain; his armour of proof kept him safe, while he defended himself with his sword from the more close attack of such as attempted to climb into his place of refuge, lopping off their hands and heads with little difficulty. The night becoming darker, he was at length left alone. In the morning he was extricated from his

perilous situation by the countermarch of a part of his vanguard. But he had lost in this unfortunate encounter more than twenty thousand men in slain, wounded, and prisoners.

The day following this disastrous action, Louis proceeded to Attalia, (the capital city of Pamphylia,) amidst constant skirmishes and great hardships. The natives, who were Christians, though tributary to the Turks, dared neither oppose nor assist the invaders. In order to rid themselves of the crusaders, they offered to convey them to Antioch by sea. At Attalia, therefore, the king and his nobles and knights went on shipboard and set sail for the principality of Antioch, which Bohemund had founded at the time of the first crusade, but which was now ruled by Raymond de Poitiers, a Latin prince, who received the king with demonstrations of the utmost respect and kindness. Louis, however, regarded his attentions and civility with distrust, conceiving it to be Raymond's secret object to obtain the assistance of the French troops in protecting and enlarging his own territory of Antioch, and for that purpose to interrupt their journey to Palestine.

While the choicest part of the French army which accompanied Louis himself had reached Antioch, those who were left behind at Attalia, made repeated attempts to rejoin their monarch, both by land and sea. They were successful by neither mode of passage; and so unfortunate was their last march, so humbled the pride and resolution of the soldiers of the Cross, that three or four thousand of their number not only surrendered to the infidels, but embraced the Mahometan faith, and fought against the cause they had left their country to defend. The few remnants of this part of the army which reached Antioch, came as stragglers, unfit for military service.

Meantime, besides the grief and mortification attending these losses and misfortunes, the mind of Louis had subjects of domestic anxiety, or at least he thought so. The conduct of his queen, who, as we have noticed, accompanied the crusade, became such as to give great displeasure to her husband. They had, as we have already mentioned, been kindly received in the city of Antioch

of which Raymond de Poitiers was the sovereign. This prince was a near relative to the queen, and one of the handsomest and most accomplished persons of his time. He did his utmost to make himself agreeable to his royal guests, and the French authors say, that with the queen at least, he succeeded too well. Being her uncle, and a married man, it is equally possible that the jealousy of Louis le Jeune may have imagined grounds of suspicion which had no real existence. Nevertheless, the king left Antioch, and retreated to his own army, bearing his queen along with him, under such circumstances of haste and concealment, as argued much doubt of the loyalty of his host. Other historians say, that Louis entertained well-grounded jealousies of a Turk, whom they call Saladin, a man of low rank, a minstrel, and a juggler. It is at least certain that the king was jealous; and that the queen, presumptuous and arrogant, was little disposed, in her pride as a great heiress, to submit herself to his humour. Great animosity arose between them, and Eleanor began to desire a separation, for which she founded a plausible reason upon their relationship to each other, being within the prohibited degrees, a pretext which the Catholic Church on many occasions sanctioned as a lawful cause for divorce, when the real cause was something very different. Louis, a scrupulous and bigoted prince, was in some degree moved by the conscientious motives which Eleanor seems only to have affected.

The bad effects of these dissensions were for some time suspended, by the condition in which the royal pair were placed. The King of France had still around him the flower of his nobles and army, who had come with him by sea from Attalia, while the wretched residue was left to perish under the walls of that city, or in the adjacent deserts. The assistance of Raymond had enabled Louis to remount his chivalry, and he was desirous, even at this late hour, to do something which should make memorable his expedition to Palestine.

Having at length penetrated to Jerusalem, the French monarch resolved, with the assistance of the Christians

of Palestine, and the military orders of the Temple and St. John, to besiege the city of Damascus, an object very far inferior to the grand schemes which inspired his hopes at the outset ; yet still a matter of consequence, and one which, even in his reduced state, the power of Louis was still adequate to achieve. But, by misconduct or treason, the Christians were induced to abandon the attack, which they had judiciously commenced on the weaker side of the city and to remove their army to another post, where it was opposed to walls of greater strength, and where it was much more difficult to supply the besiegers with provisions. In short, the strength of the crusaders was wasted and misapplied ; success became impossible, and the siege of Damascus was raised, with no profit and little honour.

Repeated disasters and disappointments had now subdued the hopes of the most sanguine of the crusaders ; and all prepared to abandon an enterprise, to which, though undertaken in the name and cause of religion, Providence seemed to give no encouragement.

The Emperor Conrade and the remnant of his Germans first withdrew from the scene on which they were the first to enter, and reached their own country without farther disaster. Next, the French nobles began to retire individually, or, as it were, steal back one by one from the ill-omened enterprise. King Louis alone seemed yet to nourish the lingering hope, that he might cover his retreat with some action of credit, and it was not till he was alarmed with tidings of commotions in France, that he resolved to desert Palestine, where he had been unable to acquire even a single hamlet or a foot of land. Upon this pressing summons Louis returned to his kingdom with the wretched remains of his army, having his domestic relations embittered by the most dishonourable suspicions, both sources of distress flowing out of the same frenzy which dictated his celebrated crusade. Yet, such was the infatuation with which the mind of Louis clung to that extravagant undertaking, that, when passing through Rome on his return from the Holy Land, he was

earnest with the Pope that he should authorize St. Bernard of Clairvaux to preach a new crusade, which he offered to join in person with a large army, and thus to renew the unhappy expedition in which he had suffered such loss of men and of reputation. From this proposal, we are led to suppose, either that the conflagration and massacre of Vitry had made an indelible impression on the mind of Louis, or that he was naturally of a character so perversely bigoted, as to shut his eyes even against that sort of experience which is bought by the most severe suffering.

CHAPTER XI.

Divorce of Louis and his Queen, Eleanor—Marriage of Eleanor and Henry Plantagenet, by which her Possessions were added to those of a powerful rival of Louis—Intrigues of Louis to weaken the Power of Henry—Accession of Henry to the English Throne—Contract of Marriage between the son of Henry and daughter of Louis—Rupture between these Monarchs on Henry's asserting a Right to the Earldom of Toulouse—Their Reconciliation—Schism concerning the Election of the Pope, in which the Kings of France and England espoused the side of Alexander III.—Odium incurred by Henry on account of the Murder of Thomas a Becket—League, with Louis at its head, against Henry—The Confederates compelled to retreat—Peace concluded—Death of Louis.

The excellent administration of Suger, the Abbot of St. Dennis, had maintained the affairs of Louis le Jeune in a reasonably good condition at home, notwithstanding the absence of the king, with the great portion of his forces, which he had so imprudently led to the distant wars of Palestine. But when the news arrived that the whole, or almost the whole, of that huge army had per-

ished, without a single feat of any kind, which could add honour to their nation, excepting the single action of the Mæander, the general voice of the nation accused the king of incapacity ; and it was suggested, amid the burst of universal discontent, that, like some of his predecessors, the reigning monarch should be dethroned, and committed to a cloister. The Comte de Dreux, brother of King Louis, who had returned from the Holy Land a short time before him, had greatly contributed to the increase of the national displeasure, by intrigues which had for their object his brother's crown ; and it was the rumour of such practices which recalled Louis from Syria, after a protracted stay in that country. These dissensions between the royal brothers were with some difficulty composed, so soon as the return of Louis had rendered the Comte de Dreux's plans desperate. But there remained the rooted quarrel between the king and his wealthy and haughty wife Queen Eleanor, which now began to assume the appearance of an open rupture. Without supposing, with the French historians, that Louis had actual grounds for his jealousy, it is certain he was an object of personal dislike to his wife, who declared that his rigid morals and ascetic devotion were those of a monk, not of a cavalier, and expressed for him an aversion mingled with contempt, which, on his part, was calculated to excite a strong suspicion that she entertained a preference for another. Louis seems also to have shared in the scruples, which Eleanor only affected, respecting their too near relationship, and both the royal consorts began to consider the dissolution of their marriage as desirable on many accounts.

The sagacious Abbot of St. Dennis foresaw, that in gratifying his own and Eleanor's personal dislike, by consenting to a separation, Louis must inevitably subject himself to the necessity of restoring the ample dominions of Aquitaine, which the princess had inherited from her father ; and the far sighted minister might also reasonably fear, that, once at liberty, she might confer them, along

with her hand, on some one whose possession of so fair a portion of the territory of France might prove dangerous to the sovereign, and that the king must, therefore, act very imprudently in giving way to the restitution by consenting to the divorce. For these reasons, the Abbot Suger bent the whole of his political genius to accommodate matters between Louis and the queen, and although he was unable to accomplish the desired reconciliation, he found means to prevail on them to live together on decent terms, until death deprived Louis of his services.

Soon after this event, the royal pair openly declared themselves desirous of a separation. In the motives alleged on the king's side, nothing was said of the reports against Eleanor's character. But in secret Louis justified his conduct to those who censured him for parting with his wife, along with the unavoidable necessity of restoring the duchy of Aquitaine, by alleging the irregularity of her life, and dishonour of being connected with her. A council of the French national church held at Baugencé, having taken cognisance of the scruples of conscience entertained, or affected, by the royal pair, and having considered their nearness of blood, declared their marriage unlawful, though it had already subsisted more than sixteen years, and although two daughters, who had been the fruit of the union, were by the sentence rendered illegitimate. The decree of the Council of Baugencé, was confirmed by the Pope; and the marriage between Louis and Eleanor was accordingly formally annulled. Louis had now ample time to remark, and perhaps to regret, the consequence of his imprudence.

Eleanor was reinvested as heiress to her father in Guienne, Gascony, Poitou, and other extensive territories belonging to his dukedom of Aquitaine. Nevertheless, though having once more the power of bestowing an ample property with her hand, Louis flattered himself that her behaviour had been so scandalous, that there was not a gentleman in the kingdom so poor in fortune and spirit as to take her to wife, though sure thereby to become Duke of Aquitaine. He was much deceived; for his late

consort had, even before her divorce was concluded, secured for herself a second match, and that with a prince rich in present possessions, yet more so in future expectations; and, what must have been peculiarly gratifying to Eleanor's vindictive temper, to a prince, the increasing whose strength was, in fact, the diminishing that of Louis, to whom the object of her second choice was, by birth, a natural opponent. In a word, the person on whom she fixed her election was Henry Plantagenet, eldest son of Matilda, sole surviving child of Henry I., King of England, and heir to his mother's pretensions to his grandfather's kingdom.

You cannot have forgotten that Henry had declared Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V. of Germany, the heiress of his kingdom and strengthened her right, by choosing for her second husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. But the object of Henry I. was for some time thwarted by the ambition of Stephen, Earl of Mortagne, who forcibly set aside the rights of Matilda and her son, and intruded himself into the throne, where, for a period of sixteen years, he supported himself by his own bravery, and the swords of a great body of barons, to whom the confusion of a civil war was more profitable than the good order and strict government of a lawful monarch and a profound peace. In 1146, the fortune of war had passed so much to Stephen's side, that the Empress Matilda, with her son Henry, who though a mere youth, began to show strong symptoms of the wisdom and courage which afterwards distinguished him, were compelled to retreat to Normandy, which Geoffrey, the husband of Matilda, and father of Henry, then ruled as duke, in right of his wife. Upon the proposal of the Earl of Anjou, that his wife and he should cede their right in Normandy to their son, the King of France was prevailed upon to admit young Henry as vassal into the duchy of Normandy, on consideration of his surrendering a frontier district of that province, called the Vexin, which Louis considered as a cession of such importance, that, by way of acknowledgment, he aided

Henry with a body of troops for putting him into possession of the rest of the fief. (A. D. 1150.)

Louis had hardly received Henry Plantagenet as a new vassal in the duchy of Normandy, when he had a quarrel with Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, that prince's father; and repenting what he had done in Henry's behalf, he invited to Normandy, Eustace, son of King Stephen, promising to assist him in possessing himself of that same duchy, although he had so lately granted the investiture to Henry. The prudent advice of Suger, who then still lived, brought about an accommodation of these perplexed affairs. A suspension of arms was agreed to; young Eustace was sent back to England, highly incensed at the usage he received from Louis; and Henry's right to Normandy was once again fully recognised.

Presently after this accommodation, Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, died. To Henry he left his earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, under the condition, that in case he should obtain full possession of his mother's royal inheritance of England, he must become bound to cede the French dominions of Anjou to his second brother, named Geoffrey after his father. (A. D. 1151.)

Thus, at the period of the divorce of Louis, when Eleanor cast her eyes upon Henry Plantagenet to be her second husband, he was, in actual possession, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and therefore no unfit mate for the heiress of Aquitaine. But the circumstances attending a diminution of rank from that which she held in her first marriage, were mortifying, to say the least. We cannot therefore doubt, that the brilliant prospect of the crown of England, to which Henry had so just a claim, supported by a strong party of friends in that kingdom, had no slight share in recommending her second choice to the ambitious Eleanor. In other respects, there was some inequality. The bridegroom was only twenty years of age; the bride had attained the riper period of thirty, and upwards. But, in the case of so wealthy an heiress, Henry did not let his taste for youth interfere with his sense of interest. As

to the scandals propagated concerning Eleanor at the French court, Henry treated, or affected to treat, them with an indifference and contempt, which perhaps they justly deserved.

By her union with Henry, Eleanor conferred on him the two duchies of Guienne and Gascony, with the earldom of Poitou, and their extensive dependencies. (A. D. 1152.) His subjects in these new dominions regarded the choice of their duchess with applause; for the character of Henry, both for courage and prudence, stood as high as that of any prince then living, while the misfortunes of Louis in the crusade had tarnished his character; and his simplicity in parting with Eleanor, and thus throwing so rich a prize into the hands of an hereditary rival, was so generally felt, that it is said by some historians, that the epithet of *le Jeune*, or the Young, was conferred on him for his want of prudence on this occasion, and not merely to distinguish him from his father.

The scales fell from the eyes of Louis when he perceived to what a height of power Henry Plantagenet had been raised by this unexpected match. He became, of new, impatient to weaken, or rather to ruin him. For that purpose, the French King engaged in a league with his brother the Earl of Dreux, with Eustace, son of King Stephen, with the Earl of Blois, and with Geoffrey Plantagenet, Henry's own brother, for the purpose of despoiling the young Duké of Normandy of his dominions, and dividing them among themselves.

But this iniquitous league had no better success than it deserved. Henry at once protected his own country of Normandy against the confederates by whom he was invaded, and extinguished an insurrection which his brother Geoffrey had excited in Anjou. The latter prince, whose defection was equally unreasonable and unnatural, was compelled to make the most humble submission. To the admiration of all, Henry's conduct, notwithstanding his youth, was equally marked with the political wisdom and sagacity which prepare for success, and with the firmness

and audacity, which seldom fail to command it. He endeavoured, by every degree of decent respect and becoming moderation, to give Louis a fair pretence of withdrawing from a war which had already disgusted him with its want of success. But, ere the negotiation between them was entirely concluded, a crisis arrived, which demanded the attention of the younger prince elsewhere. Henry received intelligence from England, that Wallingford Castle, the most important of those fortresses which were yet held by his family partisans in that kingdom, was now closely besieged by King Stephen, while the governor, Brian Fitzcompte, sent word to Henry, demanding either relief, or permission to surrender the castle. Leaving the greater part of his forces to defend his French dominions, in case of any renewed attempt from the confederates, Henry embarked for England with three thousand infantry, and a hundred and fifty chosen knights. His presence, though with so small a body of forces, revived the spirits of his confederates. Malmesbury, Warwick, and thirty castles of inferior strength, surrendered to the son of Matilda, and grandson of Henry. The civil war was revived throughout England with fury, when it was suddenly put a stop to by the death of Eustace, son of Stephen. The death of this young man, for whose interests, as his successor, his father Stephen had maintained the contest, removed a great impediment to peace, which was accordingly concluded on moderate terms. Stephen, now aged and childless, was allowed to retain the crown during his lifetime, on condition that he adopted Henry for his son, heir and successor. This arrangement having settled the succession of England in favour of Henry, he returned to the continent with the same speed with which he had come from thence, in order to prepare against the attempts of Louis, who, always malevolent to his divorced wife's second husband, was threatening to renew the war in France to embarrass his treaty with Stephen. For this purpose, too, the French king excited commotions in Aquitaine. These were soon appeased by Henry, on his arrival, and he contrived

by some acceptable services performed to the King of France, in his quality of Duke of Normandy, to render even the suspicious Louis once more satisfied with his conduct as a dutiful vassal.

Henry was soon after established on the English throne by the sudden death which removed from that situation his competitor, Stephen, whose whole reign had been a continued civil war, which had its source in usurpation, and was carried on with much fury and bloodshed, as well as incalculable detriment to both the kingdoms. Thus possessed of as much real power, and of more wealth than the King of France, Henry II., with a sagacity which overcame all desire to display his superiority, proposed a match betwixt his eldest son, Prince Henry, and Margaret, daughter of Louis le Jeune, by his second wife, Constantia, Princess of Castille, whom he had married, after the declaration of the Council of Baugencé had annulled his union with Eleanor of Aquitaine.

The prince and princess were mere children; but it was customary in those days to arrange contracts of marriage betwixt persons of their station many years before the age of the contracting parties permitted them to be carried into effect. Henry, affecting to consider himself as the honoured party in this union, lavished valuable gifts on all about the French court, whose good opinion or favourable sentiments could forward his negotiation. His liberality extended itself even to the doctors of the university of Paris, the students, and the principal citizens. In every case of ceremony or etiquette, it was the policy of Henry to pay Louis the most ceremonious attention; and to disguise, under the observances of a respectful vassal, that formidable authority which must otherwise have rendered him an object of suspicion and jealousy to his lord paramount. He even gratified Louis's passion for a holy war, engaging to assist that monarch with all his forces, in a crusade to be directed not against the infidels of the east, but for the purpose of driving the Moors out of Spain. Henry, however, who only meant to flatter the King of France,

extricated himself from the execution of his engagement, by persuading Pope Adrian, with whom he had secret influence, to express disapprobation of the undertaking.

But while punctiliously accurate in rendering all respectful homage to Louis as his sovereign, the English monarch was cautiously enlarging his own territories, and adding to his real power. He exerted authoritatively his rights as lord paramount over Bretagne, which, since the time of Rollo, had been a feudal dependence on Normandy, and he negotiated for a fresh surrender of the Vexin, that district which his mother Matilda had yielded up to Louis as the price of his own first investiture of the dukedom. This strong frontier he stipulated should be the dowery of the Princess Margaret. And in other cases where actual power could be attained, or a desirable object of ambition offered itself, Henry never allowed this ceremonious deference to the will of his superior to interfere for an instant with its gratification. Thus, in 1159, the King of England resolved to assert a pretended right to the city and earldom of Toulouse, as a fief and dependency of the dukedom of Aquitaine, which had been pledged to the present earl by Queen Eleanor's father, and which, in quality of her husband, he now set up a right to redeem. This claim, weak in point of justice, he resolved to make good with the arms of Normandy, Guienne, and England. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, the crown vassal, thus threatened, applied to the King of France; whose sister he had married, for protection against a prince, whose forces he was unable to resist; and Louis, on offering his interposition, was startled to find that Henry, so deferential and tractable in matters of small importance, was pertinacious in an equal degree in objects of magnitude. Louis had nearly been convinced of the real character of his vassal in a manner highly displeasing. Determined to support Count Raymond against Henry, the King of France threw himself into the city of Toulouse, with a handful of soldiers, trusting that veneration for his

person would withhold his vassal from any attempt on the city where he raised his own standard. Henry's forces were in readiness for the siege, and most likely he might, by a sudden attack, have made himself master of Toulouse, and of the person of Louis, thus imprudently hazarded within it. The question was debated in Henry's council, when some statesmen insisted on the sanctimonious respect which was due to the lord paramount. They were answered by the unscrupulous Becket, then chancellor, and a favourite minister of Henry: "Advance banners," said he, "my noble liege, the King of France laid aside his title to your obedience as a vassal, the instant he levelled a spear against you." Henry listened with a long-ing disposition to follow the uncompromising advice of the daring statesman. But he reflected that he was himself at the head of an army assembled only by his feudal power, and that it would be perilous to show in his own person any contempt for that fealty to the superior, upon which his own authority rested. There was also to be considered the risk of offending all the crown vassals of France, who were likely to witness with resentment the imprisonment of their common liege lord the king, by one of their own number. Upon the whole, with that exquisite prudence which regulated Henry's conduct, he turned reluctantly aside from the siege of Toulouse, alleging as a motive the respect he entertained for the person of the lord paramount, who was within the city. (A.D. 1159.) Louis was flattered by his moderation, and peace was shortly afterwards made, on condition of Henry retaining considerable conquests, made at the expense of the Count of Toulouse, to whom he granted, at the request, as he carefully stated, of the King of France, a truce for the short space only of one single year.

The two monarchs were so thoroughly reconciled, as to admit of their acting in concert concerning a matter of great importance to Christianity. You are to understand, that the Emperor of Germany had down to this period always claimed the right of nominating, or, at least of confirming, the appointment of the Popes to the Bishop-

ric of Rome. This high privilege they exercised, as it descended to them with the empire of Charlemagne. It was often disputed by the Popes, who were extremely desirous to deprive a laic prince of a privilege which they alleged was inconsistent with the liberties of the church, and contended that the election of the Pope lay in the choice of the College of Cardinals. By their obstinate opposition, supported by many wars, the popes had deprived the emperor of almost all vestige of this privilege. But a double and disputed election having occurred in 1160, (A.D.) the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa took upon him so far the right of his ancestors, as to summon a council of the church to determine which of the two candidates, Alexander III. or Victor IV., was lawfully elected to the Holy See. Frederick declared in favour of Victor, which induced the kings of France and England, jealous of so high an exertion of authority on the part of Germany, to espouse the cause of his opponent. Their favoured candidate Alexander came in person to France, where he found Henry and Louis in arms to defend his cause, in case the emperor should attempt to support Victor by force. The two kings received him with the respect due to the head of the church, that is, with tokens of the utmost deference. They walked in person each by a stirrup of the pontiff's saddle, as he rode towards a magnificent tent, in which he was accommodated. "It was a sight," says the Catholic historian Baronius, "for God, angels, and men,—a triumph such as had never before been seen in this world." Alexander afterwards held a great council of the church at the city of Tours. But the emperor, and the kings of the north of Europe, remained determined in their election of Victor, and the schism that arose from the dispute divided Christendom into two factions, and deluged Italy with blood. Alexander was so far grateful to his adherents, that he lent his intercession to place on a surer footing than it had yet assumed, the peace between the two kings.

Hitherto there had been little sincerity in the apparent good understanding between Henry and Louis, and we have mentioned many wars between them, interrupted by truces, which though the patience and prudence of Henry sometimes soothed Louis's suspicions for a time, never, or seldom, failed to be succeeded by new subjects of disagreement. In all these disputes, Henry, more prudent, more wealthy, above all, more fortunate, had either by war or negotiation, or both, enlarged his own territories at the expense of those of Louis. But in the latter part of this great king's life, the clouds of adversity seemed to gather round him, and fortune, as is frequently the case, turned from him when his hairs became grey. A very serious part of Henry II's misfortunes arose from his disputes with his ancient minister and favourite, Thomas a Becket.

This wily churchman had been able to conceal his real character from Henry, by appearing in an assumed one while serving as his chancellor, very nearly after the manner in which the English monarch himself had occasionally persuaded Louis that he was a faithful and devoted vassal to the French crown. At this period, as we have partly seen, the See of Rome was making the widest and most fatal encroachments upon the authority of the temporal princes of Europe, and Henry was naturally desirous of making the best stand he yet could against the extravagant claims of the Church of Rome. It was of the utmost consequence in this species of contest, that the see of Canterbury should be filled by a prelate favourable to the monarch, and willing to countenance his interests in any discussions he might have with the Pope. Henry thought, therefore, that when the Archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant by the death of the incumbent Theobald, he could not secure his own interest better, than by raising his chancellor, Becket, to that situation. This minister had always seemed to possess the manners of a soldier, a statesman, and a politician, rather than of a churchman. We have already seen, that he entertained no scruples in advising the king

to bold and arbitrary measures against his lord paramount, Louis; and, judging from his conduct before Toulouse, Henry expected from him no opposition to his will in matters where a more zealous primate might, perhaps, have given him trouble, by interference in any differences which might arise with the Pope.

But no sooner had the king, with considerable difficulty, obtained the election of his favourite to the archbishopric, by the monks of Canterbury and the suffragan bishops of that see, than he was presently satisfied what an unhappy choice he had made of the head of the Anglican church. Becket, who had hitherto concealed under a cloak of apparent loyalty and devotion to his sovereign, as much ambition as ever animated the breast of a proud man, now affected an extremity of zeal for the rights and privileges of the Church of Rome, as the mode by which he intended to rise to the dignity, perhaps, of the papal tiara itself, and distinguished himself by the audacity which he displayed on all possible questions in which he could assert the immunities of the church against the prerogative of the king. The particulars of their various and obstinate quarrels must be looked for in the history of England, where it forms an interesting page, and not in that of France, which we are now engaged with. Suffice it to say in this place, that Thomas a Becket having carried to the uttermost his opposition to the king's authority, Henry, whose temper was impatient and hasty, was at last induced to express himself thus inconsiderately:—"Have I no faithful servant who will rid me of this upstart and arrogant priest?" Four knights of his royal household, men habituated to blood and slaughter, caught at the hint contained, as they apprehended, in these rash words. They rode to Canterbury, and after some exchange of threatening language, slew the archbishop at the foot of the high altar, where he was officiating

Although the king had no concern in this rash and desperate action, excepting the blame of having spoken inadvertently the rash words by which it was occasioned.

he suffered the whole evil consequences which could have attached to the voluntary author and instigator of such an impiety. The cruelty of the actors was compared with the courage of the sufferer, who, whether sustained by his personal courage, or by the sincere belief that he was acting in the faithful discharge of his duty, had displayed the most undaunted composure throughout the whole bloody transaction. Superstition added to the terrors of the deed, and Becket was pronounced, not merely an innocent churchman, slain in defence of the privileges of his order, but a pious saint, who had been murdered in the cause of Heaven and Christianity. The credulity or the craft of the monks, his contemporaries, saw in their late suffering brother a glorified martyr, at whose tomb, and at the place where he was slain, the sick were cured, the blind received sight, and the lame walked. All these gross exaggerations were believed at the time, and the king was overwhelmed by the torrent of odium which he suffered on account of Becket's death, insomuch that he was fain to yield up the honourable, manly, and able defence, which he had hitherto made against the papal usurpations, in order to obtain a reconciliation with the church on the most unfavourable conditions.

By these articles, the king was obliged to pay a large sum of money, and engage in a crusade against the infidels, either in Palestine or Spain; above all, to permit, what he had hitherto strongly resisted, an appeal to the Pope in all things ecclesiastical. He became bound to restore the friends of Becket to his favour, and finally, to discharge a most humiliating and disgraceful penance, in evidence of his sorrow for the rash words which proved the cause of the murder.

Louis, King of France, was not idle during an interval when his ancient enemy's usual good fortune seemed to desert him, and when the boasted sagacity of Henry appeared entangled with embarrassments, from which it could not extricate him. The French king was neither

slow in seeking out a just cause of quarrel, nor in the choice of means by which to prosecute it. He at first pretended displeasure against Henry for having caused his eldest son to be crowned in England as successor to that kingdom, while the wife of that young prince, Margaret, Princess of France, was still in her native country. But Henry deprived Louis of that pretence for a rupture, by expressing his willingness to repeat the ceremony of coronation.

The King of France then adopted a more subtle, but certainly most unjustifiable mode of assailing an adversary who had proved too powerful for him while he followed the ordinary rules of open hostility. Louis requested the presence of his daughter and his son-in-law, the younger Henry, for some time at the French court. The English princes of the Norman race were never remarkable for domestic affection; and, from the time of the Conqueror downward, it had been no unusual thing in that house to see the son in arms against the father. Louis, therefore, found no great difficulty in insinuating into the mind of the younger Henry, that his father kept the throne too long, and did not indulge him, though crowned, with a sufficient share of independent power. When the young prince returned to England, he instilled the same spirit of unnatural ambition into his brothers, Richard (afterwards the renowned Cœur de Lion,) and Geoffrey; John, the fourth and youngest brother, was not of age to take a share in the family quarrel. But Queen Eleanor, the mother of the princes, had been for some time dissatisfied with the share which the king allowed to her in his counsels and affections; and as we have already alluded to her arrogant and vindictive disposition, you must not wonder if she took all the means in her power to inflame the bad passions of her three elder sons, and induce them to unite in a league with the King of France against their father.

The pretext used by Louis le Jeune for thus setting up the title of the son against the father, was, that when Henry called the young king, was crowned, Henry II.

was, by the same ceremony, deprived of the sovereign power, which was thereby transferred to his son. Yet Louis knew, that the coronation of a son during his father's lifetime was by no means to be understood as inferring the vacation of the throne on the part of the latter, but only an acknowledgement of the son's right in the succession to the authority which the father continued to hold during his life.

The King of Scotland was engaged in the same confederacy, and several of the great barons of England were ripe for rebellion. This formidable league was entered into at a time when Henry was on the worst terms with the Pope, and odious to all the priest-ridden part of his subjects, on account of the death of Becket. It was even thought, so general was the disaffection, that Henry II. would have had difficulty in raising an army among his feudatories. But he had been a prudent economist, and now made the treasures he had amassed the means of saving his throne at this conjuncture, without trusting to those vassals who might have betrayed his cause. He hired a large body of German mercenaries, men who now for many years had gained a living by their swords, and who were ready to embrace the cause of any prince in Europe who required their services, and was willing to pay for them.

At the head of these forces, and seconded by his own admirable rapidity of action, which was so great, that his antagonist, Louis, confessed that the English prince seemed rather to fly, than to sail or to march, Henry took the field. He opposed himself every where to his enemies, defeated the rebels, and, offering battle to the great head of the confederacy, had the pleasure to see Louis le Jeune retreat before him, with much abatement of honour. Henry brought his mind also, in the midst of these difficulties, to submit to the most degrading part of the penance inflicted on account of Becket's death, not, we may well suppose, that so wise a prince could really have entertained compunction for the very slight share which he had in the death of a rebellious and tur-

bulent priest, but because he was aware of the interest he would gain in the hearts of his people, by their supposing him fully reconciled with Heaven, for what they considered a great crime.

When the king came within sight of the tower of the Cathedral of Canterbury, he dismounted from horseback, and proceeded to the shrine of Becket, barefooted, over a flinty road, which he stained with his blood. When he kneeled before the tomb of his old enemy, whose life had cost him so much trouble, and whose death had been yet a deeper source of embarrassment, he submitted to be publicly scourged by the monks of the convent, and by other churchmen present, from each of whom he received three or four stripes on his bare shoulders. In consequence of these, and other austere penances, Henry incurred a short fit of illness. But he appears to have conceived that he had entirely reconciled himself with Thomas a Becket; for, as that person became rather a fashionable saint in foreign countries, Henry, on more than one occasion, accompanied to the shrine several persons of high rank, who came from the continent to worship there, acting thus as a sort of master of ceremonies to his former chancellor, whom, indeed, he had the principal hand in raising to his state of beatitude. Notwithstanding all this apparent submission, Henry retained in private his own opinion on Becket's conduct. A bishop having rashly and hastily excommunicated one of his nobles, the king advised his prelates to avoid precipitance on such occasions. "There may be more bishops killed for their arrogance," said the king, significantly, "than the calendar of saints can find room for."

To Louis le Jeune, who was soon tired of wars, if long protracted and unsuccessful, it appeared that the good fortune of Henry was returning in its usual high tide, and it was consistent with his own character, to ascribe it to the reconciliation of his enemy with Thomas a Becket. It is certain that, a very few days after his penance, Henry received tidings of an action near Durham, in which William, King of Scotland, became prisoner to his

northern barons ; and, in the very same year, Louis had himself a nearer instance of Henry's reviving good fortune, when the English monarch relieved Rouen, then closely besieged, and compelled the joint armies of France and Flanders to retire from before it.

This chain of events had a practical effect upon the king of France. He sent ambassadors to treat for peace, to which Henry, satisfied with his success, and conscious at what risk he had won it, willingly assented. He settled liberal appanages upon the three young princes, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, and endeavoured to secure their affections in future, by even profuse allowances of domains and revenues.

The greatest satisfaction which Louis received from a peace, in which all the objects for which the war was undertaken were relinquished, was the hope that Henry might be induced to join him in a mutual crusade ; so fondly was his imagination, though now that of an aged man, bent upon the subject which had occupied his youth. Henry, on his part, was under the necessity of apparently consenting to this wild proposal ; for it was a part of the penance enjoined him for the death of Becket, that he should take the cross and pass to the Holy Land, whenever commanded to do so by the Pope. The Pontiff, therefore, having joined the solicitation of Louis, it was not in the King of England's choice to evade the summons. Regulations were accordingly adopted between the two monarchs, for arranging their mutual relations, in the manner most suitable to the success of their undertaking. There is little doubt, however, that Henry, though the authority of the Pope was at present too great to be openly disputed, was secretly determined to take every opportunity, or pretext, that might occur, to postpone, and finally to evade, carrying into actual effect this useless and perilous expedition.

The French King, on the contrary, was perfectly serious in his idea of renewing conjoined with Henry, the rash and ruinous attempt of his youth, and was deter-

mined to provide for the government of his kingdom in his absence, by crowning his son Philip, a youth of the highest expectations, as his associate and successor in the French throne.

A singular circumstance prevented the ceremony : The young prince, Philip, who was to be the principal actor in it, was separated from his attendants, while on a hunting party, in the Forest of Compeigne, lost his way among the wild and solitary woods, and wandered there all night. The youth was exhausted by fatigue, and severely affected by the agony of mind which he had undergone. The consequence was a dangerous illness. The remedies of Louis le Jeune, for every emergency, were always tinged with superstition ; and, in the hope of aiding his son's recovery, he vowed a pilgrimage to the popular shrine of Thomas a Becket, where he paid his devotions with valuable offerings, and, among others, a grant to the convent of a hundred tuns of French wine annually,—an acceptable provision, no doubt, for the comfort of the monks. (A. D. 1179.) He instantly returned to France, and was escorted by King Henry, as far as Dover. On reaching home, he found his son recovered, the renown of which greatly added to the resort of pilgrims to the tomb of Thomas a Becket.

The sickness was, however, only transferred from the son to the father, for Louis himself was struck with a palsy. The coronation of Philip took place soon afterwards, though his father could not be present, and it was remarkable that Philip, weak from his late illness, being oppressed with the weight of the crown, Henry the younger, of England, lent his assistance to support it upon the young king's head. With what internal feelings he might perform this feudal service, may be at least doubtful ; for, in case of the death of this, the only son of Louis le Jeune, the same Prince Henry, if his wife, Margaret, should be found capable of succession, was next heir to the crown he sustained, at his brother-in-law's coronation. In the next year, Louis le Jeune died. (A. D. 1180.) He was a prince of many excellent personal qualities

DAVE, well-meaning, temperate, and honest ; but he was neither a general nor a politician, and his devotion was of so superstitious a character, that, while his conscience scrupled to transgress the most trivial forms, he could, on the first important occasion, if policy seemed to render it advantageous, break his faith without scruple, in matters of the most weighty moral obligation.

CHAPTER XII.

Accession, and wise Measures of Philip—Death of Henry of England, and Accession of Richard Cœur de Lion—Philip and Richard unite in a Crusade to the Holy Land—State of the East at this period—Siege of Acre—Dissensions among the Leaders of the Crusade—Philip's return to Europe—Splendid Achievements of Richard—his Recall to Europe—his Imprisonment, and Liberation—his War with Philip, and Death—Accession of John—Philip's double Marriage—Cruelty of John in suppressing an Insurrection of his Nephew Arthur in Guienne—the aggrieved Parties complain to Philip, who takes the field, and deprives John of the whole of his possessions in France—In consequence of this success, Philip gains the title of Augustus, and resolves to conquer England—Dispute between John and the Pope—Philip declares himself the Champion of the Pope, and assembles a large Army to invade England—John's submission to the Pope—Philip turns his arms against Flanders, but is worsted—Confederacy against the increasing power of France, between King John, the Emperor Otho, and the Earls of Flanders, Boulogne, Toulouse, and Auvergne—Defeat of the Allies at Bouvines—Philip's Treatment of his Prisoners—Truce with England—Crusades against the Albigenses—Unpopularity of King John—The Barons of England offer to transfer their Allegiance to Louis, the son of Philip—Louis's Invasion of England—Death of John, and Accession of Henry III.—Defeat of Louis at Lincoln—He withdraws his claim to England, and, retiring to France, engages in a Crusade against the Albigenses—Death of Philip.

PHILIP, the son of Louis le Jeune, was a prince possessing so many kingly qualities, that, in French history

ne is distinguished from other monarchs of the same name, by the imperial title of Augustus ; and not unjustly, since it was chiefly by his means that the royal house of France recovered that influence in their empire which, during the life of Louis, had been in a great measure overshadowed by the predominance of the house of Anjou, whose power, carefully augmented by the wisdom of Henry II., had placed that monarch in the situation rather of a rival than a vassal of the King of France. On Philip's accession to the throne, he was not yet fifteen years of age ; and it is probable he felt that his extreme youth, joined to the feebleness of his father's character, was likely to render the authority of the crown contemptible, unless respect was to be ensured to it by the firmness and gravity of the prince who wore it.

Accordingly, the first public measure of Philip was one of a more severe character than could have been expected from so young a monarch. All jesters, jugglers, and buffoons, whose idle occupation it was to encourage dissipation and misuse of time, were banished from the court by a solemn edict, which the king caused to be rigorously enforced. By this his people learned that their young king proposed to assume the masculine gravity of a more advanced age, and remove from about his person all incentives to the light taste and unprofitable follies of youth.

In another of his early measures, Philip consulted, in an eminent degree, the advantage of his subjects and realm. The constant wars of France, a country which seldom remained at rest for a year together, without the assembling of forces upon some pretence or other, had given occasion to the association of numerous vagrant bands of men, whose profession was arms, and who, without any regard to the cause in which they served, or the monarch to whom they rendered obedience, were ready to engage their skill and valour in behalf of any prince who was willing to employ them. They were, generally, experienced and approved soldiers, and piqued themselves on maintaining strict fidelity during the terms

of their engagement, and serving with loyalty the prince to whom they were hired. Such mercenaries, were, therefore, a needful but perilous resource during this time of constant war, and even the politic and sagacious Henry II., when hard pressed by the league formed against him by Louis le Jeune, found his safety in recruiting his exhausted army with great numbers of these mercenary bands. But although a necessary, at least a prompt and useful resource to princes in time of war, nothing could be more oppressive to the people in the season of peace, than the existence of numerous bands of various nations leading an idle and dissolute life, at the expense of the oppressed peasantry, and breaking every law of regulated society, without a possibility of bringing them to justice except by a pitched battle. Where their depredations were withstood, they naturally drew their bands closer together, laid the country under contribution, and obliged the cities, on peril of assault and pillage, to pay large sums for their maintenance. These troops of lawless depredators were distinguished by the names of Cotteraux, Brabançons, Routiers, and Tavardins. Philip commanded his soldiers to assist the burghers of the good towns against these disorderly freebooters, and he himself engaged and defeated them in one great action, in which nine thousand were slain in the battle and flight. By these exertions, this wasting plague of the country was in a great measure checked and reformed, although it continued to be an existing grievance until a much later period of French history.

With the same attention to the public advantage, Philip compelled the citizens of the large towns to pave their streets, and to surround their cities with walls and fortifications, so as to ensure the power of repulsing the attacks of these roving brigands. The burghers disliked the expense of labour and treasure laid out upon this important object. But the king in person made a circuit around the cities of his kingdom, to enforce the execution of his wholesome edicts, and at the same time reduced to order such of the nobility, as, availing themselves of the

late king's illness, had been guilty of usurpation upon each other, or encroachment on the authority of the sovereign.

The measures he pursued for the public good, gave a favourable character to the reign of Philip Augustus. His intercourse with his contemporary princes was not so uniformly praiseworthy.

It must be supposed, that Henry of England entertained no small apprehension of the increasing influence of a young prince, who, with better judgment than his father Louis, entertained the same jealousy of the overgrown power of his vassal of Normandy. These apprehensions became yet more alarming, when the king of England found that his children, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, to whom John, the youngest of the brethren, now joined himself, were engaged in intrigues with the King of France, in order to obtain a portion of Henry's English dominions, as a reward for lending their assistance to Philip, to strip their father of the whole. Embarrassing as were these unnatural cabals, the manner in which the King of England was freed from them in the case of Henry, his eldest son, was yet more afflicting to the father. An express brought the news that his son had indeed repented of his filial ingratitude; but it was coupled with the tidings that the youth lay on his death-bed, and implored his father's blessing and forgiveness. So great was the king's suspicion of those about the younger Henry, that he was afraid to intrust his royal person in their hands, even on this pressing occasion. Controlling, therefore, his desire to fly to the sick-bed of his son, the king sent him his pardon, his blessing, and a ring of gold, as a well-known token to assure him of both. The dying penitent, to show the sincerity of his repentance, tied a halter about his neck, arrayed himself in sackcloth, and commanded himself to be stretched upon a layer of ashes, and in this manner expired. (A. D. 1183.)

The aged king swooned away three times upon hearing of the death of his son, and broke into the most unbounded lamentations. Besides the strength of natural affection,

Henry, doubtless, considered his eldest son, when he should be recalled to the obedience he owed his father, as the most likely to assert and maintain his high place as a vassal of the French crown. He had by no means the same confidence in the talents of his other sons, and was thus altogether inconsolable for the death of his eldest born.

New wars and misunderstandings between France and England arose on a pretence not of an upright nature, on the part of Henry. Adelaide, sister to Philip, King of France, had been for some time residing at the court of England, under the paction that she was to be united to Richard, now the eldest surviving son of Henry II. But for some reasons, not now easily ascertained, the King of England repeatedly postponed the marriage, so as to bring himself under the suspicion that he entertained a passion for the young princess, neither agreeable to his understanding or years. King Philip now demanded at the sword's point the settlement of his sister's marriage. Other causes of discontent constantly arising between so powerful a superior and so haughty a vassal, exasperated the dispute on both sides; nor did the talents of Henry, whom age had somewhat deprived of his activity, preserve the same ascendance over the youthful Philip, which they had exercised over his father Louis le Jeune. The engagement by which both monarchs were bound to embark in a joint crusade, suspended the progress of their private wars. But, notwithstanding, a singular incident showed how inveterate was the quarrel between their subjects as well as themselves. (A. D. 1188.)

The monarchs had met in a personal conference in a plain near Gisors, the frontier of their dominions, destitute of shade, except that of a single venerable elm tree, which grew on the Norman side of the boundary. The sun was burning hot; but instead of admitting his liege sovereign, the King of France, to a share of the shadow of the elm-tree, Henry, with less than his usual courtesy, protected himself and his party from the heat under the boughs, from which they excluded Philip and his follow-

ers. The French, incensed at this assumption of superiority, though in a matter so trifling, and farther provoked by the raillery of Henry's attendants, suddenly charged the English sword in hand. Henry escaped with difficulty to the castle of Gisors, several of his attendants were slain in his defence, and Philip caused the elm to be cut down, in token of his victory. In other actions, though of slight importance, Philip also gained some superiority, the rather that Richard the son of Henry, desirous of being wedded to the Princess Adelaide, took part with the King of France against his father. Henry's youngest son, John, proved also disobedient, like his other children, but in a more unprovoked and unjustifiable degree. The King of England's health was innovated upon by defeats and disgraces, to which his earlier years had been altogether strangers. His feelings were racked by the sense of his children's ingratitude, and his body at the same time attacked by a fever. On his death-bed, he declared that Geoffrey, his natural son, whom he had created chancellor, was the only one of his family who had acted towards him uniformly with filial respect and obedience. In this melancholy state, grief and mortification aided the progress of the fever which raged in his veins; and the death of this great and intelligent prince removed from the growing and increasing power of Philip one of the greatest obstacles to the success of his reign.

The King of France, relieved from one of his most constant enemies, now formed a close alliance with Richard, (called, from his courage, *Cœur de Lion*,) who succeeding to King Henry's crown, and full of youthful love of adventure, made himself a voluntary party to the fatal expedition for the restoration of the fallen kingdom of Jerusalem, which his father had engaged in so unwillingly, and so frequently postponed. Philip of France readily adopted him as brother and companion of his enterprise. The characters of these kings had a near resemblance to each other. Both were brave, skilful in war, ambitious, and highly desirous of honour. Both also appear to have

been, upon religious principle, sincerely bent upon their romantic expedition. But the character of Richard united the most desperate courage with the extremity of rashness and obstinacy, which reduced his feats of valour to the extravagant and useless exploits of an actual madman; whereas Philip combined caution and policy with a high pitch of valour, and was by far a more able monarch than his rival, though displaying in a less degree the qualities of a knight of romance.

The armies of the confederate princes rendezvoused at Lyons, where Philip took the road to Italy, by crossing the Alps, in order to embark at Genoa, while Richard, with his host, took shipping at Marseilles.

At the time when the two most powerful nations of Christendom took arms for the rescue of Palestine, a country which their superstitions rendered so important to them, the fragments of the kingdom of Godfrey of Boulogne were fast disappearing from their sight. Saladin, King, or Sultan, of Egypt, a prince as brave and far more cool-headed and sagacious than either of the Christian kings-errant who came to attack him, and rescue Palestine from his victorious sabre, had made an eminently successful war against the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. His power had been by degrees accumulating, and the power of an Eastern despot must usually bear a proportion to his military talents. Saladin's, therefore, was considerable. He had made himself master of Egypt, and great part of Syria, and pretexts could never be wanting to assail the kingdom of Jerusalem itself, since, besides the professed animosity between the followers of Christianity and of Mahometanism, Saladin had to complain of the aggressions of a freebooting Christian baron, named Reginald de Chattillon, who had seized a fortress on the verge of the desert, from which he pillaged the Eastern caravans, and interrupted the pious journey of the Mahometan pilgrims to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca. Jerusalem, torn to pieces by intestine divisions, seemed to be tottering to its fall, when Saladin entered into Palestine at the head of eighty thousand men. Guy

of Lusignan, a prince of no talents, had succeeded to the crown of thorns. He raised the whole force of the Holy Land to repel the invasion; but he permitted himself to be deluded by Count Raymond of Tripoli, who maintained a correspondence with Saladin. The renegade chief, or apostate, betrayed the Christian army into ground where the mail-clad knights of Europe fainted for want of water, and were overwhelmed by the arrows of the light-mounted infidels. Lusignan was made prisoner, with the loss of thirty thousand men. When, fainting with thirst and agony of mind, he was brought before Saladin, the Mahometan courteously presented him with his own cup of sherbet, cooled with ice. But when Lusignan passed the goblet in turn to Reignald de Chatillon, who had provoked the war, Saladin instantly severed the freebooter's head from his body. "The king's cup," he said, "betokens mercy. Princes do not slaughter captive kings; but robbers like this are punished with death." Many of the military orders of Hospitallers and Templars, were also put to death. Jerusalem did not remain under the Christian power for a fortnight after the battle of Tiberias, and Saladin became master of the Holy City. (A. D. 1187.)

The expulsion of the Christians from Palestine was not yet completed. The strong city of Tyre was valiantly defended by Conrade of Montferrat; and the victorious Saladin was obliged to retire from before it, with considerable loss.

It could hardly be said whether the loss of Jerusalem, or the siege of Acre, had most effect in rousing to arms the warlike nations of Europe who pressed forward in hosts to revenge King Guy of Lusignan, or gain glory or martyrdom under Conrade of Montferrat. The multitude of adventurers from Europe enabled the king of Jerusalem, whom Saladin had not thought worth detaining in captivity, to form the siege of Ptolemais, or Acre, a strong place, possessing an excellent harbour, the occupation of which might facilitate greatly the arrival of succours from Europe, which were promised on all sides. The siege

of Acre had lasted till the spring of the second year, Saladin had pitched his camp, and lay with his numerous followers, within a few leagues of the town, and daily skirmishes took place between the contending armies. In the meantime, the new crusade, under Philip and Richard, began to roll towards the east.

The king of France appeared first on this eventful scene, but proved unequal to decide the fate of Acre, though he tried to do so by a fierce and general assault. Richard came soon after, having lingered by the way to chastise Isaac, king of Cyprus, who had offended him, and was deprived of his dominions, by way of punishment. On the arrival of King Richard before Acre, (if old romances and tradition say true,) he led his troops to the assault in person, and broke down a postern door with his strong hand and weighty battle-axe. Leopold, Duke of Austria, also distinguished himself by his personal intrepidity, for which, as armorial bearings were then coming into use, the emperor is said to have assigned him a fesse argent, in a field gules, to express that his person had, in the assault, been covered with blood from head to foot, except the place under his sword-belt.

Saladin, who saw the fate of Acre could no longer be protracted, gave the citizens permission to make the best terms for themselves they could, and on his own part became bound to set all Christian captives at liberty, and to restore to the crusaders the cross on which our Saviour suffered,—at least a relic which bore that reputation, and which had been taken by him at the battle of Tiberias. But Saladin either could not, or did not, comply with these conditions. The impetuous Richard would hear of no delay, and put to death at once all his Mahometan prisoners, to the number of seven thousand men. On account of this rashness and cruelty, Richard sustained the just blame of having occasioned the death of an equal number of Christians, prisoners to the Sultan, whom Saladin slaughtered by the way of reprisal.

While the furious Richard was thus incurring public censure, he had the mortification to see Philip acquire, at

his cost, the praise of superior wisdom and moderation; for, by protecting his Mahometan prisoners alive, the French king was able to exchange them for so many captive Christians, and thus avoided an useless waste of life upon both sides. The difference between the calm, reasonable, and politic character of Philip, began to be remarked by the soldiers, and, though the common men preferred the rude, savage, and fearless character of the English monarch, the wise and experienced leaders saw higher personal qualities in his companion and rival, and accomplishments more beseeing in a prince who would make his people happy. The consciousness that they were thus compared together, estimated, and preferred, according to men's judgment or their humour, had its usual effect of inspiring jealousy betwixt the French and English kings; nor had the common cause in which they were engaged influence enough to check their animosities.

Another cause of discontent was occasioned by Richard's violence of temper at this celebrated siege, of which he had afterwards much personal occasion to rue the consequence. When the city of Acre surrendered, Leopold, Duke of Austria assuming upon the merit, in virtue of which a new armorial cognizance had been assigned him, caused his own banner to be displayed from the principal tower. The fierce temper of the king of England caught fire at the Austrian's arrogance, and he commanded the banner to be pulled down, and thrown into the ditch of the place. The Duke felt the indignity offered to him, but forbore to manifest any resentment till time and circumstance put in his power ample means of revenging the indignity, though with little credit to his faith or manhood.

These various heart burnings gave rise to parties in the camp and council of the crusaders, where Richard attached himself to Guy de Lusignan, and Philip took the part of the gallant Conrade de Montferrat, between whom there occurred many feuds and quarrels. These divisions

were so notorious, that when Conrade was slain by the daggers of two of the tribe called Assassins, being the followers of the Scheik, or Old Man of the Mountain, it was reported that they had been suborned by Richard.—Philip affected to give credit to a charge inconsistent with the manly, though violent character of his rival. The French monarch selected a new body-guard, armed with iron maces, by whom he caused his person to be watched day and night. Neither were any strangers admitted to him; precautions which necessarily implied suspicions dishonourable to Cœur de Lion.

With whatever views Philip of France had originally undertaken the crusade, he quickly found that the enterprise was of a ruinous and desperate nature, and that even the barren laurels which must suffice as a reward for health, riches, and armies wasted in Palestine, would fall in an undue share to his partner in the undertaking, whose reckless valour and insatiable desire of military renown, made Richard more fitted than his rival for the insane adventure in which they were engaged, and better qualified to meet the peculiar difficulties which they had to encounter. The arrogant and capricious character of the English king required also to be soothed and kept in temper with more attention and deference, than a monarch like Philip could find it agreeable to pay to a prince who was in some degree his inferior, in so far that he paid him homage for a large part of his dominions. Nor did it escape Philip's discernment, that if he made use at home of the troops and treasure which he was likely to expend in the fruitless prosecution of the purposes of the crusade, he might avail himself of the opportunity to annex to the crown of France the fiefs of some of those great vassals who were daily falling in the wars of Palestine. He might also urge his purpose of withdrawing from the Holy War, upon grounds which promised advantage to the prosecution of it. For as he and Richard, being in one point of view of equal rank, agreed so very ill, and distracted the councils of the crusading powers by their rival pretensions and contradictory opinions, it seems

ed that Philip, by withdrawing from the enterprise, removed a source of disagreement which was a principal obstacle to their success. For these reasons, real or ostensible, the French king determined to return from Palestine to his own country: and to silence the reproaches of those who upbraided him with deserting the cause of Christendom, he left in Syria a strong division of ten thousand picked troops, with five hundred men-at-arms, to co-operate in the task of recovering the Holy Sepulchre.

It was necessary also to satisfy, at least to stop, the complaints of Richard, who alleged, as a leading motive of Philip's return, his purpose of making war upon the English monarch in Normandy and his other French dominions. To escape this scandalous suspicion, the king of France, before his departure for Europe, pledged a solemn vow to King Richard, not to attack any of his dominions, nor dispossess any of his vassals, while he was absent in the crusade. Yet, when Philip passed through Rome on his return home, he made as much interest as he could with the reigning Pope, (Celestine III.,) that he might be absolved from the oath which he had pledged to Richard to the above effect.

Philip, whose first wife had died during his absence in the Holy Land, had no sooner returned to his own kingdom, than he resolved to marry for a second, Ingerberge, sister of Canute, king of Denmark. With this princess, it was his object to attain a transference of all the rights competent to her family, (descended of the famous Canute, king of England,) and obtain thereby a pretext for invading England, as if the throne of that kingdom had been unlawfully possessed by the dynasty of Anjou. But the Danish monarch did not choose to transfer his claims, for the purpose of affording Philip the pretext he desired for attacking his late brother and companion in arms, while engaged in the religious warfare to which they had both been sworn. The plans of Philip were disconcerted by this refusal.

The king of France, whose conduct on this occasion

neither merits the epithet of Most Christian, bestowed on the sovereigns of his race, nor that of August, given to distinguish him individually, sought a new and discreditable channel through which to strike at his enemy. He formed a close alliance with John, brother of Richard, and youngest son of Henry II. This prince, one of the worst men who afflicted these evil times, was as easily induced to make efforts to usurp the territories of a generous brother, as he had been formerly found ready to rebel against his indulgent father, and he seems readily to have agreed, that Philip should be at liberty to work his pleasure upon Richard's dominions in France, provided he was admitted to his share of the spoil.

In the meantime, while his European dominions were thus exposed to an ungrateful brother and a faithless ally, Richard was rivalling in the Holy Land the imaginary actions of the champions of romance. He conquered Cesarea and Jaffa; he drove Saladin before him for eleven days of continued battle. He defied armies with a handful of men, and challenged to combat, in his own person, an extended line of thousands, not one of whom dared quit their ranks to encounter him. He even came within sight of Jerusalem, but declined to look upon the sepulchre, which he found himself not strong enough to gain by battle. In the midst of these wonders, Richard was recalled by the news of the intrigues of John and Philip. He embarked with precipitation, having patched up a hasty peace with Saladin, and leaving a name in the East, with which, long after, the Saracens were wont to upbraid a starting horse, demanding if he thought the bush was King Richard, that he sprang aside from it!

Richard's embarkation was the beginning of a series of calamities, which gave the King of France time to arrange his perfidious plans. The king of England was shipwrecked on the coast of Dalmatia, and was betrayed into the hands of that very Duke of Austria, whom he had affronted, by displacing his standard at Acre. Leopold meanly seized the opportunity of vengeance which chance afforded him, and threw the unhappy prince into prison.

charging him with many crimes alleged to have been committed in Palestine. His place of confinement was for some time kept concealed, and the story how it was discovered, though well known, is worthy of mention.

It was no part of Richard's character to be, like his rival Philip, a hater of music or minstrelsy. On the contrary, he was an admirer of what was, at that time, called the *Gay Science*, and often practised the arts of song and music himself. Blondel de Nesle, a favourite minstrel, who had attended his person, devoted himself to discover the place of his confinement. He wandered in vain, from castle to palace, till he learned that a strong and almost inaccessible fortress, upon the Danube, was watched with peculiar strictness, as containing some state prisoner of distinction. The minstrel took his harp, and approaching as near the castle as he durst, came so nigh the walls as to hear the melancholy captive soothing his imprisonment with music. Blondel touched his harp; the prisoner heard and was silent: upon this the minstrel played the first part of a tune, or lay, known to the captive, who instantly played the second part; and thus the faithful servant obtained the certainty that the inmate of the castle was no other than his royal master. It is uncertain if Blondel carried news of Richard's imprisonment to the emperor, but such news reached him. The emperor compelled the Duke of Austria to surrender his person, and being a rough, ungenerous man, he seems only to have considered how much money he could extort by having in his power one of the richest, as well as most powerful sovereigns in Christendom, the only cause of whose imprisonment was the misfortune that threw him on the coast. Philip hearing of Richard's captivity in Germany, offered, it is said, a sum of money, provided the emperor would deliver Cœur de Lion into his hands. Perhaps the emperor thought it would be too detrimental to his reputation, were he to make such a transference; but although he refused so dishonourable a treaty, he failed not, for some time, to lend a favourable ear to

many specious reasons urged Philip for detaining his late ally in close confinement.

Meantime, the selfish King of France formed a fresh contract with Prince John, by which the unnatural brother was to do all in his power to assert a claim to the crown of England, while Richard's French territories in Normandy and elsewhere, were to fall to Philip's share ; and, that no form might be wanting, the French king despatched a herald to denounce war against Richard, then a close prisoner. The forms of public faith are seldom observed with such rigid technicality, as when they are used as a cloak to carry into execution what is, in fact, flagrant injustice. Accordingly, Philip, after using this unnecessary and absurd form of defiance against a defenceless captive, assaulted upon various pretexts, the frontiers of Normandy, and made conquests there, bestowing towns on his ally, John, or retaining them to himself, at his pleasure ; and explaining to such of his chivalry or allies as entertained, or affected, a disinclination to such unjust procedure, that he did not attack Richard in breach of his oath, but in consequence of old causes of quarrel about his sister's portion. While Philip was preparing for his imperial title of Augustus, by a system of spoliation resembling that of a Roman emperor, he received sudden intelligence, that the large ransom which the emperor's avarice had set on the freedom of Richard, had been at length defrayed by the loyalty of his subjects. He communicated the alarming news to his associate, John, in the expressive phrase, "Have a care of yourself—the devil is loose?"

Whatever alarm these words might imply, Philip knew that no pause in his ambitious project would secure him from Richard's resentment, now that the captive lion had obtained his liberty. He therefore did not even attempt to disguise his enmity ; he openly invaded Normandy, and besieged Verneuil. But the scene began to change, on the part of his unnatural ally.

Richard's unexpected arrival in England had entirely destroyed the treacherous schemes of the faithless John. That wicked prince saw now no means of security, ex-

cept by taking some decisive step, which would demonstrate that he had cast off King Philip's favour, and thrown himself entirely upon his brother's clemency. The action by which he proposed to make these intentions manifest, was atrociously characteristic. He invited to the castle of Evreux, in which Philip had invested him, those Norman chiefs and officers most favourable to the schemes of the French king, and who had doubtless communicated with John himself, on the plans of plundering Richard, which he had nourished before his brother's return. Having welcomed these men hospitably, and feasted them royally, he surprised, seized upon, and murdered his guests, when unsuspecting of danger, and incapable of resistance. He cut off their heads to the number of three hundred, and arranged them upon pikes around the castle, in the fashion of a bloody garland. By this faithless and cruel action, John meant to break all terms with Philip, his late abettor in his rebellion against his brother; but that king avenged this double treachery as the action deserved. He made a hasty march to Evreux, surprised John's English garrison, and put them to the sword, laying in ashes the town itself, as the scene of such treachery. Richard advanced in turn, and obtained some advantages, in which he took the whole chancery of the French king. But Richard was too much weakened by the rebellion of his vassals, and the impoverishment of his realm, to follow the war so promptly as his nature would have dictated. Truces, therefore, followed each other, which were as rapidly broken as they were formed, until at length both princes were brought, by the legate of the Pope, to entertain thoughts of a solid and lasting peace. But, ere it was yet concluded, a paltry enterprise cost Richard Cœur de Lion that life which he had risked in so many affairs of so much greater consequence. (A. D. 1199.) One of his vassals had found a treasure concealed in the earth upon his fief. Richard demanded possession of it, such discoveries being considered a part of the superior's interest in the benefice. It was refused, and the king slew to besiege the vassal's castle, an inconsiderable place. He

soon reduced it to extremity ; but an archer took aim from the walls with a cross-bow, and the bolt mortally wounded Cœur de Lion. The castle was surrendered ere the king had died of his wound. Richard commanded the unlucky marksman to be brought before him, and demanded, why he had sought his life so earnestly ! “ You slew,” replied the archer, whose name was Bertram de Gurdun, “ my father, and my brother, and you were seeking my own life ; had I not reason to prevent you, if I could, by taking yours ?” The dying king acknowledged that he had reason for his conduct, and, forgiving his offence against his person, generously commanded him to be dismissed unharmed. But Richard was dying while he gave the command, and the injunctions of dying sovereigns are not always respected. The captain of a band of Richard’s mercenaries put De Gurdun to death, by flaying him alive, as the most cruel mode of revenging their monarch’s death which the ingenuity of these rude soldiers could devise.

Cœur de Lion was succeeded in his throne by the tyrant John. There are not many portraits in history which display fewer redeeming qualities. He was a bad father, a bad brother, a bad monarch, and a bad man ; yet he was preferred to the succession, notwithstanding the existence of Arthur, Duke of Bretagne, who was son to the deceased Geoffrey, the immediate younger brother of Richard, and the senior to John. Arthur’s claim of inheriting a succession which came by his father’s elder brother, would be now perfectly understood as preferable to that of his uncle ; but, in the days of King John, the right of a brother was often preferred to that of a nephew, the son of an elder brother, from some idea then entertained, that, in the former case, the brother was one step nearer in blood to the deceased person. But notwithstanding John’s becoming King of England, and Duke of Normandy, great discontent prevailed in his French dominions, as in Anjou, Maine, and other provinces, where the nobles and knights would have greatly preferred the sway of the young Prince Arthur, to that of his uncle.

Philip, king of France, whose career of ambition had been checked by the return, and formidable opposition, of Richard Cœur de Lion, foresaw that the moment was arrived when he might safely, and with the consent of the vassals themselves, resume his labours to reunite, under the immediate sovereignty of the crown of France, the great fiefs of Normandy granted to Rollo, and the other provinces of which the late Henry II. of England had, by his marriage with Eleanor, the repudiated wife of Louis le Jeune, and other transactions, obtained possession.—The character and conduct of John was so unpopular, that there was little doubt that the barons and vassals of the English provinces lying in France, who might have thought it disgraceful to desert the standard of Richard, especially during his imprisonment, would now eagerly transfer their allegiance to their lord paramount, Philip, in preference to the voluptuous tyrant who succeeded Cœur de Lion on the throne of England. But although this was a crisis so favourable and so important for extending the authority of France, Philip was, by some domestic embarrassments, prevented for a time from reaping the harvest which had ripened before him. The circumstances illustrate the manners of the age, and are worthy of your attention.

Philip, like many other men, otherwise of high qualities, was greatly attached to women, and sometimes sacrificed his policy to his pleasures. He lost his first wife in child-bed, of twins, and as we have already hinted, took for his second wife, the Princess Ingerberge of Denmark, with the purpose of obtaining, as part of her fortune, the cession of the pretensions of the descendants of Canute to the throne of England, which might give him a pretence to disturb the heirs of William the Conqueror, now in possession of that kingdom. His marriage took place; but, disappointed at not succeeding in this intended purpose, or, displeased with his new bride's person, and determined to annul the marriage, Philip sent the Danish princess to a convent before she had resided two days in

his palace. The king's aversion to the unfortunate Ingerberge was so great, that the simplicity of the times supposed that a sense of dislike so sudden and strong, could only arise from the effect of magic,—as if any magic could operate more powerfully than the caprices of a self-willed despot. With the same unjust fickleness, Philip employed some of the more subservient prelates about his court, to discover cause for a divorce, which was easily found in the usual pretext of too close alliance in blood between the wedded parties. A pedigree was drawn up to favour the plea, in consequence of which, a complaisant council of French bishops passed a sentence of divorce between Philip and Ingerberge, within three years after their separation.

The king then proceeded to marry Agnes de Merania, daughter of the Duke of Dalmatia. (A. D. 1172.) The King of Denmark remonstrated at Rome, where his complaints found favourable hearing, against the injury and insult offered to his unoffending daughter. The legate of the Pope, having taken cognizance of this important case, declared formally that the marriage with Ingerberge remained binding, and admonished the king to put away her rival, Agnes, as one with whom he could have no legal tie. As Philip remained obstinate and impenitent, the Pope proceeded to lay his kingdom under an interdict, which, while it lasted, prohibited the performance of divine service of every kind, the administration of the sacraments, the reading the services for the dead, or for marriage or baptism, occasioning thereby an inexpressible confusion in the country where these divine rites were suspended, and all civil affairs, of course, interrupted. Philip, enraged at the perseverance of the Pope, revenged himself on the clergy. He seized on their temporal effects, imprisoned the canons of the cathedrals, and raised heavy taxes on all classes, by which he maintained such large bodies of mercenary soldiers, as made resistance impossible on the part of his vassals. At length, finding it difficult to remain in this state of violence, Philip made a compromise with the Pope, agree-

ing that he would become amenable to the obedience of the church, prov'ding his holiness would condescend once more to examine the question of the divorce and marriage. A council was accordingly held at Soissons, for the re-examination of an affair that was extremely simple. Fifteen days were spent by churchmen and canonists in these subtle questions, which rather perplex than enlighten justice, when, suddenly, a young and unknown speaker took the side of the divorced queen, with such persuasive force of truth, that the churchmen conceived they heard themselves addressed by the voice of an angel. The king himself perceived his cause was indefensible, and resolved to take back the Danish princess, as if of his own accord, ere yet he should be compelled to do so by the order of the council. He therefore told the legate abruptly that he would settle the affair with his wives in his own way. He did so accordingly, with very little ceremony, instantly riding to the convent where the discarded Ingerberge resided, taking her up behind him on the same steed, and proceeding with her in that manner to Paris, where he publicly acknowledged her for his lawful wife. Ingerberge, with the same patient obedience which distinguished her while in the cloister, returned to the world, and lived and died blameless, if not beloved. The fate of Agnes de Merania was more melancholy; she died of a broken heart at feeling herself reduced from the rank of a royal matron to that of a concubine.

By an arrangement so simply produced, Philip gained the advantage of being restored from the condition of an interdicted and excommunicated prince, to that of a true and lawful sovereign, who might justly receive the complaints of the church, as well as of inferior persons, against his vassal John, for certain enormities which were not very distant in character from those for which Philip himself had been so lately laid under an interdict.

John, whose only use of power was to forward his own pleasures, had, during a progress in Guienne, become captivated with the charms of Isabel, the beautiful Daugh

ter of the Earl of Angouleme. This young beauty was betrothed to Hugh le Brun, Earl de la Marche, and had been delivered up to her betrothed husband. But John, who was totally unaccustomed to bridle his passions, was induced to banish a wife with whom he had enjoyed ten years of undisturbed union, and, by tempting the ambition of Aymar, Count of Angouleme, easily bribed him to accept a king for a son-in-law, instead of a simple count. (A. D. 1200.) This rash and hasty action incurred much censure. The Earl de la Marche, thus deprived of his intended and betrothed bride, and bent on revenge for so gross an injury, broke out, with his brother the Earl of Eu, and other confederates in Guienne, into open rebellion. John, alarmed for the consequences, for he was well aware of his own unpopularity—summoned together his English vassals, in order to put an end to the insurrection ere it spread wider. But although the English barons had seldom hesitated to follow their kings to France, as a country where they were wont to acquire wealth and warlike fame, it was no part of their feudal obligation to serve the king beyond the limits of Britain, unless with their own free consent. On this occasion, disliking the cause or the prince, the great English barons obeyed John's summons but slowly. John was attended, therefore, by too small an army to secure the implicit submission of his refractory nobles; and while he carried on a languid war against the disaffected, the insurrection gained new and formidable supporters.

Arthur, son of Geoffrey, and nephew of John, began now to complain, that out of his uncle Richard's succession, he had been only suffered to retain the dukedom of Bretagne; which was the more unjust, as Richard, when he went to the Holy Land, had designed Geoffrey his father, in whose right Arthur stood, as heir of all his French dominions. Incensed at this grievance, the young duke, who was scarcely sixteen years of age, entertained a secret correspondence with the discontented lords of Guienne; and the whole conspiracy became manifest, when Philip, claiming as liege lord, the right of deciding

between John and his dissatisfied vassals, declared himself the protector of the insurgents of Guienne, and the assertor of the claims of Arthur. Both nations took arms, and on each side an ambitious and violent-tempered woman urged the quarrel to extremity. Constance, the mother of Arthur, and widow of his deceased father Geoffrey, incited her son to war against his uncle John by every argument in her power; and, on the other hand, the dowager Queen Eleanor, that celebrated heiress, who transferred Aquitaine from Louis le Jeune to Henry II., was still alive, and violent in behalf of King John, whom she loved better than her other sons, because he resembled her more in disposition than any of his brothers. These two haughty and high-tempered ladies had personal animosities against each other, and inflamed the war by female taunts and female resentments. Our great dramatic poet Shakspeare has made their wrangling immortal, by intermixing it with the plot of his celebrated play of King John.

In the year (A. D. 1202,) hostilities commenced. Young Arthur took the field in the west of France with two hundred knights, and gained some successes, but experienced on the following occasion, so far as the young prince was concerned, a woful and irrecoverable reverse. Having, on his march through Poitou, received information that the dowager Queen Eleanor, his own and his mother's personal enemy, was residing in the adjacent castle of Mirabel, Arthur flew to invest it, and make sure of her as a prisoner. The defence was vigorous, but at length the besiegers possessed themselves of the base court, and were well-nigh carrying the great tower, or keep, of the castle. The arrival of King John changed the scene; he was at no great distance with an army more numerous than that of his nephew, consisting chiefly of mercenaries. Arthur, with his little band, marched to meet their unexpected foe, but was completely routed, and driven back to the castle of Mirabel, where they were all either slain or made prisoners. Arthur himself

the Comte de la Marche, and two hundred knights, were among the latter; and if John could have used a decisive victory with humanity and moderation, he might have preserved his French dominions, and averted a long and almost uninterrupted chain of well-deserved misfortunes. But neither humanity nor moderation were a part of his character; and it may be remarked, that there is no sure road to adversity than misused prosperity.

The fate of the prisoners taken in this skirmish of Mirabel, was atrociously cruel. That of Arthur was never exactly known; but all authors agree that he was murdered at Rouen, by his jealous uncle John—some allege, in his presence, and others affirm with his own hand. Of the young prince's allies and friends, twenty-five of the noblest and bravest were starved to death in Corfe Castle.

The minds of all men revolted against the author of this disgraceful abuse of victory. The barons of Bretagne accused John at the footstool of Philip, their liege lord, of the crime of murdering their duke, and his own nephew, in the person of the unhappy Arthur. As the King of England did not appear to answer to their charge, he was pronounced guilty of felony and treason, and all his dominions in Normandy were declared forfeited to his liege lord the king of France. Thus was the crisis arrived which Philip had long waited for. Over the extensive territories held for so many years by wise, warlike, and powerful princes, there was now placed a person, who, by tyranny and inhumanity, was sure to incur a just doom of forfeiture, and, by cowardice and indolence, was incapable of saving himself from the consequences, by a resolute defence. Accordingly, when Philip, at the head of his army, began to enforce the doom of forfeiture, or, in plain language, to conquer Normandy for his own, it was astonishing how rapidly the structure of feudal power, which had been raised by the sagacity of William the Conqueror, and his son and great-grandson, the first and second Henrys, and latterly defended by the iron arm of Richard Cœur de Lion, dissolved, when under

the sway of the selfish, indolent, and irresolute John. Joined by the numerous barons who were disaffected to King John, Philip marched through Normandy, reducing the strongholds at pleasure, and subjecting the country to his allegiance. John never even attempted to meet his enemies in the field, but remained in daily riot and revelry at Rouen, struck, as it were, with a judicial infatuation, which so much affected his courage and activity, that, about the end of the year, finding the storm of war approach so near as to disturb his slumbers, he fairly fled to England, and left the dukedom of Normandy to its fate. This was not long protracted; for, without much exertion, and with the good-will of the countries, whose inhabitants had not forgotten that they were by nature part of the kingdom of France, Normandy, with Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, excepting a few places which remained faithful to the English king, became again annexed to the crown of France. Rouen itself, the capital of Normandy, being abandoned to its own resources, was forced to surrender, and once more became the property of the French kings, three hundred years after it had been conquered by Rollo, the Norman.

The infatuated John threw the blame of losing so many fair possessions upon the desertion of the English barons, who would not follow him to France for the purpose of defending his Norman dominions. He more than once summoned his vassals, as if with the fixed purpose of invading the territories he had lost; but the expedition was always deferred, under pretence that the musters were not complete, until it became the conviction of every one, that the armaments were only intended to afford a pretext for levying fines on the vassals who neglected the royal summons. A single feeble attempt to cross the seas with an army, only served to show the imbecility of the English leader; and retiring before Philip, and avoiding the combat which he offered, the degenerate John did but prove his personal cowardice, and ignorance as a commander. Thus, almost without opposition, did Philip unite, under the French empire, those provinces so long

separated from the kingdom to which they belonged as a natural part. The event was the most useful, as well as most brilliant, of his reign, and must be reckoned the principal cause for bestowing upon Philip the flattering name of Augustus.

The extreme indolence and imbecility of John encouraged the King of France, who, through all his reign, evinced a high cast of ambition and policy, to extend his views even beyond the limits of the French dominions of the English prince; and pushing his opportunity against one so inactive and impolitic, he resolved to attempt achieving a second conquest of England, while its crown was placed on so unworthy a head. The success of William the Conqueror, under circumstances much less favourable, was doubtless called to mind, as an encouraging example. Some apology, or show of justice, was indeed wanting for such an invasion; for England was no dependency of France, like Normandy or Anjou, nor had King Philip a right to declare that realm forfeited as a fief of his crown, whatever may have been the delinquencies of its tyrannical sovereign. But it was John's ill-luck, or misconduct, so to manage his affairs, as to afford, not Philip alone, but any Christian prince in Europe, as full right to make war upon and dispossess him of his English dominions, as the church of Rome, which then claimed the right of placing and dethroning monarchs, was competent to confer. The rash monarch of England laid himself open to this, by a dispute with the Pope, at any time a formidable opponent, but an irresistible one to a sovereign so universally detested as John.

This dispute, so remarkable in its consequences, arose thus :

In 1205, (A. D.) the right of electing an Archbishop of Canterbury was disputed between the monks of the cathedral, who made choice of their own sub-prior, Reginald, and the King of England, with the prelates of the province, who made choice of the Bishop of Norwich. Both sides appealed to the Pope, who immediately began to take the dispute under his own manage-

ment, with the purpose of so conducting the contest, as to augment the unlimited power which he claimed to exercise over Christendom. The Pontiff decided, in the first place, that the right of electing the archbishop lay exclusively in the monks. He next declared both elections to be vacant, and proceeding to fill the important situation with a creature of his own, commanded the monks of Canterbury, who had come to Rome to solicit the disputed election, to make a new choice for the office, indicating Stephen Langton as the candidate whom they were to prefer. The monks pleaded the irregularity of such an election, and alleged vows which rendered it unlawful for them to hold such a course. The Pope answered their objections by his plenary power. He dispensed with the irregularity by his papal authority, annulled the obligations of the oaths of the monks, and compelled them, under penalty of the highest censure of the church, to proceed as he enjoined them. John, with a spirit which he only showed when resistance was remote, remonstrated with Pope Innocent on such an irregular attempt to fix a primate on England. The Pope replied with equal warmth, calling on the king to submit to his authority, before whom every knee must bow. Finally, as King John continued refractory, the Pontiff proceeded to lay all his dominions under an interdict, of which the nature has been already explained to you. John endeavoured to avenge himself upon such of the clergy as were within his reach ; but although imprisoned, fined, and even personally punished, the zeal of the churchmen for the cause of the Pope, made them dare the fate of martyrs or of confessors.

In 1209, (A. D.) when the interdict had continued two years, the Pope proceeded to pronounce sentence of excommunication against John personally, by which he was, so far as the curses of Rome could have effect, thrown out of the pale of the Christian church, his subjects released from their allegiance to him, and his kingdom delivered up to any one who should carry the doom of the Pontiff into execution. More especially, King

Philip of France had the express charge of executing the sentence of deposition against his neighbour of England, and in reward of his expected exertions, was declared king of that country in his stead.

Thus placed in the very position which he so earnestly desired to assume, by taking on himself the office of the Pope's champion, the politic Philip sacrificed to his ambitious views upon England the common interest of princes, and assented to the dangerous doctrine, that the crowns of reigning sovereigns were held at the pleasure of the Roman pontiff. He assembled a large army near Boulogne, where he had provided no less than seventeen hundred vessels to transport them to England. But although dislike to the tyranny of John rendered many of his barons indifferent to his fate, and although the minds of others were affected with superstitious dread of the Pope's anathema, there were yet many Englishmen resolved to withstand the French invasion. The alarm that the kingdom was in danger from foreigners, drew together an immense array, from which it was easy for King John to select sixty thousand well-armed and well-appointed troops, to oppose the French king.

Such were the preparations made to defend England from invasion, when John, by a secret treaty with Pandulph, the legate of the Pope, endeavoured to avert the danger of the struggle. In this he succeeded—but it was only by an act of submission, the most ignominious of which the world had yet seen an example. By this agreement, the King of England made the most unreserved submission to the Pope concerning Stephen Langton's reception as Archbishop of Canterbury, which was the original dispute, professed penitence for his former refractory conduct, and, in evidence of his sincerity, resigned into the hands of the legate, as representing his holiness, his kingdoms of England and Ireland, engaging to hold them thereafter in the name of vassal to the Pope, for the tribute of one thousand merks yearly.

The Pope was highly gratified with an accommodation which had taken a turn so favourable to the extension

of the influence, as well as the wealth of the church, and he issued his mandates in a tone of uncommon arrogance, commanding Philip to forbear any enterprise against John of England, who now had, though formerly a refractory son of the church, reconciled himself with the Pope, was become the vassal of the Holy See, a submissive, amiable, and benign prince, peculiarly entitled to the Pontiff's protection against all injuries. Philip remonstrated at the attempt to render him thus the passive tool of Rome, obliged as such to assume and lay aside his arms at her bidding. He thought it best, however, to comply, as he learned that his increasing power, augmented as it was with the spoils of John's French territories, was on the eve of exciting a confederacy against him among the crown vassals of France. For this reason, he turned the army designed for the invasion of England against Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, whose accession to such a league he had reason to apprehend.

The great army of France, with the king at its head, advanced into Flanders accordingly, taking some of the Earl's towns, and menacing the subjugation of his earldom. King John, on the entreaty of Earl Ferrand, sent to his assistance a great fleet, which he had got in readiness while the alarm of the French invasion of England impended, under the command of a natural son of Richard Cœur de Lion, called Longsword, Earl of Salisbury. The English had already acquired that superiority at sea, which has been long one of their marked national characteristics. They defeated the French navy, though more numerous than their own, destroying one hundred vessels, taking one hundred more, and dispersing the rest of the fleet. Philip, who with his nobles had lost much valuable property on this occasion, was so much discouraged by an unexpected blow from a quarter which he had been little accustomed to fear, that he desisted from his attempts against Ferrand, and retired into his own dominions.

The alarm which was excited by King Philip's increasing power and extensive ambition, was far from subsiding

on his retreat. On the contrary, the vassals of the crown of France, who had been engaged with other continental princes in a confederacy against the crown, were bent upon taking advantage of the gleam of success occasioned by the discomfiture, and to establish, in the moment of victory, some counterbalance against the predominant authority of Philip. The confederacy assumed a consistent and alarming appearance, and well deserved the King of France's peculiar attention, as it was like to require the whole strength of his kingdom to resist the combined assault of so many enemies. The Emperor Otho lent his active co-operation to the confederates the more readily, as being the nephew, by the mother's side, of King John, whose French dominions Philip had confiscated with so little ceremony or scruple. The Earls of Flanders, Boulogne, Toulouse, and Auvergne, also joined the enemies of Philip, and visited England in 1214, to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign.

It was agreed on this occasion, that France should be invaded on two sides, so as to find full employment for the forces and skill of her monarch. It was farther determined, that the main attempt should be made by the Emperor Otho and the warlike Earls of Boulogne and Flanders, aided by an auxiliary body of English troops, under command of the celebrated Longsword, Earl of Salisbury. They were destined to attack the eastern frontiers of France, with a powerful army. John himself, according to the same plan, was to cross the sea to Rochelle, where he was sure to be joined by several friends of the English interest, as well as by the Earls of Auvergne and Toulouse. Such were the preparations; the object proposed was the dismemberment of the French territories, which were to be divided among the princes of this confederacy. The allies, in accordance with the superstition of the times, consulted soothsayers on the issue of the war, and received for answer, "that the King of France should be overthrown, and trampled on by the horses' feet, and should not receive funeral rites; and that Count Ferrand of Flanders should

enter Paris in great pomp after the engagement." The allies received as propitious, an oracle which afterwards turned out to be of a different and ambiguous character : they accordingly advanced at the head of a numerous army, amounting, it is said, to one hundred and fifty thousand men. They assembled at Peronne, in Flanders, and moved south-westwards into France.

The army of Philip was not nearly so numerous, but was composed of the flower of the French chivalry, with the great princes of the blood royal, and such of the vassals of the crown as were not in the confederacy. The monarch also enjoyed the advantage of the bravery and experience of a valiant knight hospitaller, called Guerin, who acted as quarter-master-general. Philip, having determined to prevent the wasting of his own country by ravaging that of the enemy, directed his course towards Hainault with that purpose. But in the course of their march, the French discovered the numerous squadrons of the emperor, on the opposite side of the Meuse, near Bouvines. The river was crossed by a wooden bridge. The French noblesse on the one side, and the German on the other, rushed emulously to seize the passage. But it was occupied by the former ; and the French infantry, principally the militia of the towns, passed over under the Oriflamme, or banner of St. Dennis, and formed on the western side of the river. The king had stretched himself to repose under an ash-tree, when he was roused by the horsemen who came to apprise him that the battle had commenced. Philip arose with a cheerful countenance, and, stepping into a church which was near, paid the brief devotions of a soldier. He then advanced to the front of his troops, and recollecting that there were many vassals in his own army who were likely to be secretly affected by the reports generally, and not unjustly, spread abroad concerning his own interested and ambitious disposition, he caused his crown to be placed on a portable altar, arranged in front of his line of battle. " My friends," he said, " it is for the crown of France you

fight, and not for him who has of late worn it. If you can rescue it from these men, who are combined to degrade and destroy it, the soldier who shall bear him best in its defence, is, for my part, welcome to wear it as his own."

This well-conceived speech was answered with shouts of "Long live King Philip! the crown can befit no brow so well as his own." The French army continued to defile across the bridge to support their van, which had already passed over. The army of the allies continued to manœuvre and extend their wings, for the purpose of surrounding Philip's inferior numbers. But by this manœuvre they lost the opportunity of charging the French troops, when only a part of their army had passed over, and in taking up their new ground, they exposed their faces to the sun,—a great disadvantage, which they felt severely during the whole action.

The battle began with incredible fury, and proved one of the most obstinate, as it was certainly one of the most important, actions of those warlike times.

The command of the right wing of the allies was intrusted to the Earl of Flanders, the left to the Count of Boulogne, the Emperor having his own place in the centre, under a banner displayed on a species of carriage, on which ensign was represented the imperial eagle holding a dragon in his talons. On the side of France, the king himself, surrounded by the princes of the blood, heading the bravest of the young knights and nobles, and attended by the most distinguished of the prelates and clergy, commanded the centre. The Duke of Burgundy commanded the right wing, the Comte de St. Paul the left, and Guerin, the experienced knight hospitaller, arrayed the army, being, although a bishop elect, the most skilful leader in the field. The Comte de St. Paul, who had been unjustly suspected of intercourse with the enemy, said to Guerin, when the battle commenced, "Now, you shall see what manner of traitor I am!"

At the onset, the allies had some advantage; for a body of French light-horse, which commenced the attack,

were unable to withstand the weight and strength of the huge men and horses of the Flemish and German cavalry, to whom they were opposed. One wing of the French army was disarranged in consequence of this check, as well as by the impetuosity of an attack commanded by Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, who was one of the best warriors on the side of the allies. The emperor assailed, with incredible fury and superior forces, the centre, in which Philip and his nobles were stationed. Philip made good the promise which he had given to his soldiers, and fought as desperately as any man in the field. He was at length borne out of his saddle, and wounded in the throat. Gulon de Montigni in vain waved the royal banner, to intimate the disaster that had taken place, and Philip's wars would have ended on the spot, but for the devoted loyalty of some knights, who threw themselves betwixt him and the prevailing Germans. But, almost at the same moment, the Earl of Flanders, who had been at first victorious, was, after great resistance, made prisoner, and his Flemish forces defeated, giving an opportunity for a large body of French cavalry to press closely to the centre, where their assistance was so much required. A band of the nobles who thus came to Philip's rescue, determined to attack the person of the Emperor, disregarding meaner objects. They broke through his guard, overturned the chariot which bore his banner, and seized it. They then rushed on Otho's person. Peter de Mauvoisin seized his bridle, William des Barres grasped him round the body, and strove to pull him from his horse, Gerard de Trie attempted to strike him through with his sword, and the good corslet protecting the Emperor from the blow, the Frenchman again struck with the edge of the sword, and killed Otho's horse. Yet a furious charge of some German men-at-arms relieved their emperor, who was remounted on a swift horse, and left the conflict in despair. "Let him go," said King Philip, who witnessed his enemy's flight, "you will see no more of him to-day than his back!"

While the Earl of Flanders and the Emperor were

thus defeated, the Comte de Boulogne displayed the greatest courage, by the mode in which he supported his division of the allies. He had established a strong reserve of foot in a triangular form, behind which, as covered by a fortress, he drew up his men-at-arms, and whence he sallied repeatedly with inexpressible fury. At length, he was pursued into this retreat by the French men-at-arms, who skirmished with him for some time, unable to beat down or despatch him, as horse and man were covered with impenetrable armour, like the invulnerable champions of romance. At last, Pierre des Tourelles, a knight who chanced himself to be dismounted, raised the armour which covered the Earl's horse with his hand, and stabbed the good charger. The Earl of Boulogne thus dismounted, was added to the captives, who amounted to five Earls of the highest name and power, twenty-five seigneurs, or nobles, bearing banners, and nearly as many men of inferior rank as there were soldiers in the conquering army. Philip, considering his disparity of numbers, and satisfied with so complete a victory, would not permit his troops to follow the enemy far.

Such was the celebrated battle of Bouvines, on the details of which the French historians dwell with national pride. It lasted from noon till five in the evening. (A. D. 1214.) The scruples of two ecclesiastics, which prohibited them from shedding blood, were on this occasion differently expressed, or rather evaded. Guerin the hospitaller, who was also bishop elect of Senlis, lent Philip the assistance of his military experience in drawing up his army, but would not engage personally in the action. Another prelate, Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, thought he sufficiently eluded the canon which prohibited churchmen from shedding blood, by fighting like the chaplain of the Cid, who used an iron mace instead of a sword. With this, the scrupulous prelate had the honour to strike down and make prisoner the celebrated Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, who commanded such English troops as were in the battle.

After the victory, Philip caused the principal captives

to be conducted through Paris in a sort of triumph, and in this procession Renaud, Count of Boulogne, and Ferrand, Count of Flanders, were distinguished from the rest by being loaded with irons. The former being brought before Philip, the king upbraided him with his excommunication, (forgetting how lately he himself had been under the censure of the church, for the affair of his divorce) He also charged him with personal ingratitude, and concluded by sending the captive earl to the castle of Peronne, where he was lodged in a dungeon, and his motions limited by a heavy chain, attached to a block of iron, so weighty that two men could not lift it. Here the unfortunate earl remained a close captive, until he heard that his ally Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, had been restored to freedom, (though under severe conditions,) at the supplication of his wife. On finding that similar clemency was not extended to him, the Count of Boulogne became desperate, and ended his miserable misfortunes by depriving himself of existence.

The second part of the plan of the allies, which was to have depended on the exertions of King John of England, proved as inefficient as all others which had been calculated upon the fortune and conduct of that unlucky prince. John, no doubt, carried over an English army to Rochelle, and received the homage of many barons of Poitou and Normandy, who had acceded to the league against Philip. He took Angers, the capital of Anjou, his family fief, but, except wasting and spoiling the country, he did nothing farther on his side which could materially favour the great attempt of the confederates.

Philip having gained the battle of Bouvines, which might be said to secure the fate of the crown of France, by placing in his power the heads of so formidable a conspiracy, marched instantly into Poitou against John, yet showed no inclination to carry the war to extremity at present; but, on receiving a present of sixty thousand pounds sterling, he granted the King of England a truce

for the space of five years. For this moderation, Philip has been censured by French writers, who are of opinion he should have continued the war, until he had subdued Rochelle and the few scattered French towns and forts which still acknowledged the dominion of England.

But Philip, who was a prince of far-sighted political views, was aware that, in the battle of Bouvines, he had been obliged to rely too implicitly upon the assistance of his feudal vassals, and might think it imprudent to make them, at this moment, more sensible of their own importance, by prosecuting new wars against John, in which their assistance would have been indispensable. A large sum of money being immediately received, he may be supposed to have calculated to have a sufficient number of mercenary forces, by help of which, at some convenient period, the wreck of John's French dominions might be gained, without the assistance of his feudal militia, and of troops which never could be properly said to be under his own personal command.

During this time, a remarkable series of transactions took place in France, the review of which I have reserved to this place, that I might not confuse them in your memory with those which I have been thus recounting.

The Popes, bent at once on increasing their finances and extending their power, had found the utmost advantage in the practice of preaching the crusade, as the indispensable duty of all Christians, while, at the same time, they found it very convenient to accept of large sums of money from such princes, nobles, and individuals, as found it more convenient to purchase the privilege of remaining to look after their own affairs, than to assume the cross for distant enterprises. These holy expeditions were originally confined to the recovery of Palestine. But, since their effects were found in every respect so profitable to the church, it occurred to the Popes that there might be great policy in extending the principles of the holy crusade not only to the extirpation of infidelity and heathenism, in foreign parts, but to that of heresy at home. Accordingly, as head of the Christian

church, the Pontiffs assumed the privilege of commanding all Christian people, under the threat of spiritual censures against those that should disobey, and with a corresponding remuneration to such as rendered spiritual obedience, to rise up in arms, and do execution on such people, or sects, as it had been the pleasure of the church to lay under the ban of excommunication for heretical opinions.

It was in the exercise of a privilege so frightful, by which the Popes raised armies wherever they pleased, and employed them as they chose, that the south-west of France was subjected to a horrible war. A numerous party of dissenters from the faith of Rome, men professing, in most respects, those doctrines which are now avowed by the Protestant churches, had gradually extended itself through the south of France, and were particularly numerous in the dominions of Raymond, Earl of Toulouse. The ecclesiastical writers of the period accuse these unfortunate sectaries of professing abominable and infamous license, which they are alleged to have practised even in their public worship; but there is little reason to doubt that this was mere calumny, and that the Albigeois, or Albigenses, as they were termed, were a set of obscure but sensible men, whose minds could not be reconciled to the extravagant tenets of the Roman Church. They did not exactly agree in doctrine amongst themselves, and probably numbered among them the obscure descendants of the Paulicians, and other ancient Gothic churches, who had never embraced the faith of Rome, or yielded to its extravagant pretensions of temporal authority. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, within whose dominions these poor dissenters found refuge, was a prince of a comprehensive understanding, and, though himself professing no peculiarity of faith, was, nevertheless, willing to grant liberty of conscience to all who lived under his sway, and was well aware what temporal advantages might be derived from a government so professing complete toleration.

Against these unfortunate Albigenses, and their protee

tor Raymond, Pope Innocent III., at the instigation of Saint Dominic, and other furious inquisitors of the monastic orders, proclaimed a crusade, enjoining those persons who should embrace so pious a labour, to convert by the sword, those who should fail to lend an ear to the preaching of the monks. A numerous host, great part of which was levied among the military adventurers and hired mercenaries of the age, and whose character for license and cruelty was scarcely to be matched, was assembled, under the name of the Army of the Church. They were placed under the command of Simon de Montfort, a brave but cruel leader, and a bigot to the faith of Rome. Under his command these crusaders indulged an indiscriminate thirst for slaughter and plunder amid the peaceful Albigenses, without accurately distinguishing the heretic from the orthodox, under the pretext that they were extirpating evil and erroneous opinions, and thereby rendering acceptable service to God and the Christian Church.

Philip of France gave way to proceedings which he dared not oppose. He did not himself embrace the crusade against the Albigenses; but his son, Prince Louis, came under the obligation, without his father's knowledge and against his inclination. Count Raymond defended himself till after the battle of Bouvines, by which time Simon de Montfort, with his crusaders, had attained such a superiority over the Albigenses, that he rather regarded the engagement of Louis in the crusade as matter of jealousy, than as affording a prospect of support and assistance.

In such circumstances, Prince Louis was naturally called upon to rejoice, when he was summoned by his father to exchange the fruitless and oppressive persecution against these poor sectaries, for a more honourable warfare, which had for its object the conquest of England, and the utter destruction of King John's power.

As King John's misconduct and losses became more and more conspicuous abroad, his tyranny increased at home; and as his prerogative grew in fact weaker, he

enraged his subjects by attempting to extend its limits in the most obnoxious instances. He caused the forest laws, always vexatious, to be executed with more than usual severity, casting down the enclosures of the royal forests, so that the wild deer, and other animals of the chase, might have uncontrolled access to the crops of the husbandmen. The barons were equally discontented with the people by his violent and oppressive exactions and claims, and took the field against him in such force, as obliged King John to submit to their just demands; on which occasion, he subscribed, at Runnmede, the celebrated grant of privileges, called Magna Charta, which the English still account the bulwark of their liberties. As these privileges, however just and equitable in themselves, were extorted most unwillingly from the monarch, the perfidious king took the first opportunity to endeavour to recall them. He appealed for this purpose to the Pope, whom he had created his lord paramount; and the Pontiff, who received his claim of protection most favourably, expressed himself as highly offended at some of the articles of the Great Charter, and swore he would not suffer a sovereign, who was now an obedient vassal of the church, to be dictated to by his subjects in such a manner. He, therefore, annulled the grant of the Great Charter, as extorted by force, and not long after fulminated excommunications against the allied barons, and all who favoured them. John received still more powerful assistance from a large army of mercenary soldiers, whom he landed at Dover, and with whom he took Rochester. By this re-enforcement, the king obtained a formidable advantage over the barons who could not always keep their feudal followers under arms, since they had their land to cultivate and their crops to gather in, whereas the mercenaries could be kept prepared for war at all times, and ready to be in the field at a minute's warning.

The barons in this emergency adopted the desperate alternative of throwing themselves into the hands of the King of France, rather than submit to the tyrant John. Two of their number were despatched to the court of

King Philip, offering to transfer their own allegiance, and the kingdom of England, to his eldest son Louis, on condition of his bringing an army to their assistance. The pretence of this interference on the part of France might be, that when the crown vassals were oppressed by their immediate lord, their lord paramount had a right to interfere for their redress. Even that excuse would not have justified in feudal law the substitution of the son in the fief, which, if forfeited at all, was an escheat to the father. But the case of the barons was desperate, and, conscious of John's revengeful temper, they sought for aid in the only manner in which they saw a chance of obtaining it. Accordingly, the tempting offer of a crown prevailed on Philip and his son, the former in secret, and the latter openly, to accept eagerly the proposal of the barons, and to send an army of seven thousand men to re-enforce the insurgent party in England, while Louis himself prepared a stronger expedition.

On the 23d of May, Louis arrived before Sandwich, with a gallant navy of six hundred sail, disembarked a corresponding number of land forces, marched towards London, and, having taken Rochester in his route, was welcomed with acclamations by the citizens. (A. D. 1216.) Here he received the homage of the barons who had invited him to their aid.

Hitherto every thing had been in favour of the young Prince of France, and the affairs of John went to ruin on all sides. The legate of the Pope strove in vain to defend him by the fulminations of the church. These were addressed both against Philip and his son Louis; but as the former monarch disavowed in public the proceedings of his son, the effectual excommunication fell only upon Louis himself, who, receiving from his father by underhand means the encouragement and the supplies which were openly refused to him, and being, moreover, at the head of a military force, set at defiance the consequences of the spiritual censures. Indeed, it may be observed, that, even during this period, (although that ir

which the Romish church had the greatest influence on the world at large,) the Pope's excommunication was effectual, or otherwise, according to the opinion entertained by the nation in general, of the justice of the sentence. Thus we have seen, that a sentence of the church reduced John to almost total ruin, from which he only saved himself by the most absolute submission, and the transference of his dominions to the Roman see. On the other hand, the curse of Rome did not greatly affect Prince Louis, while the barons of England continued to espouse his cause. And not long subsequent to this time, Robert Bruce of Scotland, excommunicated as he was for the murder of Comyn, found the spiritual censure no great impediment to the recovery of his crown. So that it was the force of public opinion, which added much to the effectual weight of the anathema of the church.

But the affairs of Louis were deranged by circumstances different from, and independent of, the Pope's sentence of excommunication, although, as the scale turned that sentence acquired weight which it had not when first pronounced. In the space of the first two months Louis marched successfully through England, and reduced the whole southern parts of that kingdom to his obedience. But he met a check before the castle of Dover, which was defended with obstinacy and success by Hubert de Burgh, and a select garrison. The most formidable military engine of the French was in vain pointed against the walls of a place strong by nature, and fortified with all the skill of the period. Although success seemed almost impossible, Louis continued the siege with unavailing obstinacy, and the time which he wasted before Dover, gave John leisure once more to collect his forces, and afforded opportunity for dissensions to spring up among the allies of Prince Louis. Windsor Castle was besieged by the Prince with the same ill success as Dover. John was once more at the head of a formidable army, and what was still more ominous to the cause of Louis, the English barons began to draw off from his

side, on discerning that he treated his countrymen with undue partiality, and afforded little countenance to the lords of England who had joined him. A report was spread, that the Viscount of Melun had, on his death-bed, confessed a purpose on the part of Louis to put to death the barons who had joined his party, as traitors to their natural monarch. Whether the report was founded in truth or not, it was certainly believed; insomuch, that several nobles of distinction deserted the cause of Louis, and returned to their original allegiance.

Many or most others were only withheld from doing the same, from a dread of the false and vindictive character of John, when, at this critical period, an event took place which fortunately saved England from the dreadful alternative of a foreign yoke, or a bloody civil war. King John delivered the country from the extremity to which he had reduced it, by his sudden death, the only thing which could have relieved it. This prince, whose tyranny had occasioned the evils of his kingdom, and the general apprehension of whose perfidy prevented their being removed, died at Newark-upon-Trent, at the yet robust age of forty-nine years, on 19th October, 1216. (A. D.)

This opportune event changed the scene, for the revolted barons, already inclined to return to their allegiance, had now to treat with a young prince of the native family of their own kings, instead of a foreigner, whose faith they had some reason to distrust, or the tyrant John, whose treachery and cruelty were alike to be dreaded.

Henry III., the eldest son and successor of John, was only in his tenth year, so that the assistance of a guardian, or protector, was absolutely necessary. The Earl of Pembroke, a wise and brave nobleman, was chosen to this eminent but difficult office. Loyal to the young prince, he was, at the same time, friendly to the liberties of the subject, and his first act was, as a voluntary grant on the part of the crown, to renew the Great Charter of the Liberties which John had granted with so much formality

and afterwards endeavoured to retract. This open and manly measure served as an assurance that, in the new reign, the regal power was to be administered with due respect to the freedom of the subject; and, in consequence, the English barons, who could have no cause of personal complaint against the young king, began, upon this favourable prospect, to throng back to his standard, and to desert that of Louis of France.

Louis, who had received considerable re-enforcements from his father, and was naturally reluctant to abandon what was once so hopeful an enterprise, still imprudently persevered in his attempts on Dover Castle, without being able to overcome the resistance of Hubert de Burgh. Other indecisive sieges and skirmishes took place, until at length, in the beginning of the summer 1217, (A. D.) the French army, under the Earl of Perche, was totally defeated under the walls of Lincoln, and in the streets of the town. This disaster closed the struggle, and a treaty of peace was concluded betwixt Louis and the Lord Protector, Pembroke, by which the former honourably stipulated for the indemnity of such English barons as adhered to his party, and for the freedom, without ransom, of the numerous French prisoners taken at the battle of Lincoln. Under these conditions, Louis resigned his pretensions to the crown of England, and engaged to use his intercession with his father for the restoration of the fief of Normandy, and others conquered from King John by Philip; and if his intercession should prove ineffectual, the prince farther bound himself to restore these foreign dominions to England, when he himself should accede to the throne of France. Prince Louis accordingly withdrew to France with all his forces, leaving the young prince, Henry, peacefully seated upon the throne. Thus terminated an important crisis, which threatened in the commencement to make England a province of France, as a fair and fertile part of France had, in the time of the kings succeeding the Conquest, been fiefs of England, until taken from John, who ac-

quired, from his loss of territory, the dishonourable title of *Lack-Land*, or landless.

Louis, the Prince of France, having left one field of strife in England, found in his own country another, which was almost equally unsuccessful. This was the renewed war against the unfortunate heretics in the south of France, called the Albigenses. These unhappy people had been treated with much oppression and cruelty by Simon de Montfort, who came against them at the head of the dissolute and disorderly bands who were called crusaders, conquered them, and had been created their earl, or count. But he continued to persecute the heretics with such unrelenting severity, and so oppressed them, that, being able to endure their sufferings no longer, they rushed to arms, restored their old Count Raymond to the government of his fief, and became again formidable. Simon de Montfort hastened once more to form the siege of Toulouse; but the cause of the oppressed was victorious, and this cruel and tyrannical leader fell before the city, while his wife and family remained the prisoners of the Albigenses.

The Pope, alarmed at the success of these heretics, as he termed them, became urgent with King Philip to be active against them, while an assembly of the church, held at Mantes, again determined on preaching the crusade against the Albigenses. Philip, although he himself had gone to Palestine, in his memorable crusade with King Richard, was by no means a favourer of these impolitic expeditions. On the other hand, he dared not refuse the request of the Pope and clergy, and reluctantly permitted his son Louis, with an army of fifteen thousand men again to take the cross against the heretics in the south of France. But the prince prosecuted the war with so much coldness, that it was supposed Louis was either indifferent in the cause himself, or had private instructions from his father not to conduct it with activity. At length he was recalled from the enterprise entirely, by his father's command. The pretext was, the necessity of the prince's attendance on a grand council, to be

held at Mantes, for considering an offer made by Amaury, son of Simon de Montfort. This young man, the heir of the title which his father had acquired over Toulouse by his first conquest, thought he perceived the reason why France was so cold in recovering these possessions. He therefore proposed to cede to the crown of France his own right to the earldom, that Philip and his son might have a deep personal interest in carrying on the war with vigour. This would probably have given more activity to the movements of Philip Augustus against the Albigenes. But he did not survive to accept of the cession offered by de Montfort, as he died of a fever at Mantes, in July, 1223, (A. D.) He was incomparably the greatest prince that had held the French throne since the days of Charlemagne. At his death, he left the proper dominions of France nearly doubled in extent, by his valour and prudence, and greatly improved in wealth, strength, and convenience, by the formation of roads, the fortification of defenceless towns, the creation of public works, and other national improvements, arising from his wise administration. He was in general successful in his military exploits, as much owing to the sagacity with which he planned, as to the bravery with which he executed them. The battle of Bouvines, in particular, was one of those decisive contests upon which the fate of nations depends; and had Philip been defeated, it is certain that France would have been divided by Otho and the confederates, and doubtful, to say the least, whether it could have been again united into one single kingdom of the first rank.

CHAPTER XIII.

Accession of Louis the Lion—War with England—Crusade against the Albigenses—Death of Louis—Regency of Queen Blanche—Conspiracy of the Crown Vassals suppressed—Louis assumes the Cross—Lands at Damietta, and captures that place—Disasters of the French in their march to Grand Cairo—Louis and great part of his Army taken prisoners—Negotiations for their ransom—Murder of the Sultan by his Body Guard—Conduct of the Assassins towards the French King—Confinement of the Queen during her Husband's captivity—Louis returns to France, on the Death of his Mother—his Despondency.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS was succeeded in his throne by his eldest son, Louis VIII., whose unsuccessful wars in England we have already noticed. He was called by the surname of the Lion, from his personal courage, doubtless, rather than from his success in arms, of which last he had not much to boast.

He had scarcely assumed the throne, when he was greeted by an ambassador from Henry III., demanding the restoration of the provinces which the English monarch's ancestors had held in France, in terms of the treaty made and sworn to when he left England in 1217. Louis was, however, determined on no account to comply with this article, the fulfilment of which would have occasioned the revival of the English power in France, which had been so serious a subject of annoyance and apprehension to his predecessors. In vindication of the breach of his oath, he alleged that the English, on their part, had not fulfilled the treaty of 1217, that some of the English barons of his party had met with usage contrary to the promise of indemnity pledged in their behalf, and that some French prisoners, made at the battle of Lincoln

instead of being set at liberty in terms of the compact, had been compelled to ransom themselves.

Taking upon him, therefore, the character of one who had sustained, and not inflicted a wrong, King Louis, instead of restoring Normandy, proceeded, in imitation of his father's policy, to invade and besiege those towns which the English still possessed in Poitou; and Niort, Saint Jean d'Angeli, and finally Rochelle itself, fell into his hands, after a valiant defence. Bourdeaux, and the country beyond the Garonne, was the only part of the ample dominions within France, once acknowledging the English authority, which still remained subject to that power. This territory would probably have followed the fate of the other forfeited or reconquered fiefs, but Henry III., now a young man, sent an expedition, commanded by his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and consisting of a considerable number of troops, to its relief. At the same time he created Richard Count of Poitou. The Gascons were favourable to the English, with whom they maintained a profitable traffic. They were also flattered by the proposal to place them immediately under the command of a prince of the English blood royal, and prepared to resist the invasion of Louis so obstinately, that the King of France thought it judicious to consent to a truce for three years. (A. D. 1224.) He had indeed still upon his hands the civil war with the Albigenes; and though he has been blamed for granting the English a truce, it may be supposed he acted wisely in undertaking only one of these formidable enterprises at a time.

He was urged to renew the crusade against the southern heretics, by the legate of the Pope, but in consenting to do so, failed not to secure such personal interest in the adventure, as might ensure to himself the principal advantage of its success. For this purpose, Louis renewed the treaty which his father had commenced with Amaury de Montfort, and promising to that count the post of High Constable of France, when a vacancy should occur, he

accepted from him the cession of all rights he inherited from his father, the Count of Toulouse.

Having thus provided for his own interest in the undertaking, the king assembled an army of fifty thousand men, consisting of the best and boldest of his vassals, at the head of their followers. With this large force he first besieged Avignon, where the citizens were at first disposed to open their gates, but refused to receive any person within them, except the king with his ordinary train. But unlimited access was demanded, and the townsmen, afraid too justly of pillage and massacre, shut their gates, and stood on their defence. They fought with the utmost obstinacy, and the besiegers lost above two thousand men, amongst whom was that celebrated Comte de Saint Paul, who had acquired so much honour at the battle of Bouvines. At length the citizens of Avignon were compelled to submit to a capitulation, the terms of which were uncommonly severe. The establishment of the Roman Catholic religion was exclusively provided for; and two hundred hostages were given to that effect, sons of the most wealthy inhabitants. Some of those who had conducted the defence were hanged, or otherwise punished; the fortifications were dismantled; the ditches filled up; and three hundred of the best houses were levelled with the ground, to complete the humiliation of the city.

After Avignon had surrendered, it was the object of Louis to march against Toulouse, and inflict a similar vengeance on that town, the metropolis of the revolted province. But his army had suffered so severely from want of provisions, from the sword, and from pestilential disease, that the King was compelled to grant them some relaxation from military duty, which they were not at the time capable of discharging.

But Louis had himself performed before Avignon his last campaign. On retiring to Monpensier, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, 12th November, (A. D. 1226,) having reigned only four years, and being in the very prime of his manhood. He was succeeded by his

only son, who bore his own name, and was afterwards distinguished in the royal catalogue by the title of Saint Louis. The epithet of Saint, in those superstitious times, inferred at least as much weakness as virtue; and we shall see that Louis, while he was an honour to the character in the higher virtues, was not without the imperfections usually attending a reputation for sanctity, comprehending, of course, much devotion to the Pope, and great liberality to the church.

The Queen Blanche, relict of the deceased monarch, acted as regent for her son. She was eldest daughter of Alphonso, King of Castile, by his wife Eleanor, daughter of that celebrated Eleanor of Aquitaine, by her second marriage with Henry II. of England. The character of Blanche, during the life of her husband, had not been called forth to any remarkable display; but Louis VIII., who had great confidence in her wisdom, had named her in his settlement the regent of France, until his son should attain the years of majority. She had, therefore, an arduous duty to discharge, especially as very many of the crown vassals of the highest rank, dissatisfied with the power attained by the king during the last two reigns, had formed a league together, upon the principle of that which was adopted by the confederates, previous to the battle of Bouvines, and the purpose of which, Philip's victory in that battle had for the time disconcerted.

The opportune occurrence of a minority, during which the crown's authority was to be administered by a female, and a foreigner, seemed, to various of the petty princes, who were ambitious of rivalling the king in all but the name, a time highly fitted for recovering by force, if necessary, that degree of independence of which they had been deprived by the policy and success of Philip Augustus and his short-lived son, Louis the Lion. The still existing insurrection of the Albigenses was a great encouragement to the confederates, and Raymond of Toulouse was one of the most zealous of their number. He was one who could be easily justified; for, while the

others became rebels and conspirators, for objects of personal power and ambition, to which they had a very doubtful claim, Raymond was a prince unjustly deprived of his territories, which he was naturally desirous to recover.

The other nobles engaged in the conspiracy against the queen regent were, Philip, Count of Boulogne, the brother of the late king, who claimed the regency as of right appertaining to him by descent ; the powerful Earls or Counts Thibault, of Champagne, Hugh de la Marche, Hugh de Saint Paul, Simon de Ponthieu ; there was, besides, Peter, Duke of Bretagne ; all princes of the first rank for wealth and power, which it was their object to hold with no greater degree of dependence on the crown of France, than they might find indispensable. In fact, it was their object to deprive the king of all power, beyond what might become a president of the *cour plénière*, and general of the armies of the kingdom.

Alone, or nearly so, a stranger and a woman, opposed to so many powerful nobles, Blanche conducted herself with great courage and ability. Ere the confederates had matured their plan of hostilities, she suddenly attacked Raymond of Toulouse, reduced him to ask terms by which he became bound to renounce the heretical opinions of the Albigenses, and to give his daughter and heiress in marriage to Alphonso, her own fourth son by the late king, and thus secured the final reversion of these rich territories to the royal family.

The next part of her undertaking was the subjugation of the confederates, who laid aside the mask, and began to show their real purpose ; and here her female power, extreme beauty and corresponding address, were of the greatest service. Thibault, Count of Champagne, a prince of great possessions, was renowned alike as a good knight, and as an excellent troubadour, or poet, in which capacity he had, even during the life of her husband, Louis VIII., selected as the theme of his praise, and the sovereign mistress of his affections, no other than Blanche herself. The adoration of a poet, in those times, had in

in nothing that was necessarily hurtful to a lady's reputation, nevertheless, it was said that the queen had expressed resentment at the liberty which the Count of Champagne had taken in fixing his affections so high, and in making his admiration so public. It is even surmised, that the severity with which the queen treated the enamoured poet, was so highly resented by him, that his mortification was the cause of his joining the confederates. But a woman of address and beauty knows well how to recover the affections of an offended lover; and if her admirer should be of a romantic and poetical temperament, he is still more easily recalled to his allegiance. It cost the queen but artfully throwing out a hint, that she would be pleased to see Thibault at court; and the faithful lover was at her feet and at her command. On two important occasions, the enamoured troubadour disconcerted the plans of his political confederates, like a faithful knight, in obedience to the commands of the lady of his affections.

Upon one of these occasions, Count Thibault gave private intimation of a project of the malecontents to seize the person of the queen, on a journey from Orleans to Paris. Their purpose, being once known, was easily defeated, by the queen-mother throwing herself and her son into a strong fortress, till a suitable escort was collected to ensure their passage in safety to the capital. On another occasion the king having called an assembly of his nobles to oppose Peter of Bretagne, who had appeared in open arms, the conspiring nobles agreed to bring each to the rendezvous a party of followers, in apparent obedience to the royal command, which, though it should seem but moderate, in regard to each individual prince's retinue, should, when united, form a preponderating force. But this stratagem was also disconcerted by the troubadour Earl of Champagne, who, to please his royal mistress, brought a stronger attendance than all the others put together; so, that, as none of the other great vassals dared to take the part of Peter of Bretagne, he was obliged to submit to the royal authority.

The Count of Champagne had like to have dearly bought his compliance with the pleasure of his lady-love, instead of pursuing the line of politics of the confederates. He was attacked by the whole confederacy, who, enraged at his tergiversation, agreed to expel him from his country, and confer Champagne upon the Queen of Cyprus, who had some claim to it as heiress of Thibault's elder brother. Blanche was so far grateful to her devoted lover, that she caused her son to march to his succour, and repel the attack on his territories. Yet she sought to gain something for the crown, by this act of kindness, and therefore intimated to the count, that, to defray the expenses of the war, and compensate the claims of his niece, it would be expedient that he should sell to the young king his territories of Blois, Chartres, Chateaudun, and Sansevre. The count murmured forth some remonstrances, in being required to part with so valuable a portion of his estates. But so soon as Blanche, with a displeased look, reproached him with his disobedience and ingratitude, he fetched a deep sigh, as he replied, "By my faith, madam, my heart, my body, my life, my land, are all at your absolute disposal!" The crown of France acquired the territory accordingly.

It does not appear that the devotions of this infatuated lover were offensive to Queen Blanche herself, who, as a woman, might be proud of her absolute influence over a man of talents, and, as a politician, might judge it desirable to preserve that influence over a powerful nobleman, when it was maintained at the cheap price of an obliging word, or glance. But some of the French courtiers grew impatient of the absurd pretensions of Thibault to the queen's favour. They instigated Robert of Artois, one of the sons of Louis VIII., who was little beyond childhood, to put an affront upon the Count of Champagne by throwing a soft cream-cheese in his face. Enthusiasm of every kind is peculiarly sensible to ridicule. Thibault became aware that he was laughed at, and as the rank and youth of the culprit prevented the prince being the subject of revenge, the Count of Champagne retired

from the court for ever, and in his feuda domiuiions endeavoured to find consolation in the favour of the muses, for the rigour, and perhaps the duplicity, of his royal mistress. This troubadour monarch afterwards became King of Navarre, and his extravagant devotion to beauty and poetry did not prevent his being held, in those days, a sagacious as well as accomplished sovereign.

Other intrigues the queen mother was able to disconcert, by timely largesses bestowed upon the needy among the conspirators, while some she subdued by force of arms. In the latter case, she committed the conduct of the royal forces to Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, the same who was taken prisoner at the battle of Bouvines, who conducted himself with all the fidelity and intelligence she could have desired. And, in short, by patience, courage, policy, and well used opportunity, Queen Blanche not only preserved that degree of authority which was attached to the throne when she was called to the administration of affairs, but consolidated and augmented it considerably.

It may be that the wars and intrigues of the Queen of France would have ended less fortunately, if the weight of England had been thrown into the opposite scale; and you may wonder that this was not the case, since no time could have occurred more suitable than the minority of Saint Louis, for the recovery of those French territories which the skill and conduct of Philip Augustus won from the imbecility of his contemporary, King John. Indeed, at the accession of Louis VIII., when the period was less favourable, Henry III., or his counsellors, had, as we observed, made a formal demand that Normandy, and the other provinces claimed by England, should be restored. But although many of the barons of the provinces once attached to England offered their assistance eagerly; although the possession of Bourdeaux rendered a descent easy; although the Duke of Bretagne, whom we have mentioned as a chief of the league against the crown of France, endeavoured to urge the court of England to an invasion, which he pledged himself to support

with his utmost force ; yet the character of Henry III of England was totally unfit for such an undertaking. He had some of his father John's faults, being, though less cruel than he, fully as timid in his person, and as rash in his attempts. He was extravagantly expensive, and notoriously faithless ; an encroacher upon the rights of his subjects, and repeatedly guilty of the breach of his most solemn promises and engagements to them. Henry was also, like his father, an indolent and wretched conductor of an undertaking requiring activity and resolution. In 1229, (A. D.) Henry did indeed attempt his long-threatened invasion of France ; but with so little precaution, that, when his army was assembled, it was found there had been no care taken to provide an adequate number of vessels. They passed to St. Maloes, however, and were joined by the Duke of Bretagne, with all his forces, but instead of leading the army to action, Henry spent the money which had been provided for their support in mere lavish and expensive follies, and returned to England after three or four months' idle and useless stay in France, almost without having broken a lance in the cause which had induced him to leave his kingdom. On returning to England, this imprudent prince became engaged in those intestine divisions with his people which were called the Barons' Wars, and which left him no time, if he had had inclination, to trouble himself about the affairs of France. Meantime the Duke of Bretagne, deserted by his ally, was hard pressed by the royal forces, and demanded a respite only till he should make application to Henry for relief. On receiving a refusal, the unfortunate duke saw himself obliged to present himself before his sovereign, the King of France, with a halter around his neck, and solicit mercy in the most humiliating terms. The disgrace of this pageant lay with the English king, whose neglect to support his ally had rendered this scene of abject submission the only road to safety which the deserted prince could pursue.

England being thus occupied with her internal quar

rels, the Queen mother Blanche met with no interruption from that quarter, while she extended the power of her son over the discontented vassals whose object it had been to restrict it. But with her grandmother Eleanor of Aquitaine's masculine energies of disposition, Blanche possessed no small share of her ambition. She was in no hurry to surrender to her son the supreme power which she had administered so well ; nor did the dutiful Louis, though now approaching his twenty-first year, seem impatient to take upon himself the character of governor. On the contrary, although he assumed the name of sovereign, yet he continued to yield to the queen mother, at least in a great measure, the actual power of administration.

It was said, that this deference to maternal authority, more implicit than was becoming for him to yield, or his mother to exact, arose from his having been educated more like a monk, to whom strict obedience is one great duty enjoined, than like a sovereign, who was not only to think for himself, but to decide upon the actions of others. Signs of this monastic education were to be seen in the bigoted attachment with which the future saint regarded every thing either really religious, or affecting to be so ; and the narrowness of his mode of thinking in this respect led to the principal misfortunes of his reign. It is possible, however, that committing his education almost entirely to churchmen, might be a measure adopted as much from the queen mother's own superstitious feelings, as from a desire to keep her son in the background.

Blanche's jealousy of those of her own sex who approached her son and sought to please him, was not, perhaps, an extraordinary, though an inconvenient excess of maternal fondness. But she was singularly unreasonable in extending her jealousy to her son's wife, a beautiful woman, Margaret, one of the daughters of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence. The servants of the household had orders, when the King and Queen were

in private together, to whip the dogs which were about the royal apartment, so that the cries of the animals might give the queen mother a hint to burst in on the retirement and privacy of her son and his wife. The young queen reproached her mother-in-law with this jealous vigilance ; and when Blanche caused Louis to remove from the apartment in which his wife was about to be confined, "You will not let me speak with my husband," said Margaret, "whether living or dying."

The docility of the son, in a case where he had a reasonable excuse for resistance, seems to have been carried to an amiable excess. Yet, it is certain, that whether her conduct in this particular arose out of policy or mistaken fondness, the love of Blanche for her son was equally sincere and maternal. In the bias, however, which his mind had taken towards a strict interpretation of his duties in morality and religion, tinged as the latter was with the superstition of his age, it was plain that the first impulse which Louis might consider as a direction from Heaven, would induce him to fall into the prevailing error of the time, by assuming the cross, and departing for the Holy Land.

Accordingly, a sudden illness, in which he remained insensible for the space of twenty-four hours, struck the young king with such alarm, that he took the cross from the hands of the Archbishop of Paris, and made a solemn vow to march in person against the infidels with a royal army. It was in vain that the wisest of his ministers pointed out to Louis the disasters which his predecessors had sustained by such imprudent and ill-fated engagements. Even his mother, though his departure must restore her to full power as regent, in name as well as authority, dissuaded her son from this fatal enterprise. In reply, the king maintained, that as he had continued to recover hourly since his vow was taken, the purport of it must of course have been agreeable to the divine will ; and he would only promise that he would endeavour to arrange the preparations for his enterprise, at full leisure, and with as much precaution as should secure its

success, and the safety of his dominions during his absence. He obtained from the church a grant of the tenth of their revenues, to sustain the expense of his undertaking. Gradually, too, he prevailed upon many of the nobility, and among these the Count of Marche and the Duke of Bretagne, two of the most powerful and turbulent of their number, to follow his example, and accompany him to the East.

The motions of the future saint were arrested during his preparations, by the arrival at his court of Richard, King of the Romans, brother of Henry III. of England, with an embassy from that power. "Sir King of France," said this distinguished envoy, "you cannot undertake to wage a holy war against the infidels, until you do justice to your brother of England, bereft as he has been by your father of the provinces belonging to him in France."

The King of France was so much startled at this objection to his purpose, that he referred the case, as a scruple of conscience, to a conclave of Norman bishops; and it was not till they formally gave their opinion that no restitution should be made, that Louis declined the request of the King of the Romans.

King Louis now prepared for his crusade, and departed, carrying with him his young wife, although the instance of Philip le Jeune was a bad example to recommend such policy. Robert and Charles, his two brothers, also accompanied the king in his adventurous expedition. Passing down the Rhone from Lyons, he embarked from the shores of the Mediterranean, and landed at Cyprus on the 25th September, 1274, (A. D.) It was his purpose to proceed from thence in the spring, in order to invade the kingdom of Egypt; for experience had made it obvious, that, although Palestine might be conquered for a season, it could never be effectually protected or defended, as an independent Christian state, until the infidels should be deprived of the populous and rich kingdom of Egypt, which lay so near the Holy Land. The number of his army amounted to about fifty thousand

men, of which it was computed there were ten thousand cavalry ; and they disembarked in safety, as they had proposed, before the town of Damietta. Here Louis, who, with all his superstition, displayed a great fund of personal worth and bravery, sprung into the sea in complete armour, waded ashore among the foremost, with the Oriflamme displayed, and made good his landing in spite of twenty thousand men, by whom the shore and city of Damietta were defended. The invaders seized upon, and garrisoned the city, which was opulent, extensive, and well fortified. Louis, with wise precaution, took into his custody the magazines which they had acquired in the storm which followed the capture ; but the subordinate leaders of the crusade were dissatisfied, contending that, on such occasions, the share of the commander-in-chief was limited to one-third of the spoil, and that the rest belonged to his associates. This introduced dissatisfaction and insubordination among the feudal lords, and greatly affected Louis's authority.

Want of discipline being thus introduced, it was speedily perceived that the army of Saint Louis was not of better morals than those of other crusaders, and the utmost licentiousness was practised, under the countenance of some of the courtiers, within a stone's cast of the king's own pavilion. In the meantime, the crusaders remained in Damietta, waiting, first for the abatement of the inundation of the Nile, and thereafter for the arrival of Alphonso, Count of Poitiers, who had been separated from his brother by stress of weather, or, as others say, had been later than Louis in setting out from France. This prince arrived at length ; and Louis resolved to sally from the city, for the purpose of marching to Grand Cairo, which the invaders termed Babylon. But the river Nile, which the Christians believed to come from the terrestrial Paradise, was at that time still in flood, and interrupted their march on every side. One broad canal in particular, opposed their passage. As they had neither boats nor bridges, the crusaders attempted to cross the canal by means of a mound—an awkward contrivance

in which they totally failed. While engaged in this fruitless labour, the Christians were opposed at every turn by the light-armed Saracens who attacked the military engines by which they endeavoured to cover their passage, with balls of Greek fire, a species of inflammable matter shot from the artillery then in use, extremely difficult to quench, and which flew through the air, resembling in appearance a fiery dragon. Saint Louis himself seems rather to have sought refuge in his tears and devotions, than in attempting to stop the conflagration. The crusaders were obliged to renew the engines which had been destroyed, with such part of the ships as could be dismantled for that purpose. The Count of Artois, with imprudent valour, found at length the means of passing the canal at a dangerous ford; and, instead of halting till he was supported, rushed on with two thousand horse, and forced his way into the village of Massoura, where the Saracens gave themselves up for lost. But their troops being rallied by a valiant soldier, who was afterwards raised to the rank of sovereignty, the advanced party of the Count of Artois were enclosed within the village. The inhabitants poured on them stones, javelins, arrows, scalding water, and all sorts of missiles from the roofs of the houses, which were flat, and well adapted to this species of defence. Most of the Christians were slain; and the Count of Artois, after having for some time defended himself in one of the houses of the village, at length fell fighting valiantly.

The king, to whom his brother's death was reported, wept bitterly for the loss he had sustained; and was much grieved when he heard that the chief of the Saracens displayed the coat-of-armor of the fallen prince, as if it had been that of the king himself. Although the French had the worst in this unequal and confused battle, their chivalry maintained the reputation which it had in Europe. Louis, surrounded by several Saracens, defended himself against them all; and when six of the principal Mamelukes took shelter behind a heap of stones

from the shot of the French crossbows, to which they replied with arrows and Greek fire, a stout priest called John de Waysy, clad in his cuirass and head-piece, and armed with his two-handed sword, rushed on them so suddenly, that, astonished at his resolution, they dispersed themselves and fled. But notwithstanding these, and many other feats of arms highly honourable to the crusaders, the losses of the Saracens were easily replaced; whereas, every soldier that fell on the part of the French, was an irreparable loss. A subsequent action in which the Greek fire was showered upon the Christians so that it covered even Louis's own horse, and burnt whatever was opposed to it, both men and military engines, completed the disasters of this unfortunate army. The invaders were now reduced to a defensive warfare; and this was sustained at the greatest disadvantage. A dreary duty remained, after these battles were over. The king, says his historian Joinville, hired a hundred labourers to separate the bodies of the Christians from those of the pagans; the former were interred; the Saracens were thrust under the bridge, and floated down to the sea.

“God knows,” says the gallant knight, “how noisome was the smell, and how miserable it was to see the bodies of such noble and worthy persons lie exposed. I witnessed the chamberlain of the late Count of Artois seeking the body of his master, and many more hunting after those of their friends; but none who were exposed to the infectious smell, while engaged in this office, ever recovered their health. Fatal diseases in consequence broke out in the army; their limbs were dried up and destroyed, and almost all were seized with a complaint in the mouth, from which many never recovered.” The scurvy, which is intimated by this last disease, made frightful ravages among the crusaders, a part of whom were now cooped up in Damietta, or under its walls. The Saracens dragged their armed galleys across the land, and launched them in the Nile, beneath the city which was thus blockaded by land and water. Provisions

were extremely scarce, and the eels of the river, which fed upon the numberless dead bodies became the principal subsistence of the French army, and increased the pestilential disease

The condition of the Christians became now so desperate, that Louis resolved to retreat to Damietta, and call in all the outposts and vanguard of his army, which were on their march to Cairo. The king himself might have made his retreat in safety by water; but it was no part of his plan to desert his army. He himself quitted his own battalion, and, with Sir Geoffrey de Sergines, joined the rear division, thus continuing his countermarch as far as the town of Casel. In the latter part of his retreat, the Turks came so close upon him, that Sir Geoffrey was obliged to drive them off with strokes of the blade and point of his sword; at length, the unfortunate prince was reduced to such a state, that he was obliged to lie down with his head in the lap of a female, who had come from Paris; he expected every moment to die in that posture. Walter de Chatillon, with the constancy of a gallant knight, planted himself alone at the door of the house in which the king lay, attacked every infidel who passed, and put them repeatedly to flight. The king, who saw him rush to the attack alone, brandishing his sword, and rising in his stirrups, exclaimed, in his hour of distress, "Ha, Chatillon! gallant knight, where are all our good companions?" The faithful knight was at length overpowered by numbers, and his fate made known by the condition of his horse, which was seen covered with blood in the possession of a Saracen, who claimed the merit of having slain its gallant master.

In the meantime, most of those who had fled, rather than retreated, towards Damietta, had already been slaughtered by the Saracens, or had delivered themselves up to captivity. Scarcely even the deplorable catastrophe of Louis le Jeune was more unfortunate in its consequences, than the termination of the last crusade but one prepared for with so much care, and ending with so much wretchedness. The King, his remaining brother, many

princes of the blood royal and high noblesse, and the wreck of his noble army, fell as captives into the hands of the infidels, and were treated with the most atrocious severity.

Upon the first surrender of the prisoners, the only choice assigned them was that of embracing the Moslem faith, or submitting to instant death ; and by far the greater part adopted the choice of martyrdom. When, however, it began to be discovered that most of the prisoners had the means of paying a high ransom, the barbarians, into whose hands they fell, became more desirous of lucre than of bloodshed, and exchanged for ransom most of those who were able to comply with their demands. The Sultan of Egypt began also to reflect that Damietta was still garrisoned by the Christians, and might safely apprehend their retaining it till succours should come from Europe. These considerations made him desirous of an accommodation, by which he should rid Egypt of its troublesome visitors.

But the nature of the government to which that country was now subjected, rendered the fate of the prisoners extremely uncertain, and precarious ; but to enable you to understand the circumstances in which they were placed, it is necessary to explain what the nature of that government was.

Touran Shah, the reigning sultan of Egypt, was a great-grandson of the brother of the famous Saladin, whom we have seen the opponent of Richard Cœur de Lion ; but the followers of these sultans had been rendered effeminate by the pleasures of a rich country, and were no longer capable of engaging in battle, or attaining victory over such rugged opponents, as King Louis and his Franks. To supply this general deficiency of courage and spirit in their soldiers, the preceding sultans of Egypt had been accustomed to levy chosen troops from the numerous bands of slaves, which they bought on the verge of Tartary, or in other foreign countries. These, chiefly Georgians, Circassians, and the like, were selected while children, for their form and strength, carefully

educated in martial exercises, and taught to understand from early years that their distinction in life must depend upon the undaunted use which they should learn to make of their spears and scimitars. They were allowed high pay and great privileges, and those who distinguished themselves were raised to the rank of officers over the others. From these chosen troops the sultan selected his viziers, generals, lieutenants, and governors.

As has been always found the case in similar instances, this body of mercenary soldiers became dangerous even to the prince in whose service they were enrolled, and frequently assumed the right of disposing of the crown, which they were engaged to defend, as well as the life of him that wore it. It was they who, with such determined valour, had interrupted the advance, and followed up the retreat, of the valiant Franks; and, filled with a high idea of their own prowess, and a contempt of the native troops of the country, they thought that Touran Shah was not sufficiently grateful to them for the victory which he had obtained by their support, or that he manifested some intention of laying them aside for a more docile soldiery.

Of this unfortunate sultan we know little; but he appears neither to have been destitute of the bravery nor the generosity which became a successor of Saladin. The valiant *Sieur de Joinville* saw him in the front of battle, taller by the shoulders than those around him, and wielding with courage the German sword which he bore in his hand. His gilded helmet was placed proudly on his head; "and I never," says the historian, "saw a more gallant man under arms." Nor was his conduct less princely than his appearance. At first, indeed, the French in their captivity were threatened with a terrific death by torture, unless they would renounce the Christian faith to ensure their personal safety. Such a proposal under such tremendous threats, was made to the king himself. But when Saint Louis showed by his firmness that he held such menaces in scorn, the Saracen prince sent a message in a milder tone, demanding to

know what ransom the captive monarch was willing to pay, in addition to the surrender of Damietta, which was stipulated as one indispensable condition of his freedom.

The King of France replied, that if a reasonable ransom was demanded, he would write to the queen, who was still enclosed within the walls of Damietta, to pay it for him and for his army. The Saracens, whose manners permitted of no admission of women to their councils, asked with surprise to what purpose the queen should be consulted in such an affair. "Have I not reason?" answered the simple-mannered and gallant-hearted Louis; "is she not my wife and my companion?" A second message informed the captive monarch that his ransom was fixed by the Sultan at a million of golden bezants,—equal, says Joinville, to five hundred thousand livres. At once, and without attempting farther to chaffer upon the bargain; "I will cheerfully give," said Louis, "five hundred thousand livres for ransom of my army; and for my own I will surrender the town of Damietta to the sultan; for my rank is too high to be valued in money." The sultan was seized with a generous emulation. "He is a right generous Frank," said Touran Shah, "who does not cheapen our first offer like a merchant or pedlar; tell him I abate my demand in one-fifth, and that four hundred thousand livres shall be a most sufficient ransom." He also sent garments for the king's use, and seemed disposed to part with him upon liberal terms.

But while Touran Shah was disposing of the fate of another, he little knew how near he approached to his own. The discontent of his body-guard of slaves, then called Haleuca, and the same which are now distinguished by the well-known name of Mamelukes, had risen to the highest. They broke out into insurrection, attacked the unfortunate Touran Shah, set fire to his pavilion, and cut that unfortunate prince to pieces.

Having committed this murder, they came before the king and the French captives, with their bloody battle-axes and sabres in their hands. "What will you give me," said the foremost assassin, who was yet streaming

with the blood of Touran Shah, "who have slain the enemy that sought thy life?" To this Saint Louis returned no answer. The French knights confessed themselves to each other, expecting to be immediately massacred. Yet in the very flushed moment of their king's murder, and while seeming still greedy of more blood, the conspirators felt restraint from the dignified demeanour of their disarmed prisoner. They also remembered that Darnietta still held a Christian garrison, which might give them trouble. Under such impressions, they showed indeed a disposition sufficiently mischievous, yet they entered into new conditions, somewhat similar to those that had been prescribed by the murdered Touran Shah, but stipulating that the king should take an oath, binding him to renounce his baptism and his faith, with the inestimable privileges purchased by them, in case he did not comply with all the articles of the treaty. Louis constantly and magnanimously answered, "he would rather die a good Christian, than live by taking the impious and sinful oath which they would force upon him." The Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was present at the moment, was immediately seized by the soldiers, and tied to a post, so tightly, that the blood sprung from his hands, while the old man in agony called upon the king to swear boldly whatever the infidels chose, since he would take the sin upon his own soul, rather than endure this horrid torture. But whether the oath was taken or not, Joinville declares he cannot tell.

In the meantime the scene suddenly changed, as was not unnatural among such fickle and barbarous men. A mirthful sound of trumpets and kettle-drums was heard before the tent, and King Louis was presented with an invitation from the chiefs of the late conspiracy, to become their sultan and sovereign, in room of the murdered Touran Shah. That such a proposal should be started, among other wild plans, by men in the condition of the Mamelukes, slaves, strangers, and foreigners, indifferent to the Mahometan religion, and impressed by the undaunted bravery of their royal captive was not perhaps

so unnatural as if it had been made elsewhere, or by others. But it does not seem to have been generally embraced, or seriously insisted on. On the contrary, some of the leading emirs were of opinion, that, to atone for the treasonable slaughter of Touran Shah, a good Mahometan, by their hands, it was their duty to put to death Saint Louis and his followers, the mortal enemies of Mahomet and his religion. At length, however, the proposition for mercy prevailed, and a treaty for ransom was carried into execution.

While these strange negotiations, if indeed they can be called such, were proceeding in this wild and uncertain manner, Joinville informs us of other circumstances respecting the Queen of France, who, as I before informed you, having accompanied her husband in this calamitous expedition, was enclosed with the remnant of the crusaders that held out Damietta. She was at that time with child ; a circumstance adding much to the distress of her situation, during her husband's captivity, aggravated by the probability that she herself might fall into the hands of the victorious infidels. Her period of confinement was now close approaching.

“ Three days before she was brought to bed,” says the faithful chronicler of the expedition, “ she was informed that the good king her husband had been made prisoner, which so troubled her mind, that she seemed continually to see her chamber filled with Saracens, ready to slay her ; and she incessantly kept crying, ‘ Help, help !’ when there was not a soul near her. For fear the fruit of her womb should perish, she made a knight watch at the foot of her bed all night without sleeping. This person was very old, not less than eighty years, or perhaps more ; and every time she screamed, he held her hands, and said, ‘ Madam, do not be thus alarmed ; I am with you ; quit these fears.’ Before the good lady was brought to bed, she ordered every person to leave her chamber, except this ancient knight, when she cast herself out of bed on her knees before him, and requested that he would grant her a boon. The knight with an oath, promised compli-

ance. 'The queen then said, 'Sir knight, I request on the oath you have sworn, that, should the Saracens storm this town and take it, you will cut off my head before they seize my person.' The knight replied, that he would cheerfully do so, and that he had before thought of it, in case such an event should happen. The queen was, shortly after, delivered of a son in the town of Damietta, whose name was John, and his surname Tristan, (*i. e.* the *Sad*,) because he had been born in misery and poverty. The day he was born, it was told the queen that the Pisans, the Geonese, and all the poorer European commonalty (sailors,) that were in the town, were about to fly with their vessels, and leave the king. The queen sent for them. 'Gentlemen,' she said, 'I beg of you, for the love of God, that you will not think of quitting this town, for you well know, if you do, that my lord the king and his whole army will be ruined. At least, if such be your fixed determination, have pity on this wretched person who now lies in pain, and wait until she be recovered, before you put it in execution.' "

To carry her solicitations into effect, the queen was obliged to purchase provisions to feed these wretched mariners, who complained that they must otherwise perish by hunger; and the sum so expended amounted to two hundred and sixty thousand livres, the difficulty of finding which was an augmentation of her distress.

In this manner, after suffering repeated hardships, Louis, his queen, and his lords, were at length permitted to embark for Acre, at the head of the remnant of his army. When he had thus arrived on ground where he might consider himself as perfectly free, King Louis again became inspired with the rash Quixotry of persisting in his crusade. The Christians, or Latins, of Syria, found it their interest to foster this enthusiasm, by holding out remote and fanciful prospects of his receiving assistance. Louis was amused with wild stories of the Sheik, or Chief, of the Assassins, who was supposed peculiarly friendly to the King of France, and of an imaginary prince,

a Christian by profession, and a Tartar by birth, whom these times termed Prester John, and from whose ideal assistance Louis was taught to expect the means of retrieving his affairs. It was still less, however, such fallacious hopes of foreign and eastern assistance, than a sense of mortification as a devotee, and dishonour as a true knight, which rendered Louis reluctant to return to his own kingdom, without having distinguished his arms in some victory against the Mahometans.

To pave the way for this much-desired object, Louis displayed great ability and diligence in allaying quarrels among the Christians in Palestine, for which he was admirably fitted by the native justice and benevolence of his character, and also in fortifying Acre, Cæsarea, Joppa, and other places of importance, and in preparing for a new war in Syria.

The immediate result of his labours was highly useful to Syria, insomuch that the king obtained the honourable title of Father of the Christians. But in acting towards these eastern Latins with wisdom and benevolence, Louis forgot that he owed a still more pressing duty to his own kingdom, where general confusion prevailed. For, while Louis thus pleased his fancy by providing for battles in Palestine that were never to be fought, the disorders occasioned by the news of his captivity had thrown all France into dismay. His mother, Queen Blanche, who acted as regent, had lost in some degree that strength and alertness of mind which distinguished her during her son's minority. Upon his departure from Marseilles, she fainted on bidding him adieu, and could scarcely be recalled to life,—showing plainly that she felt her son's absence more deeply than she was gratified by her own elevation to authority. Finally, receiving the melancholy tidings of his defeat and imprisonment, her sorrow seems to have weakened her understanding.

She suffered a wretched monk, somewhat resembling one of those bigots who led the first expedition under Peter the Hermit, to gather together a rabble of the lowest rank, to whom he tried to preach a new crusade, so 'he

purpose of effecting the liberation of the king. The disorderly vagabonds, thus assembled, who lived at first upon alms, became soon guilty of plunder, and gave rise to a civil war, in which they were at length defeated and extirpated by the forces of the government, but not without much loss and confusion. This intestine disorder was likely to be increased by a war with England, upon the expiry of the truce between these countries.

In the meantime Queen Blanche, the regent-mother, became altogether broken-hearted on hearing of her son's misfortunes, and retired into a convent, where she died of melancholy. Her death was naturally a subject of affliction to King Louis ; but the young Queen Margaret, considering the terms on which she stood with her mother-in-law, could scarcely be supposed to share deeply in his affliction. On receiving these tidings, Louis yielded to necessity, and prepared to return to France with the remains of his army.

During his voyage from Syria, the king showed many marks of sorrow and dejection, the consequences no doubt of the unsatisfactory issue of his crusade ; his temper also became austere, and even gloomy, of which the following is an instance. At one time he enquired of his brother, whom he accused of having avoided his presence, although they were both in the same galley. When Louis at length discovered the Comte d'Anjou, in the act of playing at tables with Sir Walter de Nemours, he staggered towards them, though scarcely able to stand from severe illness, seized the dice and tables which he flung into the sea, and severely rebuked his brother for engaging in this trifling amusement, forgetful of the death of their brother, the Comte d'Artois, and of the extreme danger from which they had been providentially extricated. "But," says De Joinville, with some naiveté, "Sir Walter de Nemours suffered the most, for the king flung all the money that lay on the tables after them into the sea."

When Louis arrived, after a voyage of ten weeks, upon the coast of Provence, he was persuaded with difficulty to land at Hieres, because that port was not his own

property. He yielded, however, in consideration of the illness of the ladies, and once more, with diminished forces and somewhat of a tarnished reputation, resumed possession of his own kingdom. His melancholy countenance, in which he bore the deep marks of dejection, and the plainness of his dress, in which he never assumed royal splendour, implied how much he had suffered since his departure, both in mind and body.

END OF VOLUME I.

TALES FROM FRENCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Wise and peaceful Reign of Saint Louis—his Expedition against Tunis, and Death—The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies given by the Pope to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis—Arrival of Charles before Tunis, with re-enforcements—Treaty with the Sultan—the Crusade abandoned—Vigorous Administration of Philip the Hardy—his Second Marriage—The Queen accused by her Husband's Favourite of poisoning her Step-son—she is acquitted and the Favourite disgraced and executed—Wars to decide the possession of the Crown of the Two Sicilies—The Sicilian Vespers—Philip's unsuccessful attempt to take possession of the Kingdom of Arragon—his Death.

KING LOUIS, upon his return to France, manifested the same prudence, wisdom, and judgment in his measures, which he had shown in Syria to less effectual purpose — He hastened to make peace with England, in consideration of which he received Henry III. at Paris with sumptuous hospitality. The claims of England upon Normandy were now rather antiquated. "I would willingly restore the province," said the King of France to the English monarch, in a confidential manner, "but my peers and barons will not consent to my doing so." King Henry therefore exchanged his claims on Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, for some trifling territories ad-

jacent to Gascony, the only portion of Henry II.'s French dominions which his grandson still retained.

Louis now reigned in peace and honour. From the universal confidence reposed in his justice and equity, both his own subjects and strangers were frequently in the custom of referring to him matters which were in debate between them. This course was the more resorted to, as the good king frequently indemnified at his own expense the party against whom he gave his award. Thus, when the queen's mother, the Countess of Provence, disputed the right of some castles with the king's brother, the Count of Anjou, Louis decreed that they should be purchased by the latter from the Count of Provence, but at the same time gave his brother money to pay the price. In any dispute with the crown, the opposite party found it most advantageous to trust to the candour of the king himself, who always judged his own side of the cause with the greatest severity. Thus this good king gained the hearts of the insubordinate vassals who had often conspired against his predecessors.

This able prince was farther distinguished as a legislator, in which capacity, the manners and customs of that age being considered, he makes a distinguished figure in French history, and may fairly be preferred to any sovereign who at that time flourished in Europe. In particular, he endeavoured to maintain the tranquillity of the Kingdom, by the suppression of the numerous private quarrels among the great vassals of the crown, and greatly curbed the right which they assumed of taking the field like independent sovereigns, as had been formerly their custom. These great lords, overawed by the reputation and power of the king, were now, generally, compelled to bring their contests before his tribunal, instead of deciding them by arms.

Saint Louis also laid under restrictions the trial by single combat, at least as much as the manners of the time, partial to that species of decision, would permit the alteration.

By these and other enactments, Saint Louis studied to

make his people happy, while his own demeanour indicated too fully that he had at his heart the rooted feeling of having sustained discomfiture and disgrace in Egypt, where he had most hoped to deserve success, and to acquire glory.—His robes of ceremony were laid aside, and he seldom shared personally in the banquets which he provided for his courtiers and nobles. The French king was, for humility's sake, attended, even at meals, by troops of beggars, to whom he distributed provisions with his own royal hand. There was something of affectation in this ; but the principle on which he acted seems, from other circumstances, to have been sincere.

His desire for the general peace of Europe, and his efforts to appease the quarrels of the great, incurred the censure of some of his statesmen, who wished to persuade him that he would act with more policy by suffering their discords to augment, and even by aggravating their quarrels, than by endeavouring to end them. To such advisers, Louis, in that case justly deserving the epithet of saint, used to reply, “ they counselled him ill ; for,” added he, “ should the neighbouring princes and great barons perceive that I instigated wars amongst them, or at least that I did not labour to restore peace, they might well imagine that I acted thus either through malevolence or indifference,—an idea which would be sure to tempt them to enter into dangerous confederacies against me ; besides that, in acting otherwise than I do, I should provoke the indignation of God, who has written in his Gospel, ‘ Blessed are the peace-makers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.’ ” In like manner, his advisers upbraided him that he neglected to take advantage of the weakness of Henry III., to wrest from the English the considerable share which they still retained of the French territory in Gascony. On this subject, also, he defended himself, by proving that an honest and upright conduct was the best policy which a king could observe ; “ he was aware,” he said, “ that John of England had justly forfeited the greater part of his dominions in France ; nor did he med-

state the extravagant generosity of restoring them to his son. On the other hand, he felt himself obliged to abstain from coveting that portion to which Henry retained a legal right through his grandmother Eleanor.

While thus behaving with moderation and generosity to his neighbours, and even to his enemies, Louis performed in his own person the duty of a judge, and was often found, like the kings of Judah, sitting in the gates of his palace, to render justice indifferently to all those who presented themselves to ask it of him.

By his attention to the public good, as well in making laws as in enforcing them, the king became deservedly beloved, and proved effectually that no subtleties of worldly policy could carry an empire to such a height of peace and happiness, as the generous and worthy conduct of a prince acting upon religious and moral principles.

With all that was so excellent in the character and conduct of Saint Louis, he was subject, as we have already hinted, to a strain of superstition, the great vice of the age, which impelled him into measures that finally brought ruin upon himself, and severe losses upon the state. At the bottom of his thoughts, he still retained the insane hope of being more successful in a new crusade than in that in which he had encountered defeat and captivity; and after sixteen years had been devoted to the improvement and good government of his own dominions, he again prepared a fleet and an army to invade the territories of a Mahometan prince. Neither Palestine nor Egypt was the object of this new attack. The city of Tunis, upon the coast of Africa, was the destined object of the expedition. Credulous in all concerning the holy war, Louis conceived that the Mahometan king of Tunis was willing to turn Christian, and become his ally, or vassal; and, by possessing a powerful influence, through the occupation of this fertile country, he hoped he should make the conversion of this prince the means of pushing his conquests, and extending Christianity over Egypt and Palestine also.

It was in the year 1270, (A. D.) that he gave finally

this proof that his superstition was as active and as credulous as ever. He carried with him, as before, the princes of his own family, and many of his principal vassals. The most remarkable of these, both by merit and rank, was Edward, Prince of Wales, who seized that opportunity to exhibit against the infidels fresh proofs of the courage and military conduct which he had displayed in his own country during the civil conflicts called the Barons' Wars. He was followed by a body of select troops, and distinguished himself greatly.

This expedition, which formed the eighth, and proved the last crusade, was in its outset assailed by a tempest, by which the fleet, ill constructed to encounter storms, sustained great loss. In three days, however, Louis assembled the greater part of his armament before Tunis. Here the infidel monarch, whom he had hoped to convert to the Christian religion, instead of showing the expected docility, received him at the head of a strong army, with which he prepared to defend his city against the invaders. Louis immediately landed; and the French, in their disembarkation, obtained some successes. These, however, were only momentary, for the crusaders had no sooner formed a close siege around the town, which was too strong to be carried save by blockade, than diseases of a destructive character broke out in their army. The want of water and forage increased the progress of contagion; and constant skirmishing with the enemy, for which the Moors chose the most advantageous positions, added the waste of the sword to that of epidemic disease. The infection approached the person and family of the king; his eldest son died of a fever; his younger son, Tristan, who received birth in Damietta, during the miseries of his father's first crusade, now passed from existence amidst the ruin of his second attempt. Louis himself attacked by the fever which had robbed him of two sons, called to his pillow, Philip, his eldest remaining child, and exhausted what remained of life and strength in giving him his parting instructions

On the 25th of August, 1270, (A. D.) this good king died, to whose reign, one only misfortune attached, namely, that too little of it was spent in the bosom of his own kingdom, and in attention to its interests, which he understood so well. But France, so populous and powerful a nation, speedily recovered the loss incurred by the unfortunate crusades, while the effect of the wise laws introduced by Saint Louis, continued to influence his kingdom through a long train of centuries.

Meantime, Charles, Count of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis, had obtained a crown for his own brow, which he had hoped to render yet more stable, had his brother succeeded in the expedition against Tunis, to which attempt he was preparing to bring him assistance. To understand this important point of History, it is necessary to look a little back.

The Emperor Frederick II. had been heir to the pretensions of the imperial house of Suabia to both the Sicilies; in other words, to those territories now belonging to the kingdom of Naples. But over these kingdoms the Popes had always asserted a right of homage, similar to that which King John surrendered to the church in England. Upon the death of Frederick, these Italian and Sicilian dominions were usurped by his natural son, called Manfred, to the prejudice of the emperor's nephew and lawful heir, a youth named Conradin. Manfred exercised with vigour the rights which he had so boldly assumed. To the real dominions of Naples and Sicily, he added a nominal claim over the kingdom of Jerusalem, though long since conquered by the Saracens. In assuming these titles, Manfred, or Manfred, disowned all homage to the Pope; he even invaded the territories of the Church, when the pontiff disputed his title. Pope Urban, who then wore the mitre, together with Clement IV., his successor, who adhered to his policy, began successively to use their spiritual weapons. They excommunicated Manfred, and were only at a loss upon whom to confer the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, of which they

deprived him by the formal sentence of the church. This was a difficult question; for, though the Popes claimed the privilege of conferring the right where they pleased, it was necessary to choose a candidate strong enough to cope with Manfroy; and it was not easy to select such a one. In this uncertainty, the sovereignty was offered first to one of Saint Louis's children, but declined by the good king, who could not think it consistent with morality to profit by a forfeiture, which, though declared by the voice of the Church, had not been incurred by the legal heir.—Conradin's right, it was clear, could not therefore be affected by Manfred, an intruder, whose deeds could not prejudice the rights of his cousin. Accordingly, Louis declined to avail himself of the grant of the Pope in favour of any of his sons. The Pope next offered the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem to Edmund, son of the King of England. But although this prince went so far as to assume the title of king, his father, Henry III., was too much embarrassed with the wars of his barons at home, to admit of his son's finally accepting a donation which he could not have the means of supporting.

At length the Pope resolved to name as monarch of the Two Sicilies, and nominal King of Jerusalem, Charles, Count of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis, a man of a bold, and even ferocious character, one who would act with sufficient vigour, and without embarrassing himself with any scruples, in defence of the right assigned him by the Pope. Saint Louis acquiesced in the nomination of his brother, though he had declined to profit by the grant to his sons. And although his royal brother was rather passive than active in his favour, the Count of Anjou was able to assemble an army competent to the enterprise. He marched into the Neapolitan territory, and engaged Manfroy in a pitched battle, fought near Beneventum, in which the latter lost his kingdom and his life.

A competitor for the kingdoms of the Sicilies now arose to reclaim the crown usurped by Manfroy. This was Conradin, nephew of the Emperor Frederick, and

whose legal right of succession had been usurped by the late possessor. This young prince had little difficulty in assembling a strong party, consisting of the friends of the imperial faction, which in the beginning threatened to extinguish the rising power of Charles of Anjou. The valour, or the fortune, of the French prince was, however, predominant once more. Conradin was defeated by Charles in a great battle, made prisoner, and, by an act of great injustice and cruelty, tried, and put to death upon a scaffold, for the prosecution of a claim of succession to which he was alike called by justice and by nature.

(A. D. 1270.) When, therefore, the rash expedition of Louis against Tunis took place, Charles, now King of Sicily, was eager in encouraging his brother to a war in which he thought less of the conquest of the Holy Land, than of subjecting Tunis to European dependence and making it an appanage of his own kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

When the eighth crusade had nearly come to a melancholy termination, by the death of Louis and his two sons, Charles, King of the Sicilies, appeared before Tunis with a fleet loaded with provisions and re-enforcements. As the fresh troops advanced to support the siege, the Arabs checked their approach by putting in motion the sands of the desert, which, driven by a violent wind upon the strangers, prevented their attempts to march up to the attack of the place. Upon a second occasion of the same kind, however, the natives were less successful, being drawn into an ambuscade, where they suffered severely by the swords of the Europeans. The sultan began now to propose terms of submission, agreeing to pay a ransom to the King of the Sicilies of forty thousand crowns a-year—to defray the expense of the war—to allow the preaching of Christian priests, and the exercise of the Christian religion in his dominions, with some other concessions, which, excepting the payment of the money, were rather nominal than real. Notwithstanding these favourable conditions, the French and Sicilian monarchs were blamed by the voice of Christen-

down—Philip for impatience, and Charles for covetousness. Of all the princes in the crusade, Edward of England alone, afterwards the First of that name, and one of the most politic princes who ever lived, refused as far as he was concerned, to consent to this treaty. He also professed his determination to proceed to Palestine, where Acre, the last of the fortresses which owned the Christian authority, was on the point of surrender to the infidels. “I will enter Acre,” said young Edward, striking his breast, “though only Fowin, my groom, should follow me!” He went forward accordingly with his little band of English; but the feats which he performed were of small note, considering the personal qualities of the prince, and his expedition is chiefly famed for the romantic courage of his princess Eleanor, who attended him. This faithful and courageous lady is said to have sucked the wound which her husband received from an envenomed weapon, and to have thus endangered her own life to save his. After the treaty of Tunis had been concluded, the kings of France and Sicily returned to their dominions—Philip eager to take possession of the crown which had fallen to him by inheritance, Charles desirous to secure and to enjoy that which he had obtained by conquest.

Philip, the third of that name, called the Hardy, seems to have been disposed to distinguish himself by enforcing the wise laws of King Louis, his father, for preventing private wars among his vassals. He had soon an opportunity to show this disposition, in pacifying a feud between the Count of Foix and the Lord of Casaubon.—The latter had been assaulted by the powerful Count, notwithstanding he resided in the castle assigned him by the sovereign for his abode, and was under his express protection. The king, at the head of his royal forces, besieged the castle of Foix, compelled the count to surrender, detained him a certain time in prison, and only dismissed him upon complete submission. The vigour of the government upon this occasion shows the permanent result of the just and firm conduct of Saint

Louis. But the king's most remarkable adventures occurred in his own family, and were of a very distressing nature.

In his return through Italy, King Philip had the misfortune to lose his beautiful wife, Isabel, who had not hesitated to follow him to the melancholy crusade in which the royal family sustained so much loss. In the course of this journey, this lady, being then near her confinement, was thrown from her horse in crossing a river, and died in consequence. Isabel, thus untimely cut off, left four sons; Louis, who died by poison; Philip, who reigned after his father; Charles of Valois, father of the branch from whom sprung the French kings of that house; and Robert, who died young.

After the king's return to France, the council remonstrated with him on the inexpediency of his remaining single, and he was induced to marry, as his second wife, Mary the daughter of Henry, the sixth Duke of Brabant. The life of this unfortunate princess was rendered melancholy, and that of her husband disturbed, by a strange succession of misfortunes, in consequence of the machinations of an unworthy favourite. Mary of Brabant bore a son the year after her marriage, and within six years afterwards, two daughters; a fair lineage, which naturally confirmed the love which the king bore to her, as a beautiful and affectionate woman. But jealousy and discord were sown between them. The artificer of this mischief was Pierre de la Brosse; he was a person of low origin, and had appeared at court originally in the capacity of a barber. By this, however, we are not to infer the degree of ignorance or meanness which moderns annex to the word. A barber in those times received a medical education, and was in effect a surgeon, applying his skill to the cure of wounds, as well as the arrangement of the beard and hair. Still however, it was a menial office, and it was thought wonderful that such a man should rise to be a royal favourite. Upon the death of Saint Louis, Philip advanced La Brosse, who seems to have been a man of talent as well as art, to

the rank of royal chamberlain, and employed him in the administration of some important affairs. He is said, as often happens with upstart favourites, to have abused the king's kindness, and betrayed his trust, using his favour as the means of unjust oppression. A natural dislike arose between the queen, who thought her husband trusted too much to this unworthy man, and the favourite, who foresaw his own ruin in the predominant influence of the young princess. La Brosse, having once entertained this jealousy of the queen, is said to have taken every opportunity to prejudice Philip against her, by intimating, from time to time, that his consort was actuated by the general dislike against Philip's children by the former marriage, commonly imputed to stepmothers. The favourite caused it to be insinuated, from various quarters, into the king's private ear, that his wife often complained of her misfortune in bearing children who were destined to become the vassals of those of the first marriage, and that she said their case was the harder, if, though born when their father was upon the throne, they must necessarily be postponed to the children who came into the world when Philip was only a prince.

About this time, Louis, the king's eldest son by his first marriage, Prince and heir of France, was seized suddenly by a malignant fever, which hurried him to his grave. The fatal disorder was attended with violent derangement in his stomach, livid spots upon his person, and other symptoms, which the age ascribed to poison.— On these suspicious circumstances, La Brosse, who had the court filled with his relations and dependents, spread rumours tending to fix the crime upon Queen Mary, whom he had already loaded with calumnies to the same effect. The queen, on the contrary, accused La Brosse of having himself administered the poison to the young prince, with the purpose of charging it against her. The king, divided betwixt fondness for his wife, and habitual partiality for his favourite, did not well know, betwixt two averments both abhorrent to his imagination, which there was ground to believe. Perhaps, in so dark a

transaction, we may be justified in believing that no crime at all was committed, and that what were considered as marks of poison, were merely symptoms of a putrid fever.—Such, however, is seldom the opinion of the public in any age, who are peculiarly addicted to assign remarkable and nefarious causes for the death of great persons.

The king, in his distress and perplexity, had recourse to a species of explanation suited only to an ignorant age.—He despatched the Bishop of Bayeux, and the Abbe of St. Dennis, to visit a nun, or beguine, then at Nivelles, who was supposed to possess the gift of discovering by inspiration the most concealed transactions. The royal envoys were directed to consult, of course, with this great authority, and to learn from her the real particulars of the young prince's death. Her first confession, taken from her by the Bishop of Bayeux alone, seemed to criminate the queen. This was thought suspicious, because the Bishop was a near connexion of La Brosse, and interested in deciding the dispute in his relation's favour.—But whatever his secret bias was, the prelate refused to bring forward a charge founded on what the nun had told him in confession. The prophetess herself seemed equally unwilling to speak plain. To a second enquiry by the Abbot of St. Dennis, after that by the Bishop of Bayeux, she refused to answer; and the matter seemed to go against the queen. But in this uncertainty Philip deputed the Bishop of Dol, and Arnolph de Vismale, a knight Templar, who were considered as impartial persons, to examine the nun a second time. To these she frankly declared, that the king ought not to give any credit to such accusations as might be brought against his wife, since they all arose out of calumny.

At this time, John of Brabant came to the court of France, averring the innocence of his sister, Queen Mary, demanding that her honour should be fully cleared, and offering the combat to any who should impeach it. This accusation hastened La Brosse's ruin. The favourite was accused of having corresponded with the King of

Castile, with whom Philip of France was then at war, and, being found guilty of this crime, was sent to prison, disgraced, and afterwards ignominiously executed. The Duke of Brabant had gained credit for the part he had hitherto taken in his sister's favour; but when the French saw La Brosse executed without an open trial, and beheld the Duke of Brabant, and some lords of his party, attend upon the execution, with more personal feeling of vengeance than became their rank, the tide began to turn, and La Brosse was considered as having fallen a victim to the queen and her faction. Mary, however, long survived her husband, and was treated with the greatest respect by the family of his former wife, several of whom she beheld successively upon the throne.

The affairs of England, and of Italy, were the next objects of importance during Philip the Hardy's reign.

It was while this king filled the throne that the English began again to be heard of in France, having been long of little consequence there, owing to the violence of their domestic feuds. Edward I. had long been busied in reducing his subjects of England to obedience, but, having perfectly succeeded, became now desirous of asserting his claim to such of the English territories in France as could yet be gathered out of the wreck of the forfeiture declared by Philip Augustus. For this purpose Edward resided three years in France, from June, 1286, to August, 1289. He rendered homage to Philip the Hardy, and transacted his affairs with great wisdom, honour, and success.

The bloody wars which long deluged Europe with slaughter, in order to decide the possession of Naples and Sicily, continued to agitate France during this reign. It is true, that Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, exercised, by commission from the Pope, the high offices of Vicar of the Empire, and Senator of Rome. He was also, besides being the actual reigning monarch of the Two Sicilies, invested with the nominal sovereignty of the kingdom of Jerusalem, upon the principle, it may be supposed, that he who had obtained the substance, should

also have the nominal possession of the shadow ; for the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had ceased to exist. Notwithstanding these dignities, Charles of Anjou did not, by any means, sit secure on his throne. He had involved himself imprudently with the Church, to which he owed his kingdom originally. Pope Nicolas, who bore much ill will towards Charles, deprived him of the office of Vicar of the Empire, and the dignity of Roman Senator, in the hope, it is supposed, of provoking him to some act which might give the Holy See a pretence for depriving him of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which she had bestowed.

The vices of that prince were yet more hurtful to him than the displeasure of the Pope ; and the luxury, insolence, and cruelty, by which his French troops provoked the general resentment of the Sicilians, were still more fatal to his cause. A rival soon arose when his reign became unpopular. The imperialists still retained a strong party among the Sicilians. Don Pedro, King of Arragon—who had married the daughter of Manfred, defeated and slain by Charles of Anjou—now claimed the kingdom of Sicily in the right of his wife, and threatened to reconquer it from the French. The passions of the inhabitants seconded, in an extraordinary manner, the pretensions of Don Pedro. Incensed at the liberties which the French unceremoniously took with the females of their families, the Sicilians formed a scheme of insurrection against these petulant and insolent strangers, equally remarkable for its extent, the secrecy with which it was carried on, and the number of Frenchmen who perished.

This was the famous insurrection, known by the name of the Sicilian Vespers. The plot bore, that, at the tolling of the evening bell for prayers, on Easterday, A. D. 1282, the islanders should rush suddenly upon the French strangers, and put them to death without exception.—This plot was contrived with such surprising secrecy and unanimity, and executed with such general fury, that in less than two hours a general massacre had taken place, of all the French, whatever their age, sex, or condition.

Monks put to death their brethren ; priests slew each other upon the very altar ; fathers killed their daughters, who had been married to strangers, and every other horror took place, which could be practised by a vindictive nation, assuming at once the trade of assassins.

This massacre, intended to be decisive of the controversy between Anjou and Arragon, was, like many other great historical crimes, disappointing in its results. The kingdom of France was thrilled with horror, but at the same time seized with a thirst of revenge for so general and dreadful an assassination. Numbers of the best warriors in that kingdom offered their services to Charles of Anjou, to avenge the death of their murdered countrymen. Pedro of Arragon, finding his adherents unable to cope with the high-famed French chivalry, was reduced to evade the combat, by a device, the issue of which considerably hurt his reputation. In order to get rid of the pressure of the French force in Sicily, and to avoid the necessity of encountering the numerous and excellent forces which had come to espouse the French cause, Pedro despatched a challenge to Charles of Anjou, defying him to meet him with a hundred knights, and decide their differences by the issue of that encounter. Bourdeaux, as a neutral territory, was assigned as the place of combat. Charles, who was by no means deficient in personal courage, immediately accepted the defiance, and went to the place appointed with his hundred attendants. In this he acted imprudently, considering that, by prosecuting the advantages he possessed, he might have made himself master of Sicily, which was the object of contention ; an opportunity which was lost by his departure for Bourdeaux. Neither did Pedro ever mean actually to encounter him and his knights, as his challenge implied. He indeed kept his appointment ; but he appeared in disguise, and avoided the combat, alleging, that, as Philip, King of France, was present in Bourdeaux at the time, and was lord paramount of the town, it was no longer an equal place of meeting, for a

prince who came to fight with that king's uncle. Accordingly, he left the place with little honour; for, as Philip had few or no soldiers along with him, the seneschal of the king of England, who was actually commandant of the place, was sufficiently strong to have afforded a fair field of combat, both to French and Spaniards. But Pedro obtained his object, which was the opportunity to prosecute the war in Sicily, with a better chance of success than when he had Charles for an opponent.

Charles of Anjou had left in Sicily his son, a high-spirited young man, called Charles the Lamé, from an accident which had befallen him in youth. He was commissioned to command as regent during his father's absence. This youth, although warned by his father to act upon the defensive, rashly encountered the fleet of Arragon, commanded by the famous Andrew Doria, the ally of Don Pedro. Charles the Lamé was defeated and taken by this celebrated mariner, and his father, after at first seeming to support the calamity with firmness, gave way to grief, and died at sixty-six years of age.

In the meantime, the King of France, to whom the Pope, according to his custom of dealing kingdoms at pleasure, had assigned that of Arragon, transferable to any of his sons whom he should name, conveyed the right thus vested in him to his third son, Charles of Valois, and prepared, with a strong army and navy, to put him in possession of his new dominions.

With this purpose, Philip the Hardy invaded Catalonia, and besieged Gerona. Pedro of Arragon came to its relief, with a small and flying army. Rollo of Nesle, Constable of France, drew the Spanish prince into an ambuscade, by showing only a small part of his forces. In this skirmish, Pedro had his face torn by the thrust of a lance, was nearly made prisoner, and obliged to cut the reigns of his horse, in order to escape the grasp of a French man-at-arms. He escaped from the field, but died in consequence of the wound, and the fever which ensued. This success was, however, overbalanced by an advantage obtained by Doria, who was still at sea, over

the French fleet. Many of Philip's vessels were sunk and destroyed ; and as these were loaded with provisions for the use of the army besieging Gerona, the sufferings of the French, arising from the loss, became so extreme, that it was impossible for them to remain longer before the place. The siege was therefore raised, and the king, whose hopes were thus disappointed, withdrew to Perpignan, where he shortly after died of chagrin for the miscarriage of an undertaking which commenced so prosperously. This prince, although not a man of shining talent, bears, nevertheless, a fair character in the French annals, and is said to have been particularly scrupulous in the mode of raising the revenue from his people, who never complained of the sums exacted, as they were levied with so much fairness and attention to the convenience of the indigent. It is impossible now to discover from what circumstance Philip derived his epithet of Hardy, as we are not aware of his having shown great personal courage. He displayed no high or distinguished qualities, a deficiency which was atoned for by his character being marked by none that were wicked or dangerous.

CHAPTER II.

Accession of Philip the Fair—Claim of England to the Province of Xaintonge—War between France and England—Edward I. prevented by his Scottish Wars from carrying it on with vigour—Confederacy of Continental Princes against Philip, instigated by Edward—Peace and mutual Alliance between France and England—Philip's Quarrel with Pope Boniface—his good understanding with the two succeeding Popes, who fix their Residence at Avignon—Contest with Flanders—Dissolution of the Order of Knights of the Temple—Death of Philip the Fair, and Accession of Louis Hutin—Execution of Murrigny, the Favourite of the deceased Monarch, for alleged Embezzlement and Sorcery—Marriage and Death of Louis Hutin—Accession of Philip the Long, by virtue of the Salic Law, which excluded his Niece, the Princess Joan, daughter of Louis Hutin—Massacre of Jews and Lepers, in consequence of a suspicion that they had caused an Epidemic Disease throughout France, by poisoning the Wells—Death of Philip, and Accession of his Brother, Charles the Fair—Charles summons Edward II. to do Homage for his French Possessions—Investiture granted to the Prince of Wales, instead of his Father—Intrigues of Edward's Queen, Isabel, at the French Court—Death of Charles the Fair, with whom became extinct the Descendants in the First Line of Hugo Capet.

PHILIP IV., who succeeded his father, was surnamed *Le Bel*, or the Fair, from the beauty of his countenance, and the majesty of his person. He was married to Joan, who was Queen of Navarre, as well as Countess of Champagne and Brie.

This prince's entrance on life took place at great disadvantage. His father had left an exhausted exchequer, and a ruinous and unsuccessful war undertaken with Spain, to vindicate the rights of his nephew, son of his sister Blanche, Queen of Castile, and to conquer the kingdom of Arragon, for Charles of Valois. Edward I. too, was now beginning to bestir himself in France, and perplexed the French king by a demand of the territory of Xaintonge, a district adjacent to the English possessions in Guienne. In this important matter, Philip, after examining the ancient treaties between the kingdoms, saw the necessity of acquiescing, and Edward became a party to a negotiation by which the quarrel with Castile was in some degree accommodated, and the peace of Europe in a great measure restored.

But in consequence of an accidental quarrel between a Norman and a Gascon sailor, which led to a battle betwixt their two vessels, that moderation which the young King of France had hitherto exhibited, seemed to be exchanged for hasty resentment, and a determination to proceed to extremities.

Upon this accidental provocation, and in resentment of the injury offered to his flag, the King of France issued a summons, commanding Edward, as a peer of France, to appear before the French parliament, under pain of forfeiting his fiefs in that kingdom. Edward, though offended at such peremptory conduct, was desirous to avoid a rupture. He offered, with exemplary temperance, to yield to the French six castles which he held in Guienne, by way of security that he would submit to make amends, should he be found ultimately in the wrong, and also as pledges that he would meet with the King of France, and discuss their difference in an amicable conference. At the same time, Edward stipulated that the summons, a proceeding offensive to his dignity, should be withdrawn. Philip having solemnly agreed to this arrangement, broke through it nevertheless, in a faithless manner. He took possession of the six fortresses, but only made use of them to facilitate his conquest of the

English province of Gascony, for which purpose he marched an army under the High Constable into that territory. A French fleet and flying army was even employed to attack the coasts of England, by which Dover was burnt and Kent invaded.

Notwithstanding these provocations, which were not to be endured by a monarch of Edward's temper, the King of England was extremely unwilling to engage in a war with France at this moment. He had been anxiously employed during the last years of the thirteenth century, in the unjust attempt to possess himself of the sovereignty of Scotland; in which he seemed often almost successful, but could never become completely so. Indeed, divided and dispirited as the kingdom then was, nothing was more easy than to overpower the Scots in the field; and yet such was the obstinacy of their resistance, that within a month or two after their subjugation appeared to be complete, the natives of this pertinacious country were again in arms. It would well have suited the policy of Edward to have postponed all other wars, until he had completed the conquest of Scotland, and for this purpose he was loath to accept of the various provocations which France seemed studiously to offer to him. Nevertheless, as King of England, he could not, without dishonour, submit to the affront of being summoned before the French Parliament, and he was also nettled at the unworthy manner in which he had been cheated in the matter of Guienne, and at the loss he had sustained in that province. He therefore returned an answer of defiance to the King of France, and he sent a small army, under his brother Edmund, to protract the war in France, at as little risk as might be, while he himself marched into Scotland, to finish his conquest of that country.

It may be here remarked, first, That the grievances which Edward I. inflicted on Scotland, and by which he hoped to compel the people to rebellion, so as to form an excuse for confiscating and depriving of his kingdom, John Baliol, a monarch of his own creating, were very closely allied to the indignities which he himself expe-

nenced from the King of France, and to which he was personally so sensitive. Therefore the monarch, who exercised the same feudal tyranny towards others, his own dependents, could not with justice complain of similar usage from his own lord paramount.

To understand this, you must remember, that, by unfairly availing himself of the trust reposed in him by the Scots, who chose him to be umpire for deciding the succession to their crown, Edward I. had assumed to himself, on very iniquitous grounds, the right and dignity of lord paramount of Scotland. Invested thus, though by no fair means, with the right of supremacy over that kingdom, Edward's next step was to summon John Baliol, the shadow whom he had set up as king, to attend and answer the complaints of the most insignificant persons who chose to bring an appeal from his decisions to the English courts of law in Westminster. Edward's object in this injurious conduct, was undoubtedly to mortify the pride of the Scots and of their King, and to seek an opportunity of declaring, as he afterwards did, that the kingdom of Scotland was forfeited to himself.

Now, this was exactly, though in a less flagrant degree, the conduct of the king of France towards Edward himself, when he summoned him to attend before a court of French peers, and give satisfaction for a brawl which had taken place between a Gascon and a Norman vessel. It is no wonder, therefore, that Edward rather chose to stifle the debate, by the surrender of the six forts in Guienne, than to fix the attention of the world upon the very different manner in which he judged of such treatment, when applied to himself, compared with that in which he chose to consider it, when used by him towards the King of Scotland.

It is also worthy of observation, that although the Scottish historians, in their zeal for their national antiquity, have pretended that a league existed between a Scottish king, whom they call Achaius, and the Emperor Charlemagne, as early as the year 779, and even affirm that the emperor bestowed upon the northern prince a treasure

of fleurs-de-lis, as an augmentation of arms, it is yet easy to demonstrate that there were no armorial bearings till many centuries after Charlemagne, and that the intimate league between France and Scotland did not exist, until the circumstances of both countries recommended mutual support and good understanding betwixt them, as a matter alike politic and necessary. We shall hereafter see that the Scottish alliance was of considerably more importance to France, than that of France was to Scotland. It was certainly renewed during the reign of Philip the Fair.

To return to the general subject. Edward I. was induced to trust to some future favourable opportunity the prosecution of his revenge against France, into which he did not think it politic, or find it possible, to lead a large army, while embarrassed with the Scottish campaigns. In the month of August, 1297, however, it seemed to him that Scotland was so effectually pacified, as to permit a great effort for the chastisement of France. For this object, Edward trusted less to his own forces, though he transported to Flanders a gallant army of English, than to a general confederacy which he formed with several princes, on the same plan with the alliance so abruptly dissolved by Philip Augustus at the battle of Bouvines. The allies, too, were nearly the same persons, being the Emperor of Germany, the Dukes of Austria and Brabant, the Earl of Flanders, and other German and Flemish princes, who engaged, for considerable sums of money to be paid by the King of England, to assemble a combined army for the invasion of France.

Philip, who beheld himself threatened by a formidable confederacy, contrived to break up the alliance by the distribution of large sums among its members. Against Guy de la Dampierre alone, the aged Earl of Flanders, that king retained an embittered and vindictive spirit, and when the other princes had, in a great measure, been induced to abandon the confederacy by intrigues and gratuities, Philip moved against that prince with a predominant force. At the same time, he put in motion the numerous

malcontents whom he had found in the great towns of Flanders, the inhabitants of which were extremely mutinous, and disposed to insurrection. By the accumulated weight of foreign invasion and domestic insurrection, the earl was likely to be totally ruined, had not Edward of England moved to his assistance with a fleet and army, and saved him from the revenge of France.

No battle of consequence, however, ensued. Edward was disgusted with the great expense which he had bestowed, to no purpose, upon his German confederates; and Philip, who had encountered more difficulties than he had expected in his campaign in Flanders, was also desirous of accommodation. A mutual friend to both monarchs offered his services as mediator. This was Charles, King of Sicily, called Charles the lame. He was cousin german to the King of France, being son of his uncle, Charles of Anjou. To Edward he was bound by an important obligation. Charles had been taken, as we have said, by Andrew Doria, in a naval engagement, in which the Arragon party were victorious. The victors manifested a strong inclination to put the captive prince to death, in their desire to revenge the execution of Conrad II. by his father.

But Edward I. who entertained a personal friendship for this prince, prevailed upon his captors to ransom him, and furnished the greater part of the money which was demanded upon the occasion. Thus was Charles the lame well suited for a mediator between France and England, in which he made considerable progress, although the office was afterwards transferred to the reigning Pope, whose feelings towards France were not of the most amicable character.

Boniface was at this time at the head of the church, and he had, some considerable time before, entered into a quarrel with Philip the Fair, respecting various extravagant claims which the Pope had preferred over the French king and his territories.

The particulars of this feud between the most Chris-

tian King and the Church, is too long and too confused to be entered into in this place ; but it terminated in an unusual manner, considering how successful the Church had hitherto been in its most extravagant demands. The Pope was admitted as mediator, instead of the King of Sicily, and discharged his duty as umpire with considerable fairness. Notwithstanding which, the two kings took the wise resolution of settling their differences by a definitive treaty ; because, from the grasping temper of Boniface, he was the object of suspicion to them both. Matters were accordingly brought to a settlement. (A. D. 1307.) Edward made his homage for Gascony, and France and England entered into a mutual alliance against any one who should disturb the one king or the other in their rights, franchises and freedoms, by which agreement, the probability of a quarrel with their mediator the Pope was intimated.

Boniface resumed his attacks against Philip. He attempted to fix upon him a certain Bernard Laiseti, for whom, without the king's consent, he had created a bishopric. He sent this man to Philip in the character of a legate, who, in requital, turned him out of his dominions. The Pope next convened a council at Rome, at which several of the French clergy attended. Matters were thus brought to extremity. In a word, Boniface had already made public his determination to excommunicate the King of France, and indeed the bull was ready prepared for that purpose. Among other extreme measures to avert this sentence, Philip sent into Italy two determined agents, who, having levied a strong body of partisans, seized upon the person of the Pope, then residing at his native town in Tuscany, insulted, even buffeted him, and had very near slain him, had not his Holiness, after two or three days' confinement, been rescued by a party of the people, and conveyed in safety to Rome.

Here the disgrace which he had undergone had such an effect upon his spirits, that he died furiously mad, after having failed in extending the authority of the Church, in

the way he meditated, and after having been obliged to submit to the encroachments, as he termed them, of the secular power. Thus died a Pontiff, of whom it is said, that he entered the church like a fox, ruled it like a lion, and died like a dog.

King Philip the Fair, after having been thus freed of his bitter opponent, Pope Boniface, took especial care to establish a close and powerful interest with the two succeeding popes, and endeavoured, indeed, by every means in his power, to cultivate the favour of the papal see, and even to prevail on these supreme Pontiffs to shift their residence from Italy to France, in which he so far prevailed, as to induce them to reside at Avignon. In this manner did Philip obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication pronounced by Boniface, and re-establish a friendly intercourse with the head of the church.

This king was also engaged in a violent contest with the people of Flanders, which fief he was bent upon reuniting with the French empire. This was partly owing to his unabated hatred to his old vassal in that fief, Pierre de la Dampierre, whom he pressed so hard, that the count was under the necessity of submitting to his mercy.

But although the French gained great successes, and obtained possession of many towns in Flanders, they did not fail to drive the Flemings, as they had done the Sicilians, into rebellion against their new rulers, and great part of that populous nation, although at first favourable to the invaders, was soon in insurrection against them.— Three sons of Count Pierre de la Dampierre put themselves at the head of the insurgents. They fought a great battle with the French, in which the Flemings were in the beginning successful. King Philip escaped with difficulty from the fury of the first attack, in which the enemy penetrated to his tent; but the fidelity of the French chivalry, who rallied at the cry of the king being in danger, restored the battle, and the Flemings were finally defeated with prodigious slaughter. Notwithstanding the brilliancy of this victory, Philip was only disposed to re

gard it as a foundation for peace. The young princes of Flanders were still at the head of a numerous, though undisciplined army, and it might have been hazardous to drive to desperation so formidable an enemy. The eldest of the sons of Count Pierre was then admitted to do homage for the county of Flanders, and, on condition of paying a considerable sum, established his peace with the king.

In 1310, there occurred an important historical transaction, respecting which it is difficult to form a candid judgment. I have told you that there existed two great fraternities of military monks, both of which were formed in the Holy Land. The one had for its object the defence of the Temple; the other was associated as Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John; and both held out as their principal object the defence of Palestine against the infidels. Both these communities, but in a particular degree the Templars, fell under public obloquy, on account of the immense wealth which was acquired by the order, and the lax morals of individual members. To drink like a Templar, became a common phrase; and their public licentiousness, as well as the charges imputed to them of considering less the benefit of Christians in general, and the defence of Palestine and of Jerusalem, than the aggrandizement of their own institution, were the general subjects of clamour against them. The association of the Temple, however, was destined to fall under darker and blacker accusations than affected the morals of individual knights, or the ambition of the order in general.

While these knights were the universal object of envy to the nobles, on account of their wealth, and odium to the poor, on account of their license, a singular incident brought their fate to a crisis. Two brethren of the order of the Temple had been condemned by their Grand Master, or President, to perpetual imprisonment. These criminals, desperate at this rigorous sentence, intimated that if released from imprisonment, they could disclose to the French government circumstances concerning their

order of a mysterious and highly criminal nature. These men being examined accordingly, declared, before persons authorized to take their evidence, that the secret rules of the order of the Temple were entirely contrary to the Christian religion, as well as to decency and morality. This extraordinary accusation bore that the Templars commenced their initiation by the most blasphemous and disgusting professions, and by ceremonies so infamous in character, that human nature cannot readily allow the possibility of their being adopted by an association consisting of men of rank, engaged ostensibly in a religious fraternity. One hundred and forty knights were arrested at once within the kingdom of France, and great part of them seem to have confessed charges similar to those averred by the knights who lodged the original accusation. To these confessions, considering when and how they were obtained, we can attach little credit, as we know that solitude and torture have made accused individuals confess (as in charges of witchcraft) things not only improbable, but altogether impossible.

But besides the above consideration, a very considerable number of those imprisoned Templars averred their innocence firmly. They said, that their confessing brethren had been seduced to their admissions by the promise of life and liberty ; and they themselves denied strongly whatever charges were brought against them of an atrocious character. "We are but men," they said, "and have our failings as such ; but, to be guilty of the wickedness imputed to us, we must be incarnate fiends."

The Pope himself held a council on this very dubious affair, in which the dissolution of the order was finally resolved upon all over Europe, although it was only in France that the Templars suffered condemnation and punishment. Fifty or sixty of them were put to death, maintaining their innocence with their last breath, and citing their persecutors to answer before God for the cruelties unjustly exercised upon them. Jaques de Molai, Grand Master of the order, with two of its other principal

officers, were brought before the King of France and the Pope, and examined on the several points of the charge. At first, they admitted some part of the accusation against them, and denied others; upon which partial confession they were condemned to be burnt to death by a slow fire. When brought to execution, after retracting what they had formerly uttered, they declared, like the rest who were executed, that they had individually committed sins incident to mortals, but that their order had never been stained by any such iniquities as had been alleged against them.

Indeed, when we consider the whole of this extraordinary charge, and recollect that the Templars, as an order, were extremely rich, that they had fallen into public odium, and had shown themselves unequal to the defence of the Temple, for which purpose they were associated, it may be suspected that we see, in these circumstances alone, the grand causes of their destruction, and that the other gross accusations preferred against them, if not entirely false, were at least framed upon the crimes of some individuals only.

The procedure against this celebrated society, added considerably to the odium with which the latter days of Philip the Fair were overclouded. His Flemish wars had exhausted his revenues, and vexed his people with extraordinary impositions. His dissensions with Pope Boniface, the violence which he authorized towards that Pope, above all the exactions which he made upon the clergy, caused him to be held in horror by all strict Catholics.—The ruin of the Templars was imputed to his avarice and injustice. While he was thus loaded with unpopularity from different causes, a domestic affront seemd to have affected him deeply.

Philip's three sons were all married to princesses of suitable birth; but the morals of the whole were so doubtful, that each of the three princes accused his wife of adultery. Joan, wife of Philip, Count of Poitou, the second of the royal brethren, was the only one of the three princesses acquitted of the charge. Margaret, wife

of Louis the eldest, and Blanche, wedded to the youngest, of the sons of Philip, were found guilty, and condemned to perpetual confinement in the fortress of Chastel Gaillard.—Two knights, the partners of their crimes, were put to death with horrible tortures.

This shameful incident, and the disgrace which attended it, sunk deep into the heart of Philip the Fair. The king, at the same time, saw that the public dissatisfaction would render it difficult, or impossible, to raise funds for reviving the war in Flanders, upon which he was determined, assigning for a reason, that he had never received the money which the young count engaged to pay on the conclusion of the former peace. The count, on the contrary, alleged he had paid the subsidies regularly to the king's favourite courtier, named Enguerraud de Marigny. The terrors, therefore, of a war for which no funds could be provided, and which was particularly unpopular in France, added to the king's embarrassment. His spirit sunk beneath such a load of evils and disgrace; he took to bed without any formal complaint, and died of the cruel disease which carried off some of his predecessors, viz. a deep melancholy. On his death-bed, the dying monarch expressed great apprehension lest the imposts which he had laid upon his people should be the cause of his suffering punishment in the next world, and conjured his children to diminish or discharge them—a late act of penitence, to which much credit is not rashly to be given.

Philip the Fair left behind three sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles, each of whom mounted the throne in their turn, but all died without issue. Of two daughters of the same king, one died unmarried, the other, Isabel, was wedded to Edward, Prince of Wales, son to Edward I., who afterwards reigned as Edward II. It was upon the extinction of the male Heirs of Philip the Fair, that the kings of England laid claim to the inheritance of France, in contradiction to the Salic law, and in right of this same Isabel's succession to her father.

Louis X whom, for some uncertain reason, the French

called Hutin, (or the Mutinous,) next ascended the throne. The first point he had to consider was the bringing to account the favourite of the deceased monarch, Enguerraud de Murrigny, who had been the agent of Philip's exactions, and was supposed to have peculated enormously, as the money passed through his hands. Called before the princes of the blood, and closely interrogated by the brother of the late king, Charles, Count of Valois, in particular, who, in fact, governed in the name of his nephew, the accused party answered with great insolence.

"Where," said the Count de Valois, "are the treasures of the late king?"

"You shall have a good account of them," answered the prisoner, haughtily.

"Give it me, then, on the spot," answered the prince.

"Since you press me to speak," replied Murrigny, "I have given you one half of the treasure of the late king, your brother, and with the other half, I have paid his majesty's debts."

"You lie," replied the prince, in a rage.

"You lie, yourself," replied Murrigny.

In consequence of this intemperate and insulting conduct, the fallen favourite was arrested, thrown into prison, and brought to trial, when he was charged with embezzlement of the royal revenue, and with the abuse of his late master's favour. The new king was present at this trial, and looked on the accused with more compassion than his uncle and brothers showed towards him.—As the princes of the blood perceived the king's intention to screen Murrigny, at least from a capital sentence, they mixed up with the other crimes of which he was accused, a charge that his wife had trafficked with a sorcerer, and an old woman, deemed a witch, for the purpose of making waxen images resembling the king and princes, which, being dissolved at a slow fire, the strength and substance of those they represented were expected to decay in proportion. The king, believing in a practice which was at that time an object of general credulity,

was startled at the accusation, gave up Marrigny to the vengeance of his uncle the Count de Valois, and the unfortunate favourite was hanged accordingly.

The sorcerer and the witch were also put to death, and the wife of Marrigny was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. It was much doubted whether the crimes of Marrigny deserved quite so severe a fate; and it is certain that the aggravation which induced the king to consent to his death, was entirely visionary.

Charles, Count of Valois, himself repented of the persevering cruelty with which he had pressed the conviction of this person; and when he was struck with a fit of the palsy, imputed the infliction to the vengeance of Heaven for Marrigny's death. On his death-bed, he bequeathed considerable sums to purchase the prayers of the church for the pardon of Marrigny's sins, as well as his own.

In the meantime, Louis Hutin arranged a marriage for himself with Clementia, or Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel, King of Hungary, whom he selected, to replace the criminal and unfortunate Margaret, imprisoned in Chastel Gaillard, as we have already seen. The existence of this last unfortunate lady was, however, still an obstacle to her husband's contracting a second union.—Louis Hutin removed it by an act of violence. The unfortunate Margaret was strangled with the sheets of her bed, that her husband might be at liberty to wed Clemence of Hungary, a match which took place immediately on her execution, or murder, (A. D. 1315.)—for so a vengeance so long deferred, might be most justly termed.

The king and queen were crowned at Rheims, when it was with difficulty that, by the assistance of the wealth found in the coffers of Marrigny, and confiscated to the state, the necessary expenses of the coronation were defrayed.

The new-married couple had not passed many months together, when they were disturbed by the voice of war. The same Count Robert of Flanders, who had been so

troublesome to Philip the Fair, was still in insurrection, and it was necessary to go to war with him, although the public finances were in bad order, and totally inadequate to the services of the state. The king also felt all those inconveniences which crowd upon a sovereign when his exchequer is exhausted. When he demanded supplies, his subjects took the opportunity of insisting upon their privileges, real and pretended. The young king was much embarrassed, but he was not destined long to remain so. He died in 1316, (A. D.) the year after his marriage, and the first of his reign. The fate of the kingdom remained suspended until time should show whether a son or a daughter should be the produce of the confinement of Clementia, his queen, which event was expected in four months after the death of Louis.

Philip of Poitou, the second brother of the deceased monarch, was unquestionably entitled to be declared regent, being, in fact, the next heir to the crown, if the queen should not be delivered of a surviving son. Nevertheless, Charles of Valois, uncle to Louis Hutin, made an attempt to supersede his nephew, but the Parliament adjudged the regency to Philip, who came speedily to Paris, and assumed the office of guardian of the young prince and regent of the kingdom, while awaiting the event of the queen's confinement.

This took place November 14, 1316, (A. D.,) when Clemence was delivered of a boy, who did not survive above eight days, injured, as was thought, by the excess of his mother's sorrow for the husband of whom she had been so suddenly and prematurely deprived.

Philip, the brother of Louis Hutin, therefore, was transformed from regent into king, and was consecrated the twelfth day after his nephew's death. It was not, however, without opposition, of which it is necessary to explain the cause, as it concerns a remarkable point of French history.

You cannot have forgotten that the tribes, of which the Frank, or French nation, consisted, had their principal territories upon the Rhine and the Saale. From the lat-

ter tribe, comes the term of the Salic law, an enactment current among the early tribes who dwelt on that river.— However extensive in its original sense, the Salic law has long denoted that rule of inheritance which excludes a female, or any other person whose connexion with the blood royal cannot be traced without the intervention of a female link, from the possibility of succeeding to the crown of France, in any case. This law is understood to have applied to the Merovingian and Carlovingian, and Capetian dynasties. The dignity of king, said the French jurists, with all the assumption of masculine arrogance, was of too much dignity to pass either to, by, or through, the distaff. The exclusion, whether reasonable or otherwise, was strictly observed in the early ages of the monarchy.

From the accession of Hugo Capet, in 987, to the death of the infant and posthumous son of Louis Hutin, in 1316 the crown had regularly descended from father to son; thirteen generations having successively possessed it during the space of three hundred and twenty-nine years, without a single instance of collateral succession. The Salic law, therefore, had, during this long period, remained, as it is termed, in abeyance, there having occurred no opportunity of putting it in force. It seems, therefore, to have been partly forgotten, since the Duke of Burgundy, and the Count of Valois, with a considerable party, were disposed to dispute the claim which Philip V., called, from his statue, the Long, made to the crown. These princes contended, that, since the late king, Louis Hutin, had left behind him a daughter, Joan, she must be considered as the heir of her short-lived brother; an axiom which, if allowed, closed the succession against Philip the Long.

This important matter was referred to the States-General, who, having maturely considered so important a question, finally decreed, that the Salic law and custom, inviolably observed in the French nation, excluded females from the throne; and the right of Philip was universally acknowledged accordingly, in preference to that

of the Princess Joan. The new sovereign extended his influence among the nobility, by bestowing among them, in marriage, four daughters, to whom he gave considerable appanages, and thereby attached them to his interest. One of the persons whose friendship he acquired in this manner, was Louis of Flanders, whose family had given so much trouble to Philip the Fair, and had threatened the short reign of Louis Hutin. This might be accounted a considerable stroke of state policy, as the young Louis was next heir to the reigning count, his grandfather, who was an aged man. Philip the Long also renewed the league with Scotland, and transacted his affairs upon equal terms with Edward II. of England, who was his brother-in-law.

But, though prudent and politic upon the whole, King Philip the Long, in one particular, gave great dissatisfaction to his people, viz., in the eagerness which he showed to collect large sums of revenue, and his haste to restore the obnoxious imposts which had been discontinued by his predecessor. It must be allowed that this was neither from a disposition to extravagance nor to avarice, either of which it might be supposed to have indicated. But, like his great ancestor, Saint Louis, Philip the Long unhappily conceived himself bound to undertake a crusade so soon as ever opportunity should permit; and it was with this view that he made a great collection of treasure, in the hope of removing some of the obstacles which had proved so fatal to his ancestors, who meditated the same project.

A wild inclination towards these perilous expeditions seemed at this time to pervade all Europe. The common people of France, in particular, were stirred up by ignorant friars and enthusiasts, who pretended to have discovered by inspiration that it was the divine will to rescue Palestine from the infidels, not by means of the great and powerful of the world, but by shepherds and peasants.— This doctrine becoming general, bands of the most low and ignorant persons enrolled themselves under various leaders, and traversed the country under the name of

Pastoraux. They were not long thus embodied without discovering there was business to do in behalf of Christianity, without going so far as the Holy Land.

The Jews, who had been persecuted and banished from France by Philip the Fair, and restored by his successor, as necessary to the existence of the state, once again became the objects of popular hatred, not only on account of their religion, and because their wealth rendered them the ready objects of plunder, but also from a new accusation, which so ignorant an age alone would have listened to. A pestilential or epidemic disease was at this time scourging France, where bad living and dearth of provisions rendered such infectious disorders very fatal. To account for the present pestilence, it was said that the Jews had accepted a bribe from the Mahometan princes, and had undertaken to poison all wells, fountains, and rivers. The charge of participation in this crime was extended to a set of unfortunate wretches, who were rather the objects of disgust than of compassion. Those afflicted with the leprosy, who were obliged to live in hospitals apart from the rest of mankind, were stated to have joined with the Jews in the iniquitous project of poisoning the waters of the kingdom. It was an accusation easily understood, and greedily swallowed, by the vulgar. The populace of course, being already in arms, turned them against the Jews and the lepers, considering both as a species of wretched outcasts, whose sufferings ought to interest no healthy Christian.

Without any formality, or trial, or otherwise, these ignorant fanatics seized upon great numbers both of the Jews and of the lepers, and tore them to pieces, or burnt them alive without scruple.

The Jews, though of late years they may be considered as an unwarlike people, have always been remarkable for the obstinacy of their temper, and for their opposing to popular fury a power of endurance which has often struck even their oppressors with horror. Five hundred of these men, upon the present occasion, defended a cas-

tle into which they had thrown themselves, with stones, arrows, javelins, and other missiles, till, having no other weapons left, they launched the persons of their living children from the walls on the heads of their assailants, and finally put each other to the sword, rather than die by the hands of the multitude.

At Vitri, also, fifty Jews distinguished themselves by a similar act of horrible despair. They chose with composure two of their number, a young woman and an old man, who received the charge to put the rest of their company to death. Those intrusted with the execution of this fearful duty, executed their instructions without dispute or resistance on the part of the sufferers. When the others were all slain, the old man next received his death at the hand of the female, and to close the tragedy, this last either fell or threw herself from the walls of the place; but having broken her thigh bone in the fall, she was plunged by the besiegers alive into the fire which consumed the dead bodies.

The king himself was obliged to submit to the popular prejudice. He once more banished the Jews, and by a proclamation confined the lepers to their respective hospitals, under the penalty of being burnt alive. The royal troops were next employed with success in putting down the Pastoraux, and other tumultuous assemblies of fanatical banditti, and restoring the peace of the kingdom.

Shortly after, King Philip the Long died, after a reign of five years, in 1321, (A. D.) As was frequently the case on the demise of great persons in that age, his death was strongly suspected of being caused by poison. He was, upon the whole, a well-meaning king; and the love of money which he had at first testified, was atoned for by an edict, near the close of his reign, dispensing with the imposts upon the people, and by a meritorious attempt to reduce the coins, and the weights and measures, throughout all France, to some uniform standard, a matter of great importance to commercial intercourse.

Philip the Long was succeeded by his brother, Charles the Fair; (1321, A. D.) The Salic law having its full

force in his behalf as heir-male, and his right being admitted, to the exclusion of the daughters of the deceased Philip the Long, and, in particular, the Duchess of Burgundy, who was the eldest of these princesses. Charles the Fair, being thus placed on the throne, became desirous to get rid of his wife Blanche, who remained still a prisoner, on account of her infidelity.

He did not on this occasion proceed to the extremities adopted by his eldest brother, Louis Hutin, who, in similar circumstances, had the frail and unfortunate Margaret strangled, but contented himself with obtaining a sentence of divorce from Rome, upon the old pretence that Blanche and he were related within the forbidden degrees. The supposed connexion was even more flimsy than usual, being only of a spiritual nature, the mother of Blanche, having, it seems, been godmother to the king. It was better, however, to be divorced as the daughter of her husband's godmother, than to be strangled with a pair of sheets. The discarded princess covered her disgrace by taking the veil in the Abbey of Maubuisson.

In room of this lady, Charles espoused Margaret, daughter of Henry of Luxembourg, seventh Emperor of Germany of that name. But no good fortune attended the marriages of this race; Queen Margaret was killed by the overturn of her chariot, an accident which proved fatal to her and to an unborn male infant.

As his third wife, Charles the Fair married with dispensation a cousin of his own, who survived him many years, but produced no family save daughters.

Charles the Fair began his reign by two remarkable punishments. Among the other chiefs of independent armed companies who were the pest of France, one Jourdain de Lisle was brought to his deserved sentence, and capitally executed, although a nephew of the reigning Pope. Besides having committed murder, and rapine of every description, not even sparing the churches, he had put to death a pursuivant of the king, having the royal arms about his neck, which was considered as an act of high-treason. He dashed out the brains of this man with

his own mace, for daring to serve a royal writ upon him. All intercession was in vain employed for so notorious a miscreant, who incurred his deserved fate upon the gibbet. The prosecution against Gerard de la Guette was of a more ordinary character. He had been a low-born officer of finance, raised to the dignity of treasurer by Philip the Long, and, as usual stood accused of having failed to render to the new king a fair account of the sums intrusted to him by the old one. He was arrested, but escaped the fate of Marrigny by dying in prison.

The affairs of England, which now became rather perplexed, next attracted Charles's anxious attention. There had been for a long time a friendly understanding betwixt the courts of England and France ; but in 1322, (A. D.) some disturbances occurred in Guienne, which made Charles the Fair in more peremptory terms than usual demand that the King of England should appear and render homage for the possessions he still occupied in France.

This was an inconvenient summons to Edward II., a weak and unfortunate prince, who, having been completely defeated by the Scottish, had, moreover, been much thwarted by the English barons, who put to death Gaveston, his favourite, and had reduced the king himself to a very low ebb. Latterly, having been successful against the insurgent barons, the king had selected for his minion Hugh Spencer, an ambitious and profligate young man, who now ruled the king with absolute sway. Isabella, the queen of Edward II., was, as a French princess, and sister of the reigning monarch of that country, judged the fittest agent to represent Edward at the court of France, since her husband himself was afraid to visit that kingdom, and his favourite Spencer was still more unwilling that his master should take such a journey. It is said, besides, that Edward, who did not love his wife, was desirous to be rid of the restraint on his pleasures imposed by her presence in England. But he and his advisers failed to observe, that Isabella, finding herself excluded from her husband's affections, had contracted a

contempt for him which amounted to hatred. There is also too much reason to believe that the same exasperated princess had already become attached criminally to Roger Mortimer, afterwards well known as her paramour. He had escaped from the Tower of London some time before ; and, as he was now residing in France, it was imprudent, to say the least, to send the queen, where their correspondence might be easily renewed or continued.

Edward, however, looking no farther than his immediate convenience, permitted, or rather enjoined, his wife to go to France, to negotiate between her brother and her husband. But the personal presence of Edward himself was still required by the King of France, as a condition of the restoration of Guienne. Again Isabella interposed her mediation, and procured the consent of the French king, that if Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III., would perform the homage, investiture of those territories should be granted to him, without demanding his father's personal presence. This was regularly transacted in the course of a few days. But the unfortunate Edward II. was not aware that his queen had only gone abroad with the purpose of returning at the head of an army, by which he was afterwards dethroned, imprisoned, and murdered.

Isabella had already commenced her intrigues to that effect, which did not escape the notice of the French court. It does not indeed appear that Charles the Fair connived at the conspiracy of his sister against her husband, though it is alleged that she received the advice of Robert of Artois, by which she left the court of Paris for that of Hainault, where she arranged a marriage for her son with Philippa, the daughter of the count, and obtained the military supplies with which she afterwards invaded England.

Charles the Fair was now beginning to feel the same infirm health which had carried off his brethren. He finally died at Bois de Vincennes, and the descendants of Hugc Capet were extinct in the first line by the death of

the last male heir of Philip the Fair. (A. D. 1327.) It was remarked, that at the death of the last-named prince there existed three sons at man's estate, so that, according to all human prospects, the succession to the crown seemed amply provided for; yet it pleased God in so short a space as fourteen years that they should all be carried off by death, without any of them leaving male issue.—The only chance of an heir-male of this branch coming into existence, was, that the Queen-dowager Joanna, third wife of Charles the Fair, might perhaps be delivered of a son. Her orphan, however, proved to be a daughter, which, opening the succession to Philip of Valois, the next heir-male of the House of Capet, gave rise to the conflicting claims of the Kings of England and France, and to the dreadful war which ravaged the two kingdoms, but especially that of France

CHAPTER III.

Homage paid by Edward III. to Philip of France in the Cathedral of Amiens—Edward subdues Scotland, and resolves to assert his Claim (in right of his Mother) to the Crown of France, to which course he is incited by Robert of Artois, the exiled Minister of Philip—Edward obtains the consent of his Parliament for an Invasion of France, and sets sail—Naval Engagement at the entrance of the Harbour of Sluyse, in which the English are victorious—Siege of Saint Omers—the Besiegers dispersed by a sally of the Defenders—Siege of Tournay—a Truce for one year concluded, and Edward returns to England—Prolongation of the Truce—Dispute concerning the Succession to the Dukedom of Bretagne—The French King espouses the part of Charles of Blois, who had been dispossessed of the Duchy by John de Montfort—De Montfort taken, and imprisoned—the masculine Courage of his Countess—she holds out Hennebon against Charles of Blois and his French Auxiliaries—English Succours, under Sir Walter Manny, thrown into the Town, by whose gallantry the Siege is raised—Prosecution of the War—Hennebon again besieged, and the Siege again raised—a Truce concluded—Renewal of the War—Edward himself takes the Field, and is opposed by John, the son of Philip—Truce concluded—A new Rupture between the Kings of France and England—Campaign under the Earl of Derby—Siege of Auberoche raised by the gallantry of Sir Walter Manny—Military Tactics at this period—Feudal Chivalry—Free Companions—English Bows and Bills—Italian Cross-bowmen—French Infantry—Mercenaries.

ALTHOUGH the states of France had formerly recognised the accession of King Philip, yet Edward III., the

young King of England, was far from acquiescing in a decision which had the effect of depriving him of a succession, which, in every other kingdom but France, would have made him unquestioned heir to his maternal uncle, Charles the Fair.

Edward was young, brave, ambitious, full of talent, and at the head of a mighty nation. Yet, even in early youth, he was capable of listening to prudent counsel; and, sensible that, considering the revolutions which England had lately undergone,—considering his own bondage, as it might be termed, under the guardianship of his mother and her favourite, Mortimer,—considering also, the unanimity of France under the present king, this was not a time to propose a claim so important, and which must be followed by inevitable war. His decision was hurried by a summons from the King of France, that he should appear and do homage for the dukedom of Aquitaine, the denial of which requisition must have instantly been followed by a declaration of forfeiture, which Edward was as yet in no condition to dispute. He therefore resolved to submit to the summons for the present. But to avoid the inference, that, by rendering this homage for his French possessions, he acknowledged the right of Philip of Valois as King of France, King Edward, in his own secret council, entered a solemn protest, that such homage as he should at this time pay to Philip, should not prejudice his own hereditary right to the kingdom of France, in virtue of his mother, Isabella. Under this private protestation, Edward went to France with a noble train of knights and peers, where Philip met him with an attendance and retinue suited to the occasion, to receive the homage which the other came to pay. It may be well supposed, that every ceremony applicable to the rendering of such fealty, was nicely disputed between such august personages. The meeting of the sovereigns was in the cathedral of Amiens. The English King appeared clad in a robe of crimson velvet, embroidered with leopards of gold. He wore a royal crown on his head, was girt with his sword, and had his golden spurs buckled

upon his heels. The King of France received him, seated in a chair, before which a cushion was laid for the King of England to kneel upon. As he refused that act of humiliation, the Grand Chamberlain of France insisted, not only that that posture should be adopted, but that the King of England should lay aside the regal ornaments, and that the homage should be rendered by him kneeling, bare-headed, without sword and girdle, and without spurs. Edward was extremely angry at being compelled to divest himself, in such an assembly, of the usual marks of his rank. He was, however, obliged to do so; and it is probable his hatred to Philip of Valois was greatly increased by his being subjected to this public affront.

This displeasing ceremony being performed, and the English possessions in France so far secured, Edward returned to England, where he dispossessed his mother and her lover, Mortimer, of the administration, and took the command of the kingdom into his own hand.

This revolution effected, the young king, perceiving Scotland deprived by death of her heroic deliverer, Robert Bruce, and of his great captains, Randolph, Douglas, and others, thought the time opportune for renewing his grandfather's and father's attempts upon the liberty of that nation. With this purpose, he invaded that country—first, by means of the Disinherited Barons, as the English lords were called, (lords, that is, who had lost estates in Scotland, granted to them by Edward I. and II.,) and afterwards by his own royal armies—and soon reduced the Scottish to nearly the same state of reluctant subjection which they experienced in the time of his grandfather Edward I.

As, however, the natives of the north continued to show the same indomitable opposition to the English yoke; as the young king and queen of that nation had found refuge in France, when there was no corner of safety left for them in their own country; as French money and even French troops, were sent at different times to keep up the spirit of the Scottish insurgents, Edward, now, in nearly complete possession of the island

of Britain, began to meditate the assertion of his own claim of inheritance upon France, that he might so put an end at once, and for ever, to the troublesome interference of that powerful nation, in his Scottish wars.

To this resolution the King of England was urged by the counsels of a hot-tempered and disappointed man, who fled about this time from the court of France to that of England. This was no other than Robert, Count of Artois, a high prince of the blood, and an especial counsellor, till this period, of Philip of Valois. This nobleman was grandson to a Robert Count of Artois, slain at the battle of Courtray, after having had a son, named Philip, who died before him. The slaughtered Count left a daughter named Matilda, besides this Robert of Artois, son of Philip, who was entitled, as male heir, to the succession of his grandfather. But Matilda, the daughter of the elder Count Robert, being married to Otho of Burgundy, and two daughters whom she had by that marriage, being married to two sons of Philip the Fair, that king of France adjudged the county of Artois to the heir female, which was confirmed by a judgment of Philip the Long. In this decision the Salic Law was set aside, it being alleged that the peculiar customs of inheritance, observed from time immemorial in Artois, did not permit its application.

By these judgments, Robert of Artois, the grandson, conceived himself highly injured, and began to employ his political sagacity in the way which he thought most likely to favour his own interest in the county of Artois. In the debate concerning the succession, upon the death of Charles the Fair, Robert of Artois declared zealously for the party of Philip of Valois, both because Philip's right, being that of an heir male, favoured his own claim upon the county of Artois, and because he was himself brother-in-law and friend of the claimant.

Philip, who was greatly indebted to this prince for smoothing his access to the crown, by his important services and eloquent representations, received him into his highest favour, presented him with the earldom of Beau-

mont le Roger, and consulted him in almost all important business which he had to transact, until Robert, thus distinguished, began to think the period was favourable for again trying the question respecting the succession of his grandfather, no longer indeed with his aunt Matilda, who was dead, but with her successors. After obtaining, therefore, many marks of the king's favour and confidence, he was so secure of his interest, as to propose to Philip of Valois, to review and alter the decisions of his predecessors, Philip the Fair and Philip the Long, which took from Robert the county of Artois. The king eluded his minister's request, by replying, that he had no power to disturb the decisions of his predecessors, and that Robert ought to remain satisfied with such possessions as he had obtained from the kindness of the king. This refusal drove D'Artois to still more unlawful expedients, to obtain the end on which he had determined. He forged, or caused to be forged, a testament of his grandfather, settling the county of Artois in his favour, and produced it to the king, as a document affording sufficient room for reviewing and recalling the judgments of which he complained. Philip of Valois, looking upon the deed produced, of which he instantly recognised the falsehood, sternly exhorted his minister to desist from a pursuit so unjust, and to beware how he prejudiced his own honour, and insulted his sovereign, by claiming faith for forged deeds. Robert of Artois replied with fury, that he would support the truth of the testament with his lance in the lists, against whosoever impugned it. The king, highly offended at a defiance in which he thought his own person was included, answered sternly, "I will impugn it, and will know how to punish the fabricator."

The king and his minister parted in great displeasure on both sides, and Robert of Artois was heard to drop these dangerous words:—"He who placed the crown upon Philip's head, knows how to deprive him of it again."

This imprudent speech being reported to Philip, he published a sentence against his late minister, condemning him for forgery; declaring him fallen from his hon-

ours, banishing him from France, and pronouncing his property confiscated. At the same time, a female of the house of Betune was burnt alive, as the actual forger of the testament in question, and as guilty also of sorcery. By this usage, in which, perhaps, the king, in forgetting former services, followed the dictates of offended dignity farther than prudence would have counselled, Robert of Artois was driven to despair. Philip's displeasure even extended to the exile's wife, whom he imprisoned, although she was his own sister; and he showed similar rancour, by interfering to prevent Robert from finding refuge in Brabant, where his friends were prohibited from protecting him, under pain of the King of France's vengeance. This inflexible severity drove the exiled statesman to seek refuge with Edward, who was Philip's most formidable enemy, both from situation, and recollection of the scene of homage which he had been constrained to perform at Amiens.

In the year 1337, (A. D.) Robert of Artois fled to England in disguise, and being a near relation of Edward, received there welcome and protection; and, from his character for policy, speedily found the road to the king's ear. He employed his influence, which soon became great, to persuade Edward of the practicability of asserting his title to the crown of France in right of his mother. Edward, flattered by the prospects displayed by so sagacious a counsellor, resolved upon a war with France, founded on the sweeping and general assertion, that he himself was the lawful heir of that kingdom, in despite of the Salic law on which Philip reposed his right.

Availing himself of the wealth which his subjects readily put at their king's command, in a point where their sense of national glory was so strongly interested, Edward commenced, at very great expense, to form a confederacy with the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, the Dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the Archbishop of Cologne, and other petty princes of the Low Country, for

the formation of an army which should support the title which he intended to assume as King of France. For the levying and keeping on foot this army, he engaged to pay large subsidies to the princes of the confederacy.

Edward III., however, experienced what has been since often felt, that it is easier for England, by her wealth, to induce continental powers to take up arms in her behalf, than to inspire them with vigour and spirit in an enterprise, to which money alone had induced them to accede. Philip took the field, with an army of one hundred thousand men, to face this gathering storm, but cautiously avoided a combat, in which a defeat might have cost him his throne ; and the allied princes trimmed, shuffled, procrastinated, and delayed assembling their forces, till the summer passed away without any remarkable event. In the spring, 1340, (A. D.) Edward returned to hold his parliament, which was called chiefly for the purpose of requiring new subsidies from his subjects, having exhausted those formerly granted among his allies to little purpose. His parliament were, however, complaisant, and, having settled his affairs at home, the king resolved to return to the continent, although the French fleet, amounting to four hundred sail, with forty thousand men on board, who had been already troublesome to the English coasts and commerce, was prepared, by their master's order, to intercept Edward upon the sea.

These vessels were hired from the republic of Genoa, and manned with mariners from that state. On 22d June, 1340, (A. D.) the King of England set sail with two hundred and sixty vessels well manned with archers and men-at-arms. Other vessels conveyed English ladies and gentlewomen, who went over to pay their respects to the queen, whom Edward had left behind him in Flanders as a pledge of his return. When the English approached the harbour of Sluyse, which they had fixed for disembarkation, they beheld it occupied by so many vessels, that their masts and streamers seemed like a great wood. The king demanded of the master of his vessel, " what he conceived this navy to be."—" They are," answered

the master, "ships fitted out by the French king to despoil your Majesty's coasts, and interrupt your commerce. They have already done you, in this way, much harm; and now, if they may, it is their object to take your person."—"Ha!" said the king, "I have long desired to meet them, and now I will make them dearly abye the displeasures they have done me." Acting as admiral in person, the king commanded his fleet to cast anchor for the night.

On the next morning, having arranged the vessels bearing the ladies at such a distance that they might see the conflict without danger, Edward, with his ships of war, held a course in moving towards the fight which was calculated to gain the wind of the enemy, in which manœuvre he succeeded. This conduct also seemed to the French to evince timidity on the part of Edward, and induced them to leave the harbour to attack the English fleet,—another object which the King of England had in view. The battle commenced at ten in the morning, and lasted nine long hours, during which the Genoese sailors, by whom the French ships were manned, plied the English with their cross-bows, to which the English replied with the long-bow, a much more effective weapon, and which had been a favourite in England ever since the Norman Conquest. When the missiles on each side were expended, the ships approached close to each other, and grappled or secured themselves to their opponents by means of iron chains or hooks, by which the contending vessels were held together. The men-at-arms on both sides thus fought on the decks hand to hand, with their swords and axes, as if on shore. The English, animated by the presence and example of Edward, obtained at length, after a bloody battle, a most complete victory, the first distinguished naval success of England, which has since gained so many. In consequence of which, the whole French navy being taken, dispersed, or destroyed, King Edward achieved his landing with all glory and victory; and the splendour of his conquest induced his allies to show an activity which they had not yet mani-

fested. The king, in conjunction with them, formed the siege of Tournay, a strong town, which was valiantly defended by the assistance of a French garrison.

At this time the country of Flanders was divided betwixt two factions. The earl of that country adhered faithfully to King Philip, whose vassal he was, and was followed by the nobles and gentry. But the towns of Flanders were at all times inhabited by a mutinous body of citizens, manufacturers, and the like, who were not disposed to submit to the earl or his nobility, and were often engaged in actual rebellion against him, and in insurrection against his dependent nobles. A brewer, of the name of D'Arteville, had raised himself to the rank of a principal demagogue among these artisans, and, holding a close intercourse with Edward III., was of course hostile to the French party, which had been embraced by the earl.

An army of these insurgent Flemings, amounting in number to forty thousand men, with the auxiliary aid of five thousand English archers, took the field under Robert of Artois, who, acting as the commander of this second and somewhat tumultuary army, laid siege to Saint Omers, while the more regular part of the allied troops besieged Tournay. Saint Omers, however, was well defended; and in an attack upon the suburbs of the place, the besieged made a strong sally upon the Flemings while in disorder, slew about three or four thousand men, and impressed upon the rest a panic terror, which manifested itself in an extraordinary way, that very night. About midnight, there fell upon the undisciplined besiegers a strange consternation, and groundless fear, which impelled them to cut down their tents and pavilions, and fly from before the place. Their leaders in vain endeavoured to argue with them, asking, "Why they fled? whom they feared?" and such like questions, to which the Flemings made no answer, but dispersed themselves in confusion, never again to be assembled as an army.

One part of King Edward's plan for the campaign was thus frustrated by a singular accident; nor was the siege

at Tournay more successful, though it was more regularly conducted, and more honourably raised, than that of Saint Omers. King Edward maintained the siege of the former place for nine weeks and upwards, still hoping that he might be able to compel Philip, who lay with a royal army within three or four leagues of the place, to hazard a battle for its relief.

In this, however, he failed. In consequence of which disappointment, and scarcely knowing in what way to bring the war to a decision, Edward despatched a personal challenge, defying King Philip to let the controversy be decided either by the kings themselves in single fight, or by a hundred champions on each side. Philip had too much wisdom to accept of this defiance. He returned for answer that a king accepted not a challenge from a vassal, and upbraided Edward with being perjured after the oath which he had taken when he paid him homage at Amiens.

The German and Dutch confederates of England were again becoming weary of the war, which was marked by so little good fortune ; and, what may be considered as a simultaneous occurrence, Edward's power of continuing the subsidies to these venal allies was gradually diminishing.

When matters were in this critical posture before Tournay, the Pope and his cardinals urged strongly the necessity of peace betwixt the two Christian monarchs, the most powerful in Europe, in order that they might engage in a joint effort against the infidels. This gave an apology, at least, to Edward's pride, for entering into terms. Robert, King of Sicily, was equally anxious in the same cause of mediation ; but especially the Lady Jane of Valois, Countess Dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to the King of England, and sister to Philip of France, did her utmost, by affectionate remonstrances and judicious arguments, to prevail upon the contending monarchs to negotiate for a truce. This was concluded in September, 1341, (A. D.) to continue for one year, and affording,

it was supposed, sufficient leisure for adjusting a definitive peace.

Edward returned to England in very bad humour, deserted by his mercenary confederates, and convinced that he himself was mistaken in supposing he could conquer France by the aid of princes, who, one by one, (the emperor himself not excepted,) made peace with his enemy when the treasures of England failed. On the other hand, notwithstanding his loss in the great sea action, Philip of France carried away all the advantages of the campaign. He had saved Tournay from ruin, and obliged the King of England, who had threatened to dethrone him, to retreat from his dominions, without having been able to gain so much as a single village of France, and was, therefore, undoubtedly in every sense, possessed of the effective fruits of victory.

The truce, of course, terminated the war for the present; but still the ground of mortal quarrel remained betwixt the two countries, rankled deep in each, and afforded a ready pretence for either nation, when they should again choose to take up arms. Neither could a more solid peace between the crowns be now achieved, although Edward required nothing more than a release for the payment of homage for Gascony; a condition greatly short of his original high pretensions. The truce, therefore, was prolonged for another year, as the only way of avoiding the revival of a war which endangered Christendom. Thus stood matters, when an unexpected event took place, which revived Edward's hopes of obtaining possession of the crown of France, much abated as they had been by the event of the late unsatisfactory campaigns. This was a dispute concerning the succession of the Duke of Bretagne, which originated as follows.

Arthur, the second duke, had, by his first wife, three sons, John, Guy, and Peter; by his second wife he left one son, named John de Montfort, being the title of his mother's family. At his death, Duke Arthur was suc-

ceeded by his eldest son, John III. This prince died 30th April, 1341, without issue; Guy, the second son of Duke Arthur, had been dead about ten years before, leaving one daughter, Jane, who, by desire of her uncle, was married to Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France. During Duke Arthur's lifetime and reign, Peter, the third son of that prince, had died young and childless, while the aforesaid John de Montfort, son of Arthur, by his second wife, was still alive. Thus standing the succession, Duke John III. had prevailed upon the States of Bretagne to recognise the right of his niece, Jane, and her husband, Charles de Blois, as his presumptive heir and successor in the duchy, in preference to John de Montfort, who was unquestionably the heir-male, and had, as such, a considerable party among the Bretons. This expression of the duke's will met no direct opposition. But, upon the death of Duke John, the Earl de Montfort determined to dispute the destination in which he had hitherto acquiesced. He entered into a close correspondence with Edward III., and easily prevailed upon him to forward his pretensions to the dukedom of Bretagne, agreeing, at the same time, to assert those of Edward to the kingdom of France. De Montfort seized on the treasure of the deceased duke, gained possession of Nantes, and several other towns of Bretagne, and made every effort to support his claim. To draw his connexion with England still closer, he visited that country, made a formal alliance with its sovereign, and did homage to Edward as King of France, for the dukedom of Bretagne.

These proceedings gave great and natural offence to the King of France, who, upon the complaint of Charles of Blois, summoned De Montfort to appear before his Parliament of Paris. The earl somewhat incautiously obeyed the summons; but, finding himself charged with the feudal offence of having acknowledged Edward as his superior, and commanded to remain in the city of Paris for fifteen days, he began to be alarmed, and returned privately into Bretagne, before the French king knew of his departure.

The Parliament of Paris proceeded, in the absence of the Count de Montfort, to adjudge the duchy to Charles of Blois and his wife, as legal heirs to the deceased duke, adding, at the same time, that De Montfort, even had he ever possessed an interest in the fief, had forfeited it, both by doing homage to the King of England, and by breach of his arrest, contrary to King Philip's orders.

The King of France, at the same time, commanded his eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, to assist Charles of Blois in regaining possession of those towns in Bretagne which De Montfort had taken and garrisoned. A vigorous attack was instantly made for the recovery of Bretagne, and Charles de Blois, by the assistance of a French army, in which a distinguished warrior, called Louis de la Cerda, more commonly Louis of Spain, acting as marshal of the host, had the good fortune to retake the capital of Nantes, in which Earl Montfort himself was made prisoner. He was sent to Paris, and imprisoned in the Louvre, where he long remained, entirely lost to his party. In most cases, therefore, the war would have been at an end ere it was well begun; and the scheme of Edward to obtain access to France, by the way of Bretagne, must have been totally frustrated. This was, however, prevented, by the masculine courage of the Countess Jane de Montfort, wife of the imprisoned earl, and sister to the Earl of Flanders.

This lady, who, says Froissart, "had the courage of a man and the heart of a lion," being in the city of Rennes when her lord was taken, scorned to yield to the grief with which that event oppressed her; but assembling her friends, presented to them her young son, John, as successor to his rights, who, by the grace of God, should be the means of restoring his father unto his family and friends. She undertook also to pay the soldiers regularly, and inspired a spirit of resistance into her party which might have been supposed to have been utterly extinguished by her husband's misfortune.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the countess, Rennes was yielded to Charles de Blois and there seemed little

chance of any effectual stand being made, till she threw herself into Hennebon, a strong town in Bretagne, situated on the seashore, in which she was accompanied by the flower of her partisans, and where she prepared for a gallant defence. She herself wore armour, and rode through the streets on a mettled charger, exhorting the citizens to resistance. Her women were not excepted from martial labour, for she caused them to cut short their gowns, that they might be more active, and carry stones and other missiles to the walls to make good the defence.

The French having attempted to carry the town, by a general assault upon one side, the countess made a sally on the other, and set fire to the Frenchmen's camp, while they were engaged in the assault; and upon this and other occasions, did great damage to the besiegers. Notwithstanding this, and the valour and military skill which she displayed in making good the defence, the town suffered severely in the progress of the siege. The walls were so much shattered by the engines, that the Bishop of Leon, who visited the place in person, as a friend of Charles of Blois, pressed the conductors of the defence very much to come to terms with the besiegers. His arguments, and the desperate condition of the place made considerable impression upon several of its defenders. The valiant countess now became alarmed for the defection of her followers, and piteously entreated them to hold out, were it but for the space of three days only, during which time she asserted she was certain that the city would be relieved. Nevertheless, on the second day, the Breton lords of her party again met in council with the Bishop of Leon, adjusting terms for the capitulation of Hennebon; and Charles of Blois, who was with the besiegers in person, had approached the walls with a strong party, to be in readiness to take possession of the place.

At this critical moment, the valiant Countess, in a state well-nigh approaching to despair, cast an almost hopeless glance upon the sea from a lofty window of the castle, when, what was her joy to discover the horizon covered

with the masts of a large navy, steering towards Hennebon. She exclaimed joyfully, "The Red Cross! the Red Cross! the succours of England are in sight!"

The Breton lords speedily changed their purpose of surrender and dismissed the Bishop of Leon, to whom they were formerly disposed to listen, while Charles of Blois, incensed at his disappointment, approached to the walls the greatest engine the besiegers had in their camp. The English, who had been forty days delayed on the sea by contrary winds, now landed at Hennebon. They formed a small army, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, a Flemish lord in the service of King Edward, and one of the most renowned warriors of that period. The very next day after his arrival, he expressed his wish to come to action. "I have a great desire," he said, "to issue from the town and to break down yonder great engine, which they have brought so near us." The Breton lords within the place gladly assented. They burst forth from the gates, broke the engine to pieces, and pursued those who guarded it to the camp of the besiegers. The host of the French now began to get under arms, to protect the fugitives; and Sir Walter, seeing their main body advancing, turned against them, with the chivalrous protestation, "May I never be beloved of my lady, if I refuse to break a lance with these pursuers!" He turned accordingly, and many a knight was unhorsed, and deed of arms done. With equal prudence as valour, Sir Walter Manny, after a gallant skirmish, drew off his forces under cover of the ditches, which were lined with English archers, and returned to Hennebon, where the Countess of Montfort, as we are informed by the chronicle, kissed him and his brave companions twice or thrice, like a valiant lady. The siege of Hennebon was accordingly raised. (A. D. 1342.)

Many skirmishes were fought, in which the English courage and the excellence of their archers, gained an ascendancy, which was exceedingly mortifying to Charles de Blois, and to Don Louis of Spain, who acted as marshal of his army.

The latter was a general of great courage and conduct, but nevertheless was tinged with the vindictive and cruel temper which was supposed peculiar to the Spanish nation. Moving along the coast of Bretagne with a strong force of Spaniards and Genoese, he destroyed a seaport town called Guerande, where he spared neither man, woman, nor child. Taking shipping at this place, Don Louis reached Quimperlé, another haven, where he landed, and, burning, sacking, and destroying the whole surrounding country, collected a great spoil. But while he was thus engaged, Sir Walter Manny, who had put to sea in pursuit of him, arrived at Quimperlé, with three thousand English archers, and a sufficient number of men-at-arms. The English instantly seized upon the French ships and booty, which remained unprotected in the port of Quimperlé, while Don Louis himself, with his soldiers, continued to ravage the neighbourhood; and Sir Walter Manny, landing with his forces, set off in pursuit of his enemy. They met, and engaged with fury. The English archers displayed their usual superiority. Don Alphonso, the nephew of Don Louis, was killed on the spot; the Genoese and Spaniards dispersed themselves, and were destroyed by the Bretons, as they fled in different directions. Don Louis, much wounded, with great difficulty made his escape in a swift-sailing skiff, which held only a few of his followers.

Notwithstanding these successes on the part of the Countess of Montfort and her auxiliaries, the forces of Charles de Blois daily increased; and it became obvious, that although the troops of Sir Walter Manny were sufficient to deliver the countess, and to protect her person, yet more numerous and effectual succours were necessary for obtaining success in her undertaking, and maintaining Bretagne against the power of France. Charles of Blois had succeeded in taking the important towns of Vannes and Karhuis, and had resolved again to attack Hennebon, which might be considered as the principal seat of the war, since the countess and her son resided there, secure in the strength of the place, which was protected

by strong trenches, to which the sea was admitted, and so less secure in the valour of Sir Walter Manny, and the English auxiliary forces.

Determined, therefore, to renew the siege, Charles of Blois and Don Louis of Spain reared up against Hennebon sixteen engines of the largest size, with which they cast great stones into the place, and ruined the walls and defences. The besieged, however, strengthened their defences with a great number of woolpacks, which broke the force of the stones; this encouraged the countess and her auxiliaries so much, that they upbraided the besiegers by calling from the walls, "Why bring you not up the troops whom you carried from hence to Quimperlé?" This insult was particularly directed against Louis of Spain, whose pride was highly offended at being thus reminded of his shameful defeat, the loss of his army, his own wounds and flight, and the death of a beloved nephew. He chose a mode of revenge, which accorded ill with the honourable sentiments by which men of his rank were then expected to guide themselves.

Passing to the tent of Charles de Blois, Louis of Spain desired of him a boon, in requital of all the services which he had done him; this was readily granted. When his request came to be explained, he demanded the persons of two gallant English knights, who had been made prisoners, when wounded, that he might do with them according to his pleasure; declaring at the same time, that, in revenge of the insults of the people of Hennebon, and of the defeats he had suffered from the English, it was his purpose to strike off the heads of the prisoners within sight of the walls. Charles of Blois, who was a courteous and accomplished knight, answered the Spaniard that his boon should be readily granted, were it not asked for a purpose which would dishonour Don Louis himself, and occasion the English generals to use retaliation on the prisoners of their party. Don Louis to this expostulation sullenly replied, that if Charles did not grant him the boon he required, he would on the spot renounce both his cause and his company. Charles of Blois, unable to

dispense with the Spaniard's services, thought himself obliged to deliver up the two English prisoners, who were named Sir John Butler and Sir Matchew Trelawney, to be used as Don Louis pleased. Nor could any entreaty of those around divert the Spaniard from his savage and unknighly resolution of having them publicly executed shortly after dinner upon the same day.

Sir Walter Manny, being informed of the imminent danger in which the two valiant knights stood, addressed his followers thus : " Great honour were it to us should we be able to save the lives of yonder knights ; and even the attempt, though unsuccessful, will be praised by our good King Edward, and by all men of worth who shall hear thereof." With this resolution, which was adopted with acclamation by all who heard the proposal, the greater part of the garrison, being six thousand archers and three hundred men-at-arms, under the command of a gallant Breton knight, Sir Aymery of Clisson, sallied forth suddenly, and with great vigour, against the camp of the French, which they furiously assailed. The besiegers immediately took to arms, and the battle became very hot. In the meantime, Sir Walter Manny, taking a hundred men-at-arms and five hundred archers, whom he had reserved for that purpose, and sallying from a private postern, fetched a circuit, and fell upon the camp of the enemy, in a quarter where he met so little opposition, that he penetrated to the tent where the two knights were confined. Here he found them bound, and prepared for instant execution. He cut their bonds, mounted them on horseback, and carried them off in triumph, thus delivering them from the destiny allotted to them by Louis of Spain.

After sustaining this insult, Charles of Blois and his party, finding no chance of possessing themselves of Hennebon, raised the siege, and withdrew, after having established a truce with the Countess of Montfort, which was to endure to the 15th of May following, when the weather would permit the campaign to be opened anew.

In the winter season the heroic countess herself, with

some of her principal partisans, made a visit to England, where she kept her Christmas in high state, honoured by all, as became her courage and celebrity.

Early next year, an auxiliary army was raised in England for the service of Bretagne, and Robert of Artois, already mentioned, was its destined commander. He put to sea about the middle of May, (A. D. 1343,) in which month the truce with Charles of Blois expired. The noble Countess de Montfort returned to Bretagne with the same armament. Near Guernsey they fell in with the fleet of France, commanded by Don Louis of Spain, often already mentioned, and a brave leader as well on sea as on land. Both parties encountered with mutual animosity, the Countess de Montfort keeping the deck of her vessel with a drawn sword in her hand, like the knights and men-at-arms on both sides. The engagement was very fierce, being on the one side maintained by the cross-bowmen of Genoa, and on the other by the English archers, both renowned for their skill in their weapons; but the fleets were parted by a storm, without the battle being decided for either party.

When Robert of Artois arrived in Bretagne with his forces, which were rather select than numerous, he made his first attack upon the strong city of Vannes, which he took by surprise. The success of the English in this enterprise induced their leaders to divide their forces. One party went to Hennebon, with the Countess of Montfort and Sir Walter Manny, another, under the Earl of Salisbury and Pembroke, laid siege to the city of Rennes, and Robert of Artois was left, with very inferior forces, in possession of Vannes, his late acquisition. Here he was suddenly surrounded by twelve thousand French, assembled for the purpose of overpowering him. The besiegers, being at the same time afraid that they might themselves be attacked by the English, who lay before Rennes, made a sudden and desperate attack on the city of Vannes, and took it by storm. Robert de Artois was much wounded, and narrowly escaped to Hen-

nebon From thence he took shipping for England ; but being detained upon the sea, his wounds rankled, and he died shortly after arriving in London. Thus perished that unfortunate exile, whose personal resentment and vindictive counsel had been so immediately the occasion of this bloody war. Even his death appeared to be the means of exasperating it Edward III., who loved Robert d'Artois, and considered him as a martyr in his cause, swore he would not rest till he had revenged his death, and for that purpose he would lead an army in person into Bretagne. He kept his oath accordingly, and arrived in that province with considerable forces in October, 1343.

Philip of Valois now saw the necessity of making a great exertion. He commissioned his son, John Duke of Normandy, to levy as strong a force as possible, and drive the English from Bretagne. Accordingly, this young prince raised an army, amounting to more than forty thousand men, greatly superior, of course, to those Englishmen who had been sent thither under Robert d'Artois, even when united with the army under Edward himself. A battle might have been expected between two such considerable armies ; and such a crisis seemed, indeed, to be actually approaching. King Edward encamped his army, now assembled into one body, before the city of Vannes, and the Duke of Normandy approached the same town upon the other side, with a view to raise the siege ; but both armies were in a state of such difficulty as prevented their acting with effect. The English could not prudently make any attempt upon Vannes in presence of the French host, while, on the other hand, the French army, though more numerous, dared not assault the English, secured as they were by their strong intrenchments. Thus the armies lay fronting each other, both sufficiently distressed for want of provisions. Little passed but skirmishing. At length the contending princes became inclined to listen to the arguments of two cardinals, sent by the Pope to mediate a pacification between France and England, if such were

possible. These eminent churchmen laboured so effectually, that, in 1343, (A. D.) a truce was concluded between King Edward and the Duke of Normandy, in the name of his father. France was therefore, for the present, relieved from the presence of the English armies and their warlike monarch; but the quarrel was too much embittered to permit of a speedy settlement.

It was not long before both kings accused each other of breach of the agreement, and of actions inconsistent with the truce. King Philip of Valois gave particular occasion to the charge, by putting to death certain Breton lords who had adopted the party of De Montfort, and who had fallen into his hands during the war, as well as others whom he considered as intriguing with Edward, though they had hitherto preserved the external appearance of French subjects. Among these was the Lord of Clisson, a brave, powerful, and popular noble. On the other hand, the French king complained that King Edward kept on foot his party in Bretagne by all manner of indirect intrigues. In short both monarchs expressed themselves deeply offended with each other, and desirous of renewing the war as soon as convenient.

The English parliament, although the French war entailed on the nation a burdensome and useless expense, entered nevertheless warmly into the passions of Edward, advised him to prosecute the war with vigour, and granted him large subsidies to enable him to do so. The king, thus encouraged by his subjects, sent in 1344, (A. D.) a small army into Guienne, of great part of which province it must be remembered, the English were still possessed; and also in the same year despatched reinforcements to the party of De Montfort in Bretagne, where very many of the Bretons themselves, highly incensed against the French for the cruel execution of several of their nobles, were in arms for the Countess of Montfort. The English troops sent to Guienne were placed under the command of the king's near kinsman, Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby. By the good management of this gallant chief, the English army took

various towns in the south of France, and defeated in battle the French army under the Count de l'Isle, an excellent general.

The circumstances of the action were something extraordinary. A strong castle in Gascony, called Auberocche, had been taken by the English, and three knights of their party were stationed there with a garrison, for the defence of the place. The Count de l'Isle, who had hitherto been outshone in activity and adventure by the Earl of Derby, now thought of recovering his reputation by regaining this place of Auberocche. He conceived he should be able to achieve this by such a rapid concentration of his forces, as he trusted might enable him to carry the castle, before the Earl of Derby, who was lying at Bourdeaux, could entertain any suspicion of his purpose. He summoned therefore around him all the vassals within reach, who owned the authority of the King of France, and having thus assembled a considerable army, suddenly laid siege to Auberocche, where the small English garrison were totally unprovided for defence. The Frenchmen brought with them to the attack of the place four very powerful engines, which they employed day and night in casting such huge stones as broke down the battlements, and shattered the roofs of the castle so much, that the garrison were compelled to shelter themselves in the vaults and cellars. The besieged knights saw no chance of escape or relief, unless they could communicate their hard case to the Earl of Derby, then lying at Bourdeaux, and request him to advance to their deliverance.

One of their attendants undertook this perilous task, and, in the character of a Gascon peasant, attempted to pass through the camp of the enemy; he was discovered, however, and seized. The letter of the besieged knights to the Earl of Derby which the captive messenger bore, informed the besiegers of the straits in which the garrison was placed; and, in order to make the besieged aware that their messenger had been intercepted, the French cruelly put the poor fellow upon one of their

engines, and cast him into the town, accompanied with the insulting taunt, "Ask your messenger, sirs, where he found the Earl of Derby, since he went out but last night, and returned again so shortly."

Frank de la Halle, a gallant German, and a faithful follower of Edward III., who was one of those within the castle, answered boldly, "Sirs, though we be enclosed here, we shall issue when it pleases God; and as to the Earl of Derby, if you will let us send a message to him touching our condition, there is not one of you will keep the field till his coming."—"Nay," answered the besiegers, "this shall not serve your turn: it will be time enough for the Earl of Derby to know of your condition when the castle is rendered."—"That it shall never be!" answered Frank de la Halle: "we will rather die in ruins."

All these proceedings before Auberoche were conveyed to the Earl of Derby by a spy, whom that nobleman had in the French camp. So soon as he received news of the distress of the besieged, he assembled his troops, and sent to the Earl of Pembroke, then at Bergerac with a still larger force, to join him upon his march towards Auberoche. In the meantime he himself instantly set forth, accompanied by the Earl of Oxford, Sir Walter Manny, Lord Ferrars, Sir Richard Hastings, and other good knights, though having with them few followers. They tarried for some hours at a village called Lyborne, to abide for the Earl of Pembroke, who did not appear. On the succeeding evening they left the village, and, riding all night, were within two leagues of Auberoche in the dawning. - Here they lighted from their horses, and made a halt till it was noon, still hoping for the Earl of Pembroke's junction. He came not, however; and the English were now obliged to consider whether they should venture to prosecute their enterprise with their own slender force. They were only three hundred spears, and about six hundred archers, while the army of the French lying before Auberoche amounted to ten or twelve

thousand men. The determination was not easy, for, while the gallant knights felt the shame of abandoning their companions at Auberoche, it seemed rash to go on at such a disadvantage. "In the name of God," said Sr Walter Manny, at length, "let us direct our march upon Auberoche, under cover of this wood, which we may skirt without being descried, till we come upon the rear of the French where we are divided from them by open ground, and then take the advantage of a sudden and unexpected attack."

To this the valiant knights present readily agreed, and the men-at-arms continued their march towards Auberoche, till they reached a small valley, where the Frenchmen lay encamped,—none of them thinking of an enemy, and most of them busied with their supper. The English men-at-arms then issued from the wood, having gained the rear of the besiegers, displayed their banners and pennons, dashed their spurs into their horses, and rushed upon the enemy, crying their war-shout of "A Derby ! a Derby !"

The sudden surprise compensated for the inferiority of numbers ; and such French knights and men-at-arms as could prepare for battle on the spur of the moment, found themselves exposed to the shot of the English archers, who were placed ready for that service. The Comte de l'Isle was taken in his tent, with many others. The besieged knights, also, hearing the tumult, and seeing the English ensigns, instantly armed themselves, and, rushing out, plunged into the thickest of the battle, and augmented the confusion of the French, who sustained, though by very inadequate means, a complete discomfiture. Their general, the Comte de l'Isle, with nine earls and viscounts, and almost all the lords, knights, and squires of his army, remained captives ; and there was scarce an English man-at-arms who had not two or three prisoners.

On the next morning, the Earl of Pembroke appeared at the head of a strong body of English, and blamed the Earl of Derby for engaging the enemy without him,

since he might be sure, that, being sent for, he would not fail to keep the appointment. The Earl of Derby answered gently, that they had already tarried many hours for their companions ; and that, had he suspended the attack longer, they might have been discovered by the enemy ; in which case, the French might have attained the advantage which had so fortunately fallen to the English.

Thus terminated the campaign under the Earl of Derby, during the year 1344. In spring 1345, (A. D.) the Earl of Derby, now become Earl of Lancaster by his father's death, was reinforced from England, and resumed his career of conquest in Gascony ; and, as well by taking several towns, as by skirmishes in the field, gained great honour for himself, and extended in that province the authority of England. The Duke of Normandy, at the head of the knights and chivalry of that duchy, continued the principal opponent of the English, and the war was carried on with great activity on both sides.

It is impossible for us to give a minute description of these events, although the gallantry with which they were performed, has enabled the celebrated Froissart to decorate his splendid pages with many details of romantic chivalry. It will be more useful for you to obtain some idea of the description of troops that formed the armies by which these wars were carried on, and of the tactics upon which they acted.

You are already aware, that the strength of the armies in the fourteenth century consisted in cavalry, which was levied almost entirely upon feudal principles, with the exception of the mercenary troops, who must be considered separately.

The regular feudal horsemen consisted of the knights, of whom I have endeavoured to give you some idea, together with their squires, pages, and personal attendants. The number of those who waited upon each knight, varied with circumstances ; in especial cases, according to the means that their master had of maintaining them, as well as to his fame in arms ; but generally amounted to

about five men for each lance, that is, as the retinue of each knight. This chivalry was called out as vassals of the crown, of whom the leaders held their lands, and their service was considered as rendered in requital of their several estates; each powerful crown vassal being attended of course by his subordinate dependents, who served him on the same terms as he served the crown. Such was the system upon which the feudal cavalry were formed.

But it must be recollected that every knight was not necessarily possessed of land, which he held for military service; on the contrary, very many were elevated to that dignity, who either never had any estates of their own, or who had spent, or otherwise lost them. This must have been frequently the case, since the dignity of knighthood could be conferred upon any one whom an individual knight judged worthy of the honour. The order could, therefore, be multiplied to an infinite number without regard to any thing but the personal qualities of those on whom it was conferred, and especially to their skill in arms and military exercises. The number of knights, without either lands or substance, who sought adventures, merely to essay their courage, and push their fortunes in life, was very great; and these "bold bachelors," as they were called, were the flower of every feudal army. They subsisted by the bounty, or *largesse*, as it was called, of the princes whom they served, which was one great source of expense to those who embarked in war; and the intrepidity with which they engaged in combat was increased in proportion, in order to attract the favour of their leader.

A successful war had also its peculiar advantages to those chivalrous adventurers. The knights, or nobles who were overcome in battle, and compelled to yield themselves to the more fortunate among the victors, "rescue or no rescue," were obliged to purchase their liberty at such sum as might be agreed on. The conditions of these bargains were well understood, and the prisoner, according to his rank and wealth, adjusted with

his captor the price of his enfranchisement. On this subject, so much generosity prevailed among the French and English in particular, that the victorious party frequently did not carry their prisoners off the field, but freely dismissed them, under the sole condition, that they should meet the captors afterwards, at a time and place fixed, and settle the terms of their ransom. To fail in such an appointment would have been, on the part of the captive knight, held most unworthy and dishonourable, and he would have exposed himself to the scorn of the ladies, minstrels, and heralds, to stand high in whose praise was the especial object of every true son of chivalry.

Besides these casual profits, which, when the war was successful, and the enemy wealthy, often rose to a great sum, the knights-adventurers, in time of peace, wandered from court to court, and castle to castle, exhibiting their skill in tournaments, gaining the favour of the lords under whose patronage such martial exercises were displayed, and sometimes acquiring the love of heiresses, by whom their fortunes were established. In the meantime, rich prizes were often gained by the victors in these military exhibitions; while, at any rate, the expenses of the knights who attended them, as well as of their retinue, was defrayed with prodigality by the sovereign prince, or high noble, at whose court the entertainment was given. Thus, though without lands and revenues, hundreds and thousands of those sons of chivalry subsisted with ease and honour, during this romantic period. There were also numbers of knights, doubtless, who died in poverty and misery, and the end of an unsuccessful expedition was usually signalized by the total ruin of the knights-adventurers who had been engaged in it. Such were the cavalry, the very flower, of course, of the feudal armies.

The appointments of these knights consisted in a suit of armour, more or less perfect, which defended the whole person. Sometimes it was made of mail, that is, links of iron, forming a sort of network dress, which covered the person, and was almost impenetrable either to sword

or lance. Latterly, the armour was composed of plates of iron, which protected the men-at-arms from head to heel. The offensive weapons of the knight were, a lance, twelve or fifteen feet long, a heavy sword, a dagger, and often a species of battle-axe, or a steel club, called a mace-at-arms. The horse, like the knight, was covered, either with a housing made of mail, or with armour of plate. When mounted, and charging in squadron, as the knight and his horse were almost invulnerable, so their attack was well-nigh irresistible. Sometimes it was thought necessary to employ the men-at-arms on foot, on which occasion they were commanded to put off their spurs, and cut their lances to the length of five or six feet, so as to make the weapon less unwieldy.

The men-at-arms were sometimes liable to be surprised. Upon a march they seldom wore the weightier parts of their armour; and their heavy war-horse was rode, or led beside them by a page, while the knight himself bestrode a hackney, to receive his armed horse fresh for the moment of battle. A sudden attack, therefore, was apt to discompose the men-at-arms before they could be fully prepared for action. If the war-horse was killed in battle, the knight was, in most instances, taken or slain, since he could not raise himself from the ground, without assistance from the squires or pages who attended for that purpose.

We are now to consider the state of their infantry, which, in comparison, was of a very inferior description.

We must remark one great distinction, however, in favour of the archery of England, a species of troops almost unknown to any other country, and possessing qualities which decided very many battles in favour of their own. You can easily conceive that the infantry of every nation must be divided into two kinds, calculated for two distinct services, to which their weapons are severally adapted; one of these distinct species of force must be armed with missiles for distant warfare, the other, with weapons fitted to strike or thrust in a close encounter. Modern times indeed have, in a great measure,

united them both, by adopting the musket and bayonet; the former for more distant, the latter for close combat. But at the period we speak of, no weapon existed possessing this double advantage. Of the troops then employed, the bowmen of England were the most formidable at a distance. They were selected from the yeomen of the country, men to whom the use of the weapon had been familiar from childhood; for the practice of archery was then encouraged by prizes and public competition, in every village, in order to keep up the skill which the youth had acquired, and to extend the renown of England, as producing the best bowmen whom the world had ever seen.

The equipment and mode of exercise of these archers were calculated to maintain their superiority. Their dress was light, and had few ligatures. Instead of the numerous strings which then attached the jacket to the hose, or trousers, one stout *point*, as it was called, answered the necessary purpose, without impeding the motions of the wearer. In battle the sleeve of the right arm was left open, to increase the archer's agility. Each of them carried a bow, and twelve arrows, or, as they termed them, "the lives of twelve Scots," at his girdle; their shafts had a light forked head, and were carefully adjusted so as to fly true to the aim. In using the weapon, the English archers observed a practice unknown on the continent, drawing the bowstring not to the breast, but to the ear, which gave a far greater command of a strong bow and long shaft. Their arrows were, accordingly, a cloth yard in length, and their bows carried to a prodigious distance. Upon the battlements of a castle, or walls of a town, the arrows fell with the rapidity of hail, and such certainty of aim, as scarcely permitted a defender to show himself; nor were they less formidable when discharged against a hostile column, whether of cavalry or infantry, and whether in motion or stationary. The principal danger to which the archers were exposed was that of a rapid and determined charge from cavalry. To provide in some degree against this each archer used to carry a

wooden stake shod with iron at both ends, the planting of which before him might, in some measure, afford a cover from horse. They had also swords. The stakes, however, were not always in readiness, nor were they always found effectual for the purpose, neither were their swords an adequate protection against cavalry. At the famous battle of Bannockburn, Bruce obtained that decisive victory chiefly by a well-executed manœuvre for cutting to pieces the English archers, by a body of horse reserved for that service. Two or three other cases may be noticed, in which the French obtained similar advantages over the archers, by providing themselves with *pavisses*, that is, long targets, strong enough to protect them from shot. But these cases are very few, in comparison to the numerous instances in which the long bow proved superior both in France and Scotland.

The second division of the English infantry destined to fight hand to hand, was armed with *bills*, as they were called, weapons similar in shape to those knives with which husbandmen dress hedges, but placed upon longer handles. These two kinds of weapons were used by the English infantry, so exclusively, that their cry to arms used to be, "Bows and bills—bows and bills!" It is remarkable that both the national weapons were used by the contending parties in the battle of Hastings, where the Normans were armed with the long bow, and the Saxons with the *gisarme*, or bill. The armies of the English, in later days, had troops armed with both, as intended not only for distant but close combat.

The bill which they used in close fight was a formidable weapon, though clumsy in action, since it required to be wielded with both hands, and therefore prevented those who used it from forming a compact body. It was certainly unequal, in a fair field, to the lances of the Scottish, nor does it seem to have given to those who bore it, any permanent or assured superiority over the same force in the French army.

This may, however, be said with truth, that neither the bowmen nor billmen of England were, generally speak-

ing, exposed to the same oppression to which the peasants of France were subjected, and that possessing a more independent character as individuals, they were less liable to lose heart in danger, and more eager to sustain their national reputation. Upon the whole, however, the efforts of the infantry were so little relied upon at that period, that little was trusted to them in action, except in the case of the English archers. The men-at-arms on both sides might be considered as upon an equality; and the infantry who fought hand to hand, were so much so, that, in so far as regards that class of soldiers, it was accidental circumstances only which could decide the event of a field betwixt France and England.

To oppose the archery of their national antagonists, the French had no better resource than hiring, from Genoa and elsewhere, Italians and other strangers, well skilled in the use of the cross-bow, a species of weapon accounted so murderously fatal, that it was at one time prohibited by an edict of the Church as unchristian. To defend a fortress, or the walls of a town, where the shooter was in some degree sheltered by a parapet, the cross-bow was indeed a terrible instrument, though even there it was often found inferior to the English long-bow; still more was this the case in an open field, where an English archer might shoot five, or perhaps ten arrows, while the difficulty of charging these steel bows, which required to be bent by the slow operation of a windlass, hardly permitted the cross-bowman to send forth a single bolt. Of this you will find instances in a subsequent part of this volume.

The ordinary infantry of France, levied amongst the lowest drudges among her peasantry, added much to the numbers, but little to the military strength, and a great deal to the unwieldy confusion, of their great armies. These poor men felt that they were little trusted to, and cannot be supposed to have displayed much zeal in behalf of masters by whom they were contemned and oppressed. They wore almost no defensive armour, if we

except tanned hides, and were irregularly armed with swords, spears, or clubs, as offensive weapons. No kind of discipline was taught them, and when attacked by the men-at-arms, they seem frequently to have made no more effectual defence than might have been expected from a flock of sheep.

I may here mention, that gunpowder was discovered about this time; but at this, and down to a much later period, it was little used or understood in war. One author pretends that Edward III. had field-pieces at the battle of Cressy; but, had it been so, it seems probable that so remarkable a circumstance would have been more generally noticed. Such awkward and unwieldy cannon as the age possessed, were chiefly used in sieges. They were clumsy to transport, slow to load, and often burst when discharged. So that, as already hinted, it was long ere the invention began to produce that alteration in warfare, which it finally accomplished to so great an extent.

Such being the general state of the French and English armies, so far as they consisted of national troops, I have now to remind you, that the armies of both were often augmented by the mercenary soldiers of the period,—men who had learned, among the tumults of the age, the desperate trade of war, and who, without acknowledging any nation or king of their own, were desirous to afford the benefit of their discipline and experience to those who were most willing to pay for their assistance. These bands were composed of adventurers of different nations, commanded by approved soldiers, who were sometimes recommended by their birth and rank, often by their superior activity and rapacity, but in all cases by their valour and success. These leaders followed upon a greater scale the course of individual knights, and hoped, not by their own prowess alone, but by the assistance of the soldiers whom they levied and commanded, to rise to wealth and consequence. These bands were the terror and scourge of the peasantry, whom they oppressed without mercy, since, when they were not in the actual pay of some prince, they subsisted themselves by force at the

expense of the natives of the country in which they resided for the time.

The Kings of England, and especially of France, set themselves at times seriously about the task of extirpating these debauched bands of ruffian soldiery, who, having no home or country of their own, were a general plague to other nations. But the purpose of extirpation was never effectually followed out; for the sovereigns were every now and then taught by necessity the convenience of being able to collect for a certain expenditure of treasure a body of experienced soldiers, as brave and better armed than any whom they could levy in their own dominions, and thus were freed from the necessity of depending on the humour of a fickle and overgrown crown vassal, who might be pleased with an opportunity of distressing and contradicting his liege lord, and enabled to rely upon that of a mercenary leader, whose faithful adherence might be calculated upon so long as his pay was duly furnished. Thus the same plague which was complained of during the reigns of Stephen and John of England, and the contemporary sovereigns of France, revived in its wildest extent, during the calamitous period which we are now treating of.

CHAPTER IV

Edward III. loses several of his adherents in the Low Countries, as the Brewer D'Arteville, and the Counts of Hainault and Montfort—his Interest is espoused by Godfrey of Harcourt, a discarded Favourite of the King of France—by the advice of Harcourt, an Invasion of Gascony is resolved on, and takes place—Philip assembles an army at St. Dennis, and marches to the defence of Rouen, which is threatened by the English—Manœuvres of Edward, by which he accomplishes a passage from the left to the right bank of the Seine—after two day's march, followed by the French army, he crosses the Somme, and takes up battle-ground in the Forest of Cressy—the French come up—Battle of Cressy.

In the conclusion of the last chapter, we gave a brief account of the manner in which troops were trained and armed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We must now return to the proper subject of this little work, which is intended to convey some general idea of French history, especially as it bears upon, and is connected with, that of Britain.

I must first observe, that the plans by which Edward III. endeavoured to establish himself on the throne of France, and to revenge the affront which he had received from Philip of Valois, were rather more frequently changed than accorded with that prince's consummate sagacity. In 1343, (A. D.) he again returned to a project in which both his grandfather and he had already failed; namely, that of attacking France upon the eastern frontier, by means of the Brabanters, Flemings, and Germans. But, on the present occasion, he did not appeal to the nobles or princes of Flanders, but to the inhabitants of

the great towns, in which he followed a policy adopted at one time by Philip the Fair, although his successors had exchanged it for the counter-plan of supporting the earls and nobles of the Low Countries against the insurgent citizens of the trading towns.

We have already observed, that Edward was in close correspondence with Jacob d'Arteville, a brewer of great wealth and importance, who appeared for a time to have the command of all the common people of the great towns of Flanders. Through means of his influence with this demagogue, Edward had formed the plan of advancing his own son, also named Edward, afterwards the celebrated Black Prince, to the dignity of Earl of Flanders, in preference to the natural lord, Louis, who was attached to the French interest. The proposal, however, was so disgusting to the more moderate burgesses to whom it was communicated, that D'Arteville, who had lately reigned like a prince among them, was now looked upon with as much abhorrence as ever he had been held in estimation. At length, the displeasure of the citizens against him rose so high, that, as this once powerful demagogue rode into Ghent, accompanied by a small guard of Welshmen, who had been appointed to attend him by Edward III., he was encountered by such evil looks and menaces, that he was compelled to take refuge from popular indignation in a house, which the Welshmen for a space defended. But this place of refuge being afterwards forced by the multitude, they were themselves the assassins of their former favourite ; and with him perished Edward's hope of establishing his son as Earl of Flanders.

Edward sustained another loss about the same time in the person of his brother-in-law, the Count of Hainault, a brave young man, who was slain in an attempt to subdue the revolted natives of Friesland. Sir John of Hainault, uncle to the slain prince, became, after his death, unfriendly to Edward, to whom he had been hitherto attached, but, as he thought, without receiving adequate

requital. He therefore left the service of the English king for that of Philip of France.

About the same period also, according to the opinion of most historians, John de Montfort escaped from a French prison, or was set at liberty by Philip, in consequence of the previous truce, and once more took the field in Bretagne, with the assistance of an English auxiliary force under the Earl of Northampton. (A. D. 1345.) They laid siege to Quimperlé, where the Count of Montfort completed his career of misfortune, by dying of a fever before the town.

Upon the whole, therefore, these successive losses of powerful friends diminished the various means by which King Edward had hoped to make an impression upon France, either on the eastern or western frontier.

In this same eventful year, 1345, (A. D.) however, Edward III. acquired another counsellor, who fled from the enemy, by whose advice he again altered, in a great measure, the direction of his attacks upon France. This was a powerful nobleman of Normandy, named Godfrey of Harcourt, Lord of Saint Saviour Le Vicompte, and brother to John, Earl of Harcourt. Sir Godfrey himself had once stood as high in the favour of Philip of Valois, as any nobleman of his kingdom. But upon the occasion of a quarrel betwixt him and Sir Robert Bertram, Marshal of France, the king took the part of the latter so earnestly, that, could he have got Sir Godfrey into his power, there is little doubt that he would have dealt with him as with the Breton Lord of Clisson, whom, on small suspicion, he caused to be executed for alleged adherence to the English interest. Sir Godfrey of Harcourt fled in good time to England, and, like Robert of Artois before him, employed his address and eloquence, both which he possessed in perfection, to animate the King of England to make Sir Godfrey's own country of Normandy, the principal scene of his attacks upon France. "It is," said Godfrey of Harcourt, "one of the most plentiful provinces in the kingdom; it has not witnessed war for two ages, and is occupied by great and wealthy towns

unprotected by any adequate fortifications. The nobility of Normandy are," he continued, "now absent from the country, having accompanied Philip's eldest son, John, who has conducted them southward to carry on the war with Gascony." The exile urged that Normandy was an ancient inheritance of England, which they might now recover with little trouble, and which, if subdued, would be a conquest glorious to King Edward, particularly useful from its vicinity to England, and an event not altogether displeasing to the Normans themselves.

Encouraged by this advice, Edward III. put himself at the head of a considerable army, which he pretended was designed for prosecuting the war in Gascony. (A. D. 1346.) But, instead of holding this course, the king, when embarked, steered straight to the coast of Normandy, and landed at the town of La Hogue. Upon information that this ancient enemy had accomplished his present attempt at invading France in a new direction, the King of France failed not to collect the whole force of his kingdom, together with those of his allies, John of Luxembourg, the old King of Bohemia, with his son Charles, Emperor-elect of Germany, the Duke of Lorraine, John of Hainault, once the King of England's ally, Louis, Earl of Flanders, and Jacques, titular King of Majorca. The titles of some of these princes were more considerable than their power, but still, by their assistance, and that of his own liegemen and great vassals, Philip found himself at the head of a powerful and gallant army, which emboldened him to swear resolutely that the king of England should not return to his own country without battle, in which he should be sufficiently punished for the slaughter, depredation, and extreme violence, which he was now exercising in the kingdom of France. The greater part of Philip's army was assembled at St. Dennis, close to Paris; but the king himself, assuming the command of such forces as could be got presently in readiness, moved down the Seine to defend Rouen, the capital of Normandy, which was threatened by the English.

In the meantime, Edward III. divided his strong army into three bodies : the first of which was commanded by himself ; the second by the Earl of Warwick ; and the third by Sir Godfrey of Harcourt, whose advice the king used, as principal marshal of his army during all this expedition, of which indeed he had been the main author and adviser. The English, as Sir Godfrey had prophesied, found the cities of Normandy at once wealthy and ill-defended, so that they made very great spoil with little danger, while the loss to the unfortunate inhabitants was, as usual in such cases, much greater than the riches acquired by the invaders. The city of Caen, full of merchandise and wealth of every kind, was carried by storm, after such a resistance that Edward, in resentment of so obstinate a defence, would have burnt the place to the ground, had not Sir Godfrey of Harcourt's intercession deterred him from this violence.

It may be mentioned, that while Normandy was sustaining this severe treatment from the land forces in the interior, the English fleet was as busily employed plundering, destroying, and burning the seaport towns on the coast, with the shipping which they contained. In this manner the English monarch ascended the left bank of the river Seine, with the purpose of assaulting Rouen, the capital of Normandy. This, however, was prevented by the march of Philip of Valois to its relief, before noticed. The river Seine now divided the two armies ; and, all the bridges being broken down, neither host durst pass the river for the purpose of attacking their enemy, lest in the act of doing so they should be taken at advantage by that which held the opposite bank. The French king, in particular, was more reconciled to postpone a general battle, being conscious of possessing a great superiority of numbers, from which he entertained a well-judged hope that Edward's army, prevented from crossing the river, might be enclosed in the country on the opposite side, and compelled to fight at disadvantage.

In the meantime the citizens of Paris were in the utmost confusion, knowing the near approach of the Eng-

lish army, and afraid of the terrors of military execution, attendant on the march of Edward, who was by no means famed for clemency. King Philip with difficulty persuaded them that the measure which he had taken, of marching down the right bank of the Seine, which had the appearance of leaving Paris open to the enemy, if the English should ascend the opposite bank, was, in fact, that which was best adapted to cover his metropolis.

It soon, however, became plain, that Edward had no design against the French capital; for that king, having made a sudden movement upon Poissy, repaired the bridge there, which had been but imperfectly demolished. and, by an able military manœuvre, crossed the Seine, and moved eastward towards Flanders. He thus extricated himself from the difficulty in which Philip conceived him to be involved.

When the English monarch had attained the right bank of the Seine, the fires raised by his soldiery, in their destructive progress, alarmed the capital once more; but the English, after defying the King of France to instant battle, departed towards Beauvais, of which town they burnt the suburbs. In this manner eluding the French army, King Edward pursued his course with all diligence towards Flanders, closely followed by King Philip and his army.

But after a day or two's march, the English king seemed once more entangled in the toils drawn round him by his enemy. The march of the English was here interrupted by the deep river Somme, impassable at all points, and on which every bridge had been destroyed. To have awaited the advance of the numerous French army, with an impassable river in his front, would have been a perilous adventure. The King of England was therefore extremely desirous to find the means of passing the deep Somme, although a noble French lord, called Gondemar de Fay, was upon the opposite bank, at the head of the gentlemen of Artois and Picardy, with the purpose of defending the passage, which must be at best a dangerous one, with a superior army in the rear, and over a river

which was so near the sea as to be affected by the tide. Having made enquiry among the French prisoners concerning the means of crossing, and offered liberty for himself and thirty of his companions, to whomsoever should point out a practicable ford, King Edward received from one of his captives the following agreeable intelligence. "Know, sir, that during the ebb-tide, which happens twice in twelve hours, the river Somme is so low that it may be passed with security either by horse or foot, at a ford to which I can guide you. At this place the bottom is hard and firm, and being composed of chalk, and similar materials, it is called Blanchettaque, (that is, *white water.*")

Overjoyed at this news, Edward drew his army to the ford, where, as the flood tide was still making, he was compelled to wait for an hour or two. In the meantime, Sir Gondemar de Fay, made aware of the purpose of the English, drew up his men, who amounted to near twelve thousand, on the opposite side of the river, resolved to dispute the passage. But the moment had no sooner arrived when the ford was practicable, than Edward, having commanded his marshals to enter the river, called aloud, "Let those who love me follow me," and plunged in among the foremost, his army following in good order. Notwithstanding a valiant opposition on the part of the French, who defended the opposite bank, they were compelled to give way, after losing two thousand men-at-arms, and the greater part of their infantry, who had no means of escape from the English cavalry, so soon as the passage was completed.

This was a very delicate and important manœuvre on the part of the English, for the main army of Philip followed so close, that part of King Edward's rear-guard suffered from the van-guard of the French, before they could cross the river. Philip himself soon afterwards came up, and having been full of hope either that the English would not discover the ford at Blanchettaque, or that it might be effectually defended against them by Sir Gondemar de Fay, he was proportionally vexed at find-

ing how the English monarch had again extricated himself from the risk of being compelled to fight at disadvantage, and exclaimed, though unjustly, against Sir Gondemar de Fay, as guilty of treason and disloyalty, in failing to make good his post.

By the advice of his best leaders, the French king agreed that he would not follow the English by the ford, lest the enemy should turn back and attack him in the passage; but, drawing off his army to Abbeville, he judged it better to secure the bridge over the Somme, at that town, and after spending a day there to refresh his troops, and give such forces as followed in his rear time to come up and join him, he might then advance in quest of the English. Accordingly, Philip spent the 25th of August in the manner recommended.

In the meantime, King Edward, being now on the ground fitted for engaging the enemy, declared his purpose, that he would pursue his retreat no farther, but fight with Philip of Valois, whatever the odds of numbers might be. "This county of Ponthieu was the just heritage of Queen Eleanor, my mother," said he; "I now challenge it as my own; and may God defend the right!"

The place where he made this declaration was open ground, called the Forest of Cressy, a name which has been made memorable by the events of the following day. The army of the English was here drawn up arranged in three divisions, to await the advance of the French.

In the first, was Edward, prince of Wales, now in his sixteenth year, but of strength and courage far beyond his age, and whose brief life has made historians observe, that few characters have put more feats of heroism into the compass of so few years. Many veteran warriors were placed under the command of the young prince, who was thus ranked foremost in the battle; but Lord Warwick, and Lord John Chandos, were specially intrusted by his father with the task of directing and defending him in any difficulty. His division amounted to eight thousand

men-at-arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welshmen.

The second battalion consisted of eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand four hundred archers, and four thousand billmen.

The third, and last battalion of the English, was commanded by the king in person, and consisted of seven hundred men-at-arms, six thousand archers, and four thousand three hundred billmen. The full amount of the English army was probably about thirty thousand men.

These three divisions were drawn up in the order which they were to preserve in battle, and then appointed to take refreshment, and go to sleep on the grass, upon their arms. The night was warm, and rendered this interval of repose acceptable and refreshing to troops, fatigued with long marches and spare diet. Their spirits were gay and cheerful; and though they were conscious of considerable inferiority in numbers, the reflection, far from inducing them to doubt of the issue of the day, inclined them only to pay more scrupulous attention to the command of their officers, by whose guidance they hoped to gain it. The presence of their experienced monarch, and his valiant son, filled the host with hope and confidence.

Next morning was the memorable 26th of August, 1346. (A. D.) Early in the morning the English army arose in the same order in which they had lain down to rest the evening before.

The French forces were some time in coming up. During this interval, to increase the enthusiasm of his soldiers, Edward conferred the honour of knighthood on the Prince of Wales, and a large band of noble youths, companions of the heir-apparent, who were expected so to behave in the conflict as to *win their spurs*; that is, to show themselves worthy of the distinction they had received, by their admission into the order of chivalry, of which the spurs were an emblem.

On the same morning, King Philip, mustering his army at sunrise, led them forth from the town of Abbeville

where they had passed the night, and, with more haste than caution, advanced towards the English, a distance of between three and four leagues.

Many circumstances contributed to increase King Philip's confidence, and impress upon his army feelings which amounted to presumption. They had for several weeks been superior to their enemy in the field; and, since the crossing of the Seine, as well as the subsequent passage of the Somme at Blanchettaque, it had been the object of the English to avoid that engagement which was now fast approaching. The French cavalry had also received a gallant addition from the arrival of Amadeus, Earl of Savoy, who, the very day before the battle, joined Philip, at Abbeville, with a thousand lances, a great addition to his previous superiority. These encouraging circumstances inspired into both officers and soldiers an imprudent degree of haste and precipitation, as was natural to men who conceived that they were in chase of a flying enemy.

The movements of this great army were therefore hurried, like that of men who advanced to a pursuit rather than a battle. Yet all did not partake the sanguine hopes which dictated these hasty movements. The advice of a veteran German warrior, sent to reconnoitre the English army, strongly recommended to King Philip to halt the advance of his own forces, and put off the battle till next morning. "The English," he said, "have reposed in a position which they have deliberately adopted, and doubtless will not shrink from, without a desperate defence. Your men are tired with their long morning's march from Abbeville, confused with the haste of their advance, and must meet at great disadvantage, a well-arranged enemy, refreshed by food and repose."

The King of France listened to this experienced counsel, and expressed his desire to follow it, by halting his army for the day, and postponing the battle till the morrow. But the evil fate of France had decreed that his

purpose should not be carried into execution. The troops who formed the vanguard of the French host, halted in deed at the word of command, but those who came behind hurried onward, with the idle bravado that "they would make no stop till they were as far forward as the foremost." In this way they exhausted their spirits, expended their strength, and confused their ranks, many brandishing their swords with idle exclamations of "Attack, take, and slay!" before they were even in sight of the enemy. To stop men in this state of excitation was impossible.

King Philip, thus hurried forward to battle by the want of discipline of his own troops, had divided his army into three bodies. The first was under the command of the King of Bohemia, seconded by Charles of Luxembourg, his son, Emperor-elect of Germany, and of Charles, Earl of Alençon, the brother of King Philip, a brave, but fiery and rash young cavalier. The Genoese cross-bowmen, fifteen thousand in number, were all placed in this first division. The French accounted them a match for the English archers, and trusted that their superior discharge in the commencement of the action would clear the field of these formidable forces. They had also more than twenty-nine thousand men to support their bowmen.

The second division was commanded by King Philip himself, with his broad banner displayed, surrounded by six thousand men-at-arms and forty thousand foot. The blind old King of Bohemia was afterwards posted into this second division, as well as James, the titular King of Majorca.

Lastly, the rear division of the French was led by the Earl of Savoy, with five thousand lances and twenty thousand foot.

These large bodies appear to have been unequally divided, probably owing to the state of confusion into which the French army was undoubtedly thrown by their too hasty advance, which rendered it difficult to transmit and execute orders.

On the approach of the Genoese towards the English position, these strangers, who formed the vanguard of the French army, gave signs of fatigue, from marching three long leagues with their weighty cross-bows. When the word was given to "begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Dennis," the Italians answered by remonstrances, saying, they had more occasion for rest than to fight that day. This moved the resentment of Alençon, the commander of the division, who said with contempt, "A man has much help from these fellows, who thus fail him at the pinch!" The order for attack was therefore repeated, and obeyed.

Some singular appearances in the atmosphere now seemed to announce the great and bloody conflict which was about to take place upon the earth. A heavy thunder-cloud darkened the sun like an eclipse, and before the storm burst, a vast number of crows and ravens came driving before the tempest, and swept over both armies. A short, but severe thunder-storm, with much lightning and heavy rain, suspended for half an hour, the joining of the battle, until the weather became fair, and the sun began once more to shine out, darting his rays on the backs of the English, and in the eyes of the French.

The Genoese, now approaching towards the Prince of Wales's division, made a great leap and cry, thinking to daunt the English by the symptoms of instant attack; but King Edward's archers, who were drawn up with their ranks crossed after the fashion of a *herse*, or harrow, so that the shot of the one might support the others, (like that of the combined squares of musketry in modern warfare,) remained firm and steady. The Genoese, a second time advanced forward, leapt and cried without making more impression upon the English than before; a third time they advanced, shouted and leapt, and then began to use their cross-bows. But the English, who seemed only to wait for the actual commencement of hostilities, stepped each of them one pace forward, and shot their arrows so closely together, that it seemed as if it snowed. The volleys of the Genoese bolts were re-

turned with this incessant storm of arrows, and with so much interest, that the Italians became unable to keep their ground. Their strings also had been wetted by the late storm, while those of the English had been secured in cases which they carried for the purpose. Finally, there were eight or ten arrows returned, for every cross-bow shaft discharged. All these circumstances of advantage rendered the Genoese unable to withstand the English archers, so that that large body of Italians lost heart, and, cutting their strings, or throwing away their bows, (as an excuse for not continuing the conflict,) they rushed back in confusion upon the rest of the vanguard, and especially upon the men-at-arms, who were designed to have supported them. The confusion thus occasioned in the French army became inextricable, as the recoil of the cross-bowmen prevented the regular advance of the knights and squires, upon whom the ultimate fate of the day must necessarily depend, especially after the retreat of the Genoese. The King of France added to the confusion, by calling on the cavalry to advance to the charge, without any regard to the cross-bowmen, who, now a confused multitude of fugitives, lay straight in the way of their advance. "Slay me these peasants," said he, "since thus they do but trouble us;" and the French men-at-arms advanced at full gallop on the unfortunate Italians, many of whom were thus trodden down and slain by their auxiliaries, while, at the same time, the ranks of the cavalry were disordered by riding over their own bowmen before they could reach the enemy.

In the meantime, the English archers kept pouring their shafts, without an instant's intermission, as well upon the Genoese who fled, as the French men-at-arms who were endeavouring to advance, and augmented the dreadful confusion which took place. Many of the bravest French knights lay stretched on the plain, who might have been made captive with ease; but King Edward had strictly forbidden the taking of any prisoners during the action, lest the desire of securing them should be a temptation to his soldiers to quit their ranks. The grooms,

therefore, and mere camp-followers of the English had the task of despatching the fallen with their knives ; and by these ignoble hands much noble and knightly blood was shed.

Yet, notwithstanding the loss attending this horrible confusion, the courage of Alençon, and the native bravery of the French cavaliers, impelled them still forward. A part of them extricated themselves at length from the unfortunate Genoese, and pushed on along the line of English archers, by which they suffered great loss, until at length they arrived on their right flank, where the Prince of Wales was placed, at the head of his men-at-arms. By these, the French were so roughly encountered, that the greater part of them were beaten down and slain. But this victory was hardly won, before three other squadrons of French and Germans rushed on with such fury in the same direction, that they burst an opening for themselves through the archers, who had but imperfect means of repelling horse, and dashed furiously up to the place where the gallant prince was stationed. The Earl of Warwick now became alarmed ; for he concluded that the standards of the French king and his numerous army were following close upon the new comers. In this belief Warwick and Chandos sent to King Edward, requesting succour for his valiant son, when the following dialogue took place between the king and the messengers.

“ Is my son,” said Edward, “ dead, wounded, or felled to the ground ?”

“ Not so, thank God,” answered the messengers : “ but he needs assistance.”

“ Nay, then,” said King Edward, “ he has no aid from me ; let him bear himself like a man, and this day show himself worthy of the knighthood conferred on him ; in this battle he must win his own spurs.”

In the meantime, a strong detachment of men-at-arms, despatched by the Earls of Arundel and Northampton, the commanders of the second division, had relieved

Prince Edward from his temporary embarrassment. And now the English archers opening in the centre, suffered their cavalry to rush forward through the interval, and encountered the French men-at-arms, who were in total confusion. This was augmented by the fierce attack of the English; and the most experienced on the opposite side began to despair of the day. The King of France himself fought with the greatest valour; was repeatedly wounded and dismounted, and would have died probably on the field, had not Lord John of Hainault led him off by force. Not more than sixty of his gallant army remained in attendance upon their sovereign, and with these he reached, after nightfall, the castle of Broye. When the warder demanded what or who he was, "I am," said the king, "the fortune of France;"—a secret rebuke, perhaps, to those who termed him "the Happy," an epithet not very suitable to his present condition, and which his own example shows, is apt to prove inapplicable if conferred before death.

The King of Majorca is generally said to have been among the fallen, and the slaughter among princes, counts, nobles, and men of rank, was without example. But the most remarkable death, among those of so many princes, was that of John, King of Bohemia, a monarch almost blind with age, and not very well qualified, therefore, to mix personally in the fight. When all seemed lost, the old man enquired after his son Charles, who was nowhere visible, having, in fact, been compelled to fly from the field. The father receiving no satisfaction concerning his son from the knights who attended on him, he said to them, "Sirs, ye are my knights and good liegemen, will ye conduct me so far forward into the battle, that I may strike one good stroke with my sword?"

To satisfy this wish, which his followers looked upon as the words of despair, four faithful knights agreed to share their master's death, rather than leave him to perish alone. The devoted attendants tied the old king's bridle reins to their own, and rushed with him into the middle of the fight, where, striking more good blows than one,

They were all slain, and found there the next day, as they had fallen, with their horse's reins tied together.

Thus ended this celebrated battle. There lay upon the field of Cressy two kings, eleven high princes, eighty bannerets, one thousand two hundred knights, and more than thirty thousand private soldiers.

The meeting of Edward and his son took place by torchlight, after the battle was over. "Well have you won your spurs!" said the brave king; "persevere in the career which you have opened, and you will become the brightest honour of the noble kingdom of which you are the worthy heir."

The battle of Cressy was one of the greatest victories ever gained by a King of England, and Edward prepared to avail himself of it, in a manner which should produce some permanent advantage.

CHAPTER V.

Edward resolves to secure a permanent footing in France, by making himself Master of Calais—Siege of Calais—War in Bretagne—Siege of Roche-d'Arien—Anxiety of the two Monarchs, Edward and Philip, to obtain the Alliance of the Flemings—The People of Flanders favourable to Edward, and their Earl to Philip—Attempt of Philip to raise the siege of Calais—it fails, and the citizens are compelled to treat for a Surrender—Noble conduct of Eustace de Saint Pierre, and five other Burgesses, who, in order to save their Fellow Townsmen, deliver themselves up to Edward—they are ordered for Execution by him, but saved by the intercession of his Queen, Philippa—Measures of Edward for securing possession of Calais—Sir Emeric of Pavia, Seneschal of the Castle of Calais for the English King, treats with Sir Geoffrey Charny to betray the place to the French for a sum of money—his Treachery discovered, whereupon he makes his peace with Edward, by undertaking to betray Sir Geoffrey; and on that Knight coming to receive possession of the Castle, Sir Emeric takes payment of the money agreed upon, and delivers Sir Geoffrey to an Ambuscade of the English under Sir Walter Manny, by whom the French Party are defeated, and their Leader, Sir Geoffrey taken Prisoner—Edward's treatment of the Prisoners—Pestilence rages in France and England—Submission of Godfrey of Harcourt to the French King—Death of Philip.

THE result which Edward promised himself from his great victory, was, in fact, the opportunity of carrying into effectual execution the plan of Godfrey of Harcourt, by obtaining a firm footing in Normandy. Spoil and havoc had hitherto seemed his only object; but it was his

secret plan to attain some permanent possession in the province as near England as possible, so as to enable him to attempt future conquests in France. For this purpose, he resolved to avail himself of his victory, which he knew must long disable Philip from taking the field, to lay siege to Calais, a seaport rich and strongly fortified being immediately opposite to the coast of England, from which it is scarcely fourteen miles distant. It was clear that if the English should obtain possession of this place, the flat and swampy country around Calais would permit them easily to fortify it; and its vicinity to England, and the superiority of her naval power, would always afford means of relieving it when besieged. King Edward, therefore, sat down before Calais with his large army, shortly after the battle of Cressy, and proceeded, by every means in his power, to hasten the siege.

Philip of France, in the meantime, did all he could to obtain the means of recovering from the disaster of Cressy. He summoned from Gascony his son, the Duke of Normandy, who was engaged there with a considerable body of forces, partly in the siege of Aguillon, partly in making head against the Earl of Lancaster, formerly Earl of Derby, who had found him employment for two campaigns. The retreat of the Duke of Normandy, in conformity with the orders of Philip, left the west of France much at the command of this noble earl, whose soldiers were so much sated with spoil, that they hardly valued the richest merchandise, but were only desirous of gold, silver, or such feathers as were then worn by soldiers in their helmets.

While Philip, in this emergency of his bad fortune, thus abandoned a part of his dominions to save the rest, he endeavoured, by every argument in his power, and particularly by advancing large sums of money, to prevail upon the Scottish nation, and their king, David II., to declare war against England, by which means he hoped that Edward might be disturbed in his siege of Calais. The Scottish king and nation did, accordingly, unfortunately take arms, and began a war which was terminated

by the battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, in which they sustained a formidable defeat, and their king, David, was made prisoner. (October 17, A. D. 1346.)

The siege of Calais still continued, the French making many desperate attempts to relieve it, and particularly by sending in provisions by sea. The low and swampy situation of the grounds around the town exposed the besiegers to great loss by sickness and disease; and the garrison of Calais did not omit to make many sallies which were partially successful.

Meantime, the war in Bretagne still raged, betwixt the contending parties of Blois and De Montfort. A noble knight named Sir Thomas Dagworth, was created by Edward general of the English auxiliary forces in that province, and carried over considerable succours to the valiant Countess of Montfort, who still maintained the war there in the name of her son.

Sir Charles de Blois, who claimed this duchy by the decision of the King of France, assembled among his partisans in Bretagne a very considerable force, amounting to no less than sixteen hundred men-at-arms, with a proportional number of cross-bows and infantry, and some formidable military engines; with this force he besieged a fortress, called Roche-d'Arien, which had lately been taken by the English. The captain of the garrison, whose wife was at the time indisposed, was so alarmed at the effect of the engines, that he offered to deliver up the castle upon easy terms, which Sir Charles de Blois was unfortunate enough to refuse. In the meantime, Sir Thomas Dagworth formed the resolution of relieving the garrison of Roche-d'Arien. He united his own forces with those of the Countess of Montfort, who were commanded by a good knight, called Tanguy de Chatel. In their first attempt on the French, who lay before Roche-d'Arien, the English and Bretons were defeated; but having, by the encouragement of Sir Thomas Dagworth and of a Breton knight, called Garnier de Cadouel, resolved to renew the enterprise, they made a second attack on the ensuing evening, when the victory of the French

might be supposed to render them secure and unguarded. In this unexpected attempt their success was complete. The French were surprised and totally defeated, and their general, Charles de Blois, became prisoner to his female antagonist, Jane de Montfort.

A similar heroine arose, however, in the family of Charles de Blois. His wife, a lady of a lofty spirit, undertook to maintain the war, which would otherwise have terminated on her husband's captivity.

In the meantime, the two contending monarchs were not idle. King Philip, who had already held a parliament, in which he prevailed upon his peers and liege vassals to lend him their utmost assistance, was employed in levying a strong army, with which he proposed to compel Edward to raise the siege of Calais. (A. D. 1347.) He used his utmost efforts to recover from ancient receivers and tax-gatherers the sums which they had not accounted for. Heavy assessments were also imposed as well upon the clergy as upon the laity, and great rigour was manifested in the mode of recovering payment. Philip even demanded from the monks of St. Dennis a crucifix of massive gold, being a treasure bestowed by the devotion of his predecessors. To this, however, the monks replied, that "the crucifix could not be taken away, or converted to a secular use, without inevitable danger to the souls of all parties concerned;" with which answer, even in the urgency of his necessity, he was obliged to remain satisfied.

The friendship of the Flemings was of equal importance to both kings at this momentous crisis; in which country the affections of the prince and of the people remained divided as before. The free towns and their citizens were strongly inclined to England, and had settled that their young lord should wed the daughter of Edward III., the beautiful Lady Isabel of England. But the young earl himself objected to this match, and was inclined to the alliance of France, the rather that his father, a faithful confederate and vassal of Philip of Valois, had fallen in his quarrel at the battle of Cressy.

The rude Flemings, incensed to find their prince averse to the policy which they recommended, laid violent hands on his person, and assured him he should not obtain his liberty till he consented to ally himself with England, and marry the Princess Isabel. The young earl, finding himself so roughly handled by his subjects, resolved to dissemble his sentiments, and carried his acquiescence so far as to go to King Edward's camp before Calais, with a party of Flemish citizens, who seemed to act as his tutors, and whose will he in no shape contradicted. He was well received by Edward, who even condescended to apologise for the death of his father, as an accident out of his power to prevent. Thus the young earl found himself in high favour with the English monarch, and paid his addresses to the Princess Isabel, with the same attention as if he had been serious in his courtship. In private, however, he meditated his flight, and being indulged with permission to follow the sport of hawking, he availed himself of an opportunity, while apparently engaged in it, to make his escape by the speed of his horse, and took refuge at the court of France, where his presence was cordially welcomed by King Philip.

While these things were passing, the natives of Calais were reduced to the last extremity. They despatched a messenger by sea with letters to King Philip, saying, that his good people of Calais, having eaten their horses, dogs, and rats, had nothing left to subsist upon unless they fed upon each other; wherefore they conjured their king to succour them, otherwise the town must be certainly lost. The vessel bearing these letters was taken by the English, and King Edward forwarded the missives to the French king, after having perused their contents, and superscribed them with a taunting endorsement, asking, "Why he came not to rescue his people of Calais, that were so distressed for his sake?" Philip needed no incentive either from friend or enemy, having assembled an army of a hundred thousand men, with the sole purpose of relieving Calais.

On the other hand, King Edward, considering the ex

treme importance of the place, and the trouble, expense, and loss, which it had cost him to bring it to its present reduced state, was determined that no effort of the King of France should avail for its relief. For this purpose he strongly fortified the approaches to Calais on every point, so as to make it impossible for King Philip to draw near the place, or annoy the besiegers, either by an advance along the sea-shore or by the high-road. These were the only two roads practicable to armed forces, as all the rest of the grounds in the vicinity of Calais were swampy marshes, where troops could not act.

Against the approach along the sea-shore Edward had placed his ships, well supplied with artillery, and he had besides strongly fortified the shore. Similar defences were constructed on the causeway, which approached the town by the bridge of Neuillet.

When the King of France, therefore, with his immense host, approached the neighbourhood of Calais, he had the mortification to find that he could not, without the extremity of imprudence, attempt to enter the town either by the highway or by the shore, and to pass through the marshes was altogether impossible; after displaying therefore his great army at a place called Sangate, in sight of Calais and its besiegers, King Philip found himself entirely cut off from entering the place, and was compelled to withdraw without fighting. He endeavoured to rouse the pride of Edward by a letter, defying him to leave his fortifications, and fight in a fair field. Edward replied that "he took no counsel from an adversary; that he had been before Calais for more than a year, and had reduced the place to a state of extremity; that he would not quit the advantage which he had gained; and if Philip wished a passage into the town, he might seek it as he best could, since he was to expect no assistance from him."

The hopes of the people of Calais had been at first strongly excited, when they beheld from their towers the numerous forces of France advancing to their relief.

The first day, therefore, they intimated their confidence of assistance by decorating their walls with banners, and for the same purpose lighted large bonfires, and sounded all their martial instruments of music, attended with loud shouts. On the second night, the bonfires were fewer, and the shouts less cheerful, than before. On the third night, the towers showed a decaying fire—emblem of expiring hope—and the acclamations of mirth and joy were changed into screams and groans, which seemed designed to attract pity. On the following morning, all the banners on the principal towers were lowered, save the banner of France, which still floated from its summit.

But when the inhabitants of Calais beheld at length the pennons of King Philip's host retiring from their view, they knew all hopes of those succours, which they had waited for so anxiously and vainly, were at an end. They had suffered such extremities, that human nature could endure no longer; and, to intimate that resistance was at an end, they lowered the banner of France, and displayed that of England in its place. But they had to learn that their obstinacy had offended King Edward more than either their gallantry or their reluctant submission could atone for. He gave them presently to understand, that he would not receive their surrender, unless they yielded implicitly to his mercy, without any capitulation either for their lives or property. When this severity was objected to even by his own commanders, Edward would agree to show no farther favour than to the following extent. He demanded that six of the chief burgesses of the town should come before him bareheaded, barefooted, and in their shirts, having halters around their necks, bearing the keys of the town and castle of Calais, which were to be humbly surrendered to him. These six men were to submit to the king's pleasure, how severe soever that might be, without reservation even of life; and in consideration of their doing so, the stern conqueror reluctantly promised that the rest of the citizens of Calais should have mercy.

These conditions were sent to the town, and read be-

fore the assembled citizens. The tidings were followed by a general lamentation, which, the difficulty of finding men willing to take upon themselves this strange submission considered, was not to be wondered at. After some deliberation, a burgess, the most substantial in the city, addressed the assembly. His name, Eustace de Saint Pierre, ought never to be forgotten while disinterested patriotism is held valuable among mankind. "He that shall contribute to save this fair town from sack and spoil," said this gallant man, "though at the price of his own blood, shall doubtless deserve well of God and of his country. I will be one who will offer my head to the King of England, as a ransom for the town of Calais." The greater part of the assembly were moved by this speech to tears and exclamations of gratitude. Five other burgesses caught emulation from the noble devotion of Eustace de Saint Pierre, and offered to partake with him the honourable peril which he had incurred. They quickly put themselves into the humiliating attire required by Edward, but which, assumed in such a cause, was more honourable than the robes of the Garter, which that king had lately instituted. In their shirts, bare-footed, and with the halter around their necks, they were conducted before Edward, to whom they submitted themselves for disposal, as the stipulated ransom for the pardon of their fellow-citizens. The king, looking on them with indignation, upbraided them with the losses he had sustained through their obstinacy, and commanded them to be presently beheaded. Sir Walter Manny, and the bravest English nobles and warriors, interfered to prevent the execution, and even the Prince of Wales interceded for their lives in vain.

The Queen Philippa was the last resource of these unfortunate men. She had recently joined her husband's camp, in circumstances equally flattering to Edward as a monarch, and interesting to him as a husband. It was during her regency in England that the great victory of Neville's Cross had been obtained; and it was under her auspices that David II. of Scotland was made prisoner.

The queen was also at this time with child, and thus in every respect entitled to the highest regard of her royal husband. When she saw that Edward would be moved with no less entreaty than her own, she rose hastily from her seat, and kneeled before the king, saying, with many tears, "Ah! my lord and husband, have I not a right to ask a boon of you, having come over the sea, through so many dangers, that I might wait upon you? therefore, let me now pray you, in honour of our blessed Redeemer, and for love of me, that you would take pity upon these six prisoners!"

Edward looked doubtfully upon the queen, and seemed to hesitate for a space, but said at length, "Ah, madam, I could well wish you had been elsewhere this day; yet how can I deny any boon which you ask of me? Take these men, and dispose of them as you will."

The gracious queen, rejoiced at having prevailed in her suit, and having changed the dishonourable attire of the burgesses for new clothing, gave each of them six nobles, for immediate use, and caused them to be safely conveyed through the English host, and set at liberty.

Edward III. had no sooner obtained possession of Calais, than he studied to secure it by fortifications and otherwise, but particularly endeavoured, by internal changes among its inhabitants, to render it in future an important and permanent possession of the crown of England. For this purpose, he dispossessed the inhabitants of Calais, (who were, indeed, much reduced in numbers,) of their houses and property within the town, and conferred their possessions upon Englishmen born. The new inhabitants whom he established in the town were substantial citizens from London, and a great number of countrymen from the neighbouring county of Kent, to whom he assigned the lands and tenements of the French. Calais became from that period, until the reign of Philip and Mary, in all respects a colony of England. The king also fortified the castle and the town with additional works. Lastly, before he set sail to return to England, Edward agreed to a truce with France, which lasted from

1347, until the year 1355, though not without infractions on both sides.

We must not here end the history of Calais, without adverting to some circumstances which happened shortly after its capture, and are highly descriptive of the manners of the time.

In supplying the place with a new garrison, Edward had not omitted to choose valiant officers, and such as he thought men worthy of trust. These were the Lord John Montgomery, as governor of the town, and, as seneschal of the castle which commanded the place, a Lombard knight, named Emeric of Pavia. This last officer was a favourite of Edward, in whose court he had been educated from childhood, but was infected with the vice of avarice, to which his countrymen were esteemed to be generally addicted. At the same time when Edward left Calais under such custody, a wise and valiant French lord, called Sir Geoffrey de Charny, acted as lieutenant for the French king, to defend his frontiers, near Saint Omers, and watch the garrison of the new English acquisition. This officer, who was high in his master's confidence, knew the failing of the Lombard governor, and tempted him, by offering the sum of twenty thousand gold crowns, to deliver up to him the castle of Calais. To this treacherous proposition, Emeric of Pavia acceded, and took a solemn oath to discharge faithfully his part of the bargain. This negotiation reached the ears of King Edward, who sent for the Lombard to come to see him in England, and, when Sir Emeric arrived there, took a private opportunity to charge him with having sold to the French the castle of Calais, the dearest thing he had on earth, excepting his wife and children. Emeric confessed the accusation, but returned a mercantile answer, that his bargain with Sir Geoffrey de Charny might as yet easily be broken, since he had received no part of the stipulated price. Edward, who had some regard, as we have said, for this venal knight, forgave him the treason which he had meditated, on condition that he should

ensnare the Lombard to go on with his bargain, and that he should inform him of the time that he and Sir Geoffrey de Charny should finally fix upon for the surrender. Edward also gave his avaricious favourite permission to get as much money as he could from Sir Geoffrey de Charny, provided he betrayed every particular of the negotiation to the king himself, and kept the whole matter a secret from others.

Sir Emeric thus secured against the consequences of the treason, and resolved once more to be true to his indulgent master, returned to Calais, and, renewing his intercourse with Sir Geoffrey de Charny, fixed on the last night of December, 1348, as the term for executing their secret treaty for the surrender of the castle. King Edward thus enabled to counteract the French stratagem, embarked very secretly with eight hundred choice men-at-arms, and a thousand archers, with whom he landed privately, and introduced them into the castle of Calais. He then called to him the celebrated Sir Walter Manny, and said, "Sir Knight, I mean to grace you with the honour of this night's enterprise, and I and my son will fight under your banner."

In the meantime, Sir Geoffrey of Charny, contriver of this enterprise, arrived at Neuillet Bridge, on the causeway, or high road to Calais, with a part of his force, and there waited till the rest joined him. He then communicated with Emeric of Pavia, by messengers sent to the citadel; and, learning that the time for his admission into the castle was approaching, he despatched twelve knights, and a hundred men-at-arms, having with them the money agreed upon, while he himself halted nigh to the nearest city-gate with the rest of his company. He left also a small rear-guard on the bridge at Neuillet. The captain of the French advanced guard moved on towards the castle, and met with the double traitor, Emeric, at the poster of the fortress, which he kept open, as if to admit the French. They delivered to him the stipulated sum in French crowns. Sir Emeric took the money, and cast it into a chest saying, "We have other work to do than to

count money at present. You shall enter the donjon, gentlemen, and then you are masters of the castle." But the French had no sooner entered at the postern of the castle, thus opened to them, than they were assailed in front, flank, and rear, by the English, who lay ready for them within the castle, and exclaimed, "Manny! Manny! To the rescue! What! thought a handful of Frenchmen to take the castle of Calais!" The French men-at-arms, surprised and outnumbered, rendered themselves prisoners, and were thrust into the donjon, not as conquerors, but prisoners, while the victors prepared to sally from the gates upon Sir Geoffrey de Charny and his party, the rear of whom held their post at the bridge of Neuillet, while the main body had advanced to the Boulogne gate of the town, expecting to be speedily called to the support of their advanced guard, who they calculated ought to be by this time in possession of the castle.

These were, however, at a loss to account for the delay of the expected surrender, and their commander was exclaiming impatiently, "Except this Lombard admit us hastily, we are like to starve here with cold."—"Oh, sir," said a French knight of his company, "you must remember that the Lombards are a shrewd and suspicious people. I warrant me Sir Emeric of Pavia is counting his crowns, and looking that they be all of just weight." As Sir Geoffrey and his party spoke thus among themselves, the Boulogne gate of Calais, to which they had approached, suddenly opened, and a body of men-at-arms issued forth in good order; most of them were dismounted, and they were attended by three hundred archers. The French, from this apparition, and the cry of "Manny, to the rescue!" instantly knew that they were betrayed; but, as the causeway on which they stood was narrow, Sir Geoffrey Charny exclaimed aloud, "Gentlemen, if we turn our backs, we are certainly lost; dismount speedily, and cut your spears to the length of five feet, for fighting upon foot." The English, hearing these words, replied, "Well said, by Saint George! shame on them that shall first turn their backs!" Edward, who was himself engaged

in the skirmish, though without any marks of royal distinction, despatched six banners and three hundred archers on horseback, who by a circuitous route, reached the bridge of Neuillet, where the French had left a rear-guard, as already noticed.

At this last place, the battle waxed very hot ; but the Frenchmen were taken at great disadvantage, and, after a stout resistance, were compelled to retreat. In the meantime a furious contest was continued upon the causeway nearer to the town, between the troops of Sir Geoffrey Charny and those under Manny. King Edward was distinguished amid the crowd of combatants by the exclamations of " Ha, Saint George ! Ha, Saint Edward ! " with which he accompanied every stroke of his two-handed sword, seeking to match himself with the stoutest antagonist whom the affray afforded. He had the luck to encounter Eustace de Ribeaumont, one of the strongest men and best knights who then lived. This distinguished French champion gave the English monarch so stout a meeting, that he more than once nearly forced him upon his knees. Nor was it until the increasing numbers of the English, who sallied from the town to the assistance of their friends, rendered longer defence on the French part unavailing, that Ribeaumont resigned his weapon to the antagonist whom he only knew as a brave warrior, and said the fatal words, " Sir Knight, I surrender myself—rescue, or no rescue ! " The French lost in this skirmish the greater part of the men whom Sir Geoffrey Charny had brought towards Calais, except some who had not alighted from their horses, and had therefore the means of escape ; the rest were either slain or made prisoners.

King Edward caused his principal officers and prisoners to be feasted at supper that same night, in a great hall, where he placed himself at the head of a royal table. Here the king sat alone and in state, while the Prince, his son, and the peers of England, served during the first course ; but after this sacrifice to ceremony, the guests were arranged without farther distinction at the same

board. Edward walked up and down, bare headed, excepting a circle of gold, and a chaplet of pearls of great value, around his brows, and passed in this manner round the table, and conversed freely with his captives. On approaching Sir Geoffrey Charny, the contriver of the enterprise, he said, with some signs of displeasure, "I owe you but little thanks, Sir Knight, who would have stolen from me by night what I won in broad day. You are a better bargain-maker than I, when you would have purchased Calais for twenty thousand crowns; but, God be praised, you have missed your aim." The Lord of Charny, who was much wounded, remained silent and somewhat abashed, and Edward passed on to the other guests, to whom he spoke with much condescension and politeness. But it was upon Sir Eustace de Ribeaumont that Edward conferred the highest praises, styling him the most valiant and courageous knight in that skirmish. "Nor did I ever," said the king, "find a man who gave me so much to do, body to body, as you have done this night. Wherefore, I adjudge to you this chaplet, as the prize of the tournament," taking off the string of pearls which he wore. "I pray you to wear it for my sake at all festivals, and declare unto the ladies that it was given to you by Edward of England, as a testimony of your valour. I discharge you also of any ransom, and you are free to depart to-morrow, if such be your pleasure."

In this strange anecdote, you may recognise some proceedings, which, had such taken place in our days, on the part of a great general and great monarch, would have necessarily been considered imprudent and inconsiderate. There was no great wisdom certainly in trusting to the double treachery of Emeric of Pavia, and there was great rashness in a monarch like Edward venturing his person, without any distinction of his rank, in the nocturnal confusion of so desperate a skirmish.

To encounter such dangers, however, was the proudest boast of chivalry; and a monarch, however wise and sagacious, was expected to court the most desperate risks of war, if he expected the praise of an accomplished

knight, which was then held the highest that a man could aspire to, how eminent soever his hereditary rank. It is not less worth your notice, how generously Edward III. rewarded the French knight who had struck him down in battle, although the same monarch could shortly before hardly be induced to pardon the six burgesses of Calais, whose sole offence was, the honourable discharge of their duty to their king and country, and the defence of their town. This is one instance among many, that it was reckoned presumption on the part of citizens or peasants, to meddle with martial affairs, which were accounted the proper business of the nobility and gentry, and their followers.

It is also remarkable, that the attempt upon Calais might have been made a legitimate pretext for breaking off the truce, on the part of the King of England. But as Geoffrey de Charny pretended to no authority from the French king, and as Philip disclaimed the attempt, Edward III. was well disposed to pass it over.

The evils of these continued wars, though carried on with great increase to the glory of individuals, were attended with so much misery to both kingdoms, that they probably never endured a greater state of wretchedness. In France, a pestilential disorder of a dangerous kind completed what had been commenced by want and bad nourishment. The populace died in great numbers, and those who remained entertained a natural horror of the feudal oppressors under whom they suffered such unpitied misery. This pestilence swept over not only the greater part of Christendom, but Africa, and Asia itself, and reached England, where it was equally fatal. It fell most heavily on the poorer part of the people; and of the inferior clergy so many died, that very many churches were without either parson or curate to serve the cure. Besides this disastrous scourge, the King of England, although his parliament had been repeatedly liberal in voting him supplies of money, was afflicted by the embarrassment of his finances. It was at a very extravagant cost that he had been able to support these wars of France

and the subsidies granted to him by his English subjects were speedily exhausted in the expenses which attended the prosecution of hostilities in a foreign country, and the pay of many auxiliary troops. The large spoil made by the English soldiers, contributed, as usual, to debauch the morals of the people, and accustom them to extravagance and unbounded expense.

These national evils had at least one good effect ; they restrained the Kings of France and England from renewing the war. The attempt, therefore, upon Calais passed over without notice.

It does not appear, however, that the treacherous governor, Emeric of Pavia, ever recovered the entire good opinion of the king. He was deprived of the government of the castle, the very day after the skirmish ; and, although he remained in the service of the English king, he never appears to have regained his confidence. He was retained in his active service, however, took possession, by stratagem, of the fortress of Guines, near to Calais, and attempted also to surprise Saint Omers. In this last enterprise, Sir Emeric was defeated and made prisoner by his old acquaintance, Sir Geoffrey Charny, who availed himself of the opportunity to be revenged of his former treachery. He caused the Lombard to be put to death with all the dishonours of degradation, commanding his spurs to be hacked from his heels, as from those of one unworthy of the honour of knighthood, and his body to be torn to pieces by wild horses drawing in different directions ; a cruel, yet not undeserved punishment, for the perfidious part he had acted at the attempt upon Calais.

But this last event took place after some others that were of greater importance. One of these was the submission made by Godfrey of Harcourt, the counsellor of Edward III., to his native kinsman and king, Philip of France. The penitent threw himself at that monarch's feet, with a towel twisted round his neck, in the form of a halter, confessing the remorse which he felt for having been a principal cause of the defeat of Cressy, and re-

gretting that he should have added to the number of those French princes of the blood-royal who had so often contributed to the misfortunes of their native country. Philip, though subject to violent passion, was placable upon submission, and forgave a penitent against whom he had several real subjects of offence. Their reconciliation did not, however, last long.

Shortly afterwards, the King of France united the county of Dauphiny to the crown, by marrying his grandson Charles to the heiress of that province. The dauphin himself retired from the world, and became a monk; and Charles, the husband of Joan, was the first French prince who bore the title of dauphin, afterwards selected as that of the successor to the crown of France. Charles is often termed Duke of Normandy, a county which his father John possessed until he acceded to the crown. In 1349, Philip of Valois himself wedded the Princess Blanche, sister of the King of Navarre; but he did not long survive this union, having died in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifty-seventh of his age. (A. D. 1350.)

Philip of Valois was hated by the nobility, on account of the frequent encroachments which he made on their privileges, and for the readiness with which he subjected many of their number to capital punishment. He obtained, at the commencement of his reign, the title of the *Fortunate*, because, although three predecessors stood between him and the throne, he had nevertheless the good luck to obtain possession of it; but, as happened to other princes, the long course of unsuccessful war in which he was engaged, and the miseries undergone during his reign, would better have entitled him to the surname of the *Unhappy*.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of John the Good—Truce with England violated, but renewed—Intrigues of Charles King of Navarre—Charles assassinates the Constable of France, and extorts his pardon from the King—Edward and his son, the Black Prince, invade France, and ravage the Country—the Black Prince winters at Bourdeaux—King John assembles a large army, marches into Poitou, and comes up with the English encamped at Maupertuis, within two leagues of Poitiers—Battle of Poitiers—King John taken Prisoner—His reception by the Black Prince—Return of the Prince, with his Prisoner, to England.

JOHN, DUKE OF NORMANDY, ascended the throne on the death of his father, Philip of Valois. He had attained the mature age of fifty, had commanded armies with reputation, had acquired character for both courage and conduct, and was, in every respect, a more hopeful prince than his predecessor.

Yet King John, of France, though distinguished by the flattering surname of the Good, early evinced a course of severity, which occasioned much unpopularity. At a solemn festival at Paris, immediately after his coronation, he caused to be arrested Rodolph de Brienne, Count of Eu and of Guines, and Constable of France, who was accused of wishing to let the English monarch have possession of his county of Guines, adjacent to the town of Calais. The unfortunate constable was arrested, and beheaded, in presence of the lords of the council, after three days' confinement, and without any form of trial an execution which greatly awakened the fears and suspicions of the nobility, respecting the new king.

In the year 1349, the English commander in Bretagne,

Sir Thomas Dagworth, fell into an ambuscade, said to consist of banditti, by whom he was slain, in violation of the truce. In resentment of this slaughter, Henry Plantagenet, already celebrated under the titles of Lancaster and Derby, to which that of Earl of Lincoln was now added, was sent as Edward's lieutenant-general into Bretagne, with an army which his reputation soon augmented to thirty thousand men. In the meantime, in contempt of the truce which still subsisted, constant skirmishes were fought between the French and English, which hovered between the character of hostile engagements, and of the tournaments which that age considered merely as martial recreations. In these stormy times, the various commanders of garrisons made war upon each other, as they saw occasion or opportunity, without the king's positively either authorising or resenting their quarrels; and in this manner much blood was spilt, of which neither prince was willing to acknowledge the blame. The Pope, Innocent XI., again used his intercession to prolong the truce, which seemed of such uncertain character, and succeeded in his endeavours in 1353, although he was unable to bring the kingdoms to such a solid peace, as his holiness desired.

About this time, King John and his court were extremely disturbed by the intrigues occasioned by his young kinsman, Charles, King of Navarre. This young prince, nearly connected with the French crown, his mother being a daughter of Louis X., called Hutin, possessed at once the most splendid and the most diabolical attributes. He was handsome, courageous, affable, liberal, and popular in his address, and a person of great talents and ingenuity. Unfortunately, he added to these gorgeous qualities a turn for intrigue and chicane, together with an ambition altogether insatiable, and a disposition capable of carrying through the worst actions by the worst means. From this latter part of his character, he received from the French the name of Charles the Bad, or Charles the Wicked, which he appears abundantly to have deserved,

since even the strong tie of his own interest could not always restrain his love of mischief. (A. D. 1351.)

On the arrival of this monarch at the court of John, he set up various pretensions to favour, both with the king and people of France, and rendered himself so agreeable at court, that he carried his point of marrying Joan, the daughter of the French monarch. He demanded certain places in Normandy; and when the king, to elude his pertinacity, conferred that county upon Charles de la Cerda, his constable and favourite, the King of Navarre did not hesitate to assassinate that unfortunate officer, in his castle called De l'Aigle, in Normandy. Having committed this atrocity, he afterwards boldly avowed the deed; put himself at the head of troops, and affected independence; treated with the English for their assistance; leagued together all the fiery and disaffected spirits of the court, that is to say, great part of the young nobility who frequented it, in opposition to the crown; and threatened to create such confusion, that King John felt himself under the necessity of treating with this dangerous young man, instead of bringing him to justice for his crimes. Charles of Navarre, however, refused to lay aside his arms, or come to court, unless upon stipulation for an absolute pardon for the death of the constable, great cessions in land, a large payment of money, and, above all, complete security that such terms should be kept with him, in case King John were disposed to grant them.

John of France saw himself, by the necessity of his affairs; obliged to subscribe to these demands, which were rather dictated than preferred by his refractory vassal. He was even compelled to give up his second son to Charles of Navarre, as security that the promises given to that turbulent prince should be faithfully kept. After this, it was in vain that John desired to conceal his weakness under a pompous display, designed to show that the pardon of Navarre was not granted in virtue of a previous stipulation, but the result of the king's own free will.

In March, 1355, (A. D.) this high offender came to

Paris in person, as had been previously agreed upon, and appeared before parliament, where the King was seated on the tribunal. Here Charles of Navarre made a formal speech, acknowledging his errors, and asking forgiveness, with some affectation of humility. The Duke of Bourbon, then Constable of France, placed his hands upon those of the royal criminal, in symbol of arrest, and led him into another apartment, as if to execution. The Queens of France (of whom there were at that time three,) threw themselves at the feet of the monarch, to implore pardon for one so nearly connected with his family, and the king appeared reluctantly to grant what he dared not have refused for fear of retaliation on the prince, his son. It is probable that the whole ceremony had no effect, except that of incensing the King of Navarre, and irritating his love of mischief, which he afterwards repeatedly displayed, to the great prejudice of the King and kingdom of France.

In the meantime, King Edward, fully expecting that this discord between King John and Charles of Navarre would break into an open flame, made preparations to take advantage of it. For this purpose, he constituted the Black Prince, who obtained that celebrated name from the constant colour of his armour, his lieutenant in Gascony and Aquitaine, and sent him over with a considerable army, which, by the number of troops there levied, was augmented to about sixty thousand men. With this large force, the young Edward marched into the country of Toulouse, taking several towns, which he burnt, wasted and destroyed. But Charles of Navarre becoming for the present reconciled with the King of France, the Prince of Wales returned to Bourdeaux, after these extensive ravages.

His father King Edward was, on his part, no less active in the desolation of France. While the Black Prince laid waste the southern provinces of that country with fire and sword, the father landed at Calais, and marched from thence towards St. Omers, where King John lay at the head of a considerable army. The recollections of

Cressy, perhaps, made the King of France decline an engagement; so that King Edward, unable to bring the French to action, returned to his own country to advise with his Parliament, and make head against the Scottish nation, who, notwithstanding all their losses, were again in arms. It has been reasonably suggested, that injured pride and wounded feelings, the recollections of the dishonour sustained at Cressy, and the hope of avenging the disgrace of that day, were more powerful with John of France than any reasons of sound policy, in inducing him to refuse the offers preferred by Rome for establishing peace between the countries. The scene of blood and devastation which all France presented, the ravages of the pestilence, and the total silence of law and justice throughout a kingdom which strangers and robbers had in a manner partitioned amongst them, made the country at that time in every respect unfit to maintain a war with a powerful and active enemy. It was, however, the fate of King John to rush without reflection upon dangers yet greater, and losses more disastrous, than those which had befallen his unfortunate father. A period now approached much celebrated in English history.

The Prince of Wales, who had spent the winter in recruiting his little army at Bourdeaux, resolved the next year to sally forth, to lay waste the country of the enemy, as he had done the preceding summer. King John, on the other hand, having determined to intercept his persevering enemy, assembled the whole force of his kingdom, in number twenty thousand men-at-arms, headed by the king himself and his four sons, and most of the princes of the blood, together with the whole nobility and gentry of France, few of whom chose to stay at home, when called to attend the royal standard, under the pain of infamy. Scotland sent him an auxiliary force of two thousand men-at-arms. With this overpowering army, the King of France marched into Poitou, where Prince Edward lay encamped at the village of Maupertuis, within

two leagues of Poitiers, and resolved to engage him before he could regain Bourdeaux.

With numbers so unequal, the Prince of Wales dared hardly attempt a retreat, in which he was likely to be destroyed by the enemy. He therefore took up a strong position, where the advantage of the ground might in some measure compensate for numerical inferiority. King John, on the other hand, had at command the choice of fighting instantly, or of surrounding and blockading the prince's army as they lay. But the same spirit of offended pride which disposed the French king to continue the war, stimulated him to rush to instant battle. On the other hand, Prince Edward had fixed upon a place so well suited for defence, that it presented, in a great degree, the advantages of a fortress. His army scarcely numbered the eighth part of that which was arrayed against him; but perhaps it was, even for that very reason, more fit to occupy and defend a strong and limited position.

This memorable field was a gentle declivity, covered with vineyards, which could only be approached by one access of no great breadth, flanked by thickets and hedges. To add to the strength of the ground, the English laboured hard at fortifying it, and disposed every thing so as to cover their ranks with trenches, in addition to the trees, bushes, and vineyards, by which it was naturally defended. Amidst these natural and artificial defences, and only accessible by this narrow and difficult pass, the English troops, about ten thousand men, were drawn up on the side of the gentle acclivity, with the good sense and judgment which, from his early days, had distinguished their eminent commander.

Sir Eustace de Ribeaumont had the honour to carry to King John of France an account of the English position, which he thus described: "Sir, we have seen the enemy. By our guess, they amount to two thousand men-at-arms, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred or two thousand other men; which troops appear to us to form but one division. They are strongly posted,

wisely ordered, and their position is wellnigh inaccessible. If you would attack them, there is but one passage, where four horsemen may ride abreast, which leads to the centre of their line. The hedges which flank this access are lined with archers, and the English main body itself consists of dismounted men-at-arms, before whom a large body of archers are arranged in the form of a *herse*, or harrow. By this difficult passage alone you can approach the English position. Think, therefore, what is to be done."

King John resolved, that, in such difficult circumstances, the attack must be made on foot. He commanded, therefore, his men-at-arms to dismount, cast off their spurs, and cut their spears to the length of five feet, in order to do battle as infantry. Three hundred men-at-arms alone were commanded to remain mounted, in order that their charge might begin the combat, break the archery, and make way for the columns of infantry; and in this order King John resolved to undertake the attack.

The battle having been thus determined upon, a noble churchman, the Cardinal of Perigord, visited both the French and English armies, to incline them to peace. The Prince of Wales, being so greatly outnumbered, was not unwilling to listen to honourable terms; but the King of France insisted that Edward and his principal lords should remain prisoners. "I will never yield me prisoner," said Edward, "until I am taken sword in hand."

But before the battle took place, one or two circumstances happened, highly characteristic of the spirit of the times.

It chanced that the celebrated John Chandos was, on the morning before the action, reconnoitring the French host, while Lord Cleremont, a marshal of the French army, performed the same duty on the other side. These two knights bore the same device, which was the Virgin Mary, surrounded by sunbeams. This was in those days a great offence; and it was accordingly chal-

Chandos by Cleremont with these words : " How long is it, Chandos, since you have taken it on you to bear my device ?"

" It is mine own," said Chandos : " at least it is mine as well as yours."

" I deny that," said Cleremont ; " But you act after the fashion of you Englishmen, who have no ingenuity to devise your own appointments, but readily steal the invention of others."

" Let us prove which has the right in the battle to-morrow," answered Chandos, " since to-day is truce, on account of the cardinal's negotiation." They parted thus upon terms of mutual defiance.

On the evening of that same day, the Frenchmen dismissed the Cardinal of Perigord from their host, and desired him to bring them no more proposals of peace ; so that the battle was now determined on by both sides. The churchman himself retired from the field ; but some youths of his train, inspired by the splendid preparations for battle, remained and bore arms on the side of France, which was much resented by the Black Prince.

Early the following morning the valiant young Prince of Wales reviewed the position of his troops, and briefly said to them, " Sirs, be not abashed for the number of our enemies ; for victory is not in the multitude of people, but where God pleases to grant it. If we survive this day's conflict, our honour will be in proportion to the odds against which we fight ; if we die this day, there are men enough in England to revenge our fall."

As the prince thus addressed his people, the Lord Audley came forward, and besought a boon of him. " My lord," he said, " I have been the true servant of your father and of your house ; and out of respect for both, I have taken a vow long since, that when I should be in any battle where the king your father, or any of his sons, should command, I will myself begin the battle, or die upon the place. May it please you now to permit me to pass to the vanguard, and accomplish my vow ?"

The prince willingly granted his desire, saying, "Sir James, God give you grace so to bear yourself, that you shall be acknowledged the best and foremost knight of all, this day!"

The prince then proceeded somewhat to change the order of his army. When reconnoitred by De Ribeaumont, he had shown only one division. But when about to fight, he divided his little army into three, drawn up close in the rear of each other, on the sloping and defensible ground we have described. He also placed, apart, a body of men-at-arms, under the Captal of Buche, designed to fetch a compass round the hill, unobserved, and fall on the rear of the French when they should commence the attack.

The French accordingly began the battle with the three hundred select men-at-arms, whom they had caused to remain on horseback, for the service of dispersing the archers, and forcing a passage for the rest of the army. These had no sooner entered between the hedges, however, than the archers, by whom they were lined, commenced their fatal discharge, and the horses of the men-at-arms recoiled and turned restive, disordering their own ranks, and rendering it impossible for their masters to perform the orders given to them. Sir James Audley, with four squires of undaunted valour, fought in the front of the battle, and stopped not to take prisoners, but went straight forward against all opposition.

It was in vain that a great body of dismounted men-at-arms entered the fatal pass, under two of the French marshals, to relieve the mounted spearmen. One of these leaders was slain, the other made prisoner; and their troops, driven back, were thrown in confusion upon the second line, commanded by the Dauphin. At the same time, the strong body of English men-at-arms, who had been reserved for that service, with a corresponding number of archers, burst unexpectedly from the ambuscade, in which they had been till now concealed. This was commanded, as already mentioned, by the valiant Gascon knight, called the Captal of Buche, a faithful

vassal of England. He attacked the French column of the flank and rear, and compelled it to fly. The Scottish auxiliaries shared the fate of their allies. The victory being now on the side of England, the prince commanded his men-at-arms to take horse, seeing the moment was come to advance. They mounted, and prepared to charge accordingly, the prince himself giving the word, "Advance banners, in the name of God and Saint George!" Upon seeing the approach of this strong body, those French lords who commanded the second division, and had charge of the three younger princes of France, retreated from the battle, in order, as they afterwards alleged, to place these royal persons in safety. The army of the French was now in such confusion, that the third division was exposed to the full fury of the English assault, by the retreat of the second line, and the person of King John, who commanded it, was placed in the greatest danger; his nobles, who fought around him, were almost all slain or taken, and the victors, who disputed with each other the glory and advantage of taking so great a prince alive, called out, "Yield you, sir, or you die!" The gallant monarch disdained the safety which was to be found by complying with these invitations, and continued manfully to defend himself with his battle-axe. "If," says Froissart, "the knights of King John had fought as resolutely as he did himself, the event of the day might have been different."

Finding himself left almost alone, and overborne by numbers, the unfortunate king expressed a wish to surrender to his cousin, the Prince of Wales; but, as this was impossible,—for the prince was in a distant part of the field,—King John gave his gauntlet in token of surrender to Sir Dennis Morbeque, a Frenchman by birth, but who, exiled from France for a homicide there committed, was in the Black Prince's service. From this gentleman King John was soon after taken forcibly by several knights of England and Gascony, who disputed the prize with so much violence, that the captive monarch was only delivered from the tumult, and even the

personal danger which it involved, by the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham, sent by the Prince of Wales to save him amid the general disorder. Philip of France, youngest son of King John, remained captive with his father. He behaved so resolutely on that fatal day, that he was said to have then acquired the epithet of the Hardy, by which he was afterwards distinguished.

The Prince of Wales, whose courtesy was at least equal to his bravery, caused a banquet to be spread in his pavilion, where he entertained the captive monarch, with his great nobles, while he himself refused to sit down at the table, as not worthy of so great an honour as to eat with the king of France. He bid his royal captive, at the same time, make no heavy cheer for his misfortunes, though the fate of battle had been otherwise than he would have desired. "You shall find my father," said he, "willing to display towards you all honour and friendship, and you shall, if you will, become such friends together as you have never hitherto been. Consider," he added, with well-meant flattery, "though you have lost the field, you have attained the praise of being the bravest knight who has this day fought upon your side." The unfortunate king was much affected by the courtesy of his victor, from which he experienced whatever consolation his condition admitted of.

The Prince of Wales was not less anxious to reward his friends, than by his generous conduct to soften the misfortunes of his enemies. Lord Audley, who had commenced the battle of Poitiers, had continued, as long as the action lasted, still pressing forward, without stopping to make prisoners, until at length he was nearly slain upon the spot; and he was the first object of the prince's gratitude. Upon this noble knight the prince bestowed, with his highest commendations, a noble gift of five hundred merks of yearly revenue, which Sir James Audley received with suitable expressions of gratitude.

When he returned to his own pavilion, the noble knight sent for his brother, and some other friends and made

them bear witness that he transferred to his four faithful squires the gift which the prince had given him, since it had been by their means and steady support, through the whole battle, that he had been able to render the services which the prince had valued so highly.

On the second day after the battle, the Black Prince marched towards Poitiers, into which a distinguished French warrior, named the Lord of Roye, had thrown himself, with a considerable body of men, which he was leading to join the French army, but which came too late for that service. Moderate, however, in his wishes to improve his victory, and chiefly desirous to secure his important prisoner, King John of France, the prince declined entering into any considerable enterprise at this time, and passed steadily on his retreat towards Bourdeaux. His march was so slow, that he was at liberty to attend to the business of his army, and the details in which individuals were interested.

Among other information, the Black Prince learned the generous manner in which Lord Audley had disposed, among his four esquires, of the splendid gift which his bounty had conferred upon him. He sent for him therefore to his presence, and requested to know wherefore he had parted with the gift of his sovereign? and whether his conduct arose from the present not being acceptable to him? Sir James Audley confessed that he had presented to his esquires the gift which his highness's bounty had conferred; but he alleged, that the fidelity of those esquires had been the means of his being able to execute the vow which he had made; and that, by their constant attendance through the bloody day, they had repeatedly saved his life at the imminent risk of their own. "Wherefore," said the noble lord, "it was well my part to transfer to them that bounty which your highness designed for me, especially since, renouncing in their behalf this royal gift, I have still, God be praised! revenues sufficient to maintain my place in your highness's service. But if this should offend your highness, I am right willing that it shall be ordered according to your pleasure."

The Black Prince joyfully accepted an apology so congenial to his feelings. He highly approved of Lord Audley's gift to his esquires, but made a point of pressing upon him an additional gift of four hundred pounds yearly more, which he required him to retain for his own use and behoof.

It was also, apparently, in this march that the Black Prince decided the important question, who was to be considered as the immediate captor of King John of France. With the same generosity and justice which always marked the conduct of this gallant prince, Edward adjudged the glory and profit of this action to the poor French exile, Sir Dennis of Morbeque, to whom King John had given his gauntlet in token of surrender, rather than to more powerful knights and barons, who stated their claim as preferable to that of the poor banished Frenchman. I have already stated, elsewhere, that the ransom of a captive belonged to the person by whom he was taken prisoner. But the person of King John fell under an exception, which adjudged, that prisoners, whose ransom was rated at ten thousand crowns or upwards, should not belong to individuals, but to the general of the army. The prince, therefore, finally closed this affair, by secretly transferring to Dennis Morbeque the sum at which King John's ransom was rated.

After spending most of the winter at Bourdeaux, the Black Prince returned to England with his prisoner, and made a solemn entrance into London, where the citizens received him with a gorgeous display of their power and wealth. In the procession which traversed the city on the occasion, King John of France appeared in royal array, mounted upon a beautiful white courser, while the Prince of Wales, avoiding the triumphant display of a victor, rode beside his captive upon a little black palfrey of an ordinary appearance. In modern times, this might be considered as an affectation of humility, and a more pointed personal triumph, than if the prince had shown less apparent deference. But we are not to judge of the

feelings of a rude age from those of a civilized one. In Edward's time, it was no uncommon display of the victor to show conquered princes to the people, loaded with ransoms, as in the triumphs of the ancient Romans; and the very opposite conduct of the conqueror of Poitiers, was considered as a mark of moderation and humility on the part of the conqueror, and received as such by the vanquished, and all who witnessed it.

CHAPTER VII.

Consequences to France of the Battle of Poitiers—Disputes between the Dauphin and the States-General—Suppression of an Insurrection under Sir Godfrey Harcourt, who had again revolted to the English—Siege of Rennes—Truce concluded—Capture of the Castle of Euvreux by Sir William Granville—Escape of Charles of Navarre from Prison—he organizes the Faction of the Navarrais—Insolence of Marcel, Provost of Paris—Insurrection of the Peasantry, called Jacquerie—Partial Success of the Regent against the English—Treaty for the Ransom of King John—the Estates of France refuse to sanction this Treaty, and Edward again invades France—Siege of Rheims—Peace of Bretigny—Death of King John, and Accession of the Dauphin Charles.

THE battle of Poitiers, being the disastrous consequence of that of Cressy, had been yet more calamitous than the preceding victory. (A. D. 1356.) For, as the combat had been chiefly fought on foot, and almost wholly by dismounted men-at-arms, a much larger portion of the French nobility had been slain than at Cressy and the kingdom was, in a great measure, deprived of those on whose courage the defence of the country was supposed chiefly to depend. The three sons of King John, who were naturally looked to as heirs of the crown,

were too young to be capable of retrieving so dreadful a misfortune as the defeat of Poitiers. The king had left no regent, or other legal representative; a deficiency which his son Charles, who bore the title of dauphin and Duke of Normandy, endeavoured to supply, by summoning a meeting of the Estates of the kingdom, naturally hoping, that in a period so calamitous he should find them disposed to act unanimously for obtaining the relief of King John, and restoring good order in the kingdom of France.

Unhappily, however, the members of this national body were strongly tempted to avail themselves of a favourable opportunity for depressing the royal power, and raising their own, rather than to combine in a joint effort for extricating the nation from its difficulties.

One principal cause of the general discontent and disorder, was the intrigues and conspiracies of the King of Navarre, who at this period might be justly termed the Evil Genius of France. It is here for an instant necessary to resume his history between 1354 and the battle of Poitiers. We have mentioned, that, at the former period, by the solemn farce of a submission and pardon, a reconciliation had been patched up betwixt him and King John. Charles of Navarre felt more resentment at the harsh manner of his trial, than gratitude for the easy terms of his pardon. He seems also to have been deeply imbued with that love of mischief for mischief's sake, which is in some a symptom of a tendency to insanity. He organized new conspiracies, into which he seduced even the heir of the crown, whom he persuaded that he was not sufficiently intrusted with power by his father. John, however, detected the plot of this wicked prince, and having a full explanation with the dauphin, prevailed on him to desert the pernicious faction with which he had engaged. The king, by the dauphin's personal assistance, next seized upon the person of the king of Navarre, and threw him into prison, where he remained till after the battle of Poitiers. The Count of Harcourt, brother of Sir Godfrey, was executed, among

other adherents of the King of Navarre, upon the apprehension of their leader.

But when the field of Poitiers was lost, it was not the least, amidst the various calamities of that disastrous period, that the spirit of Charles of Navarre influenced the deliberations of the States-General, although his person was confined in the Castle of Crevecœur. The States made it soon evident that they were less bent on the restoration of the king to his subjects, than upon the degradation of the crown, and engrossing the sovereign power within their own body. They divided themselves into separate committees, for executing various branches of the public service hitherto transacted by the king's ministers, and transmitted several lofty demands to the dauphin, requiring the punishment of certain officers of state, of whom they complained, a general change of the king's ministry, the deliverance from prison of the King of Navarre, and the subjection of the dauphin's government to the predominating influence of a committee of thirty-six of the members of the States-General, in which it was proposed to vest the powers of their whole body.

The dauphin Charles, embarrassed by the engrossing and grasping spirit displayed by the assembly from whom he had expected assistance, endeavoured to evade demands which he could not have granted without great hazard to the crown of which he was heir, and disrespect towards his father, who, although a prisoner in England, was still its owner. He dissolved the States, in spite of the remonstrances of the citizens of Paris, who, headed by Marcel, the provost of the merchants, and Ronsac, the sheriff, declared violently in favour of the assembly of representatives, and insisted upon their being reinstated in their authority.

While these intestine divisions were proceeding with violence in the metropolis, war was laying waste the more distant provinces of the kingdom of France. The celebrated Duke of Lancaster was in arms in Normandy, and in his company Lord Godfrey of Harcourt, whose name

we have frequently had occasion to allude to. He had, as we have already mentioned, submitted to King John, after the battle of Cressy; but, incensed by the death of his brother, John, Count of Harcourt, he had again revolted to the English interest, and, having joined the Duke of Lancaster, was appointed his lieutenant.

One slender ray of light alone remained. Ere the States were dissolved, they had granted some supplies, enabling the Duke of Normandy to levy a small army to suppress this internal enemy in the province where he claimed an especial personal interest. By the judicious use of these supplies, a valiant French knight, Sir Robert Clermont, with about three hundred men-at-arms, and a sufficient body of infantry, marched against Sir Godfrey Harcourt, whom he speedily met with. The troops which that eminent malecontent commanded, were chiefly revolted Frenchmen, like himself, but of no great reputation in arms. Part of his troops consisted of a body of archers, who operated with little effect on the French men-at-arms, who covered themselves under their bucklers, and when the quivers of their enemy were expended, advanced to close quarters. The men of Sir Godfrey Harcourt then shrunk from the attack; but their general continued fighting with courage worthy his reputation. Seeing, however, that escape was impossible, he took his resolution to die like a man. Being slightly lame, he placed himself so as, by the inequality of the ground, to supply in some degree the deficiency of his limbs, and wielding an axe of great weight, (for he was very strong in the arms,) he dealt such furious blows, that for a time no-one dared approach him. At length, after he had thus valiantly defended himself against all who attacked him on foot, two French knights, mounting their horses, charged him at the gallop, and bore him to the earth with their spears, where he was slain by the infantry who crowded around him. Thus died Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, paying at length the penalty frequently attending those who have been the means of plunging

their country into the evils of civil war. This battle was fought near Coutances, about November, 1356.

Shortly afterwards, the Duke of Lancaster, in revenge of the death of Sir Godfrey Harcourt, besieged Rennes very closely, pressed it hard, and threatened, by the taking of that city, to complete the separation of Bretagne from the French kingdom. Lord Charles of Blois, who continued his efforts to possess himself of the county of Bretagne, urged the dauphin strongly to assist him with soldiers, but the dauphin had other work upon his hands, for the dissolution of the States-General had then cast every thing into disorder.

A truce was, however, made, at the earnest intercession of two cardinals of the church. It afforded a moment's breathing time to the unhappy kingdom of France, and obliged the Duke of Lancaster to raise the siege of Rennes, which was on the point of surrender. But the evils of France were so great that this partial relief was scarcely felt. In fact, the confusion and general discontent in that kingdom broke out in such numerous and dreadful forms, that, to understand them, it is necessary to consider them separately; and, without minutely attending to the order in which the events happened, we may observe, that they were, each and all, the portentous consequences of general confusion and discord, of the absence and captivity of the king, the mutiny of the common people, and the disposition of all ranks to violence and spoil.

The first great evil was the progress of the English war, which, although not violently pursued by King Edward, was yet followed up by his captains in Bretagne, Normandy and Gascony. The manner in which such enterprises were carried on, may be well illustrated by the successful attack of William of Granville upon the strong town and castle of Euvreux. This nobleman dwelt about two leagues from that town, and often visited it. He was privately attached to Philip of Navarre, younger brother of Charles the Bad, who served with the English host, commanded by the Duke of Lancaster. But the Lord

of Granville had never openly borne arms in the quarrel ; no suspicion attached to him, therefore, at Euvreux and he had the means of making a strong party among the burgesses. He came by degrees to use the open ground before the castle-gate as a place for his ordinary promenade ; and as the captain sometimes went abroad for refreshment, and entered into conversation with him, they fell into a sort of familiarity.

One day, having every thing appointed to support his attempt, William of Granville began to tell an idle story to the governor concerning a pretended attack upon England by the joint forces of the King of Denmark and the King of Ireland, who, for that purpose, had, he said, taken the sea with a numerous host. When the Frenchman demanded from whence he had this intelligence, William of Granville replied, that a knight of Flanders had sent the news to him, and with it a set of chessmen, the most beautiful he had ever seen. This excited the curiosity of the seneschal of the castle, who was a great admirer of the game of chess. William of Granville, as if to gratify his curiosity, sent for the chessmen, on condition that they should play a game together. The board and men were brought ; and the seneschal was so imprudent as to admit the knight within the entrance of the fortress. He was privately armed with a shirt of mail concealed under his upper clothing, and held in his hand a small battle-axe, and thus, while apparently intent on his game, stood prepared to take advantage of such opportunity as should present itself. In the meantime, his valet warned the conspirators, burgesses of the place, to hold themselves in instant readiness. In the course of the game, William of Granville seized an opportunity to dash out the captain's brains with his battle-axe, and winding a bugle horn which he carried with him for the purpose, the burgesses ran to his assistance, and found him bestriding the body of the captain, and defending the gate, which he had occupied, against such of the garrison as hastily took the alarm. The insurgents speedily seconded him, and made themselves masters of Euvreux.

reux, which became a head quarter of the faction of the English, or Navarrois, in Normandy.

Such was the nature of the exploits which were then achieved in every corner of France, in which good faith and personal fidelity seem to have been little observed by either party.

It was not, however, so much the national war between the French and English which brought so much harm upon the former nation, as the violent factions among the Frenchmen themselves, which were about this time considerably augmented in number, and no less so in rancour.

I have told you more than once of the peculiar and dangerous character of Charles, King of Navarre. It was the misfortune of France that this person, of so faithless a disposition, joined to qualities so showy and so popular, escaped, at this moment of the greatest confusion, from the castle of Crevecœur, in which he had been confined by King John for his former intrigues. The liberated prisoner was received with great joy, not only at Amiens, and other cities, but in Paris itself, where Marcel, the provost of the merchants, became his principal adherent.

Being an accomplished orator, Charles of Navarre harangued the Parisians in public, and with great effect on their credulity; he seemed to declare himself for a republic, or rather an aristocracy, instead of a monarchy, countenancing the claims of the States, in opposition to those which were preferred for the crown on the part of the dauphin and others. Those who adhered to the party of Charles, or in general to that of the States, obtained the name of Navarrois. Philip of Navarre, however, though the brother of Charles, remained in the English camp; nor could he ever be prevailed on to declare in favour of a republic, in which, he said, there could never be order, honour, or stability, but a constant succession of shame and confusion.

Meantime, the dauphin was under the necessity of again assembling the States-General, in order to obtain,

through their means, the power of imposing taxes, and levying money for the support of the war. The provost of the merchants thwarted the dauphin in all his projects ; for, like the King of Navarre, his patron, he personally hated the dauphin, who had been once in some degree himself a Navarrois, until induced by the remonstrances of his father King John to renounce these dangerous opinions. Owing to this defection, the dauphin was mortally hated by the King of Navarre and his followers. Marcel the provost in particular mixed in all his proceedings, and caused the people, who followed him in great numbers, to assume blue hats, as a mark of their adherence to his party. The slightest offence given to any of these armed burgesses called the whole party forth ; and it became absolutely impossible to maintain good order even in the capital itself, far less to make any exertion, by levying money or otherwise, in behalf of the king, who was still a captive in England. The dauphin endeavoured to temporise, and strove, by every means in his power, to form a royal party in opposition to that of the King of Navarre. He had in some measure succeeded, when an accident threw all into irretrievable confusion.

An ordinary citizen, named Macé, had murdered Jean Baillelt, the Treasurer of France, and taken refuge in a neighbouring church. The dauphin sent two mareschals, one of France, and one of Champagne, with orders to take the criminal into custody, and lead him to instant execution. The Bishop of Paris exclaimed against this act of necessary justice, as a violation of the sanctuary of the church, and the provost of the merchants called his followers into the streets, and marched with the whole mob of Paris directly to the lodgings of the dauphin, in what was then called the Palace of Justice. Entering furiously, and without reverence, into the presence of the dauphin, Marcel seized upon the two mareschals, and put them to death, so close to the prince, that he was covered with their blood. " How now, sirs," said the dauphin, apprehensive of farther violence, " would you shed the

blood royal of France!" Marcel answered in the negative; and, to show his good intentions, he snatched rudely from the dauphin's head the embroidered hat or hood which he wore, and clapped on him in its place the blue hat, which was the sign of the Navarrais faction. He himself, to complete his insolence, wore during the rest of the day the hat of the prince, which was of a withered rose colour. The bodies of the murdered marshals were dragged through the streets, and the King of Navarre, who had avoided being present in the city during the insurrection, endeavoured to take advantage of the incident, so as to farther his own plans, by the most extravagant demands, which he founded upon it. The dauphin, however, was received as regent by the states, to whom the Navarrais had proposed to dethrone the king, and dispossess the dauphin. Thus fortified at least with nominal authority, the prince withdrew from the metropolis and its turbulent citizens, to the counties of Picardy and Champagne, where he assembled the states of those provinces, and received such succours and obedience as they had the means of yielding to him. All France was thus shaken to its centre with internal discord, and its disasters seemed past the possibility of increase, when two circumstances, both of a most alarming kind, carried the general misery to a height hitherto unknown, and even blunted the feelings of the public to the wretchedness which they had hitherto undergone.

We have already mentioned the bands of mercenary leaders, who acknowledged no officer or superior but those who promised to procure them the greatest share of plunder. These troops, or at least their leaders, were generally English; and although they made no great distinction of political principle, they were chiefly followers of the Navarre party, as that which promised them the widest privilege of plunder. By means of these Companions, as they were called, Charles of Navarre proposed to carry into effect his dream of a republic, or rather a species of oligarchy, in which, doubtless, he proposed that he himself should act the principal part. For

this purpose, he drew to his party as many of the leaders of the Companions as he possibly could, and prepared by their means to lay waste the kingdom of France.

Neither was the dauphin backward in his attempts to reduce the kingdom to subjection; for, as we shall presently see, a second great and overpowering calamity, namely, the insurrection of the peasantry, was in its consequences, the means of strengthening and increasing the army which he assembled. This *Jacquerie*, or war of the peasants, so called, because the gentry gave to them the contemptuous name of *Jaques Bonhomme*, or Good-man James, was the most dreadful scourge which had yet ravaged France; it is impossible to conceive, and it would be indecent and disgusting to attempt to describe its horrors. It arose from the series of oppression, scorn, and injury, which the peasants, or cultivators of the soil, had so long sustained at the hands of the nobility and gentry. These last saw in the peasantry creatures whom they deemed of an inferior species to themselves, and whose property and persons they held alike at their disposal. What little protection the common people had received from the crown was now at an end, by the king's captivity, and the general confusion throughout the kingdom. In these sad days, each noble or knight became the uncontrolled feudal tyrant of the estate which belonged to him; and most of them were induced, by the intoxication attending the possession of arbitrary power, to make a harsh and tyrannical use of their privileges, each practising on his vassals the most unlimited oppression. The effects of such absolute power terminated in the grossest abuses, and at length drove to utter despair the peasantry, who were themselves starving, while, as an insult to their misery, they saw their lords revelling in the excess of luxury and ill-timed extravagance. After witnessing the evils of the country proceed from bad to worse, the peasantry at length became desperate, and seizing such rustic arms as pitchforks, scythes, clubs and reaping-hooks, they rose with fury, and

joined together in large bodies, resolving to destroy all the nobility and gentry in the kingdom.

This insurrection took place in several provinces, and, as is usually the case in a war of such a description, where an oppressed and ignorant people burst suddenly from their bondage, and revel in every license which ignorance and revenge can suggest to them, they burnt or pulled down the houses of the nobility, stormed their castles by main force, misused their wives and daughters, put them to various modes of death, equally cruel and protracted, and in short behaved like fierce bandogs, suddenly unloosed from their chain, and equally incapable of judgment and of humanity. There was one instance, and not a solitary one, where this furious rabble roasted a noble, whose castle they had stormed, alive on a spit, and compelled his wife and children to partake of his flesh. We willingly leave these horrors in oblivion, only remarking, that it is a double curse of slavery and oppression, that for a time it renders its victims, after they succeed in breaking their bonds, incapable of thinking like human beings.

The horrors of this servile war had this good effect, that it impelled all men to join in putting a stop to so aggravated an evil. The nobility, however, who made the use of arms their sole profession, soon united together for mutual defence, and, completely armed as they were, found no difficulty in defeating the frantic peasants, though with the most unequal numbers.

An instance is given by Froissart of an interesting nature. The Duchess of Normandy, the Duchess of Orleans, and nearly three hundred other ladies of quality, young damsels, and children of the nobility, had taken refuge in the town of Meaux, where they hoped to be defended against the fury of the Jacquerie. Here they were beset by about nine or ten thousand of the insurgents; and it became too apparent that the rabble of the town were to take part with the peasantry, and admit them into the place without opposition. The Count of Folx and the Captal of Buche, chanced to pass near

the town where the ladies were enclosed by such numbers, and heard an account of their imminent peril, and of the multitude of savage clowns by whom they were surrounded. The knights were of different political principles. The earl was French both in birth and opinions; the Captal of Buche, so called from a district in Gascony, of which he was governor, was distinguished by his valour in the service of Edward III., being the same who led the successful ambuscade at the battle of Poitiers. Both, without regarding their difference in other particulars, were alike disposed to show themselves good knights, and put their persons in risk for the safety of so many noble ladies, who were destined to death and infamy by a furious rabble. The armed attendants of the knights might be sixty lances, probably making, with all their retainers, about three or four hundred men.

At the head of this very inferior force, the Count of Foix, and the Captal of Buche, rode straight to Meaux, where the ladies were still protected in a citadel, or fortified quarter of the town, although the inhabitants had admitted the ruffian mob into the market-place and streets of the city. The two valiant knights arrived just in time to prevent the females from falling into the cruel hands of their outrageous enemies. They lowered their lances, and rushed into the market-place, then full of the disorderly rabble, who were ill able to endure an attack so furious. They were borne out of the town at the spear's point, broken, beaten down, and pursued for miles. Historians assure us, that seven thousand of the peasants were slain, which is not impossible, considering that their antagonists were so fully armed as almost to be invulnerable, while their opponents were entirely defenceless. The knights returned in triumph, and burnt a part of the town of Meaux, to revenge themselves on the inhabitants who had admitted the peasants within the walls. The warriors who (though personal and national enemies) had acted with so much gallantry in behalf of the distressed

females, were applauded, and generally imitated. Other battles, like that of Meaux, took place in France, in different places, and the Jacquerie, which had raged so horribly, was finally suppressed.

As I have before hinted, the horrors of this insurrection of the peasantry obliged the nobles to unite themselves together, and rendered them more obedient to the command of their natural chiefs. Their campaign, it may be believed, was a bloody one, since they gave no quarter, but hanged, upon the next tree, such insurgents as fell into their hands. Though a sharp remedy, it proved a sure one, and this rebellion was at length stifled in the blood of the unfortunate peasants. The regent, or the dauphin, was thus enabled to place himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, raised for the service of subjecting the Jacquerie, but at the head of which he speedily took an opportunity to blockade the rebellious town of Paris, of which he earnestly desired to render himself master. He hoped for success the rather that he had a party also within the town secretly attached to him, though not strong enough openly to contend with the faction led by the provost of the merchants.

The King of Navarre, on the other side, brought together a strong body of the bands of Companions of whom I have before spoken, and encamped at St. Dennis, in order to take such opportunity as might offer to support the Provost Marcel, and the Parisians of the Navarre faction. The provost, in the meantime, became satisfied that matters could not remain long in this uncertainty, and resolved to admit the King of Navarre and his forces into the city, in order to enable him to continue a resistance to the dauphin, to which he began to feel his own influence was not equal. He communicated, therefore, to the chiefs lying at St. Dennis, the scheme he had formed, and directed them to approach the gates of St. Antoine and St. Honoré, at twelve o'clock the ensuing night, with a choice body of forces, whom he proposed to admit into Paris.

It happened, however, that two citizens heads of the

opposite, or regent's party, called John and Symon Mailart, having some suspicions of what was going on, apprehended the provost about midnight, at the gate of St. Antoine, having the keys of the city in his hands. They instantly charged him with treachery, and slew him upon the spot. Thus died Marcel; and his party, having been detected in so disloyal an enterprise, fell into public discredit, and was dispersed. The immediate effect of these events was, that the dauphin, on the one part, entered Paris in triumph, and the King of Navarre, on the other, declared war formally against the whole kingdom of France.

This defiance he carried into execution, by means of the bands of Companions who, as we have intimated, were in possession of many strong places in different parts of France, from whence they made unexpected sallies and long marches, by which they took castles which were thought in absolute security, and pillaged defenceless villages when they least thought of danger. The prisoners which these adventurers made on such occasions, were ransomed for large sums of money; and those who could not, or would not, pay these exactions, were put to death without mercy.

Providence, however, had not entirely deserted France, and even out of the extremity of disorder and confusion, divine wisdom wrought means of recovery. It was observed, that the English commanders began gradually to lose the superior good fortune which had attended their banners.

Sir Eustace d'Ambreticour, one of the bravest of the commanders of the Companions, in the service of England, held at last twelve good fortresses under his command, in different parts of the country, and had at his disposal upwards of seven hundred combatants. He was nevertheless defeated and made prisoner, chiefly by means of another leader of a free company, like his own, called Broquart of Fenestrages, who, on this occasion, was engaged on the part of the French. In other places

also the dauphin had partial successes, which gradually restored the spirits of the French faction.

Still they suffered severely by this mode of warfare, as appears from the expedition of another celebrated Captain of Companions, called Sir Robert Knolles. This leader was an Englishman born, of low birth and mean estimation; but he distinguished himself by his military talents as a leader of a Free Company. He passed from Bretagne to the river Loire, wasting, burning, and ravaging the country, with the avowed purpose of marching to Avignon, where the Pope then resided, and forcing the Holy Father and his cardinals to ransom themselves at a high price. The presence of a considerable French army induced him to alter this intention. He offered them battle, which they declined, and gave them the slip, when they expected to have surrounded him. Sir Robert Knolles acquired by this expedition, and other plundering excursions, the wealth of an earl, and many lands, which he surrendered to King Edward, stipulating only for his own free pardon. But we may here quit the account of these occurrences, with the general observation, that the existence of these independent companies of adventurers long continued one of the most rankling grievances of the age. In the meantime, the restoration of peace between the nations did not advance, although France suffered so much, and England gained so little, by the continuance of the war.

The unfortunate King John of France, of whom we have lately had occasion to speak but little, appears, after his defeat and captivity at Poitiers, to have been in a great measure forgotten by his subjects, although the duty of vassals to pay the ransom of their lord when prisoner, was one of the most sacred obligations of chivalry. Finding himself abandoned to his own exertions, he endeavoured to accommodate his differences with Edward. By an agreement entered into with this prince, King John engaged to surrender Aquitaine, Gascony, Calais, and other fiefs, which Edward and his successors were to hold free of homage, or feudal fealty of any kind. The King

of France became farther bound to pay four millions of gold crowns in ransom for himself and the other prisoners taken at Poitiers. King Edward, on the other hand, in consideration of this treaty, agreed to renounce all claim to the title of King of France, as well as all property in Normandy, and the other provinces not expressly ceded to him by the present articles.

Such were the terms on which King John would have been satisfied to close the war, and to obtain his liberty. King Edward gave his assent to them, as comprehending all he expected to gain by the events of the war, for he must have despaired of all hope of conquering France. But the consent of the Estates-General was essential to the validity of the treaty. This great body, representing the French nation, positively refused to accede to terms by which so great a portion of the kingdom should be surrendered to the English. The consequence was, that the preparations for war were resumed with great animosity on both sides. The King of England, on his part, renewed his preparations, and assembled an army of no less than a hundred thousand men. A truce had been made, which was prolonged till midsummer 1359, so that it was the end of the harvest ere Edward III., with this large army, arrived at Calais.

In the meantime, the news that Edward was about to renew the war with a view of absolute conquest, had no small influence on the Navarrais party, and even on Charles himself, who became sensible, of a sudden, that any success on Edward's part would bring upon him, in the person of the King of England, a competitor more formidable than he had yet found in the lawful regent. He, therefore, to the surprise of all men, renounced, at least for a time, the factious principles which had hitherto guided him in his intercourse with the dauphin, and made a peace with that prince upon very reasonable and equitable conditions. Philip, the brother of the King of Navarre, continued to act under the influence of England, and declared, that in making so ill-timed a peace, his

brother Charles must have been acting under the influence of witchcraft ; indeed, the adoption of moderate or pacific views was, on his part, widely out of character.

Edward III., in the meantime, commenced his march, and, traversing in great order the provinces of Artois and Picardy, he laid siege to the ancient city of Rheims, and it was said that he designed to have himself crowned there, according to the ancient custom of the kings of France. But the city was gallantly defended. The archbishop encouraged the citizens to stand on their defence, and many noblemen with their followers were also in the place. During this siege, which lasted for three months, the King of Navarre relapsed afresh into his usual perverse politics, and, on some slight pretext, again broke out into war with the dauphin ; but whatever advantage Edward received from the conduct of this versatile prince, he lost by the rebellion of the Flemings, whom the intrigues of France again diverted to the interest of that country.

In 1360, (A. D.) Edward found himself obliged to abandon the siege of Rheims, and drew off his army towards the capital of France—a species of insult, or menace repeatedly used by the English during these wars, but with little real effect. The dauphin regent occupied the capital at the head of a numerous army ; but, as on the one hand that prince declined to put the fate of the country upon the dubious issue of another battle, which might in its event have resembled that of Cressy or Poitiers, so, on the other hand, the King of England was too prudent to attempt the assault of a large city garrisoned by a numerous army. King Edward therefore thought it expedient to retreat towards Bretagne to recruit his forces, while the regent and his council, deeply affected by the scene of desolation which France presented on all sides, saw the necessity of submitting to sue for a peace, however disadvantageous. The king of England was still averse to relinquish his high pretensions to the crown of France, and it is said that an intervening thunder-storm, or hurricane, which he considered as

specta sign of the displeasure of Heaven against those princes who should prolong the war, first bent his stubborn spirit to accept of peace.

But in fact, the successes of Edward had been bought at a price which even the wealth of England could not pay ; and besides exhausting his finances, the events of the late campaign had plainly showed him what he could, and what he could not do. He could march through France without opposition, but this was not subjecting it to his sovereignty ; and a solitary city like Rheims was, if determined on resistance, sufficient to arrest his progress. The issue of the Scottish wars may have taught this great warrior the difference between overrunning a country and subjugating it ; and the readiness with which a poor and small nation vindicated its independence, might teach him the impossibility of subduing France, so much more populous and wealthy than Scotland—if, like her, she was determined to defend her liberty—and that such was her resolution, the siege of Rheims made manifest. The conqueror was therefore taught to prefer the possession of Gascony in complete sovereignty, out of which in time a permanent possession might be formed, to a protracted war, in the vain hope that any subsequent victory could do more than those of Cressy or Poitiers.

Edward, therefore, instead of persevering in his attempt to conquer the kingdom of France, determined to remain for the present satisfied with possessing Gascony, that portion of it which was ceded to him in full sovereignty. He should thus, he hoped, secure one compact and permanent possession, while he had free access to invade France by means of Calais, and was thus ready to avail himself of such opportunities of farther conquest as might arise.

Still farther to secure his dominions in Gascony, the King of England erected them into a principality, created the Black Prince his lieutenant and representative there, confident that by the courage and wisdom which

his son had so often displayed, he could not in any way provide so well for their government and safety.

The articles of peace were, of course, favourable to England, to whom the King of France relinquished, in full superiority, the provinces of Gascony, with various other dependencies in Aquitaine; and in the north of France, the town of Calais and earldom of Guisnes. In exchange, King Edward renounced all title to the crown and kingdom of France, and all claims to Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine.

Upon these conditions the peace of Bretigny was founded, which was most acceptable to the subjects of both crowns, though not agreeable in all respects to either of the kings themselves. Difficulties arose concerning the surrender of some part of the territory and castles yielded to the English; and the high-spirited noblemen who there held fiefs, did not understand being transferred, like a flock of sheep, from the allegiance of one sovereign to another. Many Gascon knights refused to exchange the sovereignty of France for that of England. France, they said, might herself dispense with their faith and homage, but she had no right to substitute a strange king in her place. These difficulties suspended the benefits expected from the peace. The Dukes of Anjou and Berri, with the Dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, still remained hostages in England, for payment of the ransom stipulated for the prisoners of Poitiers. These princes obtained, on their solicitation, permission to pass to Calais, under pretence that they might be able to furnish the means of concluding the disputed points of the treaty. Instead of doing so, the Duke of Anjou took the opportunity of abusing this indulgence, and made his escape into France.

King John had been set at liberty when he first came to an understanding with Edward, and had returned to France accordingly. But he was deeply hurt and offended at what he considered the dishonourable conduct of his son, and took the generous resolution of restoring to the English their full security for the ransom, by surrendering

his own person once more into their hands. To such of his counsellors as would have cautioned him against this step, he firmly replied, that, "if faith and loyalty were banished from the rest of the world, they ought still to remain enshrined in the hearts of kings."

The generous feeling expressed in this noble sentiment, seems to show that John of France deserved better fortune than that which had followed him during his whole life, and now accompanied him to the grave. A very short time after his return to England, John was seized with an indisposition, of which he died in the Savoy; and his son Charles, who had undergone so many difficulties as regent, now mounted the throne in the capacity of king, carrying with him to that eminence all the experience which many years of difficulty and misfortune had enabled him to attain, and which has procured for him in French annals the well-deserved epithet of the Wise. (April 8, A. D. 1364)

CHAPTER VIII.

War in Normandy—Battle of Cocherel—War in Bretagne, between the Adherents of De Montfort and De Blois—Battle of Aurai—Financial Difficulties of Charles of France—Sumptuary Laws—Free Companions—Charles's Plan for removing them from France—Their Leader Du Guesclin marches upon Avignon, and exacts a Fine from the Pope—he next engages in a War against Don Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, and drives him from his Kingdom—Pedro solicits Assistance from the Black Prince, and is by him re-instated in his Dominions—Du Guesclin, having been taken Prisoner, is ransomed—Tax upon Chimneys, called Fouage, imposed in Gascony by the Black Prince, to defray the Expenses of his Castilian Expedition—Unpopularity of this Tax.

CHARLES OF FRANCE, the fifty-first monarch of that kingdom, took up the affairs of his government in an involved and confused state. The dispute concerning Bretagne was not yet determined, and disturbances continued in Normandy between the Navarrais and the French partisans, the last of which parties were headed in a great measure by a valiant Breton knight, called Bertrand du Guesclin, to whose courage France owed much during the present reign. The Navarrais, on the other hand, were commanded by the Captal of Buche, already mentioned in this narrative. These two heroic leaders joined battle near Cocherel, in Normandy, with equal valour and skill, and the action is more particularly taken notice of on account of the merit of the leaders, and because fortune was on the side of the French, being the first action since Cressy, in which that nation had been victorious. The Navarrais were completely defeated, and their stout commander, the Captal of Buche, fell into the

hands of the conquerors. He was received with great distinction by King Charles, who would have bestowed upon him an earldom, had the Black Prince permitted the Captal to accept of it.

This was a fortunate commencement of King Charles's reign; but it was not without its reverse in Bretagne. King Charles of France had sent the aid of a thousand lances to Sir Charles de Blois, in order to strengthen his party in Bretagne, while Edward had despatched the Lord Chandos with an equal number, to support the cause of the Earl de Montfort, son of John de Montfort, and of his heroic countess, remarkable for her defence of Henebon. These inveterate enemies, De Blois and De Montfort, finally encountered each other near the town of Aurai. Friends on both sides endeavoured to accommodate the matter betwixt the contending nobles, but in vain; each declaring himself resolved to peril their long-depending and long-disputed claims upon the event of that day. They approached each other with slowness and caution, calculated to give an idea of the desperate resolution which each had adopted, to fight this long-protracted quarrel, concerning the sovereignty of Bretagne, for the last time, and to the last extremity.

Chandos, who had the chief command of the army of the Count de Montfort, divided his forces into three battalions, allotting to Sir Hugh Calverley, an English knight of great renown, the command of the rear-guard, or rather the reserve. This valiant champion, who was a man of distinguished courage, remonstrated against this arrangement, as it was his wish to fight in the front of the battle. The Lord Chandos explained his order of battle, by assuring him that either Sir Hugh Calverley must lead the reserve, or he must conduct it himself, and submitted to him which in that case was most proper. Sir Hugh was overcome with this gentleness and deference on the part of a leader so distinguished as Chandos, and saying, "he was sure that Chandos would put him on no task inconsistent with his honour," acquiesced in the post allotted to him.

A little before the hour of prime, the two armies approached each other. The French came on in fair array, "in such close order," says Froissart, "that, had one thrown an apple among the battalion, it must have lighted upon a helmet or a head-piece." They were also covered with strong and large targets, to parry the shot of the English archers. Accordingly, advancing among the bowmen, without having endured the usual damage from their arrows, the French laid about among them, with the axes which they had prepared for close fight. The archers, on the other hand, being strong and active men, threw themselves among the French, and casting down their bows, and wrenching the axes from the hands of their enemies, made a defence with singular, though unavailing fury. The leaders on all sides fought most valiantly, and Chandos, with an axe in his hand, set an example to all the field. Sir Hugh Calverley well supported the place intrusted to him, and by his bringing up the reserve with undaunted valour, and in a moment of extreme need, vindicated the prudence of Lord Chandos, who assigned to him so important a command, and finally decided the fate of the day. Sir Charles de Blois was slain on the field, for whom his adversary, De Montfort, shed many tears, generously lamenting the fate of a gallant enemy. Bertrand du Guesclin also was made prisoner; thus deprived of their principal leaders, the French party were totally discomfited.

This battle ended the hostilities of Bretagne, which had now lasted for so many years; but the faction of Edward III., who had so long supported the war, derived little advantage from its conclusion. It had been decided by the peace of Bretigny, that the King of England should lay no claim to the superiority of Bretagne, in whatever manner the dispute between De Montfort and Charles de Blois might be terminated. The duchy alone was adjudged, by the event of this battle of Aurai, to the young Count de Montfort, who obtained, for his behaviour in the action, the envied title of the Valiant. The King of France received the young victor to do homage

as Duke of Bretagne, while he settled large and liberal appointments upon the lady of the deceased Charles De Blois.

The difficulty of finding the means of bearing the various expenses of the kingdom embarrassed King Charles greatly, and drove him to a course of raising funds, which, in the nature of things, could not be very popular. This was a general resumption of those gifts which the king and his predecessors had made, as well to the great vassals of the crown, as to inferior subjects. In the course of this delicate task, Charles, by his wisdom and oratory, made such an impression upon his uncle, Philip of Orleans, as to prevail on that high prince of the blood, to resign all that he possessed by the favour of his father, brothers, and nephew, saying, "that although he conceived he had a legitimate right to the donations of the crown, yet he resigned them all at the pleasure of the king, his nephew, knowing that the service of the state rendered them necessary to him." Moved by so eminent and generous an example, others taking the same course of submission, given by a prince so near the crown, acquiesced also in the recall of such crown gifts as they held, while the king partly accepted the benefits which they surrendered, and partly returned them to the persons by whom they had been abandoned to his pleasure. These last were so sensible of the extremity to which the crown was reduced, that perhaps a measure of state necessarily obnoxious in itself, and severe upon individuals, was never carried into execution with so little unpopularity to the sovereign.

The king also made many laws against luxury in entertainments, festivals, and apparel; and by strictly acting up to his own regulations, produced a considerable reform in the expenses of the great, which were a constant source of envy and odium to the poor. He was regular and steady in the execution of justice, and, so far as he could, active in enforcing the judgments which he pronounced, but the state of the country, overrun by hands of soldiers

who acknowledged no sovereign, rendered his efforts to restore order for a long time, and in many instances, unavailing.

These associations of military adventurers, which, when they reached to a certain extent of numbers, were called the "Great Companies," continued an abiding, and apparently incurable, national evil. The King of France found himself, from the state of his finances, totally unprepared to clear the country of these land-pirates, as they might be properly termed, by whom it was inundated. In his distress, he applied to Edward III., who, by an article in the treaty of Bretigny, had bound himself to lend his assistance, if required, in relieving France of these military locusts. Edward, thus cited to fulfil his engagement, sent forth a proclamation, commanding these companies to lay down their arms, and evacuate the territory of France. Some few obeyed; but the others treated his proclamation with contempt, saying they held no land of him, owed him no allegiance, and would not disband their forces at the bidding of any king upon earth. The fiery Edward resolved instantly to march against them with an army; but Charles, not desirous to afford a pretext for the re-entrance of English troops into France, returned for answer, that he disapproved of the mode of proceeding proposed by his brother of England, and meant to rid himself of the Great Companies by another expedient. The King of England indignantly replied, "that in that case he must trust to his own strength, for he could expect no assistance from him."

King Charles, justly called the Wise, had, in fact, devised an expedient for ridding France of the wasting plague occasioned by these Companies, without the hazardous experiment either of engaging in war with them, or of seeking relief from an army of English, commanded by the Black Prince, or his father.

His purpose was to hold out to these adventurers a more distant field of war, which should afford them a prospect of the wealth which they coveted, while their departure would relieve France of their burdensome

presence. A large body was, accordingly, prevailed upon to prosecute their trade of arms in the Italian wars, where their commander, Hawkwood, an Englishman, originally of low rank, rose to wealth and eminence.

But the King of France pursued the same policy on a larger scale. Bertrard du Guesclin, renowned for his valour, and personally acquainted with the leading chiefs of the Companies, was instructed to deal with them, for the purpose of engaging them in a distant expedition. He was at this time a prisoner to John Chandos, having been taken, as we mentioned, at the battle of Aurai.

But the King of France, the Pope, and other princes, who saw the necessity of Guesclin's agency in this plan mediated betwixt him and Chandos, made personal contributions to pay the heavy ransom at which his freedom was rated, and thus restored him to liberty. The influence of this renowned warrior engaged thirty-five of the principal chiefs of the Companies, in what was at first represented to be an expedition against the Moors in Spain, and in so far a species of crusade. He induced them to join in such an enterprise the more readily that he himself proposed to accompany them, and accepted the chief command. The king of France readily gave his consent and approbation to this apparently Holy War, and presented those concerned in it with two hundred thousand francs to assist them in their march, caring but little, it well may be supposed, whither their road might lead them, provided it carried them out of the realm of France. The Companies assembled according to their agreement at Chalons upon the river Marne, and from thence took a route towards Avignon, then the habitation of the Pope. His holiness, much alarmed at the approach of an army so composed, sent a cardinal to meet them, to demand what troops they were, and with what purpose they came. Du Guesclin answered with gravity, that they were sinful men who had taken the cross against the infidels, and were marching against the Moors, and that they approached the footstool of the Pope to request absolution for their sins.

and a sum of two hundred thousand florins, by way of alms to enable them to proceed upon their pious undertaking. The absolution was promised by the cardinal without any delay or scruple ; but there went more words to payment of the money. The Pope would fain have satisfied these sturdy beggars with one hundred thousand florins, raised by a tax upon the inhabitants of Avignon ; but this did not suit Du Guesclin's policy. " We came not," said he, " to pillage the poor, but to receive alms from the rich ; the full subsidy must be paid by the Pope and his college of cardinals, who have plenty of money, and the taxes must be remitted to the poor inhabitants of Avignon." The Pope was under the necessity of complying with this unceremonious request, liberally adding to the subsidy the pardon about which these robbers affected to be solicitous.

Bertrand du Guesclin, and such captains of the Companions as he trusted with his secret purpose, had an expedition in view very different from that of an attack upon the infidels. There reigned at this time in Castile, one of the principal Christian kingdoms of Spain, Don Pedro, called, for his inhumanity and tyranny, the Cruel. He had murdered his beautiful and youthful bride, a near relation of the King of France, and, besides innumerable other cruelties, had threatened the life of two or three brethren by the father's side, and particularly one of them, Henry, Count of Transtamara, who stood high in the esteem of the world, and was supposed to head the numerous party of Castilians whom Pedro's cruelties had rendered malecontent. The Castilian monarch had also in several ways offended the church, whereby he had incurred a sentence of excommunication, and it appeared to the Pope, it seems, highly fitting and convenient that this motley army, formed out of the refuse of all nations, should be the executors of his holy purpose.

Without embarrassing ourselves with the minute particulars of the expedition, it is sufficient to say that Bertrand du Guesclin and his army easily dispossessed Pedro

of the crown which his vices had rendered very insecure, and compelled him to fly to Corunna.

Reduced to this extremity, Pedro took the resolution of going from Corunna to Gascony in person, and soliciting as a suppliant the formidable alliance of the Black Prince of Wales, whose residence was fixed at Bourdeaux, from which capital he governed, as his father's lieutenant, all those beautiful provinces which had been ceded to England at the peace of Bretigny.

Pedro's story was that of a lawful monarch dethroned and driven from his dominions by his bastard brother. He therefore presented himself as an unfortunate prince, entitled to the support of all those of his own rank, and his desolate condition naturally moved the heart of the noble Edward, who deemed it his duty as a true knight to extend his powerful protection to a distressed monarch craving succour at his hands.

There was, however, to be considered the deficiency of numbers, and the necessity of being at great expense, if the Black Prince should embrace the cause of the fugitive. All this was pointed out to him by his faithful counsellors, who urged him to consider the crimes of Don Pedro, and also the great charges which must necessarily be encountered, if he would needs succour him. They implored the Prince of Wales that he would at least wait until he saw what cost his father was willing to bestow upon such an expedition; and they failed not to show him, what he afterwards felt to be true by bitter experience, that should he, by assisting Don Pedro, lay himself under the necessity of taxing the inhabitants of Gascony, he must lay his account with losing their regard and allegiance. These arguments weighed nothing with the Black Prince, impressed as he was with the justice of Don Pedro's cause, and lending an ear as he did to the treacherous promises of that tyrant, who readily engaged to find treasure, provisions, and whatever was demanded. Edward assembled, therefore, a large body of feudal forces, and took the dangerous resolution of in-

creasing it by bands of Companions, whom he received into his army. As large pay was necessarily promised to these men, many of whom were Companies which, having aided Du Guesclin in the conquest of Castile, and having assisted to dethrone King Pedro, were now equally ready to become active in his restoration, they were soon assembled in great numbers. Prince Edward set forth with a very considerable army, with which he crossed the Pyrenean mountains, and advanced on the river Ebro, to a town called Najara, or Navarette. Here Henry, chosen King of Castile, met Edward at the head of an army still larger than that of the prince, consisting partly of Spaniards, partly of those Free Companions whom Du Guesclin had brought into Spain, and who still continued under his command, to the number of four thousand men-at-arms. The battle was exceedingly furious, and fought with great bravery on each side. But the conduct and valour of the Black Prince were decidedly conspicuous, and after a victory as complete as any which he had yet won, Edward found no difficulty in restoring his ally Pedro to a throne, of which his crimes rendered him unworthy. It was the natural and just doom of Providence, that the prince should be the first sufferer by the ingratitude of the wolfish tyrant whom he had assisted, without sufficient reference to the justice of his cause.

The payment of necessary sums of money, the furnishing of wholesome provisions, in sufficient quantities, all which had been liberally promised before the expedition, were now, since the victory of Navarette, entirely neglected by the ungrateful tyrant; and the Black Prince was at once disturbed by the murmurs of his unpaid soldiers, and distressed by the maladies which began to sweep them off in numbers. The heat of the country, to which the English constitution was not accustomed, and the use of strange and unwholesome food, not only made his men sicken and die, but sowed the seeds of an incurable disease in the frame of the gallant Prince himself. He therefore returned to Bourdeaux with disap-

pointed hopes, a diminished army, an exhausted exchequer, and a broken constitution ; and it is observed by historians, that the support of the tyrant Pedro must have been displeasing in the sight of Providence, since it was followed by so marked a change of fortune in so eminent a person as that of the Prince of Wales.

Some advantages, however, Prince Edward derived from the expedition across the Pyrenees, and he accounted it not the least of them, that he had in his possession as prisoner the renowned Bertrand Du Guesclin, of whose courage and address it was thought the Black Prince condescended to be somewhat jealous. It is certain, that the presence of this renowned knight was accounted of such importance, that when it was desired first to engage him in the Spanish wars, the King of France, the Pope, and Henry of Transtamara, were, as we have already stated, glad to subscribe for his ransom a sum amounting to one hundred thousand francs, for at such a rate was he valued. On his second capture, when he had surrendered at Navarrette to Sir John Chandos, the knight by whom he was formerly taken, it is said the Black Prince formed a determination that so formidable a leader should not again be admitted to ransom. But the wily Frenchman attained his purpose in the following manner :—Being in presence of the prince at Bourdeaux, and answering some incidental questions concerning his captivity, Du Guesclin observed, it could not be displeasing to him, since it was attended with so much glory. Edward naturally asked, in what that glory consisted ? Du Guesclin replied, that the world affirmed that the Black Prince was afraid to deliver him from prison, on account of his reputation and chivalry ; “ too honourable a circumstance,” he said, “ for a poor knight like myself.”

The prince was naturally piqued at a speech which ascribed to him a sentiment of ignoble rivalry, and was perhaps the more displeased that he was sensible of the truth of his remark. “ It is not for fear of your chivalry, sir knight, that I keep you captive,” said he, in reply ; ‘ and, to show you it is not, you shall have your liberty,

if you can pay for your ransom one hundred thousand francs."

"Willingly, my lord," replied Sir Bertrand; "and I thank your highness for the honour of rating me so high." By recurrence to the French king, the Duke of Anjou, Henry of Transtamara, and other friends, a warrior so renowned as Du Guesclin speedily obtained his liberty, and was again restored to the wars.

I have mentioned that the Prince of Wales had imprudently embarrassed his finances by this expensive campaign in Spain; and he was now equally unfortunate in the mode which he chose of retrieving them. This was by a tax upon chimneys, called by the French, *fouage*, which, amounting to a franc upon each chimney, would, it was supposed, in five years, discharge the prince's debts, as it afforded an income of above a million of francs yearly. But the tax was new to the Gascons, who displayed a general disinclination to submit to the imposition. "When we belonged to France," they said, "we were never grieved with such assessments; nor will we now submit to them. When we vowed fidelity to Prince Edward, he swore on his part to protect our privileges; and we will not abide by our oath, unless he keeps what he has sworn to us." The greatest of the Gascon barons, who had been previously engaged against their will in the expedition to Castile, caught eagerly at this new subject of offence, and combined, so soon as the opportunity should be fitting, to free themselves from the dominion of England.

The mere pressure of an unpopular tax, though that upon the chimneys seems to have been felt as a severe grievance, will hardly of itself account for a defection which proved so general. But the lieutenancy of the Black Prince had been showy and extravagant; a fault which seldom fails to provoke, on the part of the public, dissatisfaction and displeasure. Besides, amid the high qualities which few princes could boast in more perfection, the Black Prince showed flashes of his father's haughty and severe temper, which were at times unplea-

sant to the proud barons of Gascony, although they were obliged to endure them at the moment. They were galled especially by the bitter reflection that they were governed in some measure by the right of conquest, and that, though Frenchmen by birth, and principal contributors to the very victory of Poitiers, which sealed the fate of their country, they were still a part of the great French nation, while subjected to an English governor, who was undoubtedly somewhat partial to his countrymen. The influence of patriotism was felt more and more in Gascony as new grievances arose, and many pretexts for discontent were found which would never have suggested themselves, had it not been for the influence of national feeling and national rivalry. A crisis therefore approached which threatened the dominion of England in France, and seemed likely to destroy all the influence which Edward III. and his son had acquired in the latter country by such an expenditure of blood and treasure.

CHAPTER IX.

Don Pedro of Castile taken prisoner, and assassinated by his brother Henry—Charles of France fosters the disaffections in Gascony, and, at last, claiming the rights of Lord Paramount, summons the Black Prince, to Paris, to answer the Complaints of certain discontented Gascons—Mutual Preparations for War—The Earl of Pembroke wastes Poitou—he is enclosed by the French in the village of Puyrenon, and rescued by John of Chandos—Ineffectual Attempt of Chandos to recover Saint Salvin, which had been betrayed by a Monk to the French—Skirmish at the Bridge of Lussac, in which Chandos is slain—Edward III. sends an Army under his Son, John of Gaunt, to Calais—The Duke of Burgundy, son of the King of France, marches to oppose him with a much larger force, but, not being able to draw the English from a strong position, returns to Paris—Predatory Expedition of Sir Robert Knolles—Adventures of a Knight in Knolles's army, who, in performance of a Vow, strikes his spear against the Gate of Paris, but, in his return through the Suburbs, is killed by a Butcher.

Two persons of great power and importance watched with anxiety the progress of discontent in Gascony, and the various embarrassments, which, like clouds arising upon the disk of a setting sun, overshadowed the latter days of the Black Prince.

One of these, though himself no sovereign prince, possessed in the time in which he lived, enough of war-like fame and personal importance to place him upon a level with great potentates. This was Bertrand du Guesclin, so often before mentioned, who, having been a knight of no great power in Gascony, had raised himself by his military fame to the rank of a great general, the ally of

kings, and disposer of crowns. This warrior, having seen the change of government which he accomplished in Castile, altogether reversed by the victory at Navarrette, had, after obtaining his freedom, renewed his intercourse with Henry of Transtamara, and combined measures to seize the first opportunity of accomplishing a counter revolution. The war between the two brothers, Pedro and Henry, for the crown of Castile, was again renewed, so soon as the decayed state of Edward's health, and the embarrassment of his finances became public, and was speedily brought to a decision by the advice and assistance of Du Guesclin.

Henry took arms with a very considerable force, and joining battle with Don Pedro, who defended himself with the most desperate valour, defeated that tyrant, and compelled him to fly into the castle of Montiel, where he was instantly blockaded. The castle, though strong, was not victualled for defence; so that Don Pedro and his company, which did not exceed twelve men, were compelled to attempt a passage, by night, through the army of the besiegers. They were unsuccessful, and were made prisoners; and so bitter was the hatred between the brethren, that Henry of Transtamara hastened in person to the lodging of the French knight who had taken Pedro prisoner, and as he entered, called out furiously, "Where is that Jewish bastard, who dares call himself King of Castile?"—"Here I am," answered Pedro, who had no sense of fear, any more than humanity. "'Tis thou thyself art a bastard, and I the lawful son of Don Alphonso." The two brothers then engaged in mortal struggle; and Pedro, having forced Henry backward over a bench, unsheathed his poniard, and would have slain him on the spot, had not one of Henry's squires seized Pedro by the leg, and turned him undermost, giving him the disadvantage in the struggle. Henry then availed himself of the opportunity, and despatched Pedro with his dagger; a woful instance how ambition and rivalry can subdue the warmest feelings of kindred and relationship. Thus was one great work of the Prince of Wales totally reversed

and undone ; and, unhappily for him, the dethronement and death of Don Pedro by no means freed him from the evils which he had brought upon himself, by espousing the cause of that tyrant.

We have said that another person besides Bertrand du Guesclin watched the progress of the discontents which agitated the English provinces in France, with the purpose of profiting by them as opportunity should present itself. This was Charles VI. of France, called the Wise, and whose wisdom turned itself so much to the accumulation of riches, that he was also entitled the Wealthy. He had nursed his revenue, and exerted his wisdom with the lawful and meritorious purpose of rendering himself fit to oppose the English power in France under which his predecessors and himself had suffered so severely. The mode, however, in which he finally found it advisable to avow this intention, was a singular contradiction of his father's noble maxim, that if good faith were banished from the earth, it should at least be found in the breast of kings. If it was possible for a prince to be bound down by the direct words of a treaty, King Charles was obliged by that of Bretigny to abstain from disputing the unlimited title of England to the province of Gascony, without any badge of feudal dependence. Yet, though bound so strictly by this treaty, the King of France determined to encourage the discontented Gascon lords by assuming once more the title of Lord Paramount of that country, and by receiving an appeal to his parliament of Paris from those who claimed justice at his hands against the proceedings of the Black Prince. In vindication of his assuming a power disowned by the peace of Bretigny, the French pretended that Edward had not so absolutely renounced the title of King of France, as he was bound by the same treaty to do. The fact, however was, that the opportunity was tempting, and Charles made use of it.

When the French king saw the moment favourable for declaring himself, he sent a clerk and a knight, both men of gravity and eminence, to intimate to the Prince of

Wales the course which he intended to pursue. These messengers found the prince at his court in Bourdeaux, and, kneeling before him, craved permission to deliver their message in presence of his council. "Speak on, sirs," said the prince, little suspecting the nature of their message. The clerk then read a summons in the name of Charles, and directed to his nephew the Prince of Wales, setting forth, that various prelates, barons, knights, &c. of Gascony, had complained to the King of France of grievances sustained at the hands of the said Prince of Wales, through evil counsel, and therefore commanding him to appear in person in the city of Paris, and present himself before the King of France and his peers, to make answer to the petitions which complained of injury at his hands.

The Prince of Wales heard with no little astonishment a summons founded on the right of homage, which was expressly renounced by France at the treaty of Bretigny. His eyes sparkled with indignation, as, looking fiercely upon the French messengers, he thus replied, "Is it even so? Does our fair uncle desire to see us at Paris? Gladly will we go thither; but I assure you, sirs, it shall be with basnet on our head, and sixty thousand men in our company." Perceiving his resentment, the messengers dropt on their knees, and reminded him, that for their part, they only did the message of him who sent them. The prince, however, left them in indignation; and they were counselled by the English lords then present to depart as fast as they could, lest their safety should be endangered. In fact, when the news of the departure of the envoys reached the prince, he sent after and arrested them, as being, he said, the messengers of his own discontented subjects of Gascony, rather than of the King of France. They suffered, however, nothing eventually; but the prince retained his purpose of making instant war against France; while the French king, on the other hand, strengthened himself, as was usual at that period, by hiring a certain number of the Free Com-

panions, and, secure of the assistance of the numerous malecontents in the Gascon provinces, laid aside all thoughts of peace, and prepared for a war against England, under auspices more fortunate than those under which France had lately fought.

Charles in this approaching contest had the infinite advantage of the general assent of his people, who, fired with the reviving hope of national glory and independence, pledged themselves to support, with their lives and fortunes, the quarrel with England, in which he was now about to engage. The peace, which had now lasted a considerable time, had also greatly diminished the forces at the command of Edward III. and his son the Black Prince. The Free Companies, which might be considered as something corresponding to a standing army of the period, had been, owing to the want of money, dismissed from the pay of England, and in a great measure disbanded, or sent to find employment elsewhere. The feudal troops and archery of England herself, whom it would have been difficult or impossible to detain in Gascony or France for any length of time, after the war was at an end, had returned to their native country, and it would require new efforts and new expenditure of treasure to recall them to the field when their services were most necessary.

On the other hand, the whole kingdom of France was replenished with a rising generation, who had neither experienced the terrors of the former English victories, nor felt any thing save the desire to be avenged of their invaders. Charles himself might, indeed, remember the disasters of Cressy and Poitiers ; but he had at the same time the satisfaction to know that Edward III. was now in an advanced old age, embarrassed, too, by the discontent of his subjects, who were unwilling to submit to farther assessments for the support of foreign war, and by the increasing indisposition of the Black Prince, whose body could no longer execute the dictates of his dauntless mind, and who had, moreover, to lament the loss of so many brave men, cut off in Spain, less by war than

by wasting disease. On the whole, therefore, the King of France was prepared, with good hopes, once more to revive the bloody war which had so long wasted his kingdom. Nor did the commencement of the struggle deceive his expectations.

Yet the spirit of Prince Edward flinched not under the infirmity of his body. He purposed, as we have already hinted, to take the field in person, and advance to Paris, at the head of a numerous army. His father had again influence enough with his parliament, to obtain large subsidies, and levy a considerable army, which he despatched to the assistance of the Prince of Wales, under the command of the Earl of Cambridge, his brother, and the gallant John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, his brother-in-law. The Black Prince received also a powerful reinforcement from the Grand Companies, who, as their trade was war, were naturally determined in their choice of a side, by their reliance on the military qualities of the commander-in-chief, for skill, valour, generosity and success, and certainly there was no man alive who could in these respects be termed the equal of the Prince of Wales. Sir Hugh Calverley, whose deeds at the battle of Aurai have been already noticed, was devotedly attached to his native prince; and, by his interest among the Free Companions, he collected in Spain and elsewhere, six thousand lances of this description, whom the prince, perhaps hastily, sent instantly forward, to make war on the territories of such of the great Gascon barons as had set an example in revolting against the *fouage*, or tax upon chimneys, and, as Prince Edward supposed, had busied themselves in exciting King Charles to summon him before the parliament of Paris.

But although the prince was thus far armed against the impending evil, the schemes of Charles, for undermining the English power in France, were so skilfully laid, that they took effect with considerable success. The province of Ponthieu was seized upon without much opposition, an acquisition rendered easy by the intrigues

carried on by the friends of France in that district. The Dukes of Anjou and Berri, brothers of the king, each at the head of a considerable army, the one levied in Auvergne, the other in Toulouse, were ready to invade the provinces of Gascony and Poitou; and for some time it was difficult to say which party obtained the ascendancy, so many were the feats of valour, skirmishes, and captures of castles, and so various was the success attending each of them.

In another species of warfare the King of France had perhaps a more decided advantage. This was in the original character of the dispute, the justice of which was warmly debated by the gownsmen and churchmen on both sides. In this King Edward revived his old claim to the kingdom of France, founded upon his denying the efficacy of the Salic law; an antiquated plea, renounced by himself at the peace of Bretigny, and which he would certainly have done better to have abandoned for ever, and limited his claim to the rights of sovereignty in Poitou and Guienne, which had been acknowledged in all formality by the King of France himself, and by the estates of that kingdom. In the former case, Edward III. claimed the succession in right of his mother, which had never been acknowledged by the law of France. On the contrary, in preferring a claim of sovereignty to Gascony, and its dependencies only, King Edward would only have founded upon the terms of an existing treaty, solicited by Charles himself, while regent, and by the estates of his kingdom. Edward III., however, chose to enlarge, as much as possible, the title on which he founded, being conscious that men would regard it less with reference to its justice and validity, than to their own passions and partialities. Be that as it may, the clergy of France were generally decidedly favourable to the cause of their native sovereign; and there can be no doubt that the manner in which they recommended and enforced upon the public the right of Charles, in the different provinces possessed by the English, had a great effect in producing the general disposition to revolt from

the English to the French monarch, which was everywhere manifested. It was with sharper weapons, however, than words, that the cause of either king was to be finally determined, and accordingly, blood flowed freely on both sides, in every county of France where the English had any footing.

What appeared in particular to intimate the doom of Heaven against the cause of England, was the death of some of those remarkable persons by whose assistance the Black Prince had often gained his victories, but who now were, by various, and some of them insignificant actions, compared to the reputations of those to whom they happened, altogether removed from the scene, when their services would have been most advantageous to their great commander.

One of the most remarkable persons, and equally distinguished by valour and talents, was Lord James Audley, Seneschal of Poitou, who fell sick and died, while the war was at the hottest. This was the son of that Lord James Audley, whose conduct at the battle of Poitiers was so remarkable. His father was now too old for the wars, and had retired into England, where he died in 1386. The death of Lord James Audley, the younger, greatly grieved the Prince of Wales, who replaced him, as Seneschal in Poitou, by the celebrated John Chandos.

As this brave leader was an active partisan in that kind of warfare which distinguished the period, he proposed to the young Earl of Pembroke to join with him in an expedition, at the head of a very considerable force, against Louis of Sancerre, Mareschal of France. But the Earl of Pembroke declined to join Chandos in the enterprise proposed to him, listening to the paltry insinuations of some flatterers, who persuaded him he would have little share of personal glory if he went out under the command of Chandos, who would engross the whole renown of any joint expedition in which they might be engaged. Sir John Chandos, piqued at Pembroke's re-

fusal to join him, dismissed great part of his troops, and retired with the rest to the city of Poitiers.

No sooner had Chandos thus retired into quarters, than the Earl of Pembroke, with a force of at least two hundred spears, took the field, with the purpose of winning glory upon his own account, and wasting the lands of those nobles who were hostile to England. As soon as the French lords who held these garrisons, heard that this nobleman had declined the company of Lord Chandos, and was come abroad on his own adventure, they resolved to gather their forces, and attack him suddenly, as a young man whose imprudence had already shown him liable to be surprised in such expeditions. They combined, therefore, an overpowering force, and attacked the Earl of Pembroke and his men at unawares, near a village called Puyrenon, slaying a number of men-at-arms, and forcing the rest to take refuge in a churchyard, which surrounded a building formerly belonging to the Knights Templars. The French knights, commanded by the Mareschal de Sancerre, said among themselves, jestingly, "They have got into a churchyard, it is but fair to give them time to choose out and dig their graves; and after we have taken dinner, we will visit them, and see how they suit them." But the Mareschal de Sancerre commanded an instant attack. The assault was made, but with little success on the part of the French, who were repulsed by the English earl and his party. Still, as the French drew off, they promised themselves better fortune the next day, for the walls of the Temple-house were but thin, and might be easily broken through; and, at all events, the party within were ill appointed both in food and ammunition.

The Earl of Pembroke, who had now reason bitterly to lament his foolish jealousy of Lord Chandos, despatched an esquire, with orders to issue by a postern-gate, and tell the Seneschal of Poitou the danger in which he was placed, adding, that he might yet receive succour from him if he marched speedily, since he hoped to defend

nis post until noon next day. The esquire went on his errand accordingly.

Early next morning the French attacked the English position anew, and persevered from dawn till nine before noon, when the assailants began to collect among the neighbouring peasants pickaxes and mattocks for the purpose of undermining the walls. This mode of attack being that which the English most dreaded, the Earl of Pembroke called a second esquire, desiring him to take the earl's best horse, and convey to his good friend, Lord Chandos, the news of the jeopardy in which they stood, conjuring him by a token to come to his deliverance. The token was a valuable ring, which Chandos had formerly given to the young earl. The messenger escaped by a postern, and went off at full gallop. It chanced that the esquire first despatched had missed his way, so that he did not reach Poitiers till nine o'clock. When he did arrive, he delivered the Earl of Pembroke's message to Chandos, requiring his assistance. The good knight received it but coldly, as he still resented the young earl's having declined to join him, though repeatedly invited. He answered indifferently, "there was but little time to hear mass;" a religious ceremony which Catholics then laid much stress upon. When the mass was over, dinner was announced as ready, and the first course was hardly served, when the second esquire arrived, and delivered the Earl of Pembroke's later and more pressing message, requesting assistance. Lord Chandos was still sullen; "to deliver him is impossible," he said, "if he is in such a strait as you speak of. Let us sit down to dinner—the meat will be cold else."

But this dogged and ungracious humour was not natural to the noble Chandos. The first thought of his mind having been given to resentment, the next turned upon more exalted sentiments. As the second course was served, he raised his head, which he had held depressed upon his bosom, and said to the knights and squires around him, "Hear me, sirs; the Earl of Pembroke is a noble person, and of high lineage, son-in-law to our

natural lord, the King of England. Foul shame were it to see him lost, if I may help it; wherefore I will go to his assistance, with the grace of God. Make ready, sirs, for Puyrenon!" All rushed to arms; and Lord Chandos, at the head of two hundred spears, made towards the village with such despatch, that they had good hope of surprising the French who besieged it. But the Mareschal of Sancerre heard of the approach of Chandos, by spies, and took the resolution of drawing off his troops, and securing such prisoners and booty as they had made at the first onset, which last comprehended all the treasures and baggage of the Earl of Pembroke. The earl and his knights, on their part, also retired from the Temple-house with such horses as they had left, some mounted two on one horse, and others walking on foot. When they met with John of Chandos, the earl and he embraced, with tears; and Chandos greatly reflected upon himself that he had not moved on the first summons, when he might have reached Puyrenon time enough to surprise Sancerre and his forces, who had now retired to a place of safety.

The circumstance, besides illustrating the manners of the times, shows also the sort of disputes and rivalry which began to take place between the younger English nobility and those who stood high among the more ancient chivalry, and which doubtless existed on many other, although less memorable occasions than the affair of Puyrenon, where such considerable injury was sustained, by the rashness and presumption of Pembroke, while the opportunity of retaliation was lost, through the sullen resentment of Chandos.

But England was not only to view the services of this distinguished warrior interrupted and traversed, but also to see them for ever ended, and that in a trivial encounter.

The assault upon the Earl of Pembroke in Puyrenon, took place in 1370, (A. D. ;) and about the end of that year, a certain monk, belonging to a convent in Saint Salvii, a town in Poitou, contrived, out of spite to his

superior the abbot, to betray him and the convent, as well as the town itself, into the hands of Sir Louis Saint Julien, and an adventurer, called Carlonet the Breton, leaders of the French party, who garrisoned it for that crown. The Lord John Chandos made several attempts to recover this place ; for, although of no great consequence, he accounted it a diminution of his reputation to have it lost in that manner. But the vigilance of Sir Louis of Saint Julien frustrated all his attempts.

Persevering in his purpose, Sir John, in his character of Seneschal of Poitou, sent to several knights of that country to meet him in the city of Poitiers, on the evening of the 31st of December, with the purpose of surprising Saint Salvin. The Poitevin knights, who loved and respected Chandos, obeyed his summons, met him accordingly, and their united numbers made up three hundred spears. With this retinue, he marched to the little town of Saint Salvin and descended into the fosse, which he prepared to pass upon the ice, as the frost was then severe. The warder of the castle at this moment blew his horn ; and the sound, so unusual at this late moment, made the English knights conclude that they were discovered. They drew back, therefore, out of the moat in which they lay in ambush, without persisting in an attempt, which, if discovered, as they supposed, must of course have been rendered impracticable. The watch horn, however, had no reference to the attack on Saint Salvin, but was designed by the person who blew it to intimate to the fortress the arrival of Carlonet the Breton at the opposite gate, who came to require Sir Louis of Saint Julien to go abroad with him that night, in search of adventures, as was the practice of the time. If, therefore, Chandos could have concealed himself for any time, however short, these two knights must have sallied from Saint Salvin, which, in their absence, would have been an easy prey. But the evil fate of this renowned warrior was too strong for his better genius. He retreated to a village about three leagues from Saint Salvin, where the Poitevin lords, understanding the service of the time

to be ended, were dismissed to their homes. Meantime, Sir John Chandos declared his intention to stay, during the next day, being 31st December, in the town where he now was. Sir Thomas Percy, who was in his company, then asked his permission, since he did not stir abroad himself, to go forth to meet adventures on his own account. Chandos granted his request, and was thus left with a retinue amounting only to forty or fifty spears.

Historians notice, with singular minuteness, the various steps by which this great warrior approached the fatal close of his life.

Sir Thomas Percy had not long left the town when intelligence reached Chandos that Sir Louis and Carlonet were certainly abroad in the country. Now, although they were almost the personal enemies of Chandos, yet at first he intimated no desire to go in quest of them. He remained for some time in the village, talking with his men, while they warmed themselves at the fire, until, as if upon a sudden reflection, he changed his purpose, and declared his intention to ride abroad, in order to return to Poitiers. He had not advanced far along the side of the river when he heard the neighing of horses; these were the steeds of the French squadron, whose situation, had it been understood by the opposite party, was, in fact, a very dangerous one. Sir Louis Saint Julien, and Carlonet, had, by mere accident, fallen into the rear of Sir Thomas Percy's party, and they were themselves followed, though without knowing it, by that of Lord John Chandos. In this awkward situation, with one enemy in front, and another in the rear, the French knights took the resolution to possess themselves of the Bridge of Lussac, where they dismounted, gave their horses to their pages, and stood to their defence, afraid that they might be attacked in front and rear at once. But they were thus far fortunate that Sir Thomas Percy was not aware of the presence of the party of Chandos, and did not, therefore, know the difficulty in which the French were placed.

Chandos, who was the first of the English that arrived, saluted his enemies in this manner :—" Ha ! Sir Louis Saint Julien, and Carlonet, you make no fair war riding about by night, and taking towns and captives. I have long desired to see you. I am John Chandos—look upon me well ; we shall presently see whether you or I are the best men !" As he spoke these words, he opened the vizor of his helmet, which he forgot again to close, and, throwing himself from horseback, advanced, with his axe in his hand, to charge the Frenchmen, who were also dismounted. But in the very act of joining with his enemy, Chandos slipped his foot, and fell down upon the bridge, which was steep in its ascent, and covered with hoar frost. A French esquire took the advantage, as he was rising, and thrust a rapier through his eye into his forehead. This was the more easy, because Chandos, who was blind of an eye on that side, could not see the thrust in time to parry it, and also because his vizor was open. The blow penetrated to the brain, and the valiant leader never spoke another word. The fight continued fierce around his body ; for the French were determined to avail themselves of their superiority of numbers, and of the great advantage they had obtained, while the English were desirous to revenge the death of Chandos. The squire who had dealt the fatal thrust was mortally wounded in his turn ; but, nevertheless, the numbers of the French must have gained the victory, had it not been that their pages and squires, terrified at seeing the banner, and beholding the advance of the formidable Chandos, had fled from their masters at the very first onset, carrying the horses off with them. Sir Thomas Percy could without difficulty have turned the scale, had he not passed too far forward to be recalled by the noise of the conflict with Chandos. But to complete the mistakes and changeful accidents of this extraordinary night, another large body of the English party appeared, advancing at a round trot, with lances displayed and streamers waving in the wind. The Frenchmen, alarmed at this unexpected apparition, and unable to escape for want of

horses, thought it better to surrender themselves prisoners to the companions of Chandos, whom they had well-nigh discomfited, than to abide the mercy of these new comers. They surrendered, accordingly ; and thus the skirmish which, from beginning to end, seemed a blind work of fortune, terminated in a manner totally unlike its commencement.

The death of Lord Chandos was deeply regretted, not only by the English and Gascons, but by the French themselves, who respected him as the person most likely to have brought about a good understanding between the Kings of France and England, and a steady peace between the kingdoms. After his death, a considerable decay of wisdom, spirit, and conduct, might be observed on the side of the English, and the removal of so great a general from the field of battle could in no respect be made up or compensated.

It is true, that, before the event which we have narrated here, in order to conclude the subject of Lord Chandos, Edward III. had endeavoured to strengthen himself in France, by despatching to Calais, his son commonly called John of Gaunt, with five hundred men-at-arms, and a gallant force of archers, with whom the Count of Namur united himself as an auxiliary of England.

The King of France, on the other hand, hearing that an army, commanded by a son of England, had entered Calais, and made frequent incursions into the country around, despatched, to oppose him, the Duke of Burgundy, who was the ablest of his brothers, with a force, which, compared with that of the invaders, was more than seven to one. He imposed, however, upon this prince, strict commands, that he should on no account venture upon an engagement, for the recollections of former battles lost in spite of the greatest inequality of numbers, rendered such a risk extremely unadvisable. Thus restrained by the royal command, the Duke of Burgundy took post in the vicinity of Calais, between *Saint Omers* and *Tournehan*, while the Duke of Lan-

easter, on the opposite side, occupied a very strong position, fortified with hedges, ditches, and enclosures, which rendered those who lay there unassailable; so that the armies faced each other, while little passed that was remarkable, except a few skirmishes.

In the estimation of those times, the character of the Duke of Burgundy suffered considerably in the eyes of the public, by shunning an encounter with an inferior army; yet it was precisely by the French attacking an inferior number of English, in a post of extraordinary strength, that Edward III. and the Black Prince had gained their immortal trophies. The Duke of Burgundy was, notwithstanding, so much hurt by his situation, that he applied to the king, his brother, requesting permission, either to give battle to the English, or to depart from a position in which his reputation suffered.

Charles preferred that alternative which should put the country in the least peril. He therefore commanded the Duke of Burgundy to raise his camp, and come to him at Paris. The French prince effected this manœuvre so cautiously, that the first intimation which the English had of their enemy's retreat, was the fires which consumed the tents and huts which they had lately occupied. (A. D. 1369.) The Duke of Lancaster, on the retreat of the great French army, determined to march into France, and advancing from Calais to the eastward, left severe marks of his displeasure upon the villages and cultivated country, subjecting to especial rigour those who had shown themselves unfriendly to England.

As the Duke returned to Calais, after a wasteful tour, little that was interesting took place, although the following turn of fortune may be worth mentioning:—Hugh de Chastillon, who was master of the cross-bows of France, commanded the French garrison of Abbeville. This gentleman took horse, with ten or twelve attendants, resolved, seeing the Duke of Lancaster was tending that way, to view with his own eyes, the preparations made to receive him. Now, while he was on this service Sir

Nicolas Louvaine, an Englishman, was reconnoitring in the same direction. He had been a seneschal of the King of England in that country, was well acquainted with all its fastnesses and bypaths, and had insinuated himself into a ruinous village hard by the gates of Abbeville, where no ambuscade could be suspected. This Sir Nicolas had been made prisoner the year before by the same Chastillon, and he felt as an injury the high sum of ten thousand crowns, which he had been obliged to pay as his ransom. It was to his infinite joy, therefore, that he saw, in the person of a cavalier who advanced carelessly, and ill prepared for battle, (for his page was riding his war-horse, and carrying his helmet,) his late captor, Sir Hugh of Chastillon. "Come on," said Louvaine to his party, being twenty men-at-arms, "yonder is our prey, whom I would rather possess, than all the world beside!" He rushed then suddenly on Chastillon, with his lance in rest, calling aloud, "Yield ye, or die!"—"To whom must I yield?" said the captain of the cross-bows, astonished to find himself overpowered, when he supposed himself most in security.—"To your old acquaintance Louvaine, who requires from you the ten thousand crowns which you exacted as his ransom." Accordingly, it became Chastillon's turn to rescue himself upon the terms which Louvaine prescribed.

Such accidents as these might impoverish or enrich the military men to whom they happened, but the general effect of the war on both countries was that of exhausting them both of men and money. Still the French, confiding in the wisdom and patriotism of Charles, submitted cheerfully to very heavy taxes, confident that they would be employed in defending the independence of the country. The assembly of estates patiently acquiesced in the imposition of the same taxes, which the nation had paid for the ransom of King John; and also in a tax of hearth-money, in effect nearly the same with the *fouage*, which, when imposed in Gascony, cost the Black Prince so much of his popularity;—so different is the good-will of the people in the payment of taxes, which they con-

ceive necessary for their defence, compared to that with which they regard impositions which are bestowed upon objects, either altogether idle and unnecessary, or directed to unpopular and unnational purposes.

A marauding party, far less numerous than that under the Duke of Lancaster, was commanded by Sir Robert Knolles, that distinguished officer, who, from a mean origin, had raised himself to great distinction by his interest among the Grand Companies. He was now commissioned with an army of thirty thousand men to lay waste the kingdom of France on behalf of Edward III.—a wasteful mode of warfare, inconsistent with the idea held out of permanent conquest.

Knolles took his departure from Calais at the head of his troops in the end of July, and moved forward by Terouenne and Artois, making easy marches, halting regularly every night, and burning and ravaging the country. (A. D. 1370.) Occasionally Sir Robert Knolles, who appears to have retained some old remnants of the adventurer, used to accept of sums of money, in consideration of which he spared particular districts, and forbore those violences in which he was accustomed to indulge. This was a course of conduct so misrepresented to Edward III. that in the end it had like to have cost Sir Robert dear. In the meantime, this predatory general's march was directed upon the city of Paris; not that he could hope to gain possession of it, but from the desire to spread confusion and terror in the neighbourhood, and perhaps to provoke a part of the inhabitants to issue out and take the chance of battle. He approached the city so near, that the fires which he raised in the neighbouring villages were plainly seen from the walls of Paris; and a knight of the English army had an opportunity, and, as it proved, a fatal one, of accomplishing one of those vows of chivalry which were fashionable at the period; of which the more desperate and extraordinary, always added the more to the renown of those by whom they were achieved. This adventurer had, it seems, made a vow that he would strike his spear upon the gate of Paris

For this purpose, he rushed forth from the ranks, and, followed by his squire, whom he soon outstript, rode up to the gate, where he found the barriers open. There were several French knights standing by the barrier, who marvelled what this single man was about to attempt; but when they saw him satisfied with striking his lance upon the gate, and reining round his courser to return, they laughed, and said, "Go thy way for a brave knight, that hast well accomplished thy vow!" The citizens of Paris and the suburbs had not the same sympathy with the adventurous knight as was entertained by those who were his brothers in chivalry. He learned the difference of these feelings upon his return; for a butcher, who had seen him pass through the suburb, waylaid him in his return, and, coming behind him with a cleaver, struck him from his horse. The squire, alarmed for his master's fate on seeing his horse return without a rider, advanced into the suburb far enough to behold the knight prostrate on the ground, and four or five strong mechanics beating upon him at once, like smiths upon a stithy. He fled, therefore, to carry to Knolles's camp the account of the knight's misadventure.

Sir Robert Knolles encamped that night within sight of Paris; and we shall presently give an account of the termination of his adventurous expedition, which was concluded by an engagement betwixt him and the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin.

In the meantime, the events of the war continued unfavourable to England. An astrologer of that time might have said, that as a star auspicious to England had set in the horizon, so another had arisen friendly to France, and in the highest degree hostile to her enemy. Something of the kind actually happened in the terrestrial world; 'or in this year the gallant Black Prince was lost to his trade of arms, and the formidable Bertrand du Guesclin resumed that command in the service of Charles, which occasioned his being surnamed the Restorer of the French Monarchy.

CHAPTER X.

Revolt of Limoges to the French—the Black Prince besieges and recaptures it—Death of the Black Prince—Bertrand du Guesclin made Constable of France—the Constable defeats the English at Pont Volant—Marriage of the Duke of Lancaster to a daughter of Don Pedro the Cruel, by which alliance Henry, the Reigning Prince of Castile, is rendered an enemy to England—Defeat of the English Fleet by the Spanish, off Rochelle—Rochelle delivered by the Mayor to the French—The Constable captures Poitiers—Thouars besieged, and surrenders to the French—Charles of France drives the Count de Montfort from Bretagne, and declares that Duchy forfeited to the French Crown—the Breton Lords rise in insurrection, and drive the French from their country—Death of the Constable du Guesclin, while besieging Chateau neuf du Randun—Charles of Navarre deprived of the Dominions he held in France—Horrible Death of Charles of Navarre—Death of Charles V., surnamed the Wise.

You have been already informed that Edward, the renowned Black Prince, had never enjoyed his usual health since the expedition into Spain. It was in vain that as difficulties multiplied around him, his high spirit struggled against the decay of strength and the increase of the debilitating disorder, which appears to have been dropsical. Yet it was not the will of fate that this celebrated champion should depart from the scene without one final ray of victory shining upon his banner. This parting favour was granted in a case in which his haughty spirit was deeply interested.

Among other advantages gained by the French in con

sequence of the general dissatisfaction of the Gascons against the English, the revolt of the strong city of Limoges was one of the most distinguished. This city had yielded itself up by the instigation of its bishop, whose recommendations induced the inhabitants to revolt, and admit a French garrison; the surrender was made to the Duke of Anjou, and Bertrand du Guesclin remained in the province of the Limosin, to protect this important acquisition by his presence.

The Prince of Wales, on the other hand, was dreadfully offended, not only with the bishop, who had formerly been his personal friend, but with the citizens of Limoges, who had so lightly changed their party. He could not now mount a horse; but, hastily assembling an army of about twelve hundred lances, and two thousand archers, he caused them to move forward upon Limoges, he himself being borne in an open litter at the head of his troops. The garrison treated with scorn his summons to surrender, for they confided in the strength of their fortifications, which had indeed been constructed by the prince himself. Immediately upon receiving a scornful refusal to give up the place, the Prince of Wales laid close siege to the town, which he pressed on by means of mines driven under the walls, for which service he was provided with the best artisans of the period. Bertrand du Guesclin kept the field, in the meantime, with two hundred spears, with which he made incursions on the territory which was yet English, and endeavoured by various means to divert the attention of the Prince of Wales from the siege of Limoges. It was not, however, in the power of Du Guesclin to baffle the last and almost dying efforts of this celebrated hero, who remained totally regardless of the diversions with which Du Guesclin endeavoured to amuse him. The prince pressed on the siege with unabated vigour attending entirely to the conduct of the mines, until the engineers had informed him that they were prepared to throw down a part of the wall sufficient to admit his entering in battalion. Accordingly, the use of gunpowder in such mines being as yet unknown, the

miners had orders to set fire to the props by which they supported the wall, during the time they had carried on their operations. Of course, a portion of the wall, about thirty feet in extent, fell into the ditch and filled it up, while the English division appointed for the storm rushed over the ruins. The gates, at the same time, were secured by another part of the English army. All escape was impossible, and the unfortunate inhabitants had it only in their power to prostrate themselves in the streets, and implore with piteous cries the compassion of the prince, who was determined to grant none. The slaughter was indiscriminate, and while the prince himself was borne into the town upon his litter, the guards who attended him slew men, women, and children, with their pole-axes and swords. Four thousand persons were put to the sword, without distinguishing the unarmed from the armed, men from women, or children from adults. The sight of four gallant Frenchmen defending themselves with much bravery, first waked Edward's sympathy. Each was matched with a noble and almost royal antagonist; for the four men-at-arms were engaged hand to hand with the Duke of Lancaster, and Earl of Cambridge, brothers to the Prince of Wales, with the Earl of Pembroke, his brother-in-law, and with another distinguished English warrior. The Black Prince stopped his litter to behold this sharp conflict, calculated to awaken his sense of generosity, which remained lively, though his humanity was extinguished. While the prince's litter stood still, that he might behold the pleasing spectacle of a desperate combat, the French knights took the opportunity to surrender and yield up their swords to him. They were dismissed with praises, and the heart of the conqueror was somewhat appeased towards the vanquished by the chivalry which these combatants had displayed. But the victor's anger revived when the Bishop of Limoges, first author of the revolt of the city, was brought before him. In the first heat of his wrath, he commanded him to be beheaded; and it was with difficulty that he was finally induced to spare his life.

The retaking of Limoges was the last military feat of this renowned warrior ; and we regret to trace in it so much of the cruelty of the period, and so little of its generosity. We have only farther to mention, that in the beginning of the next year, the Black Prince had the great misfortune of losing his eldest son, and, his own illness increasing, he was determined to try what his native air might avail for his recovery. He substituted his brother, the Duke of Lancaster, to be his representative in the principality of Aquitaine ; and he left for ever the country in which he himself had gained so much glory, and upon which he had inflicted such extensive calamities. This great prince died at Westminster, on the 8th day of June, 1376 ; and his father, exhausted by age, and various causes of mortification which overclouded his last years, did not long survive him. Edward III. died on the 21st of June, 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. In resuming our story, we shall have to mention circumstances which happened before the date of his death.

While fate was thus removing the two greatest enemies of France, the king of that country was exerting himself, by the best means, the promotion, namely, of merit and worth, to provide for the protection of his realm. An office, always most important, but at this time particularly so, had become vacant in 1370 ; this was the situation of Constable of France, the highest military dignity in that kingdom, of the most important consequence, from the power which it conferred, and especially when the king, which might be said of Charles V., was not warlike in his person, or in the habit of heading his armies. The vacancy was occasioned by the resignation of a good knight, named Moreau de Fionness, who was become, by age and infirmities, unfit to discharge the duties of the office, which he therefore resigned into the king's hands. It had been the custom to bestow this high office on persons of the most eminent rank ; but, by the universal suffrages of his kingdom, Charles now resolved to confer so important a charge, with reference less to the dignity

than the worth of the person to be employed. On this footing, all eyes were turned to Bertrand du Guesclin, as the most valiant knight, the most expert leader, the most fortunate and successful warrior, who fought under the banners of France. Nay, since the Black Prince was unable to bear armour, he was universally considered as the best general living.

Du Guesclin, summoned to the king's presence, rode from the district of the Limosin to Paris accordingly ; but when he heard that the king, with full assent of all his nobles and peers, had pitched upon him to be Constable of France, he modestly stated his incapacity for such an important office, and the difficulty which he, a poor knight, must expect in making himself obeyed by the great and powerful princes of France. The king's resolution was taken upon too good grounds to be evaded by this modest plea ; he insisted upon the charge being accepted by the warrior who had shown himself most capable of bearing it. Du Guesclin then asked to limit his acceptance with a condition, that in case complaints should be brought against him, the king should deign to refuse credence to any which the informer was not ready to vouch in presence of the accused ; a reasonable request, which was readily granted.

But although a distinguished warrior was thus invested with full military command in France, there were still circumstances affecting in a great degree the welfare of the kingdom, the consideration and decision of which the king reserved for himself. Greatly as that wise prince esteemed Du Guesclin, he saw danger in the Constable's suffering his high ideas of chivalry to lead him into the error of precipitating a general engagement, by which France had so often suffered, and which was at all times too deep a stake to be hastily adventured. He therefore resolved, while he resigned to the Constable the unlimited direction of the French army, that he would suffer him at no time to possess a force so strong as might encourage him to venture a battle on a large scale, trusting that when he fought upon a small one, his knowledge

of war could not be excelled, if, indeed, it was equalled, by that of any of the English leaders. This restriction the king reserved within his own breast. To have expressed it, might have implied distrust of his general, and still more of his soldiers. He therefore readily acceded to the new constable's proposal, to ride after Sir Robert Knolles; yet it is said, furnished him with no more men than should enable him to watch the enemy, but not to bring him to action. But the faithful Du Guesclin augmented his forces, by treasure of his own, and for that purpose sold a number of rich jewels and other articles of value.

The time, indeed, was very favourable for an attack upon the army of Knolles. This commander, as you have been already informed, had marched to the gates of Paris, without being able to strike a considerable blow, so that many of the men of rank who served with him, were disposed to be discontented with their commander's authority. It had been his purpose to lead his army into the duchy of Bretagne, as the safest place for winter quarters, considering that there would be then a necessity for dividing themselves into separate bodies, when an active enemy like Du Guesclin might, in the opinion of the experienced general, attack them with advantage. Lord Grandison, Lord Fitzwalter, and other English nobles, refused to retire into Bretagne, in obedience to Sir Robert Knolles. He was of too mean rank, they said, to command noblemen like themselves; they therefore drew off from his army, which was thus much weakened, and quartered themselves in the marches of Anjou and Touraine, not holding such communication as martial duties required, but straggling separate, each leader according to his own pleasure.

While disunion was thus gaining ground among the English, and want of discipline arising in proportion, Bertrand du Guesclin obtained news of all their proceedings from a traitorous knight, called Sir John Menstreworth, who privately corresponded with the French, and found an opportunity of discovering to them a very importan:

secret The new constable, with his forces, had already advanced on an enterprise against Sir Robert Knolles, then in quarters in Bretagne. The artful Knolles was rejoiced to hear of his approach, resolving within himself that he would assemble secretly and suddenly the troops who had lately left his standard, and thus collect a body of forces with which he could not doubt that he would be able to overpower Du Guesclin, and his party. Lord Grandison, Lord Fitzwalter, and the other discontented nobles, received therefore private instructions to repair to the camp of Sir Robert Knolles, for the accomplishment of this purpose ; and as the orders intimated the approach of battle, none of them hesitated to obey the summons. On the other side, Sir Robert called to his assistance Sir Hugh Calverley, and other captains of the Companions. All this plan, and these summonses, were known to the treacherous Sir John Menstreworth, and by him communicated to the Constable of France, who resolved, by his active movements, to prevent the plan of the English general, and strike a blow at the forces out of which Knolles proposed to form his army, while they were yet separated from the main body. For this purpose, aware of the march of Grandison, Fitzwalter, and their party, the constable contrived to meet them at a place called Pont Volant, half way before they could join with Knolles, and attacking them with nearly double their numbers, reduced them soon to extremity. The English, however, alighting from horseback, defended themselves for some time manfully on foot, with swords, spears, and battle-axes. They could not, however, long endure so unequal a combat ; and as their pages, who held their horses, fled with them so soon as the day was lost, the principal part of the nobles engaged remained on the spot, either slain or prisoners. This blow, which gave the greatest spirit to the French, seemed proportionally discouraging to the English ; and, as it happened so recently after Du Guesclin had become constable, it gained him honour in the eyes of the king, and of the nation, as affording an earnest of his important services. The im-

mediate consequence of the defeat of the English at Pont Volant was, that Sir Robert Knolles, already prejudiced in King Edward's opinion for having taken rewards for sparing the country of France, fell into such suspicion, that he hesitated for some time to trust himself within the bounds of Britain. But the treason of Sir John Menstreworth becoming public, the explanations of the veteran Knolles were favourably received; and as the real traitor fell into the hands of the British, and was executed for his perfidy, Knolles became entirely restored to King Edward's favour.

The Constable of France did not long slumber after his success at Pont Volant, but taking the field again at Candlemas, seized many fortresses, and with prevailing, though by no means uniform good fortune, carried on the war in Guienne and the neighbouring counties.

The Duke of Lancaster now supported at Bourdeaux a princely state, not inferior to that of the Black Prince himself, whom he resembled in courage and pride, though he was unequal to him in good fortune, or rather in that military science, by which good fortune is in a great measure secured or improved. An alliance of his also, though the duke was naturally led into it by what seemed the voice of prudence, and was certainly that of ambition, contributed to force him into the false line of policy adopted by the Black Prince himself. Don Pedro the Cruel, who died by the hand of his brother King Henry, before the Castle of Montiel, as we have already stated, left behind him two daughters, the eldest of whom was undoubtedly heir to his kingdom of Castile. These orphan princesses were now residing in Gascony, pledges for a sum of money which had been borrowed by their father. John of Gaunt was now in the flower of his age, a widower, by the death of his wife the late Lady Blanche; and, flattered by the splendid title of King of Castile, to which he aspired, he gave his hand to the eldest of these unfortunate princesses, while the second was wedded at the same time to his brother the Duke of Cambridge. By this unhappy step, the Duke of Lancaster added to

the difficulties arising from the French war, so many and so numerous in themselves, the gloomy prospect of a quarrel with Henry the King of Castile, who became in consequence a very violent and dangerous enemy to England, which was not long in experiencing the effects of his enmity.

In 1371, the Duke of Lancaster, having returned to England with his royal bride, the Earl of Pembroke was appointed to sail as commander-in-chief of the English forces to the principality of Aquitaine. He had a fleet of forty ships, having on board a considerable body of troops, with supplies of money and ammunition essentially requisite to the support of the sinking cause of England in the south of France. Thus provided, he sailed for Rochelle ; but as he approached that place, he was encountered by a powerful fleet belonging to Henry of Transtamara, the actual King of Castile, who was called upon imperiously to espouse the cause of the French, the Duke of Lancaster having in right of his wife the princess Constance, laid claim to his kingdom. (A. D. 1372, June 23.) The two navies of England and Spain encountered fiercely with each other, and the combat endured until the evening of the second day, when the Spaniards obtained a complete victory. It is said this superiority was owing not only to the size of the Spanish vessels, which were larger than those of the English, but to the use of cannon on the part of the former—a weapon for the first time made use of in naval war. The greatest part of the English fleet was burnt, taken, or sunk ; and the Earl of Pembroke, often already mentioned, son-in-law to Edward III., remained, with many other knights of quality, prisoners of war to the Spaniards. Such were the first evil fruits flowing from the marriage of John of Gaunt with the daughter of Don Pedro the Cruel. The failure of this attempt to send supplies to Guienne, left that province, with all parts of the principality of Aquitaine, wellnigh at the absolute pleasure of the Constable du Guesclin, who alternately

by address and by arms, took and garrisoned many places of strength, some with very little resistance, others with none at all.

The case of Rochelle may be mentioned as an instance how much the feelings of the Gascon people were now turned against their late masters the English. Shortly after the naval battle which we have already mentioned, and which was fought off this harbour, the mayor of Rochelle, one John Chaudron, moved no doubt, by the issue of the battle and defeat of the English, contrived a mode of surrendering that important seaport to the King of France. The English, however, had still a garrison in the castle, of which Philip Mansel, an uneducated man of no peculiar sagacity, was the temporary governor. The mayor having secured a party of burgesses in his plot, undertook to circumvent the thick-headed commander of the citadel. He invited Mansel to a civic feast, where he exhibited a letter under the broad seal of England, (one of an old date,) shrewdly suspecting that the governor could not read a word of it. "You perceive from this letter," said the mayor, boldly exhibiting it to the ignorant governor, "that the king has commanded the garrison of the castle and that of the city, to be alternately reviewed by the commanders of each; wherefore I will make my musters to-morrow, if it pleases you to review them; and you, if it please you, shall bring your force out of the castle, that I may inspect them in my turn in the manner here appointed."

The incautious Mansel, affecting to believe and understand words which had no existence in the letter, was induced to bring his men out of the castle towards the field where the rendezvous was to be held. The mayor, seeing the stratagem so far successful, interposed a strong body of armed citizens between the garrison and the castle-gate, and compelled them to lay down their arms. It was probably by the patriotism of this mayor of Rochelle, that the city thus won from the English by the courage or ingenuity of the citizens, was not surrendered

to the French crown absolutely, but only under stipulation that the citizens of Rochelle should have leave to demolish the castle, and be secured against the erection of another; also, that they should never be separated or alienated from the kingdom of France; and thirdly, that they should be allowed to coin money upon the same conditions on which the privilege was enjoyed by the city of Paris.

The strong town of Poitiers also augmented the triumphs of the gallant constable. A skirmish shortly after took place of little importance in itself, but of considerable weight from its consequences. The Lord de Greilly, renowned in our former history by name of the Captal de Buche, and often mentioned on account of his gallantry, was made prisoner, and, as a captive of great consequence, was speedily despatched to Paris. His worth and character in war were not better known, than the constant fidelity with which he had served the cause of the English. The King of France, therefore, followed the policy which the Prince of Wales was thought to have adopted respecting Bertrand Du Guesclin, when the latter was made prisoner at the battle of Navarette, that is, he would not fix any ransom upon the unfortunate warrior, who died in the course of five years an unredeemed captive. Authors have said that the Captal, as a firm adherent of Edward and of the Black Prince, lost his health and spirits upon their decease, and pined to death of melancholy in his confinement.

In the meantime, the last post possessed by the English in Gascony was the town of Thouars, then a place of considerable strength. The constable speedily formed the siege of the place, and pressed it on with such vigour, that the English lords who were enclosed in it, consisting of the noblest and best of those partisans whom the numerous skirmishes and sieges had left, were contented to come to a species of terms not unusual at that time. They engaged to surrender against next Michaelmas, provided that the King of England, or one of his sons, should not before that time bring them succour in person.

Edward, to whom this agreement was communicated, expressed himself highly incensed, that a prince so unwarlike as Charles of France, who was seldom seen with armour on his back, or a lance in his hand, should give him so much more trouble than all his martial predecessors, and once more swore to take the field in person, with the purpose, not only of relieving Thouars, but of invading, and finally conquering France. The king put to sea accordingly, with a considerable army, his destination being the seaport of Rochelle; but the winds and waves were obstinately adverse to the course he proposed; and, after a desperate struggle, King Edward, to whom fortune had been so long favourable by land and sea, saw himself absolutely obliged to return to England, without relieving the fortress.

Thouars was therefore left to its fate. The barons of Guienne, who remained faithful to England, offered indeed, at the very last, to advance with twelve hundred spears to the relief of this important place, provided the besieged would accept of their assistance. But the knights enclosed within the town had plighted their faith to surrender to the constable, unless Edward, or one of his sons, came in person to their relief. Thouars, therefore, was given up to the French, on the terms of the treaty.

The cause of England in France being at this low ebb, the King of France thought he might very safely take the opportunity to avenge himself upon the Count de Montfort, Duke of Bretagne, whose father had been one of the principal instigators in fostering the original war between England and France. The prince at whom he aimed this blow was, indeed, already wellnigh forced from his dominions by two of his own subjects, the Constable du Guesclin, and Oliver de Clisson, both steady adherents of the French, and equally inimical to the English. Having gained this great advantage over John de Montfort, Charles resolved to pay no attention to the neutrality secured to him by a special article of the treaty of Bretigny. But, disregarding this engagement, he de-

terminated not to permit a person so hostile to him to reign as a petty sovereign in Bretagne, and accordingly drove him out of his own country, and obliged him to take refuge in England. Edward, however, on the arrival of his ally and relative, in this expatriated condition, was not wanting in such exertions as might have a chance of repairing the sinking affairs of the Duke of Bretagne.

He raised an army of fifty thousand men, which, under the command of the Duke of Lancaster, landed at Calais, in summer, 1372, with the purpose, on the duke's part, of emulating his father's deeds, restoring the English affairs, and replacing the Duke of Bretagne in his government. But, as was the fate of all Edward III's. latter expeditions, no result followed worthy of such great preparations.

The Duke of Lancaster sallied from Calais, at the head of his army. He had with him the Earls of Warwick, Stafford, Suffolk, with Lord Edward Spencer. They marched with precaution, being closely watched by three armies of the French, one commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, one by the Duke of Bourbon, a third, consisting chiefly of cavalry, headed by the indefatigable Du Guesclin, which followed in the rear of the English, cutting off all who strayed from their standard; and, thus enclosed and observed, the English could make little spoil upon the country, without exposing themselves to instant retaliation.

Their generals, too, differed in opinion. John de Montfort pressed the Duke of Lancaster to lead his troops into Bretagne, insisting that the reconquest of his duchy was the chief object of the war. The Duke of Lancaster, on the other hand, was determined to march to Bourdeaux, to establish the English power in Gascony. He accordingly precipitated his course to Bourdeaux, and at length reached that city, but not without losing four-fifths of his army in a hurried and disastrous march thither. Nor were the Duke of Bretagne and the Duke of Lancaster ever afterwards on the same footing of good understanding which once subsisted between them

King Charles, perceiving the dissension between the Duke of Bretagne and his powerful ally, thought the time was favourable to his great object of uniting to the crown the duchy of Bretagne, whose sea coasts, and the friendship of its sovereigns, had so often afforded facility to invasions from England. He accordingly proposed the forfeiture of this powerful vassal to the Estates of France, and obtained their sentence to that effect. But the Breton lords, although unfriendly to the Duke's English alliance, were attached to their independence, and to the De Montfort family. Instead of confirming them in their love for France, by uniting them with the empire, Charles provoked their resentment by this attempt at confiscation. The nobles of Bretagne returned to the allegiance of their duke, and readily assembling in arms, drove the French out of the bounds of the dukedom, and invited home John de Montfort from his exile in England. The issue of these events belongs to the next reign. A truce had concluded the bloodshed of this war for a period of one year. King Charles himself was taken ill, with little hope of recovery.

An incident occurred which tended to sadden, in no small degree, the thoughts of his dying bed. This was the death of the valiant Du Guesclin, who held, by the king's personal choice, with so much advantage to the country, and glory to himself, the baton of High Constable of France. He had been employed in the war in Bretagne, and still more recently in that of Guienne, and had in both conducted himself with the same gallantry and success which he had all along exhibited. The last act of his life was laying siege to the Chateau Neuf du Randun. He had summoned the fortress, in terms which were boldly but respectfully answered by the commandant. On his refusal to surrender, Du Guesclin pitched his tent before the place, and pressed it by a close siege. It is said, with little probability, that the melancholy inspired by the obstinacy of the resistance, first brought on disease in this great captain. Bertrand Du Guesclin must, however, have been too well acquaint-

ed with the chances of war, to feel, as a great misfortune, the prolonged opposition of a petty fortress. He fell ill, however, from whatever cause, and became speedily conscious that he was upon his death-bed. Willing to expend his last spark of life in the service of the country to which it had been dedicated, Du Guesclin sent the commandant of Chateau Neuf du Randun, a positive summons to surrender the place instantly, if he desired to profit by his intercessions with the King of France in his favour. The commandant, moved by the resolute and severe tone in which this message was delivered, declared he would deliver the keys of his fortress to the Constable of France, but to no leader of inferior degree. He was conducted, therefore, to the tent of Du Guesclin; but he was no longer alive; and the commandant was compelled to lay the emblems of submission at the feet of a lifeless corpse.

Thus died, in the very act of reconquering the dismembered provinces of his country, a champion than whom the rolls of history contain few braver or more successful. Du Guesclin was not exempted from the evil qualities of the time, for his valour was occasionally sullied by cruelty; but his rise from ordinary rank to greatness, was the effort of his own high talents, and, employed as they were in the service of his country, those talents could not be too much admired or praised. It was not his least merit that all the liberal donations of land and treasure conferred on him by the king were uniformly applied by him to the public service; so that Charles, though conscious what he owed to this great and successful general, could hardly devise the means of affording him a recompense for his services. To fill up the vacancy occasioned by his death, King Charles recommended to his council, that Oliver de Clisson, Guesclin's friend and companion in arms, a Breton, too, like himself, should be appointed to succeed him. Meantime, though now affected by disease, certainly incurable, whatever was its origin, Charles V. still studied the great purpose of his ambition, which was the re-union of France into one kingdom.

This desirable object had met with a great obstacle in the King of Navarre, Charles the Bad. This prince had claims, as he pretended, upon the crown of France itself; and, besides, he was entitled to various possessions in several parts of that kingdom, but especially in Normandy. To dispossess him of these was the object of King Charles V's. dying policy; he revived, therefore, against the King of Navarre an accusation of high treason, as having administered poison to the royal person of his liege lord. This, as a high feudal delinquency, necessarily inferring the forfeiture of the fief, had been reserved as a charge against Navarre, when the time of making such an accusation with effect should at length arrive. The noxious draught was said to have been so potent, that Charles V. lost his hair and his nails, and retained to the end of his life the marks of having taken poison. Yet though various other points of discussion had arisen between the princes, and more than one truce had been entered into, the affair was never judicially brought forward, until the expulsion of the English from so many places of importance in France had rendered any rebellion of Charles of Navarre of less consequence. The wicked prince was deprived, by a sentence of the Estates, of such dominions as he still held in France. His being condemned in this celebrated process, renders it seldom necessary to mention him hereafter; wherefore, we anticipate the course of time, to narrate, in this place, the horrible death by which he closed an existence, which was but a tissue of crimes.

Continuing his course of vicious habits as a man, and political intrigues as a prince, till he was full sixty years old, the difficulties which Charles the Bad had incurred in the wars between Spain, England and France, obliged this prince to demand a heavy capitation tax from his subjects of Navarre. He proposed that the wealthy inhabitants should pay ten francs, inferior persons five, and the rest of his subjects one franc each. The deputies representing the different bodies and towns of the kingdom of Navarre assured him, that as they were not yet

acquitted of a tax formerly laid upon them, they were not able to endure this new imposition, and therefore conjured him to have mercy on his subjects. By way of answer to these remonstrances, Charles caused the deputies to be enclosed in a strong-walled garden, where he had conferred with them. They were thus strictly confined, and sparingly supplied with meat and drink, while Charles caused the heads of three of their number to be struck off, in order to intimidate the others. How this tragedy would otherwise have ended, is uncertain; for Heaven, in its own time, and by extraordinary means, put an end to this wicked prince's tyranny.

The King of Navarre's habits of profligacy had so far reduced his constitution, that he was ordered by the physicians to swathe himself in a vestment steeped in spirit of wine. By the same advice, his bed was warmed with a chaffoir of hot coals; and he had used these means of recovering natural heat repeatedly without accident. But while he was agitating these cruel resolutions against the deputies of his subjects, and using this course of bringing himself to warmth, "by the pleasure of God," says Froissart, "or of the devil, the fire caught to his sheets, and from that to his person, swathed as it was in matter highly inflammable." Before he could be rescued, he was burnt to the bowels, yet survived fifteen days, in indescribable wretchedness. Such was the horrible end of the wicked King of Navarre.

We return to the purposes of King Charles of France upon his death-bed. While he meditated and endeavoured to execute the changes already noticed, his own life was drawing near to a close. He died a victim, it is said, not very probably, to the poison so long before administered by the King of Navarre; and his death was felt by the country with deeper regret than that of a sovereign is often regarded. Quiet, sedate, temperate in his passions, viewing clearly, weighing deliberately, and wisely selecting the objects of his policy, Charles never rashly changed, and rarely ultimately abandoned them. Though born in warlike times, he was himself no warrior;

and this was a fortunate circumstance, since he was never liable to be driven forward by the vehement desire of personal distinction, or the sense of personal shame, which hurried his predecessors, Philip of Valois and John, into the fatal fields of Cressy and Poitiers.

CHAPTER XI.

Accession of Charles VI., when only twelve years of age—Regency of the Duke of Anjou, who seizes the Treasures of Charles V., which he afterwards employed in advancing his own claim to the Crown of Sicily and Naples—An English army under the Duke of Buckingham sent to the assistance of Count de Montfort, who promises to support them, but makes a Peace with France, and compels his English Allies to evacuate Bretagne—Disorders in Flanders—Insurrection of the Ghentois, under D'Arteville—The French espouse the part of the Earl of Flanders, and the English that of the Insurgents—Defeat of the Insurgents at Rosebecque—Marriage of Charles VI.—Expedition of the Bishop of Norwich—the Bishop worsted, and compelled to retreat to Calais—Expedition of the Duke of Anjou, to establish his claims to the Throne of Naples—his Failure, and Death—Adventures of two Captains of Free Companions, Geoffrey Tête-noir and Amergot Marcell—Unsuccessful Attempt of the Duke of Lancaster to conquer Castile, the crown of which he claimed in right of his Wife, the daughter of Don Pedro the Cruel—Wreck of a French Fleet assembled in the Harbour of Sluys for the Invasion of England—Arrest of Oliver de Clisson, Constable of France, by the Duke of Bretagne—his Imprisonment, and Ransom.

UNFORTUNATELY for the kingdom of France, the successor of Charles the Wise, who was also named Charles

being the sixth king so called, was at this time only twelve years old ; and there was a necessity for appointing a regent. The Duke of Anjou, the eldest brother of the deceased monarch, had been one of the most active leaders during his life, and was supposed to be possessed of considerable talent ; he was a mortal enemy to the English, and a principal actor during the late reign in making war upon them in the south of France. They accused him also of treachery in breaking his word of parole ; and his character in general did not stand very high for truth and sincerity.

This prince obtained, however, the regency by appointment of the Estates, but the education and personal care of the king was not trusted to the Duke of Anjou ; the Duke of Burgundy, the king's uncle by the father's side, and the Duke of Bourbon, who bore him the same relation by the mother's, being appointed his immediate personal guardians.

Unhappily for France, the regent Duke of Anjou had a private interest of his own entirely different from that of the kingdom at large. The last Queen of Sicily and Naples was the celebrated Joan, who possessed these fair provinces in her own right. She was a profligate and infamous person, who, besides leading a vicious course of life, had rid herself of her husband, Andrew, by assassination. It is said, that one day this unfortunate prince found her weaving a cord made of silk and gold so remarkable in appearance, that he was induced to ask what purpose she designed to apply it to. Joan truly answered, "it was designed to hang her husband with ;" and shortly after caused this cruel assassination to be performed by the very cord in question. At the period of her death, this unhappy queen, by the counsel and advice of the Pope, bequeathed her crown and dominions to the Duke of Anjou, who, with the flattering prospect before him, of a kingdom which was to be his own, was little disposed to pay due attention to the interests of that country of which he was regent for his nephew. One of his first resolutions, (and certainly one which could

not be vindicated on any principle of morality,) was to seize upon the treasures of the late King Charles, his brother, who, by his policy and economy, had amassed large sums of gold and silver, which he kept concealed in the castle of Melun. The sum amounted, it is said, to seventeen millions of francs. Violence, and even threats of death, were unscrupulously employed, to make the old officers of Charles communicate the knowledge of his treasure. They were at length obliged to produce it; and the Duke of Anjou took possession of this mass of wealth.

The first effort of the new government, divided as they were by the various claims of the princes of the blood, was exerted to procure a settlement amongst them; and for some time at least, their desire of a relaxation of taxes seemed to intimate a sincere wish to alleviate the heavy burdens of the people. This flattering prospect disappeared under the disunion of the princes of the blood royal. We have already said that the Regent Duke of Anjou seized upon the treasures of his brother Charles V., without having any personal title to do so; he employed them, as I will hereafter show you, in an attempt on Naples and Sicily—a purpose which proved totally useless to himself, and dangerous to France, on which it entailed a long course of disasters.

There was at this time a schism in the Roman Catholic Church; that is, two Popes had been chosen, who were acknowledged in opposition to each other by different kingdoms of the Christian world, and both of whom aspired to wield the sword and the keys of Saint Peter. The one, who assumed the name of Urban, resided at Rome, the other, under the title of Pope Clement, held his seat of church government at Avignon, in the south of France. Each had his separate college of cardinals, and each affected the power and authority of the full papal sway.

The Duke of Anjou had no great difficulty in prevailing upon the anti-pope, Clement, to declare in favour of his title to the crown of Naples and Sicily, under the

bequest of Queen Joan. He did so with the greater show of authority, as he alleged that the deceased Joan had put all her dominions and seigniories at the disposal of the Church, and that, therefore, the Pope had the strongest reason for supporting and defending her subsequent bequest to the Duke of Anjou, which was made by his consent.

While, therefore, Anjou was pursuing his own ends, the English might have made considerable, and perhaps successful efforts, for the recovery of the dominions which they had lost in France. Of these dominions, Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, places which had to be garrisoned at a great expense, were the chief remains of Edward III's conquests which his successor retained. They were important towns, and required large garrisons. Cherbourg and Brest were also at this time in the hands of the English. (A. D. 1378.) That nation had been admitted into the former town by the King of Navarre when he lost his other dominions in Normandy; and the Duke of Bretagne had given up Brest to them in the like manner, when he found that the French king was likely to expel him from his duchy.

It was after much entreaty that the English Parliament consented to the continuance of the heavy taxes necessary to the defence of these possessions, and for the maintenance of a lingering warfare, which had not been of late years gilded over either by national glory or success. They did consent, however, and their doing so was absolutely necessary to maintain the war in Bretagne; for, although the duke had returned to that country, in consequence of the invitation of his subjects, who were determined to resist their subjection to the crown of France, still it was impossible that he could be successful in maintaining the independence of Bretagne or his own, without assistance from England.

A large army was therefore sent into France, by the way of Calais, under the command of the Earl of Buckingham, afterwards known as the good Duke Humphrey

of Gloucester, uncle to King Richard II. This force did little more than waste the neighbourhood after the fashion of the later English invaders; and when they advanced towards Bretagne, in which province they were destined to serve, the death of Charles V. had inspired their ally, John de Montfort, with the hopes of making a separate peace with France, without embarrassing himself with the claims of his allies of England. The reason of this dereliction was, that he found his subjects, although attached to his person, and determined against subjection to France, yet equally offended with his strict alliance with England, and indisposed to admit these confederates into their strong places and castles. The duke was therefore induced to try whether he could be admitted to peace with the French government of the day by a separate treaty, now that the death of the king, who hated him personally, had removed every obstacle to his becoming connected with France as a vassal. With this view, following a policy which was that of a perfidious age, De Montfort, on the one hand, invited the English to lay siege to Nantz, the capital town of Bretagne, assuring them that he would support them with a sufficient army; while, on the other, he negotiated for a separate peace with the authorities who had succeeded to the government of France. He found little difficulty in the execution of his purpose; and, being received by the French into their alliance, he dictated to his late allies the English, as a measure of necessity, the evacuation of the territories of Bretagne, which they had entered at his request. It is remarkable, that notwithstanding this striking instance of perfidy, the Duke of Bretagne retained so much influence with the French and English as to be able again to impose himself upon both in the character of a mediator.

Both these kingdoms, indeed, were at this time in a situation unfavourable alike to foreign and domestic policy, and which obliged them to submit rather to the course of events, than attempt to direct them. Charles VI. of France, and Richard II. of England, were both minors.

Neither was of distinguished capacity, though both of good dispositions. Each was held in the management of uncles or near relations, who quarrelled among themselves, pursued their own interests, with little regard to those of their sovereign, and entirely neglected those duties which they were solemnly bound to discharge.

The condition of the two kingdoms resembled each other, like that of the sovereigns. The people, in either country, exhausted with taxation, and with all the evils of a burdensome war, had shown themselves mutinous and insubordinate; and the great insurrection of Wat Tyler and the commons of England rivalled in its horrors the Jacquerie of France, and the still-continued mutinies of Paris. In a word, the state of the two kingdoms resembled that which is told of the hound and the deer, who exhausted themselves in a long course, until the stag became unable for a last effort at escape, while the dog was equally incapable of a final attempt to secure his prey.

Abroad, both kingdoms were embarrassed with factious neighbours,—the Flemings, for example, whose numerous and constant intestine divisions formed a temptation to the French and English to take a part in their dissensions.

Before giving an account, therefore, of the intestine discords of the princes of the blood at court, the rash expedition of the Duke of Anjou to Naples, and other matters concerning France alone, we will say something of the disorders of Flanders, in which France and England were as usual interested.

You remember the fate of Jacob d'Arteville the brewer, at one time the uncontrolled demagogue among the citizens of the great towns in Flanders, and at length slain in a tumult by the inhabitants of Ghent. This person had a son named Philip, who, undeterred by his father's fate, and possessed of his father's popular talents, contrived to raise himself to as much authority among his fellow-citizens as ever was possessed by his father, though the ally of Edward III. This was no sudden

achievement. Philip d'Arteville, appalled perhaps by his father's fate, remained during early life estranged from all the objects of popular ambition, and living much as a private citizen. But a set of events were on the eve of taking place, which tended in their consequences to call him into public view and action.

The people of Bruges, with the consent of the Earl of Flanders, had meditated certain improvements on the channel of the river *Lys*. This gave great umbrage to the citizens of Ghent, lest the course of the river should be interrupted; and a faction was formed in that city, distinguished by wearing white hats, at the head of which was placed John Lyon, a burgher, who had once been in great estimation with the Earl of Flanders, but now adopted the popular side, and became that prince's bitter enemy.

The wearers of the white hats rose in mutiny, defeated and killed the baillie of Ghent, who attempted to subdue them in the name of the earl, and made sallies from the town, burning the earl's castle of Andreghen. Several places in Flanders made common cause with Ghent; while the earl threatened the city with severe punishment for the loss and insults to which he had been subjected; and with that purpose he besieged, or rather blockaded, the town with little effect. The great population of the Ghentois enabled them to keep the field, notwithstanding the displeasure of the earl; and although many citizens disapproved internally of the violence of the white hats, no burgher dared publicly dissent from their proceedings. The insurgents obtained several advantages over the earl, and even compelled him to raise the siege of the place. Still it was apparent to wise men, that the white hats were falling in reputation; and their leader John Lyon having died under suspicion of poison, it was thought impossible to find any man of sufficient courage or influence to supply his place; and thus a severe attack from the opposite party was likely to overthrow the insurgent faction. At this crisis Philip d'Arteville emerged from obscurity, and rose to the head and

management of the insurgents of Ghent, securing his authority by many acts of arbitrary power. D'Arteville was specially encouraged to the part he acted by the instigation of a subtle citizen called Peter Dubois, who, before promising him his interest in the city, thus questioned him, whether he possessed the qualities necessary for a demagogue. "Can ye bear yourself high," said he, "and be cruel among the commons, and especially in such things as we shall have to do? A man is nothing worth, unless he be feared and dreaded, and at the same time renowned for cruelty. Thus must the Flemings be governed; and you must have no more regard for the life of man, or pity for their sufferings, than of the brutes which we kill for food." Philip d'Arteville assented to this lesson; and by the recommendation of Dubois, and the recollection of his father's original popularity, he was chosen governor of Ghent, and leader of the insurgents in Flanders.

Thus were the Earl of Flanders, and the citizens of his towns, once more in open arms against each other. The French, espousing, as formerly, the cause of the Earl of Flanders, despatched forces to his assistance; and the English government, though distracted by domestic confusion, failed not, as usual, to send to Calais an army to assist D'Arteville and the insurgent citizens.

The French Prince, who had the greatest personal interest in this revolt of Flanders, was Philip, Duke of Burgundy, son-in-law and heir to the earl of that country. To him, therefore, the Earl of Flanders naturally carried his complaint, stating, that these traitors, the insurgents of Ghent, his own native liegemen, had destroyed the house in which he was born, broken to pieces the font in which he was christened, done him every manner of despite, and were now likely to ruin his remaining heritage. In all this the Duke of Burgundy saw the necessary desolation of a heritage that should one day be his own, and therefore, having much influence in the administration of France, he resolved that the king his nephew, and all his

peers, should march into Flanders, and fight against those insurgent burgesses, who were likely to lay that fine country entirely waste, or declare it independent of its earl and his nobility. Accordingly, the King of France, under the guidance of his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, marched into Flanders at the head of eighty thousand men.

The war was conducted with great vigour on the part of the French. Yet Philip d'Arteville, on this trying occasion, showed both dexterity and courage. From Ghent and the confederate towns he collected a numerous army. Those who fought under him were arrayed in cassocks of different colours, to mark the various towns they belonged to; they were armed chiefly with pikes, and fought entirely on foot, forming one main battalion or division. Their captain, D'Arteville, alone kept a good horse beside him, not for the purpose of flight, but for that of following the French in the chase, which, he doubted not, would be the consequence of the battle. The country, divided by rivers and canals, was favourable to the Flemings.

After some lesser skirmishes, the two armies encountered each other in a pitched battle near the town of Rosebecque. The Flemings, for a time, made a most desperate and gallant defence; but as they were attacked by the flower of the French chivalry, headed by the princes of the blood, and by the king in person, the insurgents were at length broken by the charge of the horses and lances. (A. D. 1381, Nov. 27.) As the knights and men-at-arms gave no quarter to an enemy, whom they reckoned so inferior to themselves, twenty-five thousand men were left slain upon the field. Philip d'Arteville fell bravely fighting; and the victory was so well improved, that most of the towns which had been in insurrection, submitted peaceably to the dominion of France, though Ghent still held out.

Shortly after he had been thus replaced in his dominions, Louis, Count of Flanders, died, and the Duke of Burgundy became established as a very great prince. en

joying not only his deceased father-in-law's seignories, which comprehended the whole country of Flanders, but his own dominions of Burgundy and Artois,—forming together a strong, compact, and powerful principality, which, though now its lord was so nearly connected with the crown of France as to be its principal regent, became in after times a dreaded enemy of that power.

About this time, the King of France, by the advice of the Duke of Burgundy, was wedded to a beautiful German princess, Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria. It was remarkable that the young prince declined acceding to the match, until, contrary to the usage of princes, he was permitted to see the princess to whom he was to be betrothed. He was delighted with her external beauty, but had no means of perceiving the bad qualities of the mind which were lodged in so beautiful a form. Meanwhile the duke took the opportunity of the king's German match, to make an advantageous bargain for his own son, with the daughter and heiress of Albert, Count of Zealand, Hainault, and Holland, affording the prospect of a succession which might make a formidable addition to the dominions of Burgundy and Flanders.

From the bloody field of Rosebecque, in which the power of the insurgent Flemings had been broken, the young King of France hurried back to his own capital of Paris, which had been for a considerable time more or less in mutiny against him, as formerly against his father Charles V. The Parisians had rendered their city in some degree tenable by building walls, digging trenches, drawing barricades across the street, and thus impeding the entrance of the military; and they themselves had assumed the title of maillotins, or malleters, from the mallets with which they were generally armed. In order to overawe the young king, they displayed before him this force, amounting to thirty thousand men; but, instead of being jaunted, Charles was provoked by their assuming an appearance of menace, and, despising their numbers, entered his capital as if by force of arms, and seized, without scruple, upon two or three hundred leaders of the mal-

letters several of whom were put to death for some successive days, in requital of former acts of insubordination. The gates of the city were also pulled down, the citizens disarmed, and the insurrection for the time was effectually subdued.

England, weakened as it was by external losses and internal mutiny, was still too powerful not to be appealed to during these times of confusion. When the Flemings were in insurrection, the English, though they ridiculed the idea of giving them pecuniary assistance, which D'Arteville required, were yet disposed to send troops to the continent, to avail themselves of the general confusion.

With this view, two propositions were made to the British Parliament. By the one, John of Gaunt, on receiving an allowance of forty thousand pounds, or thereabouts, declared himself willing to undertake an expedition into Castile; but as the purpose of this must have been a conquest for his own benefit, without any corresponding national advantage, the Parliament declined entering upon this proposal, which was afterwards, however, unfortunately resumed.

They were more willing to listen to a proposal made by the Bishop of Norwich, for the support of the Flemings. This military prelate had already distinguished himself by quelling some insurrections in his own bishopric. He now offered his services, upon certain terms, of money to be paid, to raise three thousand men-at-arms and three thousand archers, which he proposed to transport to Calais, and there act in behalf of the Flemings. This was also in some measure a religious undertaking; for the warlike bishop, who declared stoutly for the rights of Pope Urban in the schism of the church, made it a principal object of his expedition, to remove his competitor Clement, whom he held to be an antipope, from the city of Avignon. The nobles of England thought well of this enterprise of the bishop; but while they were in deliberation upon the subject, the battle of Rosebecque was fought, in which D'Arteville was killed, and his army of insurgents totally defeated, whereby the whole country

of Flanders fell to the French interest, which was naturally embraced by the Duke of Burgundy, son-in-law and successor of the last earl, Louis of Flanders. Then, indeed, the English government blamed their own indecision, and began to censure each other, for not having sent timely succours to D'Arteville. "Had these poor Flemings," they said, "who fought so well in their own rude manner, been joined by but two thousand English spears and six thousand archers, not a Frenchman would have escaped death or captivity. But there is a good time to come. The French king has conquered Flanders; we will conquer it again for Richard of England." This species of reasoning induced many distinguished men, as Sir Hugh Calverley and others, to join the expedition under the Bishop of Norwich, although its chance of success was greatly diminished by the defeat of Rosebecque.

The martial prelate took the sea accordingly, and landed at Calais the 23d day of April, 1383. When the English arrived at this place, the Bishop of Norwich was in great haste to move against the Earl of Flanders; although, strictly speaking, his commission limited him to attack and destroy those only who owned Clement as the Pope. Some disputes there were upon this subject; but the fiery prelate was not to be restrained by remonstrances, nor disposed to limit his commission to the letter. He defeated an army of thirty thousand French and Flemings, in the French interest, and made himself master of Gravelines and Dunkirk, Burburgh, and several other towns; and besieged Ypres, which was valiantly defended. The besiegers sent to the people of Ghent, who had still, notwithstanding the defeat at Rosebecque, remained in insurrection against the Earl of Flanders; and as they joyfully obeyed the summons, and came in large numbers, with great hope of success, the siege was closely pressed. The King of France, therefore, instigated by the Duke of Burgundy, his uncle, assembled an army of twenty thousand men-at-arms, and more than threescore thousand of other troops, for the purpose of relieving Ypres.

This news alarmed the bishop, whose force was too weak to abide the arrival of such an army. The siege was raised in such haste and disorder, that the besiegers took different routes to secure themselves; some marching towards Burburgh, under Sir Hugh Calverley and Sir Thomas Trivet; and the rest of the army, under the personal command of the bishop, retreating towards Gravelines. The party under Calverley halted for some time at the town of Bergues. The French host approached them just after they had occupied the place. "It was beautiful," says Froissart, "to behold this royal armament, their banners and pennons flying, their spears and helmets glistening against the sun, their number so great that it could not be ascertained, and their spears appearing like a thick wood!" Sir Hugh Calverley was at first inclined to have fought the French at Bergues, disdaining all difference of numbers; but on better reflections, withdrew to the town of Burburgh, which was stronger, though unfortunately the houses were most of them thatched, and thus liable to be set on fire.

Here the party of English defended themselves valiantly for some time, until the King of France ordered a great number of fagots for filling the ditches of the place, as one determined to carry it by storm. A small piece of silver, called a blank, was paid to each peasant who should bring a fagot, and on these terms the ditches were soon filled. In this extremity, the English leaders were glad to compound for permission to evacuate the place safely, and return to Calais. Gravelines, whither the greater part of the English had retired, and where the bishop commanded in person, was surrendered in like manner, and on the same conditions as Burburgh.

This expedition of the Bishop of Norwich gave little satisfaction to the English; and though it certainly was not more useless than most of those which had lately been undertaken in France, the bishop underwent both censure and fine for its bad success. John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, was rather pleased than otherwise with the unfortunate issue of the Bishop of Norwich's

attempt ; yet he might have learned, from the fate of the Duke of Anjou, whose situation in the court of France nearly resembled his own in that of England, that he might be a loser, rather than a gainer, by the enterprise which he himself meditated, even if he had succeeded in the commencement. The following is a brief account of the Neapolitan expedition, which we have postponed till now, though it actually took place so early as 1382 :—The Duke of Anjou, I have told you, had made free with the treasures of his brother Charles V., in order to support the claim of succession, which the Pope and the Queen Joan had given him in Sicily and Naples. Dazzled with the prospect of a kingdom, he unwarily sacrificed the real power which he possessed as Regent of France, for the romantic project of making himself a king in Italy. His brother, the Duke of Burgundy, who expected to succeed him as Regent, encouraged him in his desperate enterprise.

The Duke of Anjou employed the wealth which he had acquired, in levying an army, which, in the days when the Free Companies were everywhere to be found, was, while there were funds to pay them, a matter of much ease. He acquired the aid of the Earl of Savoy, who joined Anjou with a considerable body of his followers. In his progress through Sicily, the French prince coined money, and assumed the titles of King of Naples, of Sicily, and Jerusalem, Duke of Apulia, and of Calabria. On the other hand, his competitor, Charles de Durazzo, as nearest heir of Queen Joan, claimed her kingdom as his inheritance, and his title was affirmed by Pope Urban on similar grounds to those which moved his rival Clement to prefer that of the Duke of Anjou.

This prince had no means of withstanding such an army as that led by the Duke of Anjou. Upon his first arrival, therefore, in full strength, he resolved to avoid fighting, and watch the course of events. He saw with considerable equanimity his country laid waste, and the city of Naples possessed by his rival. Charles of Durazzo, however, being satisfied in his own mind that the

wealth of the Duke of Anjou must, in a short time, be exhausted, and his army disbanded for want of supplies, continued to protract the struggle.

Accordingly, the necessity of paying and supporting an army, which consisted of fifty thousand men at least, soon exhausted all the treasures which the Duke of Anjou had been able to collect. His rival exercised effectually the arts of Italian policy, and, by prolix negotiation, amused the Frenchman with personal challenges which he never designed to fulfil ; so that, at length, his army being almost totally dissolved, and his treasures entirely exhausted, Louis of Anjou died of depressed spirits and disappointed hopes, at the village of Bari, the 10th of October, 1383. Charles of Durazzo, that he might seem to carry on his dissimulation even after the death of his rival, wore mourning for thirty days for the death of his competitor and mortal enemy—after which he took possession of his crown.

It is said, that the ultimate cause of Anjou's ruin was a faithless follower, entitled Peter Craon, a Breton noble, afterwards frequently, but unhappily, distinguished in French history. He was a man of talent and social habits, for which he was highly valued at the profligate court of France. This Craon had followed the Duke of Anjou to Italy, and in his necessities, that prince sent him to bring some supplies of money, which he had left in France under the charge of his princess. The false emissary obtained the money ; but, instead of bringing it back, as the count had enjoined him, he spent it at Venice in profligate, riotous, and expensive pleasures. Having, notwithstanding, ventured back to Paris after the Duke of Anjou's decease, Craon fell at first under the displeasure of the king, and was severely fined for breach of trust ; but afterwards, by the arts proper to such parasites, he recovered the favour of the court, and again had confidence reposed in him, which put in his power once more the means of abusing and betraying it.

About this time, the Duke of Bretagne, who had borne arms in the camp of the King of France during the ex-

pedition of the Bishop of Norwich, ventured to make his appearance in the character of negotiator of a peace between France and England—a character somewhat singularly assumed by one who, like Jolin de Montfort, had been unfaithful to both kingdoms. Neither, however, were prepared, by the course of events, to submit to moderate terms ; and while the English refused to hold in vassalage of France the few places which they still retained in that kingdom, the French were equally unwilling that a foreign nation should enjoy even the slightest independent possession on their soil. No solid terms of peace, therefore, could be adjusted between the contending powers.

In the meantime, France, more especially its southwestern provinces, continued to suffer from the Free Companies, or bands of armed men, of whom I have often told you before ; they owned no king or country, but assembled in towns and castles, where they made their living by force, and at the expense of the neighbourhood. Many of them, we have seen, rose from being captains of such robbers—for such was their true description—into knights and generals of great consequence. I think, however, you will better understand the character of this sort of persons, and conceive the scourge they must have been to a peaceful country, by a short account of the history and death of two of their number.

The province of Auvergne was particularly haunted by this banditti, because it abounds with passes, rocks, hills and strongholds, of which the Free Companions knew admirably how to take advantage in war. Several of the most renowned leaders had settled themselves there, for the same reason that a mountainous region is peopled by eagles, hawks, and other birds of prey, to whom it affords opportunities of rapine, and means of concealment. Two of these freebooters were distinguished above the others by their courage, intelligence, and activity ; their names, (at least the epithets by which they were distinguished in the wars,) were Amergot Marcell, and Geoffrey Tête-noir,

that is, Black-head. They both professed to espouse the English cause ; but it may be supposed that they only chose it because it afforded the most unlimited privilege of plunder. Froissart's account of the death of these two celebrated Companions is one of the most picturesque passages of his lively work, and will make you better acquainted with the lawless men who existed in that distracted time, than a long dissertation of mine.

Geoffrey Tête-noir obtained, by bribing a domestic, the means of obtaining possession, for himself and company, of the strong castle of Ventadour, belonging to an aged earl of that name, a quiet, peaceful man, whom the robbers dismissed without injury : such, indeed, had been the bargain of his treacherous squire, who surrendered the place. Geoffrey Tête-noir here prosecuted his profession with great success. " He was a hardy man," says the historian, " who knew neither fear nor pity, and would put to death a knight or squire as soon as a peasant, for he cared for no one ; and he was so much dreaded by his men, that none dared displease him." This chieftain assembled a band of four hundred men, to whom he paid high wages monthly, with the utmost regularity. He protected the country around Ventadour, so that no one dared make incursions upon the territory. In his castle he held a kind of open market, where goods and furniture, cloth of Brussels, peltry and mercery, with iron and steel ware, leather, and other commodities, were to be found as plentiful as in the city of Paris. The castle was fully victualled for a siege, had it been to last seven years. Nay, occasionally, to show his independence, Tête-noir chose to make war on the English as well as the French ; and this jovial course of life he led for many years, more dreaded than any lawful authority in the country where he lived.

But when the French interest began to recover itself in these districts, the nobles and knights united themselves together for the purpose of besieging the forts and castles of which these robbers had possession, and delivering the

country, by fair means or by force, from these lawless companions.

Accordingly, Sir William Ligrac, Sir John Bon-Jance, and many others, knights of Auvergne and of the district of the Limosin, formed the siege of Ventadour, for the safety of which Tête-noir was no way distressed, having plenty of ammunition and provisions. But one day, as he was heading his men in a sally, he received a crossbow shot in the face. The medical persons thought that the wound was unattended with danger, had the patient observed the regimen prescribed; but he was a free-living person, unwont to self-denial of any kind. The consequence of his careless course was, that the wound proved mortal. When Geoffrey Tête-noir felt himself very ill, he summoned the principal officers of his Free Company to his dying bed. He reminded them that he had long been their true captain, and, being now about to die, was desirous to see them unite to choose a chieftain in his stead, who might be able to defend this strong and well-furnished castle, until the French should raise the siege. "I have served," he added, "chiefly under the shadow of the King of England, holding the service to be one in which there is much to be got, and you will do well to choose one who shall follow the same policy." The Companions heard their commander's words in silence, and when they answered, it was to offer to Tête-noir the choice of his successor. Having named a kinsman of his own to this office, the patient proceeded to make his will; and it was one which, while it shows the wealth acquired by such people, is a curious evidence of their superstition, and their wild and irregular ideas of property, even when it was their own. "In yonder chest," said the dying brigand, "are thirty thousand marks. I will give them according to my conscience. First, to the chapel of Saint George, in this castle, fifteen hundred marks, to be spent in repairing the same; next, to my mistress, who has truly and faithfully attended me, two thousand five hundred francs; to Allan Roux, whom I have named your captain, four thousand francs; five hundred to the varlets

of my chamber ; fifteen hundred to the officers of my household ; the rest I give and bequeath thus :—Ye be about thirty Companions, all of one band ; ye ought to be brethren, without debate, anger, or strife among you. Having paid these legacies, I will that you divide the residue of the money, which you shall find in yonder chest, truly and equally among you thirty. But if you be not content with my bequest, and that the devil do set debate amongst you, there stands a stout axe, break up the coffer, scramble for the money, and get it who can !” The residuary legatees replied, that as they had always regarded their captain, while living, with love and awe, so they would follow his behests when dead.

They continued to respect Geoffrey’s testament after his death. But his successor Allan Roux, being surprised in a piece of intended treachery, was put to the sword, and the castle of Ventadour taken.

The history of Amergot Marcell, whom we have mentioned as a brother in the trade of war, and an occasional partner of Tête-noir, gives us a similar picture of their life. This worthy had, in like manner, acquired the strong castle of Aloys, in Auvergne ; from it he made many successful inroads upon the country, which produced him a revenue of twenty thousand florins. But about the time of Tête-noir’s death, the Earl of Armagnac, and several French lords, were commissioned to get these robbers out of the country by bribery, if that should be necessary, since force was a doubtful and dangerous remedy. Marcell was after a time persuaded that he had better accept the offer made him, renounce his unlawful and violent proceedings, and, by means of the treasure he had acquired, live in future a peaceful life. In these sentiments, he delivered up to the Earl of Armagnac the castle of Aloys, situated in the very heart of Auvergne.

But when he had resigned this stronghold, he began to repent of having done so, and of having adopted reformed courses. He felt that there was a diminution of the respect and awe which he formerly inspired whenever his name was pronounced. The brigand is said to have

lamented his change of condition to the old companions of his rapine ; and his recollections, as delivered by the historian, give a lively picture of his successful robberies.

“ To pillage and rob,” he said, “ all things considered, was a good life ;” and so he repented him of his good resolutions, and thus addressed his old companions :—
“ Sirs, there is no sport or glory in this world among men of war, but to use such life as we have done in time past. What a joy was it to us when we rode forth at adventure, and sometimes found by the way a rich prior or merchant, or a route of mules of Montpelier, of Narbonne, of Toulouse, or of Carcassonne, laden with Brussels cloth, or with furs coming from the fairs, or of spicery ware from Bruges, from Damascus, from Alexandria ! Whatever we met, all was ours, or else ransomed at our pleasure. Then, for our living, the peasants of Limosin daily brought to our castle, wheat-flour, ready-baked bread, forage for our horses, good wines, beeves and fat sheep, pullets and wild fowl. We were furnished as though we had been kings ; when we rode forth, the whole country trembled for fear ; all was ours, going and coming. How we took Carlushe, and James the Bourge of Compeigne ; and how I and Perot of Bernoys took Chalucet ! How did we scale with little aid the strong castle of Marquel, and how I received in ransom thereof five thousand francs, told down on a fair table, and showed my gentleness by forgiving another thousand, for respect to the dauphin’s children ! By my faith, this was a fair and a good life ! and I repute myself sore deceived when I rendered up the fortress of Aloys ; since, well victualled as it was I could have kept it against all the world.”

Marcell’s regret for the license of his early life naturally led to his resuming his former profession. It would be useless to trace his further exploits, though they are singular enough. His mode of life was rendered more difficult by the close alliance of the French knights, which, as we have already noticed, had for its object the suppression of the Companies. Nor did the English af-

ford him any effectual support, there being a truce between the kingdoms at the time. At length he intrusted himself to the confidence of one of his kinsmen called Turnemine, who delivered him up to the French. When he was brought to Paris, Marcell offered threescore thousand francs for his ransom. The cold reply was, that the king was rich enough. The brigand was dragged on a cart to the Halles, and, being first exposed on the pillory, was afterwards hanged and quartered, his quarters being placed over the gates of the city. These two leaders of banditti, their sentiments, and their fate, may serve to give you some idea of the life they led, and the manner in which France was finally relieved of them.

To return to our history. The Duke of Lancaster, in the meantime, had, by his extensive influence, obtained at length the great but ill-placed object of his ambition, and had sailed with twenty thousand English troops, to make good his claim to the kingdom of Castile, lately possessed by his father-in-law, Pedro the Cruel. It may be enough to say of his adventures in Spain and Portugal, that his troops maintained the character of the English for bravery; and acquired, as has been their usual fate, little or no advantage to their country from their brilliant exploits. The unhealthy climate, and intemperate use of the wines and fruits of the country, spread contagious diseases among them. But when we remember that port wine is now a general, and supposed a healthy beverage, for Englishmen of the higher and middling ranks, we cannot suppress a smile when we read Froissart's assurances, that the hot and fiery wines of Oporto were fatally noxious to the English of his day, who were accustomed only to drink the light and generous wines of Gascony, or the mild ale of their own country.

It occurred to the French king and his courtiers, that when the realm of England might be supposed exhausted by the mutinies of the peasants, and the two expeditions under the Bishop of Norwich and John of Gaunt, the proper season had arrived for transferring the war into the

territory of England. On this, as on later occasions, the preparations for invasion were made to a cumbrous, rather than useful extent, and with great and unnecessary splendour. Upwards of seven hundred ships were prepared to transport the large army which was collected for this enterprise ; the frame of a wooden town was put on board, which was designed to be taken to pieces, and carried from place to place for the king's lodging, should he attend the expedition. The severe equinoctial storms of 1386 destroyed this great fleet of transports, which had rendezvoused in the harbour of Sluise. The king showed his favour to his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, by bestowing upon him the harbour of Sluise itself, and the various wrecks with which the tempest had filled it including the fragments of the great wooden town already mentioned.

About the same period, the affairs of Bretagne began again to assume peculiar interest. John de Montfort, Duke of Bretagne, whom we have so often mentioned, as a man of bravery and talent, had a difficult part to play between France and England, and might, therefore, have been taught prudence by his situation. Yet, on the present occasion, he ventured upon a line of conduct which would have been destructive to him, had circumstances permitted the French king to have driven the matter to extremity.

You cannot have forgotten the long wars betwixt John de Montfort and his parents, on the one side, and Charles de Blois, on the other. Among the greatest opponents of De Montfort, in his claim on the dukedom of Bretagne, was Oliver de Clisson, a Breton lord, now Constable of France. The constable's zeal was the more provoking, that in the beginning of these disorders, he had been a partisan of the house of De Montfort ; but long since that time he had espoused the cause of Charles de Blois, and fought for him in the battle of Aurai, in which Charles was slain. Oliver de Clisson, after that battle, had ransomed, at his own cost, two sons of Charles de Blois, the eldest of whom had married Clisson's daughter. This

young lord, with consent, as might be supposed, of his father-in-law, still continued to display the arms of Bretagne on his banners and in his scutcheon, and in so far, at least, to assert his claim to the duchy, in maintaining which his father was slain at Aurai. The duke was so displeased with this implied challenge of his right, that he resolved to be avenged in any manner, however discreditable to himself, which might place the constable in his power. For this purpose, he issued an invitation to all the nobility and lords of Bretagne, and especially to the Constable of France, Oliver de Clisson, to meet him at a solemn entertainment, with which he proposed to regale them. Having feasted them for some time, the Duke, as if to procure their opinion of the structure, carried them to see a castle by the sea-shore, which he was just building, and which he called the castle of Ermyne. The constable, entering the tower at the duke's request, was instantly laid hold of, secured, and loaded with irons. His brother-in-law, the Lord Delaval, who saw the gate of the tower shut suddenly, and observed by the duke's change of complexion, that something remarkable had happened, threw himself upon his knees, and demanded mercy for the gentle constable. "Are you willing to share his fate?" answered the duke, obviously in a high passion. "I am," answered Lord Delaval, in more anxiety for his friend, than apprehension for himself. "Then," said the duke, drawing his dagger, "you must be content to lose one of your eyes, for Clisson has but one." (He lost the other, it must be observed, at the battle of Aurai.) After a moment, however, the duke abstained from the violence which he threatened, and caused Delaval to be apprehended, saying, that he should have neither worse nor better treatment than his friend. He was led, accordingly, into a prison-chamber, and loaded, as was the constable himself, with three pairs of irons. The Lord Delaval continued to make intercession for the constable; and though the duke repeatedly threatened to put both his prisoners to death, he had the good fortune to divert him from his purpose. Finally, the duke accepted of a

ransom, amounting to the large sum of one hundred thousand francs, besides three castles, and the town of Guyon.

It was the opinion of the Bretons in general, that the true purpose of this violence on the duke's part, was to reconcile himself with the English, whom he had lately displeased by his desertion of the Duke of Buckingham, yet without whose support he must have felt it difficult to maintain the character of independence which he affected as Duke of Bretagne.

The consequence of the constable's arrest in Bretagne, depriving the king of France of that great officer, upon whose wisdom he chiefly rested for the successful execution of his project against England, must necessarily have interrupted the progress of the invasion ; but, as you have already heard, the tempestuous weather put an end to that expedition, by destroying the transports. The duke, however, contrived to reconcile himself with the king of France, at the expense of returning the sum he had extorted as the ransom for Clisson, and giving up the castles which he had received from him.

CHAPTER XII.

Charles VI. assumes the Government into his own hands—his choice of Counsellors—Attempt of Peter de Craon to assassinate Oliver de Clisson, Constable of France—the assassin takes refuge in Bretagne, whose Duke, De Montfort, had been privy to his design—King Charles, in marching towards Bretagne, to avenge himself upon the intended Murderer, is struck with Insanity, whereupon the Expedition is abandoned—Accident at a Masque, in which the King, during one of his Lucid Intervals, performed a part—The Duke of Burgundy appointed Regent, in opposition to the claims of the Duke of Orleans—Burgundy drives Oliver de Clisson from Court, who retires to Bretagne, and engages in a war with De Montfort—Peace concluded between them—De Montfort's Death, leaving Clisson Guardian of his Children—Clisson's honourable conduct in that capacity—His Death—Administration of the Duke of Burgundy—Assistance afforded by France to the Scots—Expedition to protect Hungary from the Turks—the French and Hungarians defeated by the Sultan Bajazet near Nicopolis—Massacre of the Prisoners—State of France at the Close of the Fourteenth Century.

THE next year was well advanced, when the French king, Charles VI., took upon himself the government of his kingdom. He assembled, for this purpose, a council at Rheims, whither he called his uncles, the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and expressing his grateful thanks for the services they had rendered him, declared himself in future determined to govern his kingdom by the assistance of a council of state, the members of which were to be selected by himself.

The nation were not sorry to see that none of the young

king's uncles, except the Duke of Bourbon, were included in the list of privy counsellors. The Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, however, both of whom were ambitious men, though Burgundy alone was an able one, were highly offended at being thus excluded from power. The king himself, as far as the character of so young a man could be guessed at, possessed the most promising dispositions. His education however, had been neglected; and, as was probably the policy of his uncle, who wished to keep him detached from business, he had contracted an extravagant passion for hunting and other youthful exercises, together with a love of public show and festivities, inconsistent with the economy which the state of the nation highly demanded. These failings, added to untoward circumstances, and to a melancholy alteration in the state of his health, rendered Charles VI. one of the most unfortunate princes that ever sat upon the throne of France, even though he had been preceded by the vanquished Philip and the captive John. In the commencement of his reign, however, these defects were far from being visible. He was attentive to business, careful to render justice to those who presented petitions to him, liberal in the remission of taxes, active in his administration, and so amiable in his general deportment, as to acquire the surname of Charles the Well-beloved.

In this the happiest period of his reign, the death of the Duchess of Orleans enabled him to bestow the title, and the province itself, upon his only brother, whom he had determined to raise to a rank befitting the love which he bore to him.

The principal officer whom Charles VI. employed, and whom he valued as much for his civil as for his warlike qualities, was the Breton lord, Oliver de Clisson, often mentioned as Constable of France, and whom, perhaps, the king valued the more, from being conscious that his greatness and wealth arose entirely from distinguished merit, without being the result of high birth. For the same reason, the king's uncles, seeing a person whom they regarded as an upstart, rise into confidence with

their royal nephew, from which they were excluded, entertained a deep hatred for Clisson, which displayed itself on several occasions; and these princes are, therefore, supposed to have aided the Duke of Bretagne in escaping, so easily as he did, from the consequences of his treacherous attack upon the constable's person, at the castle of Ermyne, and to have been at the bottom of a foul attempt to assassinate him, which took place shortly afterwards.

The agent in this vile deed, which was the too frequent vice of that barbarous age, was the same Peter Craon, formerly remarkable as having been the confidant of Louis of Anjou, to whom he proved faithless, and incurred a fine and censure, notwithstanding which, he had contrived to enter once more into some credit at the court of France. Craon, a bold, meddling, and intriguing person, had acquired so much intimacy with the Duke of Touraine, afterwards Orleans, the king's brother, that he had an opportunity of abusing it, which it was not in his nature to omit. The king, who understood that Craon had been disturbing the peace of his court, by fetching and carrying tales betwixt the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, intimated his displeasure by a sentence of banishment from court. Craon retired into Bretagne, of which duchy he was a native, and where he had property, full of indignation against the constable; and reckoning with security that he would have the countenance of the Duke of Bretagne, in any enterprise which he might form against that officer. It was not without the knowledge of this prince, that Peter Craon made a desperate attempt to assassinate the constable; and we must lament the inconsistency of mankind, when we find that John de Montfort, who had acquired the title of the Valiant, and who, in the field of Aurai, wept in the moment of victory over the hereditary foe by whose death he became Duke of Bretagne, could, notwithstanding, become accessory to so base and cowardly a conspiracy.

Though banished from Paris, Peter Craon had still like other persons attendant on the court, a house of his

own, which he caused to be privately supplied with armour for forty men. In the meantime he introduced into the house, at different times, a like number of persons, the most desperate ruffians whom he could find in a country where long war had made such characters too abundant. At last he joined them suddenly himself, and commanded the porter to let no person either in or out till his pleasure was known. On the same evening there was a great entertainment at court, upon which Craon kept a close watch, in order to be apprized of the motions of his victim. The knights jostled in presence of the king and queen; supper was served; dancing ensued; at length all departed to their lodgings. As Constable of France, Clisson departed last of all. He asked if he should attend upon the Duke of Orleans longer, and was dismissed by that prince, who had no farther occasion for his service. The constable was then joined by his retinue, with his horses; and, with eight persons and two torches, pursued his way through what was then called the street of Saint Catherine's. Here Craon waited with his band of assassins, to execute his purpose. They attacked the unsuspecting passenger, and struck out the torches. The constable naturally took this sudden assault to be a youthful frolic on the part of the Duke of Orleans, from whom he had just parted, and said, "Ah! sir, this is a bad jest; but I pardon your youth and love of frolic." At this Peter Craon drew his sword, and cried, "Down with the constable! I am Peter of Craon, whom thou hast often injured; I will now have amends!" Excited by their master's cries, Peter Craon's men struck at the constable and his party, yet it was but faintly; "for," says the chronicler, "what is done by treason is seldom done hardly." The good knight whose life was the object of this treachery defended himself manfully with a sword scarce two feet in length, the only weapon which he had, and warded off many blows; at length he was beat down by a severe stroke on the head, and fell against a baker's door, which was forced open by his weight, and the baker,

who was up early to attend to his oven, drew the wounded man within his house, so that the ruffians could not have finished their work without alighting, which they had not time to do. The assailants were the readier to make their escape, that they conceived, from the constable's fall, that their enterprise was fully executed. The city was speedily roused; and the king himself hastened to the spot, with a cloak around him, and slippers on his feet. He instantly ordered a hot pursuit after the assassins, which was undertaken by the provost of Paris. Notwithstanding this, Peter of Craon escaped by the gate of the city which had been dismantled by Oliver Clisson himself, when the king, returning from the campaign of Rosebecque, punished the city of Paris. The assassin afterwards retired into Bretagne; and the king prepared to march into that country, as well to revenge himself of Peter Craon, who had been guilty of such an outrage, as to chastise the Duke of Bretagne, his protector.

Clisson, though much hurt, recovered from his wounds, although he thought his end so near, as to make his testament. This was esteemed an extremely impolitic step, as he thereby confirmed reports which were current respecting the immense wealth which he had amassed, and greatly increased the odium in which he was held on that account. His property was said to amount to seventeen millions of francs, without putting any value on his lands and lordships, forming a strong contrast to the honest poverty of Bertrand du Guesclin, Clisson's predecessor in his high office.

In the meantime the intended murderer met with but a sorry reception from John de Montfort; not because he had attempted the deed, but because it was not fully executed. "Ah! Sir Peter of Craon," said the duke, "you are unhappy, that you could not slay your enemy when he lay under your sword!"—"Sir," answered Craon, "I think all the devils had conjured him out of my hands! I am sure more than sixty blows were struck at him with swords and javelins; he was felled from his horse; and had he not tumbled in at a half-open door, he

had been but a dead man." The Duke of Bretagne answered, "that as it was so, he would conceal Sir Peter of Craon, since so far he had promised to aid him."

It was highly natural that the king should endeavour to avenge so gross and cruel an outrage; but the offenders had friends about the king's family and person. Accordingly, though on one hand Charles urged, as an article of treason on the part of the Duke of Bretagne, that he had sheltered an assassin under the circumstances of Peter de Craon, and persisted in his purpose of bringing both the murderer and his abettors to condign punishment; on the other, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy would have had the matter considered as a mere brawl between two Breton lords, with which the King of France might dispense with intermeddling. The king, notwithstanding this opposition, vowed to be revenged for the foul injury which he had sustained in the person of his constable.

The king accordingly marched to the city of Mans, with the intention of entering Bretagne, having with him his uncles of Berri and Burgundy, and his brother of Orleans, at the head of a gallant army, with which he resolved to penetrate into Bretagne, and obtain full compensation for the crime meditated and imperfectly committed, by Peter of Craon.

The march of the king was interrupted by a very singular circumstance, at which we must be contented to wonder, without pretending to account for it. For some days ere Charles set out from Mans on this expedition, he had betrayed evident symptoms of occasional derangement,—the apparent effects of a slow fever, excited by vexation at the attempt upon Clisson, and the extreme heat of the weather. No persuasion, however, could induce him to relinquish the expedition against Bretagne, and he set off with his army in the manner already mentioned. Charles himself rode like a man-at-arms of the day, fully sheathed in mail, except his head, and having two pages bearing before him his helmet and his lance. The armour, being covered with black velvet, chafed and heated him excessively. His brother, his uncles, and one

or two principal persons of the army, attended immediately on his person. As he thus rode forward under a burning sun, he himself being in a moody fit, a tall figure dressed in rags, and hideous in appearance, rushed out of a thicket, and, seizing the king's bridle, exclaimed, in a singular tone of voice, "King, whither goest thou? Thou art betrayed!" What this man was, or to what purpose his wild warning was given, it is difficult to conjecture. The king's servants, who paid no attention to his words, suffered him to escape into the thicket, after having dealt several blows at him. He was nowhere afterwards seen, which induced the superstitious to believe him a supernatural apparition. In the meantime, the army emerged from the forest, and entered a broad plain, where the sun, at the height of noon, was still more oppressive than before. Here the pages with the spear and helmet rode close behind the king, and his uncles, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, with other high nobles, kept at a little distance, to be free of the columns of dust which arose from the tramp of so many horses. In these circumstances, the page that bore the spear falling asleep, or through negligence, allowing the lance to drop upon the casque of him who bore the king's helmet, that slight accident was enough to produce a great catastrophe. The king was weakened in mind by his fever, exhausted by the heat of the sun, and by the weight of his armour, which was a habiliment most unfit for the season. Above all, the appearance and words of what seemed to be a phantom, had sunk deeper into his imagination than those around him were aware. It was but lately since he had been called up from his bed, alarmed by a conflict at the gates of his palace, in which his highest military officer narrowly escaped with life; and in times when such things currently happened, slighter warnings than that of the unknown stranger might have alarmed nerves less shattered than those of Charles VI.

In this situation, the clash of the spear, and the glittering of the armour around, were sufficient to awaken him out of his dreaming melancholy into a fit of raving mad-

ness. He drew his sword, and, rushing like a madman on the page, who had caused the noise, struck him a mortal blow, and continued hewing at all around him with so little distinction, that it became obvious he was wholly deranged. There was no other remedy but to seize upon him by main force, disarm and bind him, and in this unhappy condition to convey him back to Mans, bound with ropes, and transported in a cart, exhausted with his frantic effort, speechless, motionless, and almost lifeless.

This was a melancholy conclusion of the expedition to Bretagne, all thoughts of prosecuting which were abandoned. The king's fury, as already noticed, gave way to a fit of the most powerless dejection; he neither moved, looked, nor spoke; and a low pulse, and a faint degree of warmth, alone indicated the remains of life. He recovered, indeed, after some weeks' illness; but both mind and body had received such a shock, as was never afterwards repaired.

It appears doubtful what we are to think of the tale of the forest of Mans. The scene of the apparition was acted near to a lazaretto for the abode of persons afflicted with leprosy; and the phantom may perhaps, therefore, have been some crazy patient of that melancholy asylum. It has, however, been supposed that the whole was a device of the Duke of Burgundy, who, in the event of the king's incapacity, was most likely to succeed to the administration of the kingdom, having formerly exercised it. It is thus far certain, that Burgundy was greatly dissatisfied with the object of the king's journey; for he hated Clisson, and considered him as the person by whose advice, he himself, and his brother the Duke of Berri, had been excluded from influence ever since Charles personally assumed the management of public affairs. The same Duke of Burgundy, at a period somewhat later, accused the king's sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, of being, by enchantment, the authoress of the king's malady. She was an Italian, daughter of Galeazzo, Duke of Milan; beautiful, accomplished, and possessed of high talent;

and it would have been indeed ungrateful in her to have been guilty of any harm to the king, who showed her, in his greatest fits of insanity, a particular degree of regard, spoke to her with tenderness, by the name of my "fair sister," and always knew her, though he could distinguish no one else. But as the House of Orleans did not succeed to any considerable share of power by the king's malady, at least in the first instance, it could hardly be supposed to have been guilty of practising upon Charles's health.

At first it seemed as if the king was not unlikely to recover permanently from his malady, when his fits of insanity were again brought on, after a temporary convalescence, by an accident as extraordinary as that by which his disease had originally been manifested.

Charles was so far recovered as to take an interest in the festivities of his court, though not in the affairs of state. There was, one night, displayed at court a masque of particular splendour, in which the king himself acted a part. Six personages of the highest rank, the king himself being one of them, appeared, for the amusement of the party, disguised in the character of Silvens or Satyrs. Their dress consisted of canvass coats, pitched over, to which wool or flax was attached in loose flakes, to represent the character which they had assumed. They were linked together with chains, and formed a pageant which excited general curiosity. The Duke of Orleans used the privilege of his rank, to approach the Silvens with a torch, in order to discover who the masquers were. Unhappily, their dress being highly inflammable, the whole group was on fire in an instant. Linked together, in the manner described, there was little chance of escape; yet the general cry of the perishing group was to save the king, even while they themselves were in the agonies of a death so painful. The Duchess of Berri, who was speaking with the king at the moment when the accident took place, had the presence of mind and resolution, to wrap that unhappy monarch in her mantle, and save him from a death, which, in his condition, however painful

and horrible, might have been a merciful dispensation. Another of the unhappy masquers plunged himself into a cistern of water, which chanced to be near. The remaining four were so dreadfully burnt, that they all died in great agony.

The natural consequence of so horrible an accident was the return of the king's malady in its fullest extent ; and, as he never afterwards recovered the perfect use of his reason, he must be considered as a lunatic for life, whose insanity was chequered with a few intervals of reason. In consequence of this lamentable condition of the monarch, the king and kingdom were alike overwhelmed with a tide of calamities.

It became absolutely necessary to provide a regent to carry on the business of the state ; and a quarrel arose in the royal family who should be preferred to that important office. The Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Burgundy both preferred claims to this eminent trust. The Duke of Orleans, the king's brother and heir, was legally entitled to hold this office ; the king, during his rare intervals of reason, gave his opinion to this effect ; nor was this prince unfitted for the situation by personal qualifications. He was a handsome man, and possessed all those exterior accomplishments which gain the admiration of the inferior orders. But the Duke of Orleans was a licentious voluptuary, preferring pleasure to principle, and not extremely select in choosing the road by which he sought the former. He was also only twenty years old at the time when the king's incapacity was first admitted, and was not, therefore, considered as sufficiently ripe in years to take upon him the high responsibility of the regency.

The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, uncles of the king, might entertain the next pretensions to this high office. Of these, the Duke of Berri was oldest ; and in so far preferable ; but he was a man of weak parts, and disposed by habit, to defer to the talents of his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, whom he did not affect to rival. He was also unpopular from his mal-administration, upon

a former occasion, of the county of Languedoc, which had given just cause for great clamour against him. This unambitious prince, therefore, was contented to look for such subordinate power as he might obtain by means of his younger brother's preferment, and added his interest to that of Burgundy to have the latter raised to the regency, of which he had for some time exercised the duties, during the king's minority, though without attracting much popular applause.

The Duke of Burgundy was, therefore, raised to the regency ; but not without a struggle between him and his nephew, Orleans, in the course of which the fatal quarrel took its rise between the rival branches of Orleans and Burgundy, which so long distracted the kingdom of France with civil violence, and occasioned the commission of so many crimes, and the spilling of so much blood.

It was the first step of this regent, when possessed of the administration of France, to visit upon the constable, Oliver de Clisson, the resentment which he had long nourished against him. When the constable appeared in his presence to give an account of his office, the Regent Burgundy took the opportunity to insult him, upbraiding him with having too long, and too busily, interfered with the affairs of the kingdom, also taunting him with his having amassed much wealth, and concluding by desiring him to get him gone, as he valued the sight of his remaining eye. Clisson, apprehending worse treatment, from so brutal a reception, retired from the city of Paris, and took refuge upon his own territories in Bretagne.

Clisson's old enemy, the Duke of Bretagne, was not disposed to allow the constable a quiet refuge in his dominions, while, in the meantime, the regent was determined to exclude him from France. It was with this view that the Duke of Burgundy caused Clisson to be summoned before the Parliament of Paris, where the principal part of the charge against him seems to have been, that he possessed too much wealth to have been

honestly acquired. As the constable did not appear before an assembly in which his enemies were predominant, he was, in all form, exiled from the realm of France, and condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thousand marks of silver; at the same time, he was adjudged to be dispossessed of his office of constable, although he still retained the official baton, which was the symbol of the authority. In the meantime, the office of constable was conferred upon Sir Philip of Artois, Count d'Eu, the Duke of Burgundy finding it difficult to get any one who would venture to accept it in the room of Clisson, who, after the death of Bertrand du Guesclin, had been generally esteemed the only man in France capable of exercising the office.

Meantime, Clisson made a strong party in his native country of Bretagne, where he had great power amongst the defeated party of Charles de Blois; the rather that he had a daughter married to the Count de Penthievre, eldest son of Sir Charles, and heir of his claims upon the dukedom. Thus Clisson was odious to the reigning Duke of Bretagne, not only as his personal enemy, but as likely to revive, and establish in the person of his own son-in-law, the rival claims of Sir Charles de Blois.

A cruel war was entered into by Clisson and the duke, which was carried on, as usual, by skirmishes, taking of castles and making of prisoners. The Duke of Bretagne, notwithstanding his being sovereign of the country, found few disposed to take his part in this matter; so that Clisson twice plundered him of all his plate; and, in fine, notwithstanding his enmity to Sir Oliver, the Duke was fain to make peace with him as an equal, and upon terms which Clisson considered as advantageous. An act of generous confidence on the part of Clisson closed the feud, and serves to show us, that although that wild age was incapable of being regularly bound by the terms of equity and good faith, they yet were fully sensible of the obligation arising from noble actions and frank reliance. The Duke of Bretagne, having desired an interview with Clisson, and knowing well that since the treacherous

rest at Ermyne Castle, his invitation was not likely to be trusted without a pledge, sent one of his sons to be retained as a security that good faith should be observed towards Clisson during the meeting. That same night, however, Clisson, who seems to have been aware that the duke, with violent passions, united much irregular but generous feeling, sent back the hostage, and in the fullest confidence of the duke's honour, kept the rendezvous without any security. John de Montfort, though he might be tempted to injustice, was highly sensible of confidence, and the more so, as he might be conscious it was undeserved. He admitted Clisson, not to a cold truce, but to a warm friendship, from which neither of them afterwards swerved.

The death of the Duke of Bretagne, not long afterwards, gave him an opportunity to show in turn his confidence in Clisson, whom he appointed as tutor to his orphan children, notwithstanding that the duty of such a guardian was inconsistent with the interest of the constable's grandchildren of the Penthièvre family.

Notwithstanding the jarring interests between the family of the deceased prince and of his own daughter, Clisson undertook the charge with all the zeal which the duke had reckoned upon. Neither was he without temptations to betray his trust. He was reclining upon his bed, on one occasion, when his daughter, the Countess de Penthièvre, entered the apartment, and intimated to her father, with little circumlocution, a plan of putting to death the young De Montforts intrusted to his charge, and placing his grandchildren in the right to the duchy. For all other answer to her proposal, the old knight raised himself in his bed, and launched at her head the truncheon which he held in his hand. Flying from a repetition of this well-merited, though somewhat severe paternal admonition, the countess fell down stairs and dislocated her leg, by which accident, a lameness for life became the reward of her ill-timed and ill-chosen advice to her father.

I may also mention in this place the fate of Peter

Craon, the deviser and perpetrator of so many crimes. He remained an exile, sentence having been pronounced against him in absence, on account of the assault upon Oliver de Clisson. (A. D. 1396.) During the treaty of marriage betwixt France and England, Richard II. besought pardon for this man, which was accordingly granted. In appearance, at least, Craon testified a becoming penitence for the faults of a licentious youth, as well as a cruel and blood-thirsty manhood, and died, it is said, repentant of his crimes.

Clisson shortly after died in peace, honoured, beloved, and lamented, after having gone through so many dangers in the public service, and so many from private envy and hatred. It was rare that such a deadly feud as existed between the Duke of Bretagne, Clisson, and Peter Craon, came to be finally terminated by peace and reconciliation.

In one respect the government of the Duke of Burgundy was a wise, for it was a frugal one. In his lucid intervals the king was entertained with hunting-matches and other pastimes, by which, perhaps, the duke hoped to divert his thoughts from the government of his kingdom. Sports and entertainments which the king could enjoy were carefully provided for him; and it is said, that playing-cards were invented for his amusement. But while in his fits of lunacy, the expenses of the unhappy monarch were reduced to the least possible compass, which decency would admit, and often restricted within it.

These instances of economy, and others doubtless of a more praiseworthy character, enabled the Duke of Burgundy to pacify the complaints of the common people, by reducing the public taxes; nor was he altogether negligent of the affairs of the kingdom. He was regularly guided by the advice of parliament, who were convened every year; and, using the counsel of his brother, the Duke of Berri, as a species of colleague, the laws which they adopted, with the consent of the

modity, were so prudent and wholesome, that they were retained for many centuries.

During the Duke of Burgundy's administration, also, of which much that is evil may be said, the public peace was not disturbed by the destructive war with England, by which France had been so long ravaged. This was, indeed owing rather to the weakness of England, than to the prudence of the French regent. The reign of Richard II. of England had been marked by public discord, popular tumult, and almost every event which can render a country incapable of foreign war; and during this general confusion, the quarrel with France, if not made up, was lulled to sleep from time to time by continued truces, until the year 1395, when Richard, then a widower, sent an embassy to demand in marriage the princess Isabel, eldest daughter of the reigning monarch Charles, but a girl of only six or seven years old. The French administration agreed to the match, but thought the princess went to reside in England, the marriage was broken off by Richard's dethronement and death. The most important consequences of the treaty of marriage, otherwise so ill assorted, was the accommodation of all disputes between France and England, and, amongst other articles, the restoration of Brest to the dukedom of Bretagne. The internal transactions of France, during this distracted reign, were merely convulsions, occasioned by the license of the soldiers, and at times the reviving disputes between the French and English vassals. But there existed, besides, connexions with foreign powers, of which it is necessary to say something.

The unfortunate fate of the Duke of Anjou's expedition against Sicily and Naples has been already sufficiently dwelt upon; but the intercourse of the French with the Scottish nation is worthy of some notice. We have already observed that love to the French, hatred to the English, and the distribution of considerable sums of money, had induced a nation, generally reckoned both poor and warlike, to attempt an invasion of England, in order to create a diversion in favour of Calais, which

Edward III. was then besieging. In this enterprise the Scots had the misfortune to lose a fine army, and leave their king, David II., prisoner in England. In the battle of Poitiers, a body of Scottish gentry, the flower of their kingdom, commanded by the celebrated Earl Douglas, shared the disasters of that bloody day. The French had always expressed themselves grateful for the assistance which the Scots had meant to give them, sorry for the loss which their allies had sustained, and willing to return the obligation when circumstances should put it in their power.

A period occurred in 1385, (A. D.,) when such an opportunity of assisting the Scots, and carrying war into the northern limits of England, appeared favourable. The spearmen of Scotland formed a body of infantry whose impenetrable phalanx defied even the shock of the men-at-arms. Their irregular cavalry were unequalled for the width to which they could spread devastation. But their archers, whom they drew from the Highlands, were far inferior to those of the English ; and the general poverty of the country rendered their regular cavalry comparatively few and ill-appointed.

The French council conceived, that by assisting the Scots with forces of the latter description, they might place their allies upon a footing with the English. A thousand men-at-arms were sent to Scotland under the Admiral of France, John de Vienne, a veteran of approved talents. He was also furnished with a large sum of money to distribute amongst their Scottish friends. At first, allies who came so well provided were received with general gratulation. But the strangers speedily found that they had come to a wild and savage country, destitute of the useful arts, and dependent upon Flanders even for horse-shoes and the most ordinary harness. On the other hand, the Scots were disgusted and displeased with the natural petulance of these military strangers, who interfered in their families with an alert gallantry, which the French conceived to be a mark only

of breeding, and a privilege of their rank. The Frenchmen were yet more disappointed upon finding the cautious manner in which the Scots proposed to conduct the war, which though admirably calculated to distress the English, afforded little prospect either of gain or glory to adventurers like themselves. Instead of rushing on with precipitate rashness to a general action, as the French wished and desired, the Scottish warriors, taught by experience, suffered the English army to enter their eastern frontier, and to do such damage as they could, which was very little, where flocks, herds, and cattle, forage, and all that could support an army, had been previously driven away, or destroyed. In the meantime, when the English were engaged in traversing what may be called a howling desert, the Scots, who even excelled their neighbours in the arts of devastation, poured a desultory but numerous army upon the western frontier of England, laying all waste, and doing more mischief than their own eastern provinces could have received from the southern foe, had they been plundered from sea to sea.

In this species of war the French men-at-arms could acquire neither fame nor profit; they lost their horses, lost their armour, and at length lost their patience, execrating the poor, rude, and pitiful country of Scotland, on account of which they had suffered so much trouble. What was worse, they found great trouble in obtaining permission to return to France. Wine they had little; their bread was of barley, or of oats; their horses were dead from hunger, or foundered with poor living; and when they would have brought them to sale, to relieve their pressing occasions for money, there were no purchasers in Scotland disposed to enter upon such a bargain. The Scots also insisted on a large sum, due, they said, for the expense of their allies' maintenance, and for the damages which they had in different ways done to Scotland. De Vierne himself was obliged to remain a hostage in Edinburgh, until these sums were paid by the government of France to the Scottish Factors at Bruges.

Thus the Scots took farewell of their allies with execrations upon their affected delicacy and epicurism, their self-importance and insolence, while the French inveighed with no less justice against the barbarity of the Scots, and the miserable poverty of their country.

France, however, was in this reign to send forth an expedition still more important, and doomed to terminate in a far more disastrous manner, than that to Scotland. Crusades had long ceased to be the fashionable employment of Christian monarchs ; but it was not possible that they could see with indifference the progress which the victorious Turks were daily making, both in the Grecian empire, and in the kingdom of Hungary. Sigismund was so apprehensive of the danger incurred from these infidels, under the command of the celebrated Bajazet, who had already for eight years besieged Constantinople, and was now threatening the frontiers of Hungary, that he endeavoured, by the most humble applications at the court of France, to obtain the assistance of a body of volunteers, who would merit Paradise, by combating against the infidels, "making use," says the chronicle, "of many words of great love, such as kings and such persons write to each other in circumstances of necessity." Similar letters were written by Sigismund to other Christian European courts.

John Earl of Nevers, son of the Duke of Burgundy, and regent of France, although not yet a knight, was desirous to go on this expedition, and Lord Guy of Tremouille expressed a desire to accompany him. The regent yielded a reluctant consent. The news being generally spread that the young Earl of Nevers intended to put himself at the head of a volunteer force, to assist in repelling Bajazet from the kingdom of Hungary, a general impression was made upon all the true sons of chivalry, who flattered themselves with the hope of obtaining such a complete victory as would enable them to conquer Turkey, recover Syria, and all the Holy Land, and outdo whatever had been attempted by the great princes in their crusades.

The army of what might be called crusaders, which assembled on this occasion, amounted to more than one hundred thousand men, and made such a splendid show when they reached Hungary, that Sigismund proudly exclaimed—"Why should we fear the Turks? If the heavens themselves should fall, we are numerous enough to uphold them with our lances." (A. D. 1395.)

The impatience of his auxiliaries to advance, induced the King of Hungary to levy what forces he could, and move forward with his allies, so that they might the sooner come to deeds of arms. They crossed the Danube, and formed the siege of a town called Nicopolis, which was garrisoned by the Turks. Bajazet, in the meantime, had raised a very large army, with which he approached the camp of the besiegers, showing only a small part of his force in the centre, and concealing a very large force upon each wing. A party reconnoitring brought news to the Christian camp that the Turks were advancing, but no exact account of their numbers or disposition. The Christians instantly took arms, but were considerably heated with the wine they had been drinking. The French claimed the honour of making the onset; and they were drawn up in front of the centre of that part of Bajazet's force which was open and uncovered.

The King of Hungary's mareschal then advised the strangers to halt, and keep their ground without advancing, until a reconnoitring party, which Sigismund had sent out, should bring more exact intelligence than they had yet received concerning the enemy's force. The Hungarian had scarcely turned his horse, ere Philip of Artois, Constable of France, out of pure despise and insolence, commanded his banner to advance, in defiance of the orders, or rather advice, received. The Lord of Coucy, a knight of great fame, considered this a presumptuous proceeding; and, looking to the Admiral of France, John de Vienne, the same who commanded the French auxiliaries in Scotland, demanded what was to be done. "Sir," answered the veteran, "where reason

cannot be heard, pride must reign ; since the constable will needs advance, we must follow him, and support him." They rushed forward, therefore, on what appeared to be the main body of the Turkish army, which retired before them, according to their sultan's previous commands. In the meantime, as the French advanced upon the centre, two strong wings on either flank of the Turkish army, which had been hitherto concealed, threw themselves in the rear of the men-at-arms, and cut the French chivalry off from the main body of the Hungarians. This manœuvre was executed with the characteristic rapidity which procured for Bajazet the epithet of Ilderim, or Lightning. The army of Sigismund, being fifty or sixty thousand men, might still, by a desperate charge, have rescued their allies, and perhaps gained the battle. But the Hungarians, losing courage on seeing many of the French horses running back without riders, concluded that their vanguard was defeated, and fell, from the very apprehension, into great disorder, and retired, or rather fled, in confusion. The Turks, whose armies consisted chiefly of cavalry, made great havoc in the pursuit. The King of Hungary himself, with the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, escaped with difficulty ; and the slaughter and carnage, both among the Hungarians and their auxiliaries, was very great ; while most of the French knights who escaped death on the field of battle, had the sad alternative of becoming captive to the infidels.

Bajazet, greatly elated by his victory, took possession of the King of Hungary's tent, and, with the usual caprice of a barbarian, evinced at first a desire to be civil to, and familiar with, such nobles as were brought prisoners to his presence. He took credit to himself naturally for the great victory he had won, and boasted, it is said, a pretended descent from Alexander of Macedon, in whose steps he affected to tread. But when the sultan had refreshed himself, and came to view the field of battle, the loss of his best and bravest Turks was so much greater

than he had conceived, that his tiger propensities began to show themselves. He caused to be pointed out to him some few of the knights who were of the highest rank, and likely to pay the best ransom. These being set apart, with a view of preserving their lives, the rest, stript to their shirts, were brought before him, previous to being put to the sword.

There were present a great number of captives, of the highest blood and character in France, and other states of Europe ; in all, more than three hundred gentlemen. The Turks stood around them with their drawn scimitars. Bajazet appeared, and received the supplication of all, for all were at his mercy. He looked upon his prisoners for a few moments, as a wild beast beholds his prey when he has made sure of it ; and then turning away, made a sign to his soldiers, in obedience to which the unarmed prisoners were hewn to pieces without compunction.

The sultan, however, was not wanting in a species of clumsy courtesy which intermingled strangely with his cruelty. He caused to be brought before him the Earl of Nevers, to whom, on account of his high rank, he showed some deference, and asked him, which of three knights he would wish to despatch to Paris with the information of his captivity. The earl fixed his choice upon one whom Froissart calls Jacques of Helley, who had been formerly prisoner with the Saracens, and whose knowledge of their language and manners had been of great service to his countrymen. The other two knights were presently put to death ; and Sir Jacques of Helley was dismissed under the faithful promise that he should again return to the Court of Bajazet when he had discharged his embassy.

The arrival of this messenger at Paris, with tidings so dismal, threw almost the whole kingdom into mourning ; and it was the general report that France had sustained no defeat so disastrous since the fabulous combat of Roncesvalles, in which battle, romance stated the twelve peers of Charlemagne to have fallen. Amid the number of tears which were shed, and the grief which was displayed

on every side, the regent Duke of Burgundy was the only person who experienced some comfort in the general distress. It is said, he contrived to extort from the French people, for the ransom of his son, the Earl of Nevers, a much larger sum than was necessary for the purpose, or than was actually paid to Bajazet.

Thus closed the fourteenth century upon the kingdom of France, neither leaving it healed of its disorders, nor in a way to be speedily cured of them; fortunate, however, in this, that the dissensions betwixt York and Lancaster, now commenced by the rebellion of Bolingbroke, was likely so far to occupy the attention of the English nation, as must necessarily prevent the recommencement of a war which had been long the scourge of both nations

CHAPTER XIII.

Faction of Orleans and Burgundy—Threatened Rupture with England—The Duke of Orleans appointed Regent, and again deprived of that office—Death of Philip of Burgundy—John the Fearless succeeds him, and the Dissensions with Orleans continue—Reconciliation of the two Dukes—their hatred again bursts out—Murder of Orleans—Burgundy, who instigated this crime, obtains a full pardon, but, having gone to quell an Insurrection at Liege, the Doom of Treason is pronounced against him—Burgundy advances upon Paris—the Adherents of Burgundy termed Cabochins, those of Orleans, Armagnacs—the Armagnacs obtain assistance from England—King Charles, during an Interval of his Malady, manifests the utmost indignation at this League with England, and marches in person against the Armagnacs—the French Nobles assemble in Paris, and compel the Armagnacs and Cabochins to be reconciled to each other—On an Insurrection of the Parisians, the Dauphin calls to his assistance, and re-organizes, the Orleans Party—Burgundy retires from Paris, but is recalled by the Dauphin, on some disagreement between him and his mother, Queen Isabella—On the approach of Burgundy, the Dauphin again invites the Armagnacs to join him—Charles himself, partially recovered, marches against Burgundy, and compels him to sign a Pacification—State of England—Conclusion.

OUR last chapter left France in a situation equally extraordinary and disastrous. The unfortunate monarch Charles VI. was so incurably affected with his disorder, that a light like that of a sunbeam in a tempest seemed only from time to time to gleam on his deranged imagination, and enabled him to express occasionally some

opinion on politics, which those of his relatives who had for the time the nearest access to his person, never failed to mould so as to serve their own purposes. Thus, without having, properly speaking, any will or inclination of his own, the unfortunate prince could assume the appearance of expressing one, and was sometimes brought forth to do so even in public, which, as his deficiencies were well known, could only have had the effect of degrading his government.

At other times, the person of Charles was strictly secluded. His tent and his banner were displayed in marches and sieges; but the curtains of the pavilion were never raised, nor was the person of the sad inhabitant, ever visible to his soldiers.

During the king's incapacity, the two factions of Orleans and Burgundy, although their representatives were connected in the near relation of uncle and nephew, contended with the most bitter strife for the power of administering the government. The Queen Isabella, wife of Charles VI., an ambitious and violent woman, was supposed to have espoused the interest of the Orleans party, with a warmth which, as the duke was a libertine young man, was prejudicial to her reputation. The Duke of Orleans, therefore, and his wife Valentina, who possessed a strong personal interest with the king, were for the present leagued with Queen Isabella for the purpose of depriving the regent, Duke of Burgundy, of that power which he held in the administration. We shall afterwards see this intrigue assume a different form.

Each of these factions took the most violent and unscrupulous mode of doing whatever might injure their rivals in the public opinion. Both of them called in the aid of physicians, in the hope of devising some cure or alleviation of the king's malady; and as the empirics who were permitted, if not encouraged, to make new experiments upon the royal patient, usually left Charles worse than they found him, their want of success was always laid to the charge of the party which had consulted them. The Duke of Orleans condemned to the flames

as a magician, a learned man, named Jean de Bar, who had been employed by the Duke of Burgundy to effect the king's cure. The regent, in retaliation, commanded the prosecution of two Cordelier churchmen, who had been brought by the Orleans faction to attend the king as physicians, and whose experiments had consisted in deep and dangerous incisions made on the head of their royal patient. The Duke of Burgundy caused them both to be hanged.

In the meantime, the external peace of the kingdom of France was threatened, while the government of the country was a prey to discordant factions. The contract of marriage between Richard II. and the young princess of France, Isabella, though absurdly ill-suited as regarded the age of the parties, had yet the great advantage of procuring a prolonged and solid peace betwixt two nations, whose chief miseries for two centuries had been occasioned by inveterate and senseless hostilities, from which neither had gained advantage, while both had suffered immense loss in blood and treasure. But the dethronement and death of Richard II. was an unexpected stroke, which dissipated all these happy prospects; and the unfortunate Charles, who happened to be in one of his lucid intervals at the time, was so much affected by the melancholy tidings, that he relapsed into one of his most outrageous fits of insanity. (A. D. 1399.)

The French princess, the intended wife of Richard, so soon as she should have arrived at a proper age, was still residing at the court of England; and although her proposed husband was dethroned, and it is believed murdered, Henry IV. would fain have retained her there as a future bride for his son, afterwards Henry V. This match, which would in all probability have secured a stable peace between the countries, must have been highly to the advantage of both. But the French nation were incensed at the death of Richard, whom they looked upon as their ally; and the lords of Gascony who had hitherto followed the English interests, regarded the

same unfortunate monarch as the son of their great prince Edward, and their countryman, Richard having been born at Bourdeaux. The French, aware of this feeling, were universally disposed for war for the recovery of Bourdeaux and the other English possessions in France, in preference to a peaceful alliance with that power under its new dynasty. But the malady of their king, and the contests between the factions of Orleans and Burgundy, rendered the French as unfit for prosecuting the war, as they were averse to continuing at peace; and thus a re-enforcement from England, under command of the Earl of Worcester, easily secured Bourdeaux to the English crown.

In the year 1400, during a casual absence of the Duke of Burgundy from court, the opposite party had the art to extract from the king, then in one of his twilight intervals, a commission appointing his brother, the Duke of Orleans, his lieutenant and regent of the kingdom, at such periods when he himself should, by the visitation of God, be prevented from administering the government. (A. D. 1400.) This commission was partly obtained by the influence of the queen, who at this time hated the Duke, or rather the Duchess of Burgundy; and it was received the more willingly by the people, as by the law of France, the Duke of Orleans was the rightful claimant of the regency, and his youth could not now, as formerly, be objected to.

But the new regent used his power very unskilfully. In the quarrel between the two Popes, which still subsisted, the Duke of Orleans espoused the cause of Benedict, which was the most unpopular in France; he likewise imposed taxes both on ecclesiastics and on the laity, which, joined to a casual scarcity of provisions, rendered his government intolerably oppressive. A crisis speedily followed, in which the Duke of Orleans was deprived of the regency by an assembly of the great men of the kingdom. Both dukes then took arms, and a civil war seemed inevitable, when, by the interference of the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, and other princes of the blood

it was declared that, to end the family dissensions, both Orleans and Burgundy should be excluded from the government of the kingdom, which was vested in the council of state, over which the queen was appointed to preside. This suspended, in appearance, the quarrel between the rival princes, and, for a time, neither attempted to assume the regency in person, though both exercised an indirect influence upon the different members of the council.

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was afterwards again raised by his nephew the king, to a more active share in the government, when he suddenly died upon a journey, so very much embarrassed by debts, that his duchess renounced any share in his movable succession; and, in testimony of her doing so, laid in the coffin of the deceased prince the keys of his household, and the girdle at which she wore them—a strange ceremony to take place at the funeral of a prince, who had at his command all the revenues of France, and was not supposed over scrupulous in employing them to his own purposes.

John, Duke of Burgundy, who succeeded Philip, was called the Fearless. He possessed his father's power, although he had two brothers, each of whom inherited considerable territories, being Anthony, Duke of Brabant, and Philip, Count of Nevers, which last we saw unhappily distinguished at the battle of Nicopolis. But, above all, John, the eldest brother, had his father's ambition, and took up the family quarrel with the house of Orleans exactly where Duke Philip had left it.

The discord between the uncle and nephew came thus to subsist in full force between the two cousins. They disturbed the whole kingdom by their intrigues; and the Duke of Burgundy had, like his father, the address to secure a very strong party in the city of Paris, to which his house and faction had represented themselves as the preservers of the privileges of the city and university, and enemies to the imposition of excessive taxes. In the dissensions which followed, the dauphin, a young man of feeble talents and no fixed principles, would have fled

with his mother to the town of Melun, but was pursued by the Burgundian party, and brought back by force. Blood shed seemed so near, that each prince chose his device Orleans, to indicate his possessing the right of regency, displayed a hand grasping a club full of knots, with the motto—*I envy it*—alluding to the feeling which he attributed to the opposite house. Burgundy, on the other hand, gave a carpenter's plane, with a Flemish motto—*Je houd*—that is, *I hold*—the means of smoothing the knotted club. (1405.)

Mutual friends and relations, chiefly of the blood royal, once more interfered, and brought the two contending princes to a solemn agreement. They dismissed their troops on each side, met together in the hotel of the Count de Saint Paul, embraced each other, and took the sacrament at the same time. They were now employed for a short time in the public cause, the one against the English in Guienne, the other against Calais; but the campaign proved short and inefficient, and was closed by a truce of one year's duration.

It would appear that the hatred of the two dukes became the more bitter, that the late reconciliation obliged them to observe certain forms of dissimulation, since in private the Duke of Burgundy, at least, meditated ending the feud by putting his rival to death.

It was on the 23d of November that the Duke of Orleans, being at the queen's apartments, where he usually spent the evening, was summoned to wait on the king immediately. While he obeyed this command, and traversed the streets mounted on a mule, accompanied only by two gentlemen and a few valets on foot, he suddenly fell into an ambush posted for the purpose. The leader of these ruffians was one D'Hacquetonville, personally injured, as he conceived, by the Duke of Orleans. This man struck at the Duke with his battle-axe, and, missing his head, the blow fell on his right hand, which it struck off. "I am the Duke of Orleans," cried the party assailed. "It is he whom we seek," answered his assassins with wild

exultation, and, striking the prince from his saddle, they cut him limb from limb by their furious and united assault. They had taken every precaution to ensure the perpetration of the murder and their own subsequent escape. The streets were strewed with caltrops, for laming the horses of such as should attempt a pursuit ; a house was set fire to by the assassins, who cried " Fire, fire !" to distract the attention of the people, while the Duke of Orleans's retinue were crying " Murder !"

In the morning, the duke's body was discovered, so much hacked and dismembered, that the streets were sprinkled with his blood and brains, while some of the limbs could scarcely be found by his weeping attendants. Such, indeed, was the inveteracy of the factions, that the Burgundians only said to each other, with a sneer, " See, if the knotty mace has not been well smoothed by the plane !"

The Duke of Burgundy at first affected innocence and surprise. On a threat, however, to arrest some of his followers, he showed such signs of guilt, that the princes of the blood advised his retiring from Paris to his own dominions, which he did with much precipitation. But when in a place of safety, he recovered his spirits ; and, finding that his party were willing to support him, without much regard to his innocence or guilt, he assembled an army of his own subjects of Burgundy and Flanders, and advanced upon Paris, having with him, as an apologist, or rather vindicator, a doctor in theology, named John Petit, who, in the face of the dauphin and princes of the blood, arraigned the late Duke of Orleans as a traitor, and shamelessly justified the Duke of Burgundy for the vile murder accomplished on the body of his near relation. The Duke of Burgundy, assured of his superiority, demanded and obtained from the dauphin, who began now to assume a lead in public affairs, as full a pardon for the death of the unfortunate Orleans as could be put into words. He caused the Admiral of France to be removed from office, his chief fault being that he had

offered with two hundred knights to pursue the murderer of Orleans.

Nor would his demands have stopped there, had he not suddenly learned that the people of Liege were in arms against his father-in law, their archbishop ; and no sooner had Burgundy left Paris with his forces to quell this insurrection in Flanders, than the Orleans faction appeared in arms, in the capital, determined to take merited vengeance for the foul murder.

The number of the Duke of Burgundy's enemies was augmented by the appearance of Valentina, the widowed spouse of the deceased, in the deepest mourning, followed by all her household in the same attire of woe, seeming to invoke upon the murderer the vengeance demanded by the widow and the orphan. And although the Duchess of Orleans was prevented by fate from prosecuting her purpose, yet her death, which followed soon after that of her husband, was ascribed to the consequences of his assassination, and occasioned additional execrations on the perpetrators of the deed.

Owing to the sudden predominance of his enemies, judicial proceedings against the Duke of Burgundy were briskly undertaken before the parliament of Paris, and pushed on to extremity. The pardon he had obtained from the dauphin was declared void, and the doom of treason denounced against him.

Hardly had men sufficiently wondered at this change of fortune, when news arrived, that the Duke of Burgundy, having quelled the insurrection of the citizens of Liege after much slaughter, was now approaching Paris at the head of his army, breathing defiance against all his enemies—a threat the more formidable, as the greater part of the populace at Paris were known to be influenced by him ; so much so, that even his vile crime had made no impression in his disfavour on the violent-tempered citizens, who were little accustomed to regard the life or death of an individual, even although a prince of the blood, or to consider in what manner he came

to his grave, provided he fell in the prosecution of a death feud.

The city of Paris, and country of France, were now split into two violent factions, who distinguished themselves by badges, and by the designations of their parties. This was the only circumstance which evinced decency and a sense of shame—that they did not distinguish themselves as Burgundians or Orleanists. The former party wore red sashes, with the cross of Saint Andrew, and were called Cabochins, from Caboche, a butcher, a distinguished partisan of the party of Burgundy. The followers of Orleans, on the other hand, wore white sashes, with Saint George's cross, and termed themselves Armagnacs, from the earl of that name, the father-in-law of the Duke of Orleans, accounted, from his spirit and activity, the buckler of his cause. He was made Constable of France by his son-in-law's interest, and was looked upon as his principal partisan. The Parisians took up arms as Cabochins; and a body of actual butchers were the most active in the cause of Burgundy.

The Orleans party moved upon the capital, and threatened Paris with a siege. But the Duke of Burgundy threw himself into the city with a body of select troops, part of whom were English, with which nation, in the desperation of his hatred to the faction of Armagnac, the duke had made a league. These English auxiliaries were commanded by the Earl of Arundel, and conducted themselves with such good discipline, that they were of great service to the cause of Burgundy.

The Orleans faction, who remarked this advantage of the opposite party, and suffered by it, felt little difficulty in entering into similar transactions on their own part, and opened a treaty with Henry IV. of England. The offers of the Armagnacs were too high to be neglected by Henry IV., who was just obtaining a breathing time from the troubles and insurrections with which his reign had been successively disturbed—by the Welsh, the Percys, and others, who were dissatisfied with his title or his government. At this period of quiet, it was natural he should

look abroad to France, now engaged in a bloody and remorseless civil war, and engage to support the party that should grant him the best terms. Or perhaps, in his heart, the English king desired, by assisting the one French party after the other, to prevent the civil war from drawing to a conclusion, which afforded England a prospect of recovering her French dominions.

It is certain, that, with whatever intention, Henry IV. listened favourably to the proposal of the Orleans or Armagnac faction, who offered to surrender all the provinces of Gascony to the English, with other advantages. Tempted by these offers, he engaged, 18th of May, 1412. to send to the assistance of the Armagnacs, a thousand men-at-arms, and three thousand archers. To show himself more serious in their support, the King of England's younger son, Thomas of Clarence, was to be appointed general of the auxiliary army.

Amid these preparations, in which the horrors of foreign invasion were added to those of civil war, Charles VI. awakened from a long fit of stupor, and became sensible, as he sometimes was for intervals, to the distresses of the country of which he wore the nominal crown.

Isabella of Bavaria, the wife of the unfortunate king, had contrived to take a great share in the government in the names of her lunatic husband and her youthful son, whose station of next heir to the crown would have given him great authority, had he known how to use it. It was much to the credit of the French, that their loyalty to the king remained unshaken even when in such deplorable circumstances. His mandates, when his mind was strong enough to express them, were listened to with respect by the chiefs of both parties; and, as the caprice of the queen threw her into the one or the other side of the contending factions, he was heard to denounce vengeance for the death of Orleans, his only brother, and on the other hand, undertake the defence of the Duke of Burgundy, his murderer.

Thus passively did the poor king follow the views of

the faction under whose charge he chanced to be placed for the time, without expressing disgust at his own treatment, although we have one anecdote at least tending to show that even his means of living and support were strangely neglected by those who had his person under their control, even though these were at the time his wife and eldest son.

So ill, we are assured, was the royal family provided for, that the governess of the royal household once complained to the unfortunate king that she had neither money nor means of procuring either provisions or other necessaries for the service of the royal children. "Alas!" said the king, "how can I help you, who am myself reduced to the same straits!" He gave her the golden cup out of which he had recently drank, as the means of meeting the immediate necessity.

It appears that this unhappy prince, during the rare intervals of his melancholy disease, had the power of seeing, with some degree of precision, the condition in which the country stood at one given moment, and could then form a rational opinion, though he was totally incapable of deducing any arguments founded on what had happened before the present moment. His mind was like a mirror, which reflects with accuracy the objects presented to it for the time, though it retains no impression of such as formerly passed before it. His judgment, therefore, incapable of judging of affairs with a comprehensive reference to past events, or those who have been actors in them, was entirely decided by the light in which the present circumstances were represented by those interested in deceiving him.

Charles was therefore not a little indignant, on awaking from his illness in 1412, at finding the Armagnac party far advanced in a treaty, the principal article of which was the introduction of an English army into France; and while he felt natural resentment at a proceeding so unpatriotic, and so full of danger to his kingdom, he was not aware of the fact, or could not draw the conclusion, that the Duke of Burgundy and his party had been guilty

of exactly the same error when they accepted the assistance, under the Earl of Arundel, which had formed the most effective part of their garrison for the defence of Paris.

Greatly displeased, therefore, with the Dukes of Berri and Bourbon, with others included in the Armagnac party, Charles marched in person against them, and besieged the city of Bourges, which was one of their strongholds. They expressed the utmost deference for the king's person, but alleged that he had not undertaken the expedition of his own free will, protesting at the same time that, excepting that Charles came, or rather was brought, in company of that licensed murderer, John Duke of Burgundy, the gates of Bourges should fly open at the slightest summons in the king's name.

While making these fair pretences, the besieged organized a desperate sally, with the view of making prisoners of King Charles and his eldest son Louis. In this they were disappointed, and found themselves so hard pressed in their turn, that they were obliged to submit to conditions dictated by the king, in which both the parties of Armagnacs and Cabochins were obliged to renounce all their leagues with the English.

The English, in the meantime, under the Duke of Clarence, arrived, as appointed by the Armagnacs; and, as demonologists pretend of evil spirits, were much more easily brought into France than dismissed from thence. The Orleans party, by a large sum of ready money, and a much larger in promise, for which hostages were granted, persuaded the English prince to withdraw, but not without doing much damage to the country.

The French nobles then assembled together in Paris, without distinction of parties, the very names of the factions being declared unlawful; so anxious did the leaders appear to be to bury the very memory of their dissensions, while secretly they were labouring to rouse and increase them.

Peace being thus concluded betwixt the factions, there seemed to be some chance of stopping the bleeding

wounds of the distracted country ; but the utter disregard to the ordinary bonds of faith between man and man, threw all loose within a short time.

A war with England began now to appear a likely event, and a meeting of the States-General was convoked, to find the means of meeting the emergencies of the country ; but they were dissolved without having proposed any radical cure for the distresses and dangers under which the kingdom laboured.

Louis, dauphin, and heir of the crown, was now beginning to take a decided part, independent of his mother the queen, and he naturally cast his eye on the Duke of Burgundy, as the party by whom so incurable a wound had been dealt to the domestic peace of France. In his secret inquiries into this prince's conduct, he learned, or perhaps pretended to learn, that the duke had laid a plan for destroying the remaining branches of the house of Orleans. The informer was a certain Pierre des Essards, a creature of the Duke of Burgundy, whom he had raised to the dignified and wealthy situation of minister of the finances, and who now, being threatened by the dauphin with an examination of his accounts, changed sides, in the hope of eluding inquiries which he dared not meet. He received orders from the dauphin to secure the Bastile, then in some degree considered as the citadel of Paris.

Burgundy, better accustomed to the management of plots than his young kinsman, counteracted so effectually the scheme of the dauphin, that Des Essards no sooner had possessed himself of the Bastile, than all Paris was in uproar. The mob, commanded by Caboché, the butcher, took up arms. Des Essards, obliged to surrender the Bastile, was seized upon, and put to death. Caboché and his followers also killed some persons in high office about the dauphin's person, and compelled the king himself, with the Dukes of Berri and Bourbon, to go to the parliament, wearing white hoods, the emblem of the party of Burgundy,—at least of the Parisian mutineers,—and there register such edicts as the multitude were pleased to demand. The same rioters burst into the dauphin's

private apartments, having heard the sound of violins there, and behaved with the utmost insolence, putting those who were present in immediate danger of their lives.

Impatient of mob-tyranny, which is of all others the most difficult to endure, the dauphin once more took measures for recalling and arranging the broken and dispersed party of the Duke of Orleans. At the call of the heir-apparent, in which he used the name of his father, the Orleans party entered Paris, while, by one of the changes common at the time, the Duke of Burgundy found he could not make his party good in the city, and retired, as was his wont, to his own territories of Flanders.

The queen, the dauphin, and the other lords, who had thus obtained power, notwithstanding their mutual interest, could not agree, how much soever it was their interest to do so. Isabella of Bavaria had the art to induce most of them to join against the authority assumed by her son, as too absolute and peremptory to be engrossed by one whom she described as a giddy youth, liable to be seduced by evil counsel. The queen even proceeded so far as to break into the dauphin's apartments, and seize upon four attendants of his person, whom she described as agents of the Duke of Burgundy. The young prince was so highly offended at this personal insult, that he wrote to the Duke of Burgundy that he was prisoner in his own capital, and invited him to come with his forces to his deliverance.

A slighter invitation would have brought the duke to Paris. He instantly advanced, at the head of a large force of his own vassals.

Charles, however, had in the meantime a transitory interval of recovery, and assumed for a short time the reins of government. He sent forth an edict, reproaching the duke with the murder of the Duke of Orleans, and published the confutation of Doctor John Petit's abominable apology for that vile assassination.

The dauphin Louis, also, whose temper seems to have been fickle and uncertain, again changed his party, and

invited the princes of the Orleans faction into the city with so strong a body of horse, (amounting, it is said, to eight thousand men,) that they were able to disarm the whole citizens, save those of the better classes. He took also away from the Parisians the chains and barricades with which they were accustomed to block up their streets, and once more put it out of their power to disturb the public tranquillity. The Duke of Burgundy in the meantime advanced towards the walls of the city; but dismayed at once by the royal edicts launched against him, by the dauphin deserting his cause, and by the reduced state of the Parisians, who used to be his best friends, he retreated as formerly, after a vain attempt on the capital.

But the king, surrounded with all the princes of the blood-royal, except the lineage of Burgundy, marched into Artois, the territories of the duke, with the purpose of completely subduing his territories. Charles demanded of the towns of Flanders, whether they meant to stand by the duke against their liege lord? and received the satisfactory answer, that the duke was indeed their immediate prince, but that it was not their purpose to assist him against the king, their lord paramount, or to shut their gates against their sovereign. The Duke of Burgundy, alarmed at finding himself deserted by his own immediate subjects of Burgundy and Flanders, began to negotiate for a peace with more sincerity than hitherto. It was concluded accordingly; but the Orleans party refused to sign it. Charles and his son insisted on the signature. "If you would have the peace lasting," said the dauphin, "you must sign it;" which was done accordingly. This pacification, being preceded by the humiliation of the Duke of Burgundy, might be accounted the most steady which had yet been attempted between the Armagnacs and Cabochins, and appeared to possess a fair chance of being permanent.

But it was not the pleasure of Heaven to prolong the state of foreign peace, or truce at least, which France had enjoyed during her domestic divisions, and which

prevented England from taking advantage of them. During some years Henry IV. of England had reigned, an unpopular king, with an uncertain title, and could not, owing to disturbances at home, profit by the disunion of the French. But at the time of this pacification between Charles and his subjects, the English king had just died, and was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Henry V., a young hero, beloved by the nation, and who breathed nothing save invasion and conquest against his neighbours, the scars of whose disunion were still rankling, though apparently closed.

And, as the issue of the strife which ensued was remarkable, I shall here close my TALES for the present, not unwilling to continue them, if they shall be thought as useful as those from the History of Scotland.

THE END.



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