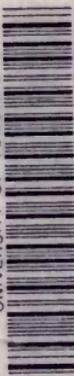


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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE

MIDDLE AGES.

BY SHARON TURNER, F.S.A., R.A.S.L.

FIFTH EDITION.—IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

COMPRISING THE REIGNS FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE
ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

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P R E F A C E.

IN presenting to the Public the fruits of a favorite study, I cannot offer as the apology for any defects of the present work, the haste with which it has been written. It is the gradual result of the application of the leisure hours of several years to a subject that has interested me from my youth: and I know too well the intellectual improvements and general talents of that British Public, whose early history and progress I have endeavored to elucidate, not to be sensible, that to obtain its approbation in the nineteenth century, no common labor, no supine attention, will suffice. But the attainments of every individual, whatever may be his wishes, are circumscribed within bounds which, though others may easily overpass, he will never be able to exceed. That an Author should perform the task he undertakes to the full extent of his abilities, the Public has a right to exact. Less exertion than this would be a negligence bordering on disrespect. More, is impossible. In the discharge of this duty, I am not conscious that I have failed. I have not intentionally omitted any care or assiduity to make the present History as correct and satisfactory as my means of information or personal diligence, could supply: and I hope that on this ground I have some claim to expect that those readers, whose criticisms may be awakened by its imper-

fections, will recollect what has been performed, as well as what may be found deficient.

The present Work has arisen from a perception, that there were many important documents of the middle ages, which former writers had not consulted; and many facts essential to a complete knowledge of our history, which lay untouched and unappropriated. I have endeavored to make these a part of our national history. It was also believed that, standing on the 'vantage ground of the nineteenth century, some views might be taken of the great stream of time which has preceded, in parts more comprehensive, in parts more picturesque; and, on the whole, more just and faithful, than had hitherto been sketched. Such extensive scenes of action, and such stupendous revolutions, are every day passing before us, that it seems to have become necessary to drop much of the detail in which former historians have properly indulged, in order to bring events together more in their connected masses; and to exhibit them in those great operations and results which have most influenced the succeeding periods.

On this plan, and with these objects, the following Work has been composed. And though I may have failed in properly executing my own project, yet I will hope to have offered some facts and considerations to the notice of the general reader, which it may be neither unprofitable, nor wholly unentertaining to peruse.

I have very rarely exercised the invidious office of pointing out the occasional errors of my predecessors. No writer on a large subject, and using unconnected and multifarious materials, can hope to escape them.

I have endeavored to be accurate in my own Work; and have thought that I should save time and temper, both to the Public and to myself, by leaving it to those who like minute researches, to make the comparison for themselves, whenever a difference of view or a discordant circumstance may arrest their attention. But I have been anxious to perform one essential duty with scrupulous care—the personal examination of the authorities used, and a faithful citation of the passages consulted. I have inspected the original documents and authors which are quoted, with scarce a single exception; and have referred to them precisely. This has never been omitted, wherever it was attainable—and with due allowance for occasional deceptions of sight, in taking down a page or in transcribing it, or in the casual errors of the press, I trust the quotations will be found generally correct.

It has been a considerable gratification to observe, that the history of England from the Norman Conquest, is the history of continued national progression. It is probable that the English history is not singular in this respect; but that every country, if studied with this object in view, will be found to have exhibited a progress, not indeed wholly commensurate with that of England, but proportional to its own situation and resources. In every country, whether ancient or modern, whose annals I have examined, I have found such indications of gradual advancement, that it has become the tendency of my mind to believe, that if the history of the human species were sufficiently contemplated by the moral philosopher, with due regard to the principles and necessities of our nature, it would be found to exhibit from its earliest period a course of continuous improvement. But

however this may be, as to mankind in general, there can be no question, that the British population has been, from the landing of William the Conqueror, in a state of progressive amelioration. This ascertainable fact affords the most cheering prospects of our future character and destinies. That progression which has been effected when obstacles innumerable existed to retard it, cannot but be more brilliantly operative now, when its attainment has put in action more numerous causes and more active instruments for the extending and accelerating its advancement.

P R E F A C E

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE FIRST, OR QUARTO, EDITION.

THE Readers of the former Volumes of this History, may reasonably expect some reason or apology for the long delay of the Continuation, which is now submitted to their perusal. To begin a Work of this sort, and to leave it imperfect, has an appearance of caprice and injustice; which, if it had been voluntary, would have been censurable. This imputation the Author is anxious to avert. He feels that, when he invited the attention of the Public to a new History of England, he contracted an implied obligation to complete his undertaking to the best of his ability, without any protracted intermission. The pleasure he experienced in its composition, would have been an additional incitement to realize both his own wishes and the expectations of his readers; but the course of life is as little under our command in its individual, as in its political direction. A debilitating illness succeeded the publication of the former volumes; at times so severe, that not only writing, but even reading was often impossible. Enough strength only remained to fulfil other duties of a more imperious nature; and tho a strict and per-

severing self-management has restored a considerable degree of exertion and comfort, during the first part of the day; yet the evenings, so valuable and so interesting to the student who has the usual occupations of life to pursue, are still the periods of so much weakness and indisposition, that the Author's only security for a night of repose and a day of efficiency, is an abstinence from all that can enliven or excite, as evening advances. The most retired quiet, and the most forbearing suspension of every exertion at that time, have become indispensable to keep life from relapsing into a state of suffering, which would make it both undesirable and useless.

Under these circumstances all that could be done, was to use the occurring intervals of leisure and ease, to inspect such original documents, and new authorities, as could be found; examine the more known ones; arrange their scattered information; compare their various claims to attention; and compose from all, such a narrative of the most important and interesting facts as could be presented to an intelligent reader of the present day, as not unworthy of his consideration and belief. But it is obvious, that these intervals were to be waited for; that they would arrive with great intermissions; and that unusual lapse of time must ensue before the Author could accomplish his wishes.

By gradual perseverance, trespassing inevitably, tho unwillingly, on the indulgence of his friends, the task advanced; and this last summer has enabled the Author to complete, by this volume, what he considers to be the second series of the English History. The first was given in the work on the Anglo-Saxons,

which brought down our national story to the Norman Conquest. The second portion, which comprises the History of England during the MIDDLE AGES, commences at the accession of William the Conqueror, and terminates with the death of Henry VII. Here the middle ages of Europe naturally close with the conclusion of the fifteenth century. A new world, quite unlike the former, then arose, from which all our modern history has flowed, and with which it is, and will long be, inseparably connected. In England, this begins with the reign of Henry VIII., during whose life all the great innovations, states, interests and establishments became prominent, which have so marked and elevated all the succeeding periods. Hence the present Work may be, not unfitly, termed, THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. Describing our public transactions, the personal portraits of our kings, and the main features and changes of our national character and costume; they are meant to exhibit a period of society, and a course of events, unlike either Grecian, Roman, or Asiatic story; yet not less peculiar, original, striking, and important. As the History of the Anglo-Saxons formed a distinct subject of itself, ending the first series of our annals at the Norman conquest, so these volumes exhibit another completed division of our national fortunes, during the middle ages, by detailing the second series of our national historiography. The two Works narrate the history of our never retrograding Country, from the earliest times down to the year 1509; and so long a period of research, will, perhaps, be accepted by the indulgent Public, as a sufficient performance of an undertaking too sanguinely entered upon by the Author, when, in the flush and sunny hopes of youth, he presumed to

think of writing the History of England, even to his own times. It would be easy, like Smollet, to do so, if only the common authorities were to be consulted; and the reader had to be told, in new words, nothing but what he was familiar with before. But for any one to dig below the ordinary surface of events, and give more just and original views of the conduct and fortunes of our continually improving and picturesque ancestors, from unexamined sources, a time, an attention, a strength, and a degree of labor are required, which make it almost, if not quite, impossible for one individual to give to the Public a complete history of England on this plan. That the present Author, now in his fifty-fifth year, with a broken constitution, will be able to make any advances into the third and last series of it, must as yet be an uncertainty. His desire may be undiminished, but the performance depends so entirely on agencies beyond his own control, that he can but look at the task like a wistful mariner on a distant land, which however inviting to his eye, many circumstances may make inaccessible to his personal approach.

Throughout the present Work, it has been an invariable principle, to compose it, as far as could be done, not only from original, but also from contemporary authorities; and with few exceptions, this has been effected. Some care has been also used to convey to the reader, either in the text or in the notes, the ideas and feelings of the times, on the events that are mentioned; and to narrate them, as often as it could be done, with circumstances that display the manners of the different periods. This was thought preferable to increasing the bulk of the work, by adding separate chapters on such subjects.

Much of our laws and constitution has been, in the same manner, interwoven with the work.

In studying the history of The Maid of Orleans, the former materials of it were found to be neither sufficiently authentic nor explanatory. It was desirable to inspect her own account of herself at her different examinations, and the depositions of the numerous witnesses who were interrogated concerning her; both of which sources of curious information had not been consulted by any preceding historian. M. Le Brun de Charmettes, in his recent work on her, in four volumes octavo, has printed all her answers; and has collected the substance of the evidence given upon every part of her life. And this has enabled me to fulfil my own wishes, of describing one of the most remarkable phenomena that has ever emerged in any nation, to accomplish a great political revolution.

The important effect of the state of our church establishment, on the civil wars, between the houses of York and Lancaster, has not been hitherto adequately observed. Much assistance on this interesting subject has been derived from some neat MS. extracts in the British Museum, of our BALE, which he made from contemporary authorities, that have disappeared from our curiosity. The transcripts also in the same valuable library, made from similar documents, by our worthy JOHN STOW, which he has not used in his own chronicle, probably from their having come to his knowledge after its publication, have furnished much new and interesting matter to the present volume. Such light has been derived from these and other sources of original information,

that it is hoped, the reign of Henry VI. will no longer be deemed a confused mass of unconnected events, as it has been hitherto described, and indeed too much appeared to be; but that it will be found to be an intelligible and interesting series of important incidents and characters, which in their causes, as well as in their results, will deserve the contemplation, and apply to some of the circumstances of the present age.

In the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. it has been endeavored to reduce the obloquy under which the latter has labored, to its just proportion; and to distinguish how much of his exaggerated crimes is fairly imputable to himself, and how much to his age and party. On this branch of his subject, the Author has been greatly indebted to the curious volume in the Harleian collection, which is reputed to have belonged to the celebrated Burleigh; but whose last possessor was the historian John Strype. It is a copious register and collection of the grants and public documents, signed by Richard III. Some are copied at full length, but of the largest part only the substance is given. It seems to be the same MS. which is a few times quoted in the annotations in the first volume of bishop Kennett's collection of English historians, under the name of King Richard's Diary, and signed J. S., probably John Strype. Its documents throw new light on many parts of Richard's reign and conduct; and have enabled the Author to draw this singular man, more in his real shape and features, than has yet been done.

From all these authentic sources, it was unavoidable that many new facts and correcter views of old

ones, should be derived on the most important part of the reigns handled in the present volume; but no space has been occupied, in pointing out the mistakes of preceding historians. This would have swelled the bulk of the work, and could only be an unpleasing, as well as an invidious, and an ungenerous employment. A remark of Aristotle, applies strongly to the last writers on every subject, especially on history and science. He says, in his *Metaphysics*, "If Timotheus had not lived, we should not have possessed much sweet music. But if Phrynes, his master, had not also existed, we should never have had Timotheus." Every later historian, whatever may be his own merits or researches, must be greatly indebted to the labors of his predecessors. They had the wild or desert country first to clear and plant; and if some sweeter flowers, richer fruits, or more abundant harvests, have been since obtained or introduced; these would never have appeared if the former cultivators had not preceded. Each antecedent author has added some truth, removed some mistake, and opened some new views; and the present writer acknowledges, with gratitude, that if those, whom he has succeeded, had not published their elaborate or intelligent works, his *History* would not, and most probably could not have been composed. He follows in their train; not, he hopes, without bringing some offerings of his own; but desirous never to be deemed insensible to their merits, or detracting from their praise.

EPSOM, March 22. 1823.

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

The Progress of Europe to its State at the Period of the Norman Conquest.

BEFORE the Norman invasion, England had taken little interest, and had rarely interfered, in the affairs of the Continent. When the nations of the Baltic assaulted her shores, she struggled to repel their aggression, but never attempted to retort it. The accession and genius of Canute had, during his reign, combined her with the Scandinavian states; Athelstan, nearly a century earlier, had encouraged a foreign alliance for his sister¹, and received and assisted the princely exiles from Bretagne, France, and Norway; and when the Danish invaders endangered him, Ethelred had sent his children to Normandy for safety. But these connections were transient, and rather accidental than designed or desired. The Anglo-Saxons were not a people curious after the manners and transactions of other lands: pride or ignorance, or a dislike to foreign manners, produced an apathy as to all coun-

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¹ Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. pp. 287—96. ; 162—173. ; 273. 7th ed.

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tries but their own. No one had imitated the inquisitiveness of Alfred, or the enlarged views and feelings of his grandson. Hence their political relations were as circumscribed as their historical curiosity and their geographical knowlege, although the necessary journies of their mitred clergy to Rome, and some casual correspondence and concerns of particular monks, made occasionally a few partial exceptions to this general indifference.

The association of Normandy with the English crown ended for ever our insular seclusion. The course of events after that period, perpetually, though varyingly, connected us with the Continent. The history of England then became interwoven with the history of Europe: the possession of Normandy engrafted us into the great continental trunk, and associated us with its most important branches. Wars, alliances, social intercourse, literature, commerce, and the crusades continually combined our nation, during the middle ages, with the transactions and feelings of those around us; and therefore it will be useful to the mind that wishes to form a just comprehension of our national history, if we precede our consideration of it, by a brief review of that progress of events, which led to the formation of the principal continental states.

By the eleventh century an important advance had been made towards the establishment of that order of things, which has gradually converted the states and kingdoms of Europe into one great family; sometimes indeed torn by internal dissensions, but always at last returning to habits of intercourse and similarity. Individual powers have at times inclined to eccentricities which have threatened to endanger their general relations; but these have never been so permanently mischievous as to break up the order of the whole. The sympathies and interests arising from the same generic origin: from a common religion and hierarchy: from

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an universal emulation of literature, and a necessary cultivation of one classical language: from similar gradations and privileges of rank: from civil institutions originally analogous, and from manners and pursuits perpetually identifying, have connected all with such unceasing and powerful affinities and mutual gravitation, that the various nations of Europe have from the twelfth century to the present times been constantly moving by the same laws, and keeping in the same system. Completely distinct and dissimilar, in this respect, from the populations of Asia and Africa; among whom there has been no union but that of conquest; no common feeling but that of mutual hostility; no likeness but in the sterile uniformity of despotism, barbarism and ignorance, irrational bigotry, or base superstitions.

At the time when the Roman empire fell in the West, the identity of Europe was the identity of warlike barbarism; but it was barbarism with those peculiar features, energies, customs and institutions, from which the largest portion of our improvements and happiness has proceeded. These were, the invariable association of national councils with the sovereign power; an order of hereditary nobility intervening between the powerful monarch and the inferior and subjected population; the establishment of the rights of primogeniture for the support and maintenance of this feudal aristocracy, and to preserve its effective power; the existence of a class of freemen continually increasing, with privileges which power could not abrogate; a high feeling of personal honor and distinction, and a regard almost to veneration for the female sex and the marriage union.² In these respects Europe has differed from Asia with increasing

² In Cæsar's succinct but intelligent sketch of the Germans (de Bello Gall. l. 6.) and in the more detached and elaborate description of Tacitus, most of these traits are noticed as accompanying their earliest state.

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superiority. And though no one but England has retained her parliaments in their primeval vigor and use, yet all Europe once enjoyed them³, and prospered from the possession, until, with the loss of this great palladium, that prosperity has become inferior to our own. But the advantages of national councils to Great Britain have become at last so apparent to statesmen, as well as to the patriotic and the philosophical, that the nineteenth century seems likely to be distinguished by their general adoption.

These legislative assemblies seem to have fallen in these different nations, when it became, or was thought to be, the interest of the bulk of their people to unite with the crown against their aristocracies, who too tenaciously maintained the privileges that had become inconsistent with the general welfare. It was not then perceived how useful a body of nobility has been in upholding public freedom; and in some countries the tyranny of the great compelled the people to resort to royal despotism, as the more tolerable evil. Our enlarged experience, from the agitations which closed the eighteenth century, leads the reflective to doubt if the beneficial liberties of the great body of the people can be preserved from anarchy and demagogues on the one hand, and from tyrants and despotism on the other, without the existence and influence of a moderately privileged, yet wisely limited, aristocracy, with property sufficient to uphold its own importance; at least in the present state of human reason and virtue.

In the fifth century, that simultaneous movement, whose effects we yet feel, but whose causes we can now but imperfectly explore, of the northern tribes

5th Cen-
tury.
Barbaric
move-
ments.

³ Even the Russians in the eleventh century had their deliberating parliaments, to which the citizens, as well as the clergy and the great, were convoked. L'Evesque gives this circumstance from Nestor, the oldest of the Russian historians, and monk of Kiow, born in 1056. *Hist. de Russie*, vol. i. p. 234. Nestor's plain but faithful Chronicle ends 1115. It was printed at Petersburg, in 4to. 1767.

of Europe on the more genial regions of the South⁴, filled England with the Angli and Saxons, Gaul with the Burgundians and Franks, Spain with the Suevi, Goths, and Vandals, and Italy with the Lombards and other people, who established in these countries permanent states.

The vacancies caused by their vast and almost contemporary migrations, were gradually filled up in the North and East of Europe by new floods of Slavonian and Tartar tribes, more rude, from their nomadic state, than the departed barbarians, whose ancient seats they reoccupied. These new occupants gradually fixed themselves between the Baltic, the Elbe, and the Danube⁵, and slowly grew up into permanent and numerous hordes, lining the rivers and pervading the morasses and forests of Germany with populations formidable for their fierce habits, wild energies, brutish ignorance, and ill-supplied necessities.

Italy, overrun by the Lombards⁶, became a spectacle of wretchedness. Their desolating swords extirpated the corrupted and fast-decaying civilization which the Goths had spared. Penury, ignorance, and a stern savage government, spread gloom and misery, in the sixth and seventh centuries, from the Tiber to the Alps.⁷ The Grecian empire maintained a remnant

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6th Century.
Lombards
occupy
Italy.

⁴ Mascou's History of the Germans contains a copious statement of these movements; and Mr. Gibbon has noticed them with his usual precision.

⁵ We find one nation of the Slavi (the Winedi) so far advanced in Germany, as to be warring with the Frankish king Clothaire, in the sixth century. See the Chronicon of Fredegarius Scholasticus, pp. 135. and 142. This writer flourished about 640.

⁶ The Lombard history has been fully transmitted to us by their historian, Paulus Diaconus, contemporary with Charlemagne, whose work Muratori has printed in the first volume of his *Scriptores Italici*. Their *iron* crown, recently brought into notice by Bonaparte, is a *golden* crown with an interior circle of iron. Muratori has inserted a drawing of it, in his first volume, p. 460.

⁷ Gregory the Great, an eye witness, paints strongly the desolation of Italy under the Lombards. He says, "the cities are depopulated, the castles demolished, the churches burnt, the monasteries destroyed. The lands lie waste, without cultivators or inhabitants. Beasts occupy the regions which men once enjoyed." Dia-

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tury.
Christi-
anity in
Europe en-
dangered
by Moha-
medanism,

of dominion upon a portion of its sea coast; but its power was feeble, and its influence disdained.

The Lombard lords divided the soil into petty sovereignties, and in these distributions laid the foundations of that political state from which the liberties and intellectual cultivation of Italy afterwards emerged. During her period of suffering, that vicious system of social habits and political government was destroyed, which had so long debased her. The Italian mind was subjected to a temporary death, that it might revive with new energy, under institutions more adapted to its improvement, and in a period of the world when its attainments would be rapidly communicated, and emulously imbibed.

The eighth century arose upon Europe with an aspect, that, for a time, seemed malignant to human happiness. Mohamedanism, having subjected Asia and Africa to its power, now poured itself victoriously over Spain⁸, and, by this alarming success, confined Christianity to the Grecian empire, curtailed to a puny domain; and to the newly converted and still semi-barbarous nations, who possessed Italy, France, and the British Isles. All these asylums of our declining faith, but the last, were assaulted at various intervals with the dangerous vivacity and massy force of Mussulman fanaticism.

The contemplative minds at that period must have shrunk with gloomy forebodings not unwarranted by

log. l. 3. c. 38. p. 310. ed. Paris, 1640. Gregory the 2nd, in the year 680, apologizes for the ignorance of his legates, by asking, how could men have much knowledge of Scriptures, who had to seek their daily bread by the labour of their body? Muratori, Ant. Ital. p. 810.

⁸ The Arabs entered Spain in 710, and conquered it 712. Roderic, the archbishop of Toledo, who perished in the Rhone, 1247, states this invasion c. 9—c. 12. And Elmacin, in his rapid Arabian abridgment of Mussulman history, briefly mentions it, c. 13. p. 72. Mariana, in his eloquent but prolix History of Spain, details the conduct of the king Rodrigo, who caused it, l. 6. c. 21.; the invasion of the Moors in c. 22.; and in c. 23., the death of Rodrigo ultimo Rey de los Godos; whose memory Mr. Southey has revived in his interesting and best poem.

reason when, from the triumphs of the Crescent in the South and East, they turned their view to Germany, and beheld all Europe, beyond the Rhine, the Alps, and the Hellespont, maintaining fierce and martial idolatries, in opposition to Christianity, and preparing to assault, with deadly hostility, the states that respected it. The Pagan tribes, then monopolizing the finest parts of the Continent, were divided into four great systems and populations, who each in their turn, but happily in succession, warred with the few Christian nations in Europe, with energies and numbers, that sometimes threatened their subversion. These were, the continental Saxons between the Rhine and the Elbe — the Northmen on the Baltic — the Hungarians, or Avari, between the Danube and the Bosphorus — and the Slavi, who diffused themselves over all the regions between the Elbe, the Frozen Ocean, and the Danube. At this portentous period, the great cause of civilization and Christianity hung chiefly upon the conduct and capacity of one single people and its rulers. This was the Frankish nation, scarcely yet escaped itself out of barbarism; exposed, from its central position, to the attacks of all these hostile systems, both of Paganism and of Mohamedanism; soon compelled to contend for its existence with each; but by its magnanimous bravery, and the skill of its Carlovingian family, triumphing over all, and advancing the civilization of Europe by its successes, to a degree before unprecedented. In one of the most dangerous of these struggles, we may recollect with pride, that the genius and exertions of our Alfred essentially contributed to the fortunate decision.

When the Franks⁹ in the sixth century marched from the Rhine upon Gaul, they, and all Germany

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and by the
Pagan
States.

Europe
saved by
the Franks,

⁹ Gibbon states correctly of the Franks, that at the close of the fifth century they were settled upon the Scheld, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, governed by their independent kings of the Merovingian race. Vol. iii. p. 559. 4to. ed.

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behind them, were barbarous and idolatrous. The auspicious adoption of Christianity by their victorious leader Clovis¹⁰, placed them immediately within the circle of civilization, and gave this beneficent and enlightening religion a guardianship, without which, as far as human causes could operate, it must have perished. Under several of their succeeding kings, the Franks kept the Saxons at bay, faced and awed the Slavi and Huns, and occasionally overran the Suavi and Boii, who were peopling Suabia and Bohemia.¹¹ But civil dissensions began to paralyse the Frankish power, and luxury to enervate its kings; while in the eighth century the fierce nations of Germany were multiplying in their population and resources, and strengthening themselves, for subsequent hostilities, by confederations and conquests.

who expel
the Moha-
medans
from
France,

It was fortunate for the world, that as the Frankish kings dwindled into imbecility, their Maires du Palais assumed those powers and displayed those abilities, which preserved Europe.¹² In 732, Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, decided the great question, whether Christianity or Mohamedanism should be the religion of Europe. The Arabs invaded France from Spain, with an aggregation of force and a confidence of enthusiasm, which less ability than that of the Frankish chief, and less physical

¹⁰ See Gibbon's narration of the actions of Clovis, p. 560—580. This king's first state was inconsiderable. The Salian Franks, whom he commanded, possessed the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras. *Ib.* p. 559.

¹¹ These events are noticed by Gregory of Tours, the ancient French historian of the sixth century, l. 4. c. 10. c. 14. c. 23.; by Fredegarius, c. 68. c. 72. c. 74. c. 108.; and by Aimonius, *de Gestis Franc.* l. 3. and l. 4. Aimonius was monk of Fleury on the Loire in 970.

¹² These great officers are frequently mentioned, in the ancient histories of the Franks, long before Pepin. By Gregory of Tours, l. 9. c. 30.; by Fredegarius, c. 18. p. 123. 125, 126, &c.; and by Aimonius, l. 3. c. 91. c. 92, &c. While the Frankish kings were active and able, the Maire du Palais, or Major Domus, is rarely noticed. As the Sovereign withdrew himself from public business, the minister became prominent and powerful, till he superseded his master.

strength than that of the nation which his measures had united, could not have resisted. The danger of the attack may be measured by the length of the battle by which it was repressed. Seven days the great conflict lasted¹³; greater perhaps than almost any other single struggle, for the immense consequences that were attached to the decision. At length on the seventh day the Franks triumphed, and above 300,000 Arabs slain, announced the magnitude of the peril from which Europe had been saved. Undismayed by a destruction that would have exhausted most nations, Islamism twice in Charles Martel's life renewed its attempt on France. As often this indefatigable and skilful warrior stemmed its fierce torrents, and in the end, aided by the Lombards, drove the turbaned fanatics over the Pyrenees¹⁴, never to repass them again.

Preserved from Mohamedanism, it still remained to be determined, whether Europe was to be pervaded by Christianity, or by the fierce warlike idolatries already alluded to, which then prevailed from the Rhine to the Frozen Ocean and the Bosphorus; idolatries not upheld by inactive nations, careless of their tenets or their power; but professed by people ardent in their defence, and equally warlike, enterprising, and populous.

Of these hostile powers, the great Saxon republics, which in twelve independent states spread from the Elbe to the Rhine, first met the conflict. Their Paganism was distinguished by a splendid temple and a venerated hierarchy. Their power was the result of

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and subdue
the Pagan
Saxon
Republics,

¹³ This important invasion is recorded by Regino, abbot of Prüm, who lived in the next century; and by Roderic of Toledo. The latter mentions the length of the battle, and that Charles Martel had increased his army from the nations of Germany, c. 14. Regino, in his Chronicle, states, that the Arabs came out of Spain with their wives and children, as if certain of conquering and settling in Aquitain. He makes 375,000 of them to have fallen in the struggle. Script. Germ. I Pistor. p. 18.

¹⁴ Regino, Script. Germ. The Arabs had attacked France before, had entered Narbonne, and besieged Toulouse. Rod. Tol. c. 11.

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their zealous confederation, directed by a war-king.¹⁵ Their favorite worship was the Irminsul, who was carried to their armies, as their palladium and god of battle. His rites were martial and sanguinary.¹⁶ As the Franks moved into Gaul, the Saxons pursued their progress, and occupied the regions they abandoned. They had been frequently repressed by the French rulers; but by the time that Charlemagne acceded, their population, restlessness, and national unity, had so much increased, that their contest with the Franks, for domination in Europe, became both inevitable and perilous. A war ensued; than which, says the secretary of Charlemagne, the Franks never endured any more obstinate, more fierce, and more difficult. The Saxons maintained it for three and thirty years.¹⁷ The talents and perseverance of Charlemagne at length succeeded, and Saxony was so effectually reduced into the forms and habits of civilization¹⁸, that a century after its conquest, it became the bulwark of Europe against two of the other barbarous systems, which then attempted to subdue it.

The next great warfare which Charlemagne waged in Germany, the most considerable in the estimation of his minister, after that with the Saxons¹⁹, was directed against the Avari on the Danube. These people had fled out of Tartary, from the victorious

and repress
the Avari

¹⁵ Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 182. Krantz. Hist. Sax. i. 2. c. 2.

¹⁶ Some of the chief circumstances of the idolatry of the continental Saxons may be found in the History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 192—3.

¹⁷ Eginhart de Vitâ et Gestis Caroli-magni, p. 4. Vet. Script. Germ. Reub. Han. 1619. Wittichind was the Saxon war-king who maintained the contest against Charlemagne.

¹⁸ Charlemagne, in a charter preserved by Adam of Bremen, states, that he had reduced all Saxony into a province "antiquo Romanorum more." He divided it into eight bishoprics, which he subjected to the metropolitans of Mentz and Cologne. Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccl. p. 6. Rer. Germ. Linden, Francof. 1630. On the pagi or shires of ancient Saxony, see Meibomius's treatise, vol. iii. p. 96—110.

¹⁹ Eginhart, p. 6.

Turks, and, obtaining a settlement between the Danube and Greece, had multiplied into a formidable population, more barbarous than the Gothic tribes. They frequently insulted²⁰ and endangered Constantinople itself, and had even ventured to approach France.²¹ In conflicts rarely equalled for their bloodshed, Charlemagne broke their power, and precluded their predominance in Europe.²² His last continental struggle was with the Northmen, who attempted, from Denmark, to inundate Friesland and Saxony. His decisive successes preserved Germany from their misrule.²³

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and North-
men.

No reign has been more important to mankind than that of Charlemagne. That it was very destructive to human life among the barbarous nations, is a calamity to be regretted by the benevolent mind, however such results are disregarded by the conqueror, the soldier, and the statesman. But whatever may have been the motives, or will be the personal responsibility, of the Frankish Emperor as to this lamentable consequence: — for man, even from good intentions, must never commit crime, of his own authority, to prevent evil: — yet the improvement and civilization of Europe were greatly advanced by his wars, and their devastations. The barbaric nations were become too populous, and their populations too poor, too daring, too warlike, and too restless, for their own comfort, or for the tranquillity of the world. Every nation that passes into this state will always destroy or be destroyed, unless it be extenuated into a debility that terminates its power of mischief. Its pernicious habits and feelings impel it into this result, by causing, attracting, or provoking contests with other states, which must succumb under its aggres-

²⁰ Gibbon, vol. iv. c. 42. and 46.

²¹ Greg. Tours, l. 4. c. 23. c. 29. — Aimonius, l. 3. c. 85.

²² Eginh. p. 6.

²³ Eginh. p. 7.

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Charle-
 magne's
 political
 arrange-
 ments.

sions, or resist it till it is exhausted and subjected. All these barbaric tribes of Europe fought furiously against the more civilized, until they were enfeebled into a taste for more peaceful life, and then their social melioration began. The victories of Charlemagne contributed to accelerate this period, and therefore no reign has more largely contributed to the progress of civilization in Europe. He corrected his youthful ignorance by the acquisition of letters in his manly years, and amid his splendid successes²⁴; and he aspired, by legislation²⁵ and wise political arrangements, to mitigate the barbarism of the Continent. He built several cities; he established bishoprics; he founded abbeys; and, imitating the ancient policy of Rome, he partitioned his conquests into provinces, and committed them to the care of governors from his own court, whom he entitled dukes, counts, and marquises. The dukes had the supreme command of the military force, and the government of the province. The counts were their companions or assistants. The marquises had the superintendence of the marches or borders. These great officers, after his death, gradually established a permanent inheritance in the territories they ruled; and from among them, arose the great dukes and prelates who became the lay and ecclesiastical electors of the German empire.²⁶ These political arrangements kept open so many channels of intercourse with the supreme government at Paris, through which all the

²⁴ It was in his war against the Lombards that he met Peter of Pisa teaching grammar at Pavia, and there first heard lectures upon it from him. Landi's *Histoire de la Litterature d'Italie*, abridged from Tiraboschi, vol. i. p. 258.

²⁵ The *Lex Salica* and *Capitularies*, which seem to have been compiled under his directions, are monuments of his legislative care. The *Lex Salica* is printed in Schilter's *Thesaurus*, vol. ii.; and the *capitularies* in the second volume of *Lindenberg. Leg. Antiq.*

²⁶ A duke of Bavaria, and another of Suabia, are mentioned in the old Frankish historians before the time of Charlemagne.

improvements which France attained, flowed also in Germany; and the common origin of the Frankish governors imposed by Charlemagne, began that political union by which its various states afterwards attained a national independence, domestic liberties, great social sympathy, an honorable character, a peculiar history, and external safety.

The two other great events introduced by Charlemagne, the revival of the Empire of the West, and the establishment of the Pope in territorial sovereignty, essentially affected, and for a time beneficially guided, the future fortunes of Europe. Crossing the Alps, the Frankish king annihilated the rude and illiterate kingdom of the Lombards; and the Pope, emancipated and aggrandized by his liberalities, crowned him Emperor of the West.²⁷ This dignity invested him with the sovereignty of Italy, where he pursued, to its great temporary advantage, his accustomed policy of establishing Frankish dukes and marquises. Under this new political condition, many little principalities, states, and cities, arose, attaining independence amid the civil feuds of the larger dignities, and prospering by commerce and arts into great domestic and maritime power, and leading the Italian mind to high future eminence.

The conquests of Charlemagne were rather the results of a succession of political exigencies, than of a preceding and systematic ambition of universal dominion. He did not, like Alexander, begin life with resolutions of military conquests, nor weep after his successes, that he had not other worlds to conquer. His wars with the Saxons were the legacy left him by his father, and imposed upon him by their restlessness. His subjection of Italy was in obedience to the earnest solicitations of the Pope,

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 He revives
 the Empire
 of the
 West, 800.

²⁷ Gibbon, vol. v. c. 49.

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the venerated head of his religion, and of the people groaning under the tyranny of the Lombards. His hostilities with the barbarians of Europe, the Slavi and Danes and Avari, were rather the consequence of their aggressions on his frontiers, than of his own resentments or thirst of warlike glory. He was urged on from conquest to conquest by the necessities of the day, more than by his personal feelings; and his victories were, for the most part, instrumental to the progress of human welfare, which he may have believed he was promoting. Yet we cannot but feel, that the philanthropy of conquerors always comes to us in too questionable a shape to be implicitly admitted. Even in their best designs, they are too liable to the delusions of self-love, intermixing with their motives, to have the credit which they may fancy they can equitably claim. Whoever derives a personal benefit from even a virtuous action in this world, must expect it to be doubted by others whether the advantage or the moral principle has been the director of his conduct. If he takes the reward, it will be difficult for himself to discriminate the integrity from the profit of the deciding motive.

9th Century.
Irruptions
of the
Northmen
on Europe,
832-911.

His reign had scarcely closed, before those irruptions of the Northmen began, which filled Europe with desolation and terror during the ninth century. So numerous and so powerful were the predatory votaries of Thor and Odin, that they drove Alfred from his throne, besieged Paris, invaded Italy, and ravaged the best provinces of France for thirty years.²⁸ If the genius of Alfred had not subdued them in England, the conquest of this island would

²⁸ Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. c. 8. p. 465. All the first part of Wace's Roman de Rou, so long unread in its ancient MS., but now printed in 1827 at Rouen by M. Pluquet, is occupied by the description of their expeditions, and especially of Hastings and Rollo or Rou.

have given them a military position and a multiplication of means, which might have changed the fortunes of France and Italy. But conquered by him and his descendants, they became in England useful auxiliaries to the national population. Their dreaded warfare was reduced to maritime piracy; and in France their successes ended in the colonization of one extorted province Normandy, from which they afterwards transmitted sovereigns to England, with whose accession its history in this Work will commence.

The son of Charlemagne had fostered all his institutions and improvements, by a mild and useful reign, which has been called pusillanimous because peaceful, and bigoted because pious according to the customs of his age. The subsequent divisions of his family weakening its foreign powers²⁹, enabled the dukes and bishops, marquises and counts, of Germany and Italy, gradually to assume independence and fixed territorial dignities. Their connection with the supreme Imperial government at Paris, for nearly a century, and the establishment of judicious laws and municipal systems thence resulting, imparted to Germany all the social and political advantages which were then valued or understood. This progress effected, the external domination of France began to decline. It is in the nature of beneficial institutions and changes to perpetuate themselves, by the advantages which they diffuse; but as these diminish amid the new circumstances which arise, and which make other mutations more generally profitable, revolutions gradually ensue to produce the desired benefits which seem attainable. This principle ever operating, though slowly, and for some time imperceptibly, had

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and Italy
become in-
dependent
of France,
888.

²⁹ The slaughter in the great battle at Fontenay in 841, between the contending Princes of the blood, so weakened the Frankish nation, that it was unable to maintain its external empire. Regino, p. 41., mentions the effect of this exhaustion, which was favorable to the independence of other nations.

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its altering effects in Italy; and the weak conduct of the last French king of Charlemagne's family, having deprived this dynasty of all respect, the subordination of the German and Italian states to the government of Paris was at length broken up. But Italy emancipated from France, was yet unable to form a general paternal government for its social happiness, and became a scene of contest between its powerful aristocracies. Its disunited population long harassed itself, with supporting the rival pretensions of two of its great lords³⁰ for imperial sway. These conflicts, however, by weakening the families that were becoming oppressive from their power and mutual jealousies and ambition, were favorable to the growth and freedom of the trading and maritime cities; while Germany also, no longer a satellite to France, began a new course of political existence with its own vigorous and independent chiefs. In the tenth century they chose an emperor among themselves, in Conrad the duke of Franconia, who, dying after a short possession of his dignity, magnanimously recommended his rival, Henry duke of Saxony, to be his imperial successor, as the sovereign most competent to confront the perils, which his sagacity perceived to be impending.³¹

10th Cen-
tury.
Hungarian
devastation
of Europe,
900-955.

At the accession of Henry, another portentous crisis was arising upon the Continent, from one of the idolatrous and savage states which had last entered Europe: these were the Hungarians³², a branch of

³⁰ These were, Berenger and Guy. Luithprand, in his History, l. 1. c. 6. — c. 12., details their contests, and in that detail furnishes us with an authentic picture of the state of Italy at that period. Luithprand was born at Pavia, became bishop of Cremona, and went twice an ambassador to Constantinople. His History was written about the year 960.

³¹ Luithprand reports the dying address of Conrad, in which he urged the election of Henry, though then in arms against him; an instance of self-conquest and patriotism rarely witnessed, c. 7. p. 10. Otto, the father of Henry, had refused the imperial dignity, from his age, before Conrad was chosen. Godef. Viterb. Chron.

³² Gibbon states the Turkish descent of the Hungarians, vol. v. p. 548. Their

the great Turkish Tartarian stock, who had possessed themselves of the territories of the Avari, whom Charlemagne had nearly destroyed.³³ They were slumbering in their barbarism, unknown beyond the Raab and the Danube, when Arnolph, who had acquired the Imperial crown, which was now departing from the Frankish race, at the close of the ninth century, in order to gratify a selfish object, unclosed the barriers which had excluded them from Germany, and stimulated and invited them to enter it.³⁴ The consequence of his anti-social policy was danger and desolation to almost all Europe for above fifty years. The struggle between barbarism and civilization was again renewed; and the most improved regions of the West bled in the conflict, and trembled at its issue.

The Northmen were yet afflicting France, prowling around England, and, as well as the Saracens, were distressing Italy; the pagan Slavonic tribes having spread to the Elbe, were now hanging, like the dark clouds of a bursting tempest, over all the northern frontier of Germany, when Hungary began to pour forth those myriads of armed savages³⁵, who were more ferocious, because less civilized, than any other that had yet attacked the Southern states.³⁶ For

national and Oriental name was Magyar. They entered Hungary in 884, which was then loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian tribe, whom they drove into the narrow province that bears their name.

³³ Eginhart remarks, that the battles of the Avari with Charlemagne had been so numerous and bloody, that Pannonia (Hungary) which they chiefly inhabited, was left *vacua omni habitatore*. P. 6.

³⁴ Luithprand, l. 1. c. 5. p. 94.

³⁵ Regino describes them with true Tartar features: their waggon houses covered with skins; their perpetual wanderings with their flocks; their dislike of agriculture and fixed habitations; and their skilful use of the bow and arrow in war. l. 2. p. 65. — Dr. Clarke, in his *Russian Travels*, has inserted a drawing of the Khibitka, or Tartar waggon house, vol. 1. p. 302.

³⁶ Otto Frisingiensis, describing the nation as so *immanis* and *beluina*, as to eat raw flesh, and drink blood, adds, that it may be believed, because in his time the Scythian nations, whom he calls *Pecenati* and *Falones*, eat the raw flesh of horses and cats. *Chron.* l. 6. c. 10. Dr. Clarke's account of the *Calmuck* food is similar to this. Vol. i. p. 237. 333.

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above half a century, they carried rapine and destruction from the Danube to the Rhine and German Ocean; to the Maes, the Moselle, and even to the Po. No part of Germany escaped, and Italy was as grievously afflicted.³⁷ Christianity would have been again brought into peril, as well as the civilization which she had produced, if the Hungarian Tartars could have continued their incursions. The extent and success of their ravages display their numbers and their energy. They are mentioned to us by their contemporaries with feelings of horror, that prove the dread which they diffused. The language of alarm sometimes approaches the exaggeration of Oriental metaphor.³⁸ It was fortunate for Europe that a monarch of Henry's talents possessed the Imperial sceptre. The new and formidable danger excited him to measures, which not only averted the evil, but also greatly benefited Germany. Its population was then living, like the primeval Greeks, in scattered villages, which fell an easy prey to these ruthless invaders. As the most effectual protection against their incursions, he drew one-ninth of the German nations into towns, which he fortified³⁹; a policy which accelerated all their improvements, while it guarded their safety, and which was the actual process by which Cecrops and Theseus began the Athenian civilization. So formidable were the Hungarians, that he remained in these fortifications with

³⁷ See Luithprand, Regino, and Otto, on these invasions. Lambertus Schaffenberg, Hermannus Contractus, and Sigebertus Gemblacensis, whose Chronicles are in the first volume of the Collection of Pistorius, may also be consulted.

³⁸ The monk who continued Regino's Chronicle, says, their numbers were so immense, that unless the earth should open and swallow them, or the sky fall and crush them, they might truly call themselves invincible, p. 79. They ravaged also towards the Hellespont; and one of their warriors struck his battle-axe into the golden gate of Constantinople. Gibb. vol. v. p. 556.

³⁹ Wittichind, *Gesta Saxonum*, p. 13. This author was a monk of Corbey, and wrote about the year 973. Goldastus has printed the laws of Henry on this subject.

his military force for some time, cautiously supporting a defensive warfare, because he dared not trust his inexperienced army against an enemy so fierce and active.⁴⁰ Twice they overran his native country, Saxony, with ravages that threatened its depopulation.⁴¹ The wary emperor at last found an opportunity to chastise their invasion. His conduct and bravery, and the more powerful exertions and more decisive successes of his son, Otho the Great, ended in rescuing Europe as well from their desolations, as from the hostilities of the Slavi. In repeated battles, both the Hungarians and the Slavonian tribes were defeated with such slaughter, as would have exhausted less populous states.⁴² The Slavonians recovered from the blows, to struggle afterwards for the power and predominance of their idolatry, when it began to unite itself with the polish of civilization. But the Hungarians experiencing an immense destruction by Otho in 955, never endangered the Continent again.⁴³

The emancipation of Germany from France, on the election of Conrad, set the Germans free to carry on

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Finally re-
pressed by
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⁴⁰ Wittichind, p. 12.

⁴¹ Wittichind mentions that they made such slaughter and desolation in Saxony, that the wretched survivors, quitting their country, went and served other nations that year for support, p. 8. And see his further picture, p. 12.

⁴² Sigebertus Gembl. mentions one invasion of these tribes in 931, in which 200,000 of them perished, p. 579. Wittichind states the same number from report, p. 14.

⁴³ Hungary, in 1829, contains both these branches of population. In its North Western side and some other parts, the Slovaks, a Slavonic race, have spread to the amount of two millions. The rest and most numerous are the descendants of the Magyari, who settled in this country in the ninth century, and seem to have been originally an Asiatic tribe of the Mongolian race. They still retain their language, and cherish a national literature, although the Austrian Government has long endeavoured to melt down all their distinguishing peculiarities into an uniformity with its hereditary states. Reval's *Elaboratio Grammatica Hungarica*; Romy's *Monumenta Hungarica*; the *Bibliotheca Hungarica* of Cornides; and the *Analytica Institutiones Linguae Hung.* 3 vols. Buda, 1816-17, are valuable efforts to preserve and transmit to other times and nations a knowledge of the speech and writings of this singular people, who have so long retained their privileges, national distinction, and aristocratic liberties.

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their social progress by themselves, and to accelerate the course of human improvement by their own peculiar prudence and independent experience. At that period, the empire of the French, which Charlemagne had raised on the ruins of barbarism, and had spread from the Tiber almost to the Baltic, and from the Ebro to the Danube, having effected the introduction of civilization into Germany, began to contract on all sides into a scanty era. Dispossessed of Italy, Germany, and its holds in Spain; of Normandy, Lorraine, Burgundy, and Bretagne; preserving but a nominal and powerless sovereignty over Flanders, Holland, Poitou, Anjou, Aquitain, and Roussillon; the kingdom of France towards the close of the tenth century had shrunk to a state of moderate size and feeble pretensions. Its degradation was felt and resented by its subjects; and the incapacity of the reigning house becoming visible to all, both the great and the multitude in the year 987 united, to transfer the sovereignty to a new dynasty in the person of Hugh Capet⁴⁴, the founder of that Bourbon line which the population of France, eight hundred years afterwards, began to assail upon its throne, exiled from its soil, and, in April 1814, recalled, on the dethronement of Bonaparte; to be again, for a short time, driven away; till our victory at Waterloo in the following year, by finally deposing him, began a new epoch of a momentous character in the history of *all* mankind: for no region seems likely to be unaffected by its consequences.

The thirty Duchies established by the Lombards in Italy, had, by the changes of successions, marriages, and conquests, diminished in the ninth century

⁴⁴ Maimbourg, in his *Decadence de l'Empire*, has given a spirited sketch of this part of French history, which Le Père Daniel discusses in elaborate, and not uninteresting detail; unlike the tedious and wandering history of Mezeray, which neither invites perusal nor rewards it.

to a few great chieftains, amid whom several independent cities and little states were gradually seen emerging into existence, and some into power. The cessation of the Carolingian dynasty in 888, left Italy free to appoint a sovereign of its own; and among its predominant lords, two, Berenger duke of Friuli, who governed from the Julian Alps to the Adige, and Guy duke of Spoleto, a province which then included a considerable portion of the present kingdom of Naples, aspired to the sceptre.⁴⁵ Refusing each other's authority, they appealed to war to decide their competition. It was in fact the North of Italy contending with the South of it, for the empire of the whole. Both were alternately triumphant and defeated; and the conflict was perpetuated by the subsequent interference of other pretenders. The Italians are charged with having encouraged the continuance of the competition, from the policy of keeping two kings, to awe one by the other.⁴⁶ But the evils of civil discord were at last felt to be so disastrous, and the miseries produced by the invasions of the Hungarians were so extensive, that, in the middle of the tenth century, the Italian nobles invited the emperor, Otho the Great, to unite the crown of Italy with his German diadem, that their native provinces might have the benefit of a protector, powerful enough to protect them, and remote enough to make his government less individually oppressive. Otho was crowned

⁴⁵ Maimbourg's review of these incidents is concise and intelligent. The chronicles and documents collected by Muratori, present a large field of original authorities. Sismondi has given a valuable detail of the history of the middle ages of Italy, in his *Histoire des Republiques Italiennes du Moyen Age*. But Italy is now exhibiting historians from its own improving population. Both the works of Maffei, printed at Milan 1824, and of Ugoni at Brescia, in 1822, on the '*Letteratura Italiana*,' deserve our notice and approbation. Botta's '*Storia d' Italia*,' from 1789 to 1814, in four volumes, 4to., has been so gratifying to his countrymen, that eight Italian editions were published within a year after its first appearance at Paris, in 1824. It shows a revival of that talent for writing history, though with some imperfections, by which Italy once gained so much credit in the histories of Davila and Guicciardini.

⁴⁶ Luitprand, l. 1. c. 10. p. 99.

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at Rome in 964; and thus commenced that annexation of Italy to the sceptre of the German Emperor, which his successors continued; which has never since wholly or permanently ceased; which the House of Austria has now made a portion of its hereditary power; which the native aristocracy of Italy sigh in vain to dissolve; but which the papal jealousy and policy may again make insecure.

Idolatry of
Europe.

But the great effective cause of the civilization of Europe, and without which, these political changes would have been barren of useful produce, was the establishment of Christianity. The idolatrous systems of the barbarous hordes, whom we have noticed, were as unfavorable to the evolution of intellect, as they were to social comfort or security. The growth of accident in a savage state, the distortion of ancient traditions, or the deliberate invention of savage warriors and priests, they inculcated the fiercest spirit of martial hostility. That the felicity of their future heaven was to consist in quaffing their favorite beverage from the skulls of their enemies, was a religious tenet almost incredible for its absurdity, if human nature had not been always found capable as well of the lowest folly as of the sublimest elevation; but it was an opinion that, while believed, precluded and undervalued all intellectual cultivation, and educated its believers to everlasting war and merciless ferocity. It was therefore with equal wisdom and philanthropy, that Otho embraced the opportunity of his military successes to fill the provinces he controlled or conquered with ecclesiastical establishments; nothing else would then have altered the fierce spirit of these deluded nations. He, like Charlemagne, established bishoprics and built abbeys in several parts of Germany, which gradually humanized its population, cultivated its soil, diffused moral habits and principles, and led the social mind to find

happiness in peace and mutual kindness. The King of Denmark beheld Otho with veneration, and finally adopted the religion of his conqueror; and Russia having received Christianity from Greece, and even the merciless Hungarians accepting or inviting it from the Pope; the Slavonian tribes, between Russia and Denmark, were the only uncivilized and idolatrous people, that in the eleventh century existed in Europe.

The benefits of Christianity to Europe, in its philosophical and political consequences, were extensive and permanent. It ended the religions and the politics which made war their principle, and which caused cruelty and devastation to be both conscientious and popular. It connected the barbarous with the civilized mind of Europe, by an endearing bond, which made the more improved nations zealous and indefatigable in communicating their attainments to the ignorance which they pitied, and which some of their philanthropic spirits endured every peril to remove. It spread enthusiastic instructors, with piety and charity in their hands, and with agriculture, mechanical arts, and literature, in their train, over regions where knowledge and peace had never dawned, nor were likely, without it, to penetrate. Founded upon the written code, history, and prophecies, of an ancient people, whom war, commerce, and locality, had connected with the earliest and most civilized nations of the East — Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Phenicia, Persia, Greece, and Syria — it was introduced no where without awakening a curiosity after the former history of the World, of which it disclosed some of the most striking features. Comprised in its own written records, and illustrated by written commentaries or controversies, it could not take root in any country without making literature inviting, and, in some degree or other, indispensable to its clergy,

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and interesting to the people. The very custom then attached to its worship, of this being invariably in Latin, preserved and spread every where the knowledge of that language, which contained the finest produce of the human mind which had then appeared. The classical writers, whom the clergy every where studied, were an invaluable treasury of intellect, to those nations whose vernacular languages had nothing but savage war songs perverting their feelings and perpetuating their barbarism; and it became the fashion to collect the Latin authors in all the ecclesiastical libraries. While the Christian faith kindled intellectual activity by its controversies and difficulties, it taught in its pure and benevolent precepts, and in the corresponding life of its great Founder, a spirit of charity, which often divested discussion of its rancour, and infused a character of soul new to the wild nations of Europe. Gradually it produced a moral sensibility in the human breast unknown to the polished sophists of Greece, or to the political rhetoricians of Rome. So rapid was its progress in combining its milder virtues with the prevailing spirit of barbarous warfare, that, within a century after its establishment in Germany, that peculiar system of martial heroism and civility, which we call chivalry, arose; essentially founded on religion, disarming war, wherever it prevailed, of its most ferocious features, and producing at last that humanized conduct of hostilities, which has distinguished modern Europe. Christianity broke the fetters of domestic slavery, which ancient philosophy had sanctioned; created a taste for arts and literary fame, which the Gothic nations had despised till it appeared; combined private morals with ceremonial religion, as its necessary appendage; directed the meditating thought to the hope and prospect of a nobler existence in a superior scale of being; and fixed in the world a desire of

individual and social improvement, whose activity has never ceased, whose beneficent results are every day unfolding; and whose ultimate consequences, imagination can at present neither limit nor explore.

That Charlemagne, Otho, Gregory, and the other great men who spread Christianity through Europe, were not enlightened enough to anticipate all these good effects from their exertions, is unquestionable; but that they perceived, and could appreciate many of the moral and political benefits, which the Christian faith was certain of producing, cannot be doubted by those who have studied carefully their laws, chartularies, and familiar correspondence. The zeal of piety may have animated their activity, but benevolence and wisdom concurred to excite it.

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Review of the Political State of Europe at the Time of the Norman Conquest.

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FROM the period of the Norman conquest, the history of Europe deserves the notice of the philosopher and the statesman. In every part, the modern improvements of society then began to appear in features which we can discriminate, and to acquire a vigorous growth which has never intermitted. The various states have differed in the degrees of their civilization; but their subsequent advances have been rather dissimilar, than disproportionate. We cannot contemplate the history of each kingdom, from the eleventh century to the present, without perceiving the causes of national prosperity steadily operating in all — population increasing; manners ameliorating; mind becoming more active; knowledge and mutual intercourse multiplying; the natural instincts educating into moral feelings; the violent passions subsiding under the government of law and reason; the principles and rules of ethical wisdom becoming permanent habits of life; the power and tyranny of the great every where diminishing; the slavery of the lower orders disappearing; towns emerging into wealth and independence; political institutions, civil offices, and municipal corporations unknown to antiquity invented; a middle class of citizens, merchants, and proprietors, every where arising; a general increase of the conveniencies to all orders of society; and a desire, that has in no age wholly ceased, of unfolding, directing, and enlarging, the moral capacities of our

nature. Some or all of these results or instruments of human improvement, may be noticed in the history of the European States, from the era of the Norman conquest; and their prolific consequences have been progressively multiplying, and are now rapidly enlarging in all, with occasional vicissitudes indeed, but without any permanent retrogression. It will be difficult now for human civilization to recede. It cannot perish again, but in some miraculous convulsion of nature, that, like the deluge, will involve the whole race of mankind.

In the northern regions on the Baltic, a change was taking place at this period, of great importance to human happiness. Piracy ceased to be either a distinction or a pursuit at the close of the eleventh century. The last sea-king of celebrity, Harald Hardraada, had signalized his attachment to the favorite habit of his ancestors, so far off as in the Mediterranean and the Hellespont; but, becoming king of NORWAY, he perished under the swords of our Harold and his Anglo-Saxons, on the plains of Yorkshire.¹ That destructive battle so much enfeebled the power of Norway, that it never became formidable again. His son, Magnus the Barefoot, attempted some depredations on the British Isles, but he was slain in Ireland², and the desolating custom expired. Sigurdr, or Siward, his son and successor, was of a character so different, that he built a monastery at Bergen, and went to Palestine an auxiliary to the Crusaders, and captured Sidon.³ Norway now took an actual, though

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State of
Norway,

¹ Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 340. To the actions of Hardraada, Snorre has devoted a Saga, vol. iii. p. 53—178. The Knytlinga Saga has preserved an ode which he wrote on a Russian princess; from which Bartholin (*de Causis Contempt.*) p. 154., and Sir William Jones, in his five pieces of Runic Poetry, have given some fragments. He was a severe persecutor of Christianity. Adam Brem. p. 43.

² Snorre, in his *Saga Magnusar Berfetta*, vol. iii. p. 191—230. Theodoric Hist. de Reg. Norw. c. 32. p. 70.

³ Theodoric, p. 70—73. This writer is the most ancient Norwegian historian. He flourished 1161. His little tract, *De Regibus Vetustis Norvagicis*, begins with

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a humble, station among the civilizing family of Europe. Her days of piracy had been the days of her sanguinary glory; abandoning these habits, she sank to an obscurer, yet to her natives as well as to others, a more comfortable state, better proportioned to the inferiority of her soil, climate, and numerical population.⁴

Denmark,

The progress of DENMARK had been accelerated by its sovereign, Canute the Great, wearing also the crown of England in the beginning of the eleventh century. He introduced many English bishops into Denmark, to teach his subjects.⁵ All the northern parts of Europe were at this era much indebted to courageous English missionaries, whose names, exertions, and frequent destruction, the Roman church has commemorated in the biography of her saints. Canute connected himself with Germany, by marrying his daughter to the Emperor's son. He went through France and Italy, to Rome: and this extended intercourse with every part of Europe, was new and beneficial to his rugged Danes. Sveno Tiuffveskeg, who soon succeeded to his Danish sceptre, though exhibiting many features of still adhering barbarism, was indefatigable in advancing his own mental improvement, in correcting the morals of his clergy, and

Harald Harfagre, and consists of 34 small chapters. He states with truth, that he writes 'rudi stillo'; but he is valuable for his antiquity. It is published with another tract of the twelfth century, on the Norwegian Efforts in the Crusades, by Kirchman, in his "Commentarii Historici duo." Amst. 1684.

⁴ The most authentic history of Norway is the work of Snorre, who was born in Iceland in 1178. Norway was slowly subjected to Christianity. When Haco, whom Athelstan had brought up, attempted to introduce it, his Pagan subjects, in revenge, made him often taste the horseflesh of their sacrifices. Snorre, pp. 143, 144. Near the eleventh century, Olaf forcibly established it. At the famous temple of Drontheim, he took the mallet out of the hand of Thor, and broke the idol to pieces. Snorre, p. 274. A wiser and more successful plan, was the introduction of English Missionaries. Ad. Brem. p. 32.

Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccl. pp. 31, 32. — This valuable author, who flourished in 1127, may be called the Strabo of the Baltic, at that period. He describes, in careful though artless detail, the positions and state of all the nations on this sea.

in spreading Christianity around.⁶ He died in 1074. His successor, Harold, endeavoured to abolish the duel, as the decider of right.⁷ And Saint Canute, who reigned after him, contributed to soften still further the fierceness of the Danish character, and to subject it to the influence of the Christian religion.⁸ His successor, Olaus, permitted his chief archbishop, and many of his subjects, to join the crusaders at Jerusalem⁹; an incident which, although displaying more enthusiasm than policy, yet shows that Denmark was becoming desirous to emulate the improving nations of Europe in their paths of honor and distinction. Her islands were well cultured, and fertile. Her continental province, Jutland, was overrun with marsh and forest, barren, and habitable only on its coasts. Yet some relics of the original barbarism of Denmark still survived. Though it had abandoned foreign adventure, it allowed domestic piracy to distress its inhabitants, and consume its national strength. Its ancient fierceness of character was cognizable in the spirit of its criminals, who preferred death to blows, and made it their pride to die laughing. The whole nation abhorred tears and wailing, and never wept for a dying friend.¹⁰ While these sentiments were popular, civilization could be but stationary.

In the same century, SWEDEN was steadily commencing her improving process. English missionaries

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⁶ Adam of Bremen gives high and deserved panegyric to Svenno. He says, "I conversed with him, and had great part of my book from him: he was skilled in literature, and liberal to strangers. He sent preachers into Sweden, Norway, and the Isles. Christianity was by him spread far and wide among foreign nations." Hist. Eccl. p. 54.

⁷ Saxo-Grammaticus, Hist. Dan. l. 11. p. 214.

⁸ Saxo, pp. 214—222.

⁹ Saxo, p. 223. Alb. Stad. ad Ann. 1097.

¹⁰ Ad. Bremen, 63, 64. As Saxo's History of Denmark is built on fabulous traditions, arranged and amplified, like Macpherson's Ossian, at his own caprice, it cannot be trusted before the tenth century. After that period, his elegant but pompous narration claims our attention. He was living in 1186, to which year he brings down his history.

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endeavoured to diffuse Christianity more extensively among its barbarous population.¹¹ The people long adhered fondly to their ancient idols, and to their ghastly worship at Upsal, and made many efforts to retain them¹²; but wiser men, with patient heroism, gradually extended the Christian faith; and, before the eleventh century closed, it had nearly pervaded the country. Sweden was at this time an obscure, but an advancing kingdom. It sometimes contended with the Danes and Norwegians, and not unfrequently with the Russians; but in effective power, its piratical expeditions having ceased, it was little known beyond the precincts of the Baltic.¹³ Distinguished, notwithstanding its intense frosts and mountainous soil, for the agricultural and trading spirit of its people, it abounded with honey, cattle and corn, the extorted produce of industry¹⁴ from an ungenial climate; and in its city Birca, it possessed one of the most ancient commercial emporiums of the North.¹⁵ Yet with a singular anomaly of feeling, though pursuing traffic, and scattering its merchandize over their country, the Swedes were remarkable for the little estimation in which they held the wealth they accumulated.

¹¹ Adam Bremen, pp. 32 and 33.

¹² They were so anxious to preserve these objects of their ancestral superstitions, that they bargained with their king, Olaf, to permit Christianity to be admitted into the other parts of Sweden, if he would forbear to destroy their Upsal temple. Ad. Brem. p. 32. The temple was gilt all over, and contained three venerated statues; Thor the supreme, Woden, and Frico. Men as well as animals were sacrificed, and their bodies hung up in the sacred grove. Adam says, that the person from whom he had his description, counted seventy-two human bodies suspended with those of dogs, even in his time; so long was idolatry retained at Upsal. The image and rites of Frico were alike indecent. Adam Brem. 69, 70.

¹³ "To our world (Germany) it is adhuc fere incognita," says Adam Brem. p. 68.

¹⁴ Ad. Brem. 68. Agriculture had been so early cultivated in Sweden, that one of its ancient kings had been named Tretelgia (Woodcutter) from the forests he felled. Snorre, vol. i. p. 55.

¹⁵ Birca, or Sigtun, was the place at which Odin is said to have first arrived in these parts. Snorre, vol. i. p. 10. It was one day's distance from Upsal. In Adam's time it was in such total ruin that its remains were scarcely visible. Ad. Brem. p. 70. It was a port greatly frequented. Ib. p. 18.

With a practical wisdom, that would have obtained applause in an Utopia, they undervalued gold and silver, costly trappings, and beautiful furs, but were ambitious of hospitable fame. It was a matter of warm contention among them, who should entertain the approaching guest.¹⁶ Sweden has always been distinguished for its frugal habits, and for a simplicity of manners; the resemblance of virtue, if not its offspring. At no time of great internal power, or national vivacity, yet, always formidable when it moved, for its steady, resolute and persevering spirit, it has at several periods materially influenced the fortunes of more powerful states.

From Denmark to the extremity of Russia, along the Germanic shores of the Baltic, and southward into Germany, stretching in parts even to the Danube, a diffusion of Slavonic population still subsisted; warlike, barbarous, idolatrous, and peculiar. Their general name was Slavi¹⁷; their local or national appellations varied.¹⁸ When the Ogors, migrating

The Slavi.

¹⁶ Ad. Brem. 68. On the antiquities of Sweden, the neat and concise Sueo-Gothia of Verelius, and the Antiq. Sveo-Gothic of Loccenius, may be read with advantage. Peringskiold, in his Monuments, has given curious plates of the Runic Stones, Cathedral, and Tombs of Sweden. But the history both of Loccenius and of Joannes Magnus, before the tenth century, cannot be trusted. The same objection applies to the earlier part of the Scandia Illustrata of Messenius. From the eleventh century these works are entitled to attention, and, with some discrimination, to our respect. Dr. Clarke remarks in his late Travels, that in the Oland Isles the Swedish language approaches so near the English, that his servant could understand the inhabitants, and make himself intelligible to them.

¹⁷ The origin of this word is now but conjecture. Slava, glory, has been popular, from its flattering meaning. Slovo, speech, is a less intelligible derivation, though it is somewhat countenanced by the fact, that these people call strangers by a word which signifies "the dumb." See L'Evesque, Hist. de Russie, vol. i. p. 3. This would imply that the Slavi took pleasure in being loquacious. If, like the North American Indians, they had the pride of being orators at their public assemblies, they might have characterised themselves by a designation which marked their source of fame. But this circumstance is not mentioned of them in history. Adam of Bremen says that the regions occupied by the Slavonic population were ten times as large as Saxony. P. 23.

¹⁸ One of the earliest, and therefore most valuable accounts of the Slavi is, that which Adam of Bremen has inserted in his small but important work. He says, those nearest the Elbe were called Wagri, and their metropolis was the maritime

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out of Siberian Tartary before the aggrandizing Turks, crossed the Tanais or Don into Europe¹⁹, many of the Slavonic hordes fled, before the collected masses of the invading exiles, out of Russia into the adjoining districts. Some diverged into Bohemia, Moravia, Servia, and Bulgaria; some spread over Poland, Lithuania, and Silesia, and others into Pomerania and along the Baltic.²⁰ In the eleventh century, the population of Europe, from the Don to the Elbe, and in part to the Danube, may be considered as of Slavonian origin.²¹ As they came into Europe subsequent to both the Celtic and Gothic tribes, they were the least improved, and continued the longest in their savage habits.²² The Slavi between the Baltic and the Elbe fought the last battle of barbarous idolatry in Europe. After the improved Saxon paganism and its Irminsul had vanished; after the martial worship of Thor and Odin had been overturned; after the Hungarian had abandoned his savage habits; the Slavi maintained the struggle with Christianity even to the twelfth century; and, from the fury of their hatred to its cause, and from the vigour of their military character, might have endangered its predominance, if the imperial house of Saxony had not produced such men as Henry I. and Otho the Great, to have withstood them.²³ The

city Oldenburg. Next were the Obodriti, or Reregi, their city Magnopolis; below them the Polabingi, with their city Ratzeburg; beyond them were the Lingones, and many others, of whom he notices the most powerful to have been the Retharii, in whose city, Rethra, was the famous idol Radigast. Ad. Br. Hist. Ecc. p. 23.

¹⁹ See Gibbon, vol. iv. c. 42. p. 227.

²⁰ L'Evesque, Hist. p. 6.

²¹ L'Evesque gives from Nestor, the venerable and earliest chronicler of Russia, some of these territorial appellations, p. 7.

²² All that is known of the origin of the Slavi, is, that they came out of Asia. But conjecture has made them people Media; and even the Trojans and the Venetians have been supposed to be of their race. L'Evesque, p. 4. Some of these conjectures deserve examination. It is probable that all the barbaric nations were off-sets or off-casts of the ancient civilized states.

²³ Otho first established Christianity among them, and for some time it seemed to spread. Ad. Brem. 20. But in the eleventh century, considering themselves oppressed by their Christian lords, they rose in universal insurrection; burnt all

favorite idol of their tribes in Pomerania and near the Baltic, was Radigast. In a splendid temple surrounded by a lake, his image of gold reclined upon a bed of purple, and was believed to be oracular.²⁴ But the most remarkable anomaly among the barbarism of the Slavi, was their famous republic and emporium, the rich and envied Jomsberg, situated in a small island near the mouth of the Oder. In the eleventh century, it was the greatest city in Europe. The modern Wollin stands on its site. It had been improved by its commercial habits into some civility; its manners were benign and hospitable; it centered all the trade and all the riches of the North; Greeks condescended to visit it; containing every thing that was rare and luxurious, it had even the Greek fire. But the Japanese have not been bitterer enemies of the Christian name; they exacted of all who wished to become citizens there, that they should lay aside their Christianity: and on this condition they admitted their German neighbours to their municipal privileges.²⁵ In the eleventh century they were flourishing in full prosperity; in the next, their city was attacked, and after a memorable contest, was

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the churches, killed all the priests, and left no vestige of Christianity north of the Elbe. *Ib.* p. 29. They were with difficulty subdued again.

²⁴ Adam Brem. p. 23. — L'Evesque, from Mekhail Popof's *Mythologie Slavonne*, describes the principal deity of the other Slavi to have been Peroun, the god of thunder. This idol had a silver head, with ears and moustaches of gold; his legs were iron; his body of hardwood; he was worshipped with a sacred fire, and sometimes with the sacrifice of prisoners and children, p. 47. Another popular idol was Svetovid, the god of the sun and of war, to whom human beings were burnt, p. 67. Their Prono in the middle of a thousand idols, with two or three faces, and their goddess Seva, both adored with human sacrifices, seem of Hindu origin. All these idols look very much like the progeny of some of the old Asiatic superstitions.

²⁵ Adam has described this famous Pagan republic with great candour, p. 20. It is frequently mentioned by Snorre. Chrytaeus has given us an elaborate description of it in his *Metropolis*; which Stephanus has extracted, and accompanied with the account of Munster, in his excellent *Notes on Saxo*, p. 197. Their great idol was called Triglaß, or the three-headed god. By the first head they thought heaven was protected; by the second, the earth; by the third, the ocean.

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taken and destroyed by Waldemar²⁶, the successful king of Denmark, to whom Saxo-Grammaticus addresses in his preface an elegant encomium. The Slavonic nations had spread into Germany so far southward, that Magdeburg had been one of their capitals, till Otho conquered it, and made it a Christian bishopric.²⁷

The branches of the Slavonic population that afterwards became most prominent in the history of Europe, were those who colonized Russia, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, and the adjacent countries. We will take a cursory glance at their national condition, and effective rank and influence in Europe, at the period we are considering.

Russia.

The Slavonian hordes who occupied Russia²⁸, had roved about its vast regions with little government or laws. In the fifth century, accident, or some Northern Theseus, not now distinguishable in the mists of antiquity, had collected a stationary population at two distant spots²⁹, Novogrod on the Ilmen³⁰, and

²⁶ About the year 1170. They never recovered from this blow; and with them the Slavonian idolatry expired.

²⁷ Helmoldus, a Christian Presbyter, who was living in 1170, has left us a Chronicon Slavorum to that year, valuable for its facts. It is published by Lindenbrog, in the same volume with Adam of Bremen.

²⁸ The derivations of Russia cited by the Baron Herberstein, whose Commentaries L'Evesque commends, are, from Russ, a prince of the Poloni; from an ancient town of the same name, near the modern Novogrod; from their colour; or from Roxolania. But he tells us, that the people of Moscow assert, that the ancient appellation was Rosseia; and this in Russian means, dispersion, or dissemination. This term is so descriptive of their early scattered and nomade state, that it seems entitled to attention. *Rer. Moscov. Script.* p. 1. ed. Franc. 1600. The modern geographer, Malte Brun, and some others, derive the Russian name and people from the Rhoxolani or Rhoxani, who in Strabo's time were settled on the plains near the source of the Tanais and Borysthenes, whom Aurelian conquered, and whom Jornandes places about the regions since called Red Russia and Keovia. A MS. of this author in the Ambrosian library at Milan, which has *Rossomannorum* instead of *Rhoxolanorum*, has been thought to favor this derivation. *For. Quart. Rev.* No. 5. p. 152.

²⁹ On these, see L'Evesque, 73—78.

³⁰ Novogrod increased to such power, that it became a proverb to say, "Who will dare to attack God, and Novogrod the great?" L'Evesque, p. 78.

Kiow on the Dnieper³¹, which became celebrated for their commerce, wealth, and comparative civilization. Other collections of society gradually increased, from villages to towns; and the Russians began to be distinguished from their Tartar neighbours, by fixed habitations. In the ninth century, some of the Scandinavian Vikingr, or Sea-kings, who were roaming the Baltic and the German Ocean in search of plunder or kingdoms, were invited to Novogrod, and soon reached to Kiow.³² Their government and attainments, superior to all that they found in their new settlements, began the political existence of Russia as a nation, and its intellectual formation. They tried to bring its rude population around from the habits of animal and savage life, to social and moral cultivation; and they succeeded in forming, from its nomadic tribes, a state of warlike power, and of beginning improvement.

The enterprising spirit of the Grecian merchants had early penetrated to the Dneiper. Novogrod had become known to the Greeks as a commercial station, in the ninth century³³: Kiow was so flourishing in the eleventh, that it was called the rival of Constantinople.³⁴ A footway had been tracked, by the same

³¹ This river was also called Borysthenes. The name seems pure Slavonian; Bor, being a pine forest, and Stena a wall, it implies a wall of pine trees: and the topographical fact is, that the shores of this river are lined with vast forests of pine trees. L'Evesque, p. 6.

³² These were Rurik and his companions. They were invited from the Waregi, who seem to have been the Wagri already noticed as a Slavonian tribe. Herberst. Comm. p. 3. The name of Rurik sounds as of Gothic origin; and as the Swedish Vikingr are often noticed as invading Russia (Verelius Sueo-Goth. p. 48. and Loccenius, p. 50.) his Scandinavian origin, as Mr. Gibbon assumes, or his Swedish origin, as others have supposed, is not improbable.

³³ Its trade with Constantinople is mentioned by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetes. Its name implies, the new city; and the ruins of the ancient town have been thought to be observed in its vicinity. Ib.—L'Evesque, 77.

³⁴ Adam of Bremen gives it this name. He says, that, sailing from Sleswick or Oldenburg, you will in 14 days reach Ostragard Russiæ, cujus metropolis civitas est Chiue æmula sceptri Constantinopolitani, p. 24. The authority quoted by Gibbon, c. 55. p. 564. places, in 1018, three hundred churches there, and eight markets.

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period, from the Baltic to Greece³⁵; and several places in that sea were frequented by Greek adventurers.³⁶

Becoming united into a nation that was perpetually multiplying the number of its stationary population, the Russians in the tenth century were led to invade the Grecian provinces, both in Europe and Asia Minor.³⁷ These hostilities produced an intercourse with the Greek empire, which led to the adoption of Christianity in Russia³⁸, and to the introduction of as much of the Grecian arts and literature as a nation so rude could receive, and perhaps as Greece, then fast declining, could impart.³⁹ But Russia, though slowly and silently advancing, became little known as a kingdom to Europe. It sent indeed ambassadors, and sought marriage alliances with the Emperors of Greece and Germany, in the eleventh century⁴⁰; and

³⁵ Ad. Brem. p. 66. Sed barbaræ gentes—hoc iter impediunt.

³⁶ As Borholm, and Curland, Ad. Brem. p. 66; and Jomsberg, ib. p. 21.

³⁷ In 904, 941, and 971.—L'Evesque, pp. 100, 110, and 132. He gives a copy of their treaty with the Greeks in 912, from the ancient Chronicle of Nestor, pp. 102, 103. It mentions fines "according to the Russian Law;" which shows they had begun to have laws. Wherever these exist, they are evidence that the savage has subdued his fierce self-will, and submitted his wild liberty to some regard for the welfare, and to some sympathy for the society and friendship, of other human beings, who, on similar terms, have agreed to associate into that permanent neighbourhood from which nations originate.

³⁸ In 986, Vladimir, surnamed the Great, who had attempted to appease his idols by human victims, and had raised a huge statue at Novogrod to Peroun, his god of thunder, sent ten of his wisest subjects to study the religions of other nations. They heard without interest the worship of the Mohamedans in Bulgaria, and of the poor Latin churches which they found in Germany; but the superb cathedral and splendid rites of Constantinople excited their admiration, and their recommendation induced Vladimir to make Greek Christianity the religion of Russia. Poor Peroun was tied to a horse's tail, and dragged to the Borysthenes, beaten all the way by twelve stout soldiers, with heavy bludgeons; he was there thrown into the stream, amid the contemptuous exultations of his former votaries. L'Evesque, 148—155.

³⁹ The specimens of the paintings introduced into Russia, from Greece, published by Dr. Clarke, in his Travels to Russia, induce us to suspect that the Grecian artists were then in the humblest state; and we know that Grecian literature was, in that age, of a very inferior class. Gross sensuality, effeminate luxury, and the most absurd party conflicts, were then debasing the mind and character of that nation, to whose ancestors and exiles we are indebted for the origin of all our taste, literature, and science.

⁴⁰ L'Evesque, 165. Lamb. Schaffen. 159.

Jaroslaf, who died 1054, and had added Livonia and Red Russia to his dominions, was both studious himself, and had Greek books copied and brought to Kiow, and established an academy at Novogrod with three hundred students.⁴¹ But this dawn of light soon vanished; stormy periods extinguished it; independent princes arose up in various parts of Russia, usually obeying the great chief at Novogrod, yet often contending with him or with each other.⁴² The Russians, occupied in these feuds, or with their immediate neighbours, and the Tartarian hordes, abandoned the literary progress which they had attempted to begin, but for which their habits and political state were then unfitted. They lost their rank in the general march of European civilization, as well from the pressure of external exigency, as from the averting effect of incompatible manners; and they disappeared from the history of Europe for some centuries, to acquire those mental and moral peculiarities, and that national position, which qualified and enabled them, at a future day, to appear upon its political theatre, as effective agents in events by which the welfare and progression of society have been pro-

⁴¹ L'Evesque, 193. In 1796 was discovered, and in 1800 was printed at Moscow, an ancient poem on the military exploits of Igor against the Poles, written in the beginning of the eleventh century, in the popular language of that period. This, with the monk Nestor's annals, may be considered as two of the earliest specimens of the ancient Russian literature. "Historical and moral tales, borrowed from the Greek, with traditional narratives and ballads, constituted for several ages all the literature of Russia." *Foreign Review*, No. 4. p. 281.

⁴² The Baron Herberstein contrasts the conduct of the Russians, with their neighbours the Tartars and Turks, on a defeat. The Russian pursued or taken, neither defends himself, nor asks for mercy. The Tartar thrown from his horse, and wounded, defends himself with his hands, feet, and teeth to his last breath. The Turk, when he sees no chance of escape, throws away his arms, joins his hands, and humbly asks for mercy. *Comment. p. 37.* M. Karamsin has now supplied the literary world with the *History of Russia*, by a native of talent, and with the modern spirit of investigation; but his eleven large volumes, which still leave the two last centuries to be narrated, present a copiousness of detail which foreigners will wish to see abridged into the most marking and characteristic facts and views.

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tected and accelerated. May they never become the instrument of its deterioration and oppression!

The people of Courland were in the eleventh century noted for their cruelty and their augurial impostures.⁴³ In the contiguous province of Estland, they adored serpents and birds, to whom they sacrificed human victims.⁴⁴

Prussia, which in the eleventh century extended from Courland to the Vistula, was in the occupation of another branch of the Slavonic stock, the Prusci. Distinguished by their blue eye, ruddy face, and flowing hair, from the Tartar population of Europe, they exhibited a singular mixture of fierce and civilized feelings. Safe in their inaccessible marshes, they defied hostility, and would endure no domestic sovereign. Their hatred of Christianity was implacable. They destroyed the missionaries who came to instruct them, and thought their groves and fountains polluted by the approach of a Christian foot. Yet, unlike a barbarous nation, they were celebrated for their humanity towards those whom shipwreck or piracy had distressed. Too rude in their habits to use gold and silver, they despised them, and willingly exchanged the precious furs of their native animals for homely but comfortable woollens.⁴⁵ It was the twelfth century before they adopted the religion of civilized Europe; and it was then imposed, by military missionaries, with a violence at which reason and humanity revolt.⁴⁶

⁴³ It is a ludicrous exposition of human weakness, to read that these barbarous people were consulted by all the world for their divinations, especially by the Spaniards and Greeks. *Ad. Brem.* p. 66. We may hope that he has inserted a rumour for a fact.

⁴⁴ *Ad. Brem.* 66.

⁴⁵ *Ad. Brem.* 67. He places the Prusci in Semland, which strictly is the name of the province of Samogitia, and is loosely applied to include the contiguous country of ancient Prussia. That they drank the blood of their flocks, is hardly reconcilable with Adam's intimation, that they have many things laudable in their manners.

⁴⁶ The Prussians were still in Paganism when Helmoldus wrote, for he says that

Bordering on the Prussians, was the population of Poland; in the ninth century obeying a king, in the eleventh governed by an aristocracy subordinate to the German empire. It had received Christianity, and supported eight episcopal sees.⁴⁷ Its origin was Slavonian; and its language still proves this relationship.

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Poland.

The Bohemians of the eleventh century⁴⁸ had sprung from the same race. They were subjected to the German empire, and to the outward forms of Christianity. But their general manners were so fierce, that, like the Poles, they were stigmatised for the cruelties of their warfare. They spared no persons or places. The sepulchres of the dead, as well as the monastery and the church, were violated by their rapine and fury. Their friends suffered as much as their foes, and hence their military assistance was rarely required.⁴⁹

Bohemia.

Moravia was peopled by a Slavonic race, occasionally intermixed with the varying hordes who overran Austria. The Carinthians were of the same

Moravia,
&c.

all the Slavonic nations, except the Prussians, had assumed Christianity, p. 1. Hence they were the last European nation that abandoned their idolatry.

⁴⁷ Helmoldus, p. 1. Chron. Slav. Incert. p. 203. Radevick, the Canon of Frisengen, who wrote 1157, describes the Poles as remarkable for their fierceness and pugnacity. Surrounded by barbarous people, they imbibed a portion of their atrocity, and were as faithless to their chieftains as they were to their relations. Rad. de Gest. Fred. p. 477. Script. Germ. Urtisil.

⁴⁸ The first known inhabitants of Bohemia were the Boii, a Celtic tribe, who were expelled by the Marcomanni, a German nation. Between the fifth and ninth centuries, the Slavi entered the country; and from them the Bohemians of the middle ages arose. See the judicious dissertation prefixed to the *Scriptores Rer. Austriac.*, published by Pez. pp. lvii.—lxii. Lips. 1721.

⁴⁹ Helmoldus, pp. 3, 4. In 1818, the Abbé Dobrowsky published the improved edition of his German history of the language and ancient literature of Bohemia, which is chiefly valuable for its researches and information as to the earlier periods. His "*Institutiones linguæ Slavicæ, 1822*," extends beyond Bohemia. The Bohemian, or Czechian language, was the first of the Slavonian dialects that was subjected to a grammatical arrangement. The Austrian government has also endeavoured to supersede the distinctive speech of this people, in order to make one uniform nation of its variegated population: an effect which the statesman, and perhaps the philosopher, as naturally desire, as the lover of antiquity and the philologist would regret to see accomplished.

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descent; but they are praised at this period for their superior piety and integrity. Their vicinity to Italy and Greece, had probably produced an earlier cultivation of their mind and manners.⁵⁰

The barbarous chorography of Europe may be terminated with the Slavonic nations. The rest was in a better state.

Within fifty years after the Hungarians had received that blow from Otho the Great, which ended their wasteful irruptions, the European world was astonished by the news, that the chieftain of Hungary, and his people, had resolved to adopt the Christian faith.⁵¹ That the nation, reviled as monsters, with dark complexions, deep eyes, and of a low stature⁵², and whose ferocity and desolations had filled every part of Europe with mourning and misery, should exhibit a change so sudden and so total, produced an extraordinary sensation. The Pope sent a splendid crown⁵³ to their chief, with the title of king, and perseveringly laboured to introduce ecclesiastical instructors and establishments. Europe, roused by the intelligence to a spirit of wonder and piety, began that habit of pilgrimage, which pervaded all classes in the eleventh century. The same event also contributed to the adoption of the Crusades, by opening a passage by land to Constantinople and

⁵⁰ Helmoldus, p. 3. His work is a chronicle of the chief transactions of the Slavonic nations, that had been most involved in wars with the German empire to the middle of the twelfth century. He then leaves the Slavi with the general character of preferring piracy to agriculture, and of living in huts made of interwoven branches of trees. When war pressed them, they hid their valuables in pits, and sent their wives and children into the woods or fortified places, leaving nothing but their miserable cabins to the vengeance of their enemies. C. xiii. p. 91.

⁵¹ Gisla, the sister of Henry duke of Bavaria, who became Emperor in 1003, had been married to this Hungarian sovereign, and produced his change of mind. Sigeb. Gembl. 592.

⁵² Otto Fris. de Gest. Fred. l. i. c. 31. Their habitations were rarely of wood; usually of reeds. Ib.

⁵³ Cette célèbre couronne royale dont on a toujours couronné ses successeurs. Maimb. Hist. de l'Emp. 189.

Asia, through which the main armies marched; and when the Turkish sultans, by possessing themselves of the Grecian empire, had obtained the most advantageous position for an attack on central Europe, the courageous resistance and ever-reviving spirit of the Hungarian nation mainly contributed to check, to repress, and finally to disappoint the dangerous and fierce aggressions of the Ottomans, in the period of their amplest power and most determined enthusiasm.

Contiguous to Hungary lies Austria, the latinized name for Oester-rich, or the Eastern Kingdom⁵⁴, now the predominant state of Germany, but which, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, was under the government of marquises.⁵⁵ As most of the fierce nations that appeared in those parts had effected settlements in it, the population of Austria had been fluctuating; and, as each left some remains, it became at last a promiscuous race.⁵⁶ A few beams of Christianity had entered it so early as the fifth century, from Italy, and slowly increased; but, in the tenth, its more rapid dissemination began, which never ceased till the whole of Austria was pervaded by this civilizing faith.⁵⁷ The Marquisate of Austria had been esta-

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Austria.

⁵⁴ Pez. Dissert. p. 34. In some of the old chronicles it is called occasionally Hunnia, Avaria, Ostro Gothia, Pannonia, and East Bavaria. Otto Frising. calls it, Orientalis Marchia, the Eastern March or Marquisate, or Pannonia Superior. Berthold mentions it as Austria, or the East Kingdom. Ib. p. 31.

⁵⁵ Its chief, Henry I., had already given himself this title in 1150 and 1155, for in one charter he styles himself Dux Orientis, in another Dux Austriae. But it was not till 1156 that the Emperor actually raised it to a dukedom. See Pez. pp. 31—33.

⁵⁶ Pez. takes considerable pains to trace these changes in both Upper and Lower Austria, and its Bohemian provinces. He shows that Boii, Vandals, Huns, Heruli, Rugii, Goths, Lombards, Bavarians, Slavi, and Hungarians, had successively overspread it. And he adds an eloquent peroration on the contrast of the high state of civilization to which Austria had risen, in the last century, with this barbarous and motley origin. P. 64.

⁵⁷ See Pez. Dissert. iv. p. 65—79.; who has the sense to reject the tales of St. Peter's disciples visiting it.

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blished in the tenth century.⁵⁸ The third marquis, Albert the Victorious, amplified his territories by the expulsion of the Hungarians in 1018, and governed them till 1056.⁵⁹ Frequent wars between the two nations continued, with mutual injury, and mutual improvement. In the middle of the twelfth century, the Marquisate of Austria terminated its long subordination to Bavaria, and was made an independent Dukedom, struggling slowly into social order and political consequence.⁶⁰ Since that time, and especially since its house of Hapsburg obtained the empire of Germany, the Austrian power, though varying in the success of its battles, and in the degree and permanence of its imperial predominance, has been steadily advancing by fortunate marriages; by judicious alliances; by sagacious policy, and by its military perseverance and skill, into a continual augmentation of solid power and hereditary reputation. Whenever it has declined, it has soon revived, and has usually risen more resolute and enlarged from its defeats and misfortunes.⁶¹

Bavaria.

The Bavarians, of Celtic origin⁶², had been so long in the country they occupied, that their precise

⁵⁸ The first marquis was Leopold, son of the Count of Bamberg, who had been betrayed and beheaded in 905. Pez. p. 89. Henry I. appeased the resentment of Leopold, by appointing him Marquis of Austria, in 935; a grant of as much danger as dignity, from the vicinity of the dreaded Hungarians.

⁵⁹ Otto Fris. l. 6. c. 15. Chron. Mon. Mell., p. 222—225.

⁶⁰ In 1139, Leopold the marquis of Austria possessed himself of Bavaria. His son Henry kept the acquisition till 1156. Bavaria was then restored to the Duke of Saxony; Austria was made a dukedom, and some other counties of Bavaria were annexed to it. Chron. Mell. 230—232. In 1178, Henry was succeeded by his son Leopold, who went to Jerusalem in 1182. He visited it again in 1191, and in 1194 had our Richard Cœur de Lion his prisoner. Chron. Mell. 235.

⁶¹ The late Archdeacon Cox's "History of the House of Austria from the Foundation of the Monarchy by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the Death of Leopold II., 1218 to 1792," in 5 vols. 8vo., contains an authentic and valuable narrative of the fortunes and progress of this distinguished nation.

⁶² Their ancestors were the Boii, mentioned by Cæsar, l. 1. ; by Tacitus de Mor. Germ. ; by Livy, Dec. 1. l. 5. ; by Polybius, l. 2. c. 17. They had passed into Germany from Gaul: driven out of Bohemia by the Marcomanni, they settled in Bavaria, which from them assumed its name, Bajoaria.

descent became ambiguous, and their civilization extensive. The political organization of Charlemagne had marshalled their growing population under Frankish chieftains of his own appointment, whose example and judicious measures eradicated the wild customs they had retained, and trained them into the habits of regular society. Under the government of dukes, they formed a constituent and active portion of the Germanic Empire.

Holland, Friesland, Flanders, and Brabant, had slowly advanced into dukedoms, earldoms, and lordships, amid perpetual sufferings from piracy and war. Their marshes and forests long impeded their improvement⁶³; but the necessity of cultivation at last produced it; and the extraordinary exertions which the position of their country required, led them to a superior degree of agricultural skill. From the seventh century they began to adopt Christianity from the tuition of English missionaries.⁶⁴ Their chieftains were sometimes subordinate to the French, and sometimes to the German power.⁶⁵ In the eleventh century, the commercial conveniencies of their situation became manifest; and as the commerce of Europe increased, Flanders had more than

Holland,
&c.

⁶³ In the time of Cæsar, the Batavian islands were inhabited by wild and barbarous nations, some of whom he says "are thought to live on fishes and the eggs of birds," l. 4. c. 7. A description that reminds us of the miserable state of the natives of New Holland. The Ardenne forest then reached from the Rhine and Trevi into France, being 500 miles long. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 27.

⁶⁴ Willebrod, and some other Anglo-Saxons, went to Utrecht in 690, to preach there, under the protection of Pepin. His friend and fellow-missionary, Boniface, says that he laboured there for fifty years, caused the Pagan temples to be abolished, and converted great part of Friesland. He founded the see of Utrecht, and died 739, like another Schwartz, in extreme old age.

⁶⁵ In the Batavian and Belgic provinces were the four dukedoms of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelderland; the seven earldoms of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namur, and Zutphen; and the five lordships of Friesland, Malines, Utrecht, Overysse, and Gröningen; and the marquisate of Antwerp: in all seventeen provinces. Some of these became united to the House of Burgundy, and fell at last to the House of Austria, by the marriage of Maximilian I. with the Burgundian heiress.

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its proportionate share. But the yet romantic state of its semi-barbarous manners, may be inferred from the adventures of one of its chieftain's family at that period.⁶⁶

An important era in the civilization of Germany, may be dated from the accession of Henry IV. in 1056.⁶⁷ An emperor at five years old, we may reasonably believe that the vices of youth were prematurely ripened, and abundantly displayed in the first portion of his reign. The defects of the national character concurred with his own to produce a crisis beneficial to the moral progress of his empire, and severely corrective of his errors.⁶⁸

The vast territories which Charlemagne and Otho had annexed to the sees which they established, were of small political importance in their days, when every province was half a wilderness, and its population was as scanty as its culture. But so rapidly had the human species increased under systems of social order; and so productive had been the labours

⁶⁶ Baldwin count of Flanders had two sons: he reserved his eldest for his heir. To Robert, his youngest, he gave ships, money, and provisions, for a long voyage, and bade him go to foreign parts, and "if he was a man," to get a kingdom or a fortune for himself. The youth sailed towards the coast of Spain, to gain a throne in Galicia. He landed on some unknown coast, and, beginning to plunder, was attacked and defeated by the natives, with the loss of almost all his followers. Returning home, he was contumeliously received by his father, and driven out, with new military supplies, to seek his fortune again. He sailed to more distant parts, but a fatal shipwreck frustrated his hopes. He escaped almost naked, and followed a train of pilgrims to Jerusalem. Invited by some Normans to attack Greece, he attempted, but failed in his effort. Getting back to Flanders, he tried a nearer booty, by attacking Friesland. He was twice repulsed; but the inhabitants, seeing him desperate for some settlement, at last submitted to him. Lamb. Schaff. 182, 183. ed. Pistor.

⁶⁷ The Saxon line had failed in 1002, in the grandson of Otho the Great. In 1024, the House of Franconia acquired the dignity in Conrad the Salic, who died 1039; when his son, Henry III., the father of Henry IV., succeeded.

⁶⁸ Bruno of Cologne, with a pen of severity, and perhaps of exaggeration, paints the vices of Henry, in his contemporary History of the Saxon War, published by Freher among his Germ. Script. p. 100.; who has added, as an antidote, an apologia for Henry, written about the same time, pp. 154—236. Reinecius edited another Life of Henry, by a panegyric contemporary: it is printed by Lindembrog, after Helmoldus. Several letters of Henry follow.

of a wiser cultivation, that the German bishoprics had become princely states, and the abbeys wealthy domains. Their abundant affluence and effective power converted the ecclesiastics who held them, into worldly politicians and voluptuaries.⁶⁹ Their sacred uses were forgotten. They were shamelessly purchased for their profit, by men who were clergy but in name⁷⁰; or given by the emperors, as splendid provisions, to their relations and dependants. This disposition of ecclesiastical dignities constituted that crime of simony, so fatal to the moral and spiritual uses of Christianity, and often extending to the Papacy itself; which Councils and Popes had attacked in vain⁷¹, and which brought Henry IV. into a personal and calamitous collision with Gregory VII. This stern, ardent, and aspiring character, connecting his virtue with his ambition, determined to arrest the evil, against which in a humbler station he had struggled. He boldly plunged into that warfare with Henry, which shook him from his throne, forced him to an humiliation unknown to Majesty before⁷², and which, continuing beyond his own days, at last achieved a cessation of the evil of prostituting church dignities to temporal purposes, though, by exalting the power and pretensions of the Papal See, it endangered the subjection of Europe to a debasing system of unwise superstition.

The political state of Germany was then sufficiently disastrous. Mutual depredations and warfare

⁶⁹ Adam of Bremen has given us a specimen in the Archbishop of Bremen, one of the ministers of Henry, pp. 48, 49. ; with which Bruno's satirical account may be also read, p. 101.

⁷⁰ Lambertus Schaffn, another contemporary, has transmitted to us flagrant instances of this, pp. 184, 186. b. i. Hist. Germ. ed. Pistor. Boniface had, in a preceding century, complained of this prostitution of ecclesiastical dignities in Germany. Mag. Bib. Pat. v. 16. p. 106.

⁷¹ Maimbourg has drawn an able sketch of this subject, and the subsequent contests. Hist. Decad. t. i. p. 307—325.

⁷² See Maimbourg's interesting narration of his visit to the Pope.

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were popular habits⁷³; and the Emperor increased the general suffering, by building castles on the hills and mountainous passes, from which his knights pillaged with impunity all the neighbouring domains.⁷⁴ But the moral character of the nation was then of a low rank. A contemporary thus describes the Germans of that day:—“Inconstant and faithless; neither governed by benefits nor fear; drinking, their delight; quarrels, fighting, and blasphemy, their perpetual practice. The crimes committed in their intoxication, they laughed at on the morrow. Perjury they deemed a trifle, blood-shedding a praise, and unchastity scarcely a subject of blame.”⁷⁵ But as we ascend above the eleventh century, these barbarous features gradually diminish. The intercourse and wars of the German emperors in Italy, and their expeditions through Greece to Asia, slowly disciplined the Tuisco into a love of literature, into the habitual practice of the most necessary social virtues; into national rank, honorable character, and wise internal legislation.

France.

A Grecian colony settled at Marseilles, some centuries before the Christian era, and always maintaining an affectionate intercourse with its parent nation, had studded the South of France with its peculiar civilization.⁷⁶ The rest of its population was Celtic, under the sacerdotal influence of the Druids, till the Romans introduced their government and colonies, and till the Franks on the North, and the Burgundians on the East, overspread the country with an additional population. The Celtic language and

⁷³ Lamb. Schaff. p. 187.

⁷⁴ These circumstances are asserted by Lambertus, pp. 189. 191. Bruno details the same fact, with additions, p. 105.

⁷⁵ Adam. Brem. p. 55.

⁷⁶ Boulay, in his *History of the University of Paris*, gives a full collection of original authorities on the Grecian and Roman civilization of France; and though sufficiently desultory and indiscriminated, yet is worth an attentive inspection.

manners disappeared from all parts, except Armorica or Bretagne, where the British refugees found a congenial home from their Saxon conquerors, and established several petty kingdoms and lordships. The rest of France, on the decline of the Carolingian family, exhibited four great divisions, of language, race, and manners: Its northern provinces, full of the German race; the midland county, where a mixed Latin language and people prevailed; and the southern states, which were distinguished for their Provençal and Troubadour language; while the Northmen established a Scandinavian race in Normandy. But at the period of the Norman conquest, France was moulding into two great divisions of language; that which, from our own connections with it, and from its chief cultivators, we call Norman French; and that which is popularly called the Provençal, a peculiar and not ungraceful language, the probable parent of the Italian poetry, if not of its tongue, which is still cultivated in its original seats, and which seems to have relics that are yet worthy to be explored.⁷⁷

At the Norman conquest, the Dukes of Normandy had made their province but a nominal feudatory to the French sovereign. The rulers of Burgundy, Bretagne, Flanders, and Aquitain, were little more; and were able to maintain at times an actual independence. Besides these, France abounded with counts and dukedoms, which, though acknowledging the king at Paris as their feudal lord, were paramount in their own domains. These powerful and independent feudatories were too weak, from their own perpetual quarrels, to endanger, though they often harassed, the French sovereign; but neither

⁷⁷ See the history of our Anglo-Norman literature, in the fourth volume of this Work.

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was his power sufficient to annex their possessions to his crown. After the eleventh century, however, this event became a settled object of the policy of the Parisian government. The example of our Henry I. was steadily followed by his friend Louis the Transmarine; it was pursued amid all the fluctuations of the national prosperity; and Philip Augustus, the rival of our Richard I., by his wise administration, laid a deep and solid foundation for that absorption of all the French sovereignties into one great monarchy, which Louis XI., who had suffered from them, and Cardinal Richlieu, at last effectually accomplished.⁷⁸ In the eleventh century, however, the king of France was but a feudal king, surrounded by sovereign liegemen almost as powerful as himself, always resisting his encroachments, and frequently defying his authority. That the addition of England to Normandy did not give our Norman sovereigns the crown of France, arose from the inherent military defects, and the individual independence, of the feudal system, which operated as strongly to enfeeble the great feudatory as his superior lord; and which, reducing war to little else than temporary depredations, preserved each from permanent conquest by the other.

The sovereignty of the German emperors in Italy precluding the establishment of any native king, whose power would depress all other authority by his immediate locality, was favorable to the rise of independent territorial chieftains, and of free and powerful cities. As the general remoteness of the

⁷⁸ The original authorities important in this period, are, the Abbot Suger's Life of his master, Louis le Gros; and Rigordus de Gestis Philippi Augusti. These, with the long Latin hexameter poem of Guillemus Brito, also a contemporary, are printed in the *Historia Francorum*, published by Pitheus, Frankf. 1586.—The *Recueil* of Bouquet is that extensive publication of the body of the ancient French historians, which we, who are so carefully publishing our ancient records, ought not to be without. I add with pleasure, to this edition, that the House of Commons have lately (1823) authorized a similar collection of our ancient chronicles.

emperor, and the difficulty of preserving the submission of a country so distant and so dissimilar to his German provinces, compelled him to govern by opinion and management, rather than by command, nobles sometimes created by himself, but more generally originating from those who had been planted by Charlemagne, established in many parts a princely hereditary power. To counteract their influence and diminish the effect of their hostility, the imperial policy willingly increased the municipal privileges and independence of the principal towns, that, as the interests of the citizens and the contiguous chieftains were usually in competition, the subordination of both to the sovereign authority might be more permanent.⁷⁹ This was, in fact, a part of the system by which every sovereign in Europe labored to curtail the power of his feudal nobility. In Italy, it had the happy effect of fostering into political maturity several free states and independent cities, who enlightened the middle ages of Europe by their glory, their arts, their commerce, their literature, and their freedom. Of these, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, became great maritime republics; and Pavia, Milan, and Florence, acquired warlike celebrity. In the eleventh century they were gradually forming; and it was the careful study of the papal policy, for its own power and aggrandizement, to encourage their resistance to the imperial authority, and to promote their ultimate emancipation. The celebrated wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelines⁸⁰, which so long distracted Italy, were the contests between the papal and imperial partisans; and their general result was, that establishment of the Italian liberties, and that evolution of the Italian genius and literature, which some similar competition

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⁷⁹ Sismondi's authorities cited, and his intelligent remarks on this period, deserve perusal. Vol. i. p. 91—104.

⁸⁰ The Guelphs were of the papal, the Ghibelines of the imperial party.

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between the Austrian and the Triple Crown may again reproduce, when their alarm at Jacobinism having subsided, the Governments of Europe shall again make their separate national interests their more peculiar care.

But one of the most striking events of the eleventh century, was the establishment of a Norman dynasty in Sicily and Naples.⁸¹ Some Norman pilgrims having been invited by a Greek fugitive into Italy, the attention of this enterprising people was directed to those parts: and the Arab power tottering in Sicily, from its intestine divisions, a body of adventurous Normans first established themselves in Apulia, under Robert Guiscard, between 1054 and 1080; and in Sicily, at no long interval afterwards. Their aspiring chief even ventured, not only to menace, but to assault Constantinople. Their extraordinary dominion lasted in Naples and Sicily till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when their dynasty experienced the fate of those which it had subverted.

The Pope.

The Papacy, which was in an enslaved and degraded state during the tenth century, and part of the next, was roused to a new and portentous ambition, by the aspiring projects of Gregory VII.; and his plans were vigorously pursued by his successors. Its arrogated power was beneficial for some time to the morality and civilization of Europe, but its successes becoming dangerous to the intellect, the just freedom and the welfare of mankind, it began to decline as the necessity for its existence diminished.

Spain.

While SPAIN seemed inundated with a Mohamadan population, a small society of Christian warriors, sheltering themselves in the mountains of

⁸¹ See Gibbon's Hist., vol. v. p. 580—644. 4to. ed. Ordericus Vitalis, a contemporary of Guiscard's successor, may be also consulted.

Asturia, gradually multiplied into a petty state. The first name that arose to distinction, or that has survived to us in tradition, for valorous resistance in this district to the Moors, was Don Pelayo: and, amid the exertions of his successors, the little Christian kingdom of Leon arose⁸², and a temporary one at Oviedo. All who were discontented with the religion or government of the Moors, fled, as their best asylum, to the mountainous country in the north of Spain; and by the tenth century another Christian kingdom, Navarre, had emerged from the Pyrenees.⁸³ In the strong positions among the mountainous ranges in the north of Spain, or amid the protection afforded by the vicinity of France, other little Christian states were formed, under the counts of Barcelona, Castile, and Arragon, which gradually swelled into importance and power. They were frequently distressed and even occupied by the Moors on their occasional victories, but their martial nobility at length penetrated, by slow progress, into the Mohamadan territory, and began the foundation of those Spanish kingdoms which at last rescued this interesting peninsula from the Turban and the Koran, after the active talents of the Saracens had conveyed from Asia to Europe all the knowlege and improvement which they had attained, and could impart.

The beginning of the eleventh century was distinguished by the reign of Don Sancho the Great, in the kingdom of Navarre. All the Christian states in

⁸² The precise dates of the first foundation of these Spanish kingdoms, are not now to be ascertained. But Pelayo's actions, the subject of Mr. Southey's *Don Rodrigo*, may be placed in some part of the eighth century. One of Sir Walter Scott's best poems is that on the same king, "The Vision of Don Roderick."

⁸³ The history of Navarre in the *Modern Universa' History*, is plainly but carefully written, and states the leading facts, vol. xxii. p. 390. Navarre has had two derivations: *Erria*, a Cantabrian word for land; and *Nava*, a spot of ground cleared from wood; or *Nava*, a pass or valley environed with rocks: *Nava-rria*, a cleared country, according to one, or a country of passes, according to the other derivation.

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Spain, excepting the kingdom of Leon, and the earldom of Barcelona, became subject to his power. At this time a line drawn from Valencia to the mouth of the Douro, will mark the division of Spain between Islamism and Christianity.⁸⁴ The larger, more fertile and affluent regions, to the south, were Mohamedan; the less fertile and populous districts, on the north, were occupied by the Christians. Don Sancho, at his death in 1034, divided his dominions among his four children, with the title of kings: To Don Garcia, Navarre, and Biscay; to Don Ferdinand, Castile; to Don Ramiro, Arragon; and a smaller state, rapidly absorbed in the rest, to another.⁸⁵ Ferdinand soon added Leon to his crown of Castile; but separated it on his death in 1065, by bequeathing them distinctly to his two sons.⁸⁶ Wars ensued between all these related kings, which occasioned a frequent fluctuation of their dominions and successions. But amid these struggles, the Spanish Christians educated themselves to that superiority of military talent and vigor, which at length enabled them to subject the Crescent to their sway. Their ascendancy began at the close of the eleventh century, and never ceased to be progressive.

Enervated by their luxury, discordant from native restlessness, divided into many kingdoms, and weakened by the inherent vices of the Mussulman polity⁸⁷, the Spanish Moors began to feel the superiority of

⁸⁴ Mod. Univ. Hist. Castile, vol. xx. p. 37., and of Arragon, p. 433.

⁸⁵ Mod. Un. Hist. vol. xxii. p. 417.

⁸⁶ Ib. Leon and Castile, vol. xx. p. 51. — It was in Don Ferdinand's reign that the celebrated Cid appeared, who is briefly mentioned by the old Spanish historians. The true and fabulous history of this warrior appears in the curious Chronicle of the Cid; of which Mr. Southey has given us an interesting translation. Appended to this are some extracts from the more ancient poem on the same hero: "The oldest poem in the Spanish language, and as decidedly the finest." — Southey's Pref.

⁸⁷ Mr. Southey has ably stated the defects of the political and moral systems of Mohamed, in his Introduction to the Cid. Pp. 19—21.

the Christian states. Their greatest hero, after those who had before attempted France, was Mohamed Abenamir Almançor, who, animated with peculiar fury at the Christian name, made prodigious efforts to extinguish it.⁸⁸ He died as the eleventh century began, and Christianity in Spain was essentially endangered no more, although the emperors of Morocco added, to the Arab part of the Peninsula, the force of their African dominions.⁸⁹

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Towards the close of the eleventh century, the kingdom of PORTUGAL was formed. Henry of Burgundy, a French knight, received from Alphonso of Leon and Castile, for his services in Spain, the countries south of Galicia, comprising the newly conquered territory between the rivers Douro and Minho, as a fief, with a commission to extend their boundaries, and defend them against the Mohamedans. Many Christians, who had obtained a miserable shelter among the mountains, came down to settle in the plains, under his protection.⁹⁰ By degrees, his

Portugal.

⁸⁸ "The frontiers of Castile he turned into a desert. The city of Leon he took and, after putting the inhabitants to death, burnt it to the ground. He also sacked and destroyed Barcelona." Mod. Un. Hist. Navarre, p. 409. He was at last defeated by the King of Leon, "and, refusing to take sustenance, he expired at Medina Celi, and with him the fortune of the Cordovan Moors." Ib. 411.

⁸⁹ Cardonne's History gave the fullest and best account which we formerly had of the Arab kings of Spain; but Dr. Don Jose Conde's "Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en Espana" (Madrid, 1820, 3 vols. 4to.), and M. de Marle's French translation of it, with some additions and improvements (Paris, 1825, 3 vols. 8vo.), have now supplied us with a work on this subject far more complete and satisfactory. It is compiled from Arabic MSS., and in many parts is a translation of the Moorish historians in their own words, which is the best way of exhibiting their minds and feelings.

⁹⁰ The history of Portugal, in the Modern Universal History, displays the same patient and useful labour of collecting authentic facts without any attempt at composition; which demands praise, though it may not invite readers. For the primordia of Portugal, see vol. xxii. pp. 3—13. We have an instance how sovereigns have been originally appointed, in the official account promulged by Alphonso himself, of the manner in which he was so made. The Cortes of the nation assembled at Lamego in 1143. The instrument of their meeting enumerates them to have consisted of the archbishop of Braganza, and the bishops of Oporto, Coimbra, and Lamecens; the "veros" of the royal court; the procurators of Coimbra, and fifteen other cities and towns; the king's minister, and many

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power was established in the provinces north of the Douro. His son Alphonso threw off the feudal supremacy of Castile, and after defeating the Moors at the great battle of Campo Ouriquez, in 1139, was declared king by the Pope, and became the first sovereign of Portugal. He extended the Christian sceptre into the southern districts, assisted by the Crusaders and by many English adventurers.⁹¹

Such was the state of Europe at that period, when the Normans resolved on the invasion of England, and, by its successful issue, connected the British Islands with the general history and general interests of the Continental Powers.

monks and clergy, with the king on his throne. His officer desired to know if they had read the Pope's letters, and were willing that he should be the king: "Dicatis, si vultis quod sit ille rex." They all answered, "We wish him to be the king." The procurator said, "How shall he be so, he and his sons, or he alone?" They replied, "He as long as he shall live, and his sons afterwards." "If such be your will, give him the insignia." They all exclaimed, "We will give it in the name of God." Then the archbishop arose, and taking from the hands of an abbot the great golden crown, with many jewels, which had belonged to the kings of the Goths, they placed it on Alphonso. The king holding in his hand the naked sword with which he had gone to battle, said, "Blessed be God who has assisted me. With this sword I have freed you and conquered our enemies; and you have made me king and your associate. Let us now appoint the laws by which our country may remain in peace." They then proceeded to decree laws as to the succession, the nobility, and taxation. All of the royal family were to be nobilissimi. Those who were not Moors or Jews, and should rescue the king's person, son, or relative in war, should be noble. Also, if any one taken by the infidels should suffer death rather than renounce his faith, his sons should be noble. So he who should slay the king's enemy in battle. All who were of the royal court, and had been nobles from ancient times, and all who had been in the great conflict at Ouriquez, should be nobles, and be called the king's vassals for ever. But they who fled, or who should strike a woman with a sword or lance, or not rescue the king or his son in battle, or who should perjure himself, or not speak truth to the king, or should slander the queen or her daughters, or should join the Moors, or steal, or blaspheme their Saviour, or conspire the king's death, should not be deemed noble, nor their posterity for ever. See the original Act of the Cortes, printed in Edin. Rev., No. 89., pp. 222—5.

⁹¹ Mod. Un. Hist. ib. 20—30

CHAP. III.

Origin of the Normans; the Acquisition of Normandy; Progress of their Civilization: their National Character; State of England at the time of their Invasion.

IN the Norman history, we contemplate the interesting spectacle of a barbarous people civilizing themselves with unexampled rapidity, and then improving a nation—our own—that had long been more civilized than its teachers. The progress deserves our attention, as it gives us a splendid instance of one of the processes by which the improvement of the world is made to advance, amid all the perversities of human nature, and the casualties of human affairs.

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III.

The picture, exhibited in a preceding work, of the fierce spirit and habits of the Northern viking and sea-kings¹, may be here recollected, as the description also of the Normans, on their first arrival in France. With the same stern and sanguinary idolatry, the same love of plunder and devastation, the same unsparing cruelty, and savage indifference to human slaughter, and with the same aspiration to be the subject of Scaldic song, Hrolfr, Rollo, Roul, or Rou, as he is differently named², and his associates, left the

Rollo
leaves
Norway.

¹ Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 383. 7th ed.

² In Snorre's Haralld-Saga he is called Gangu Hrolfr, or Hrolfr the Walker, because he was so large and tall that no horse could carry him. C. 14. p. 100. His name is Rollo in the Latin works of the Romans, and Roul, and Rou, in their vernacular language. Thus Wace says,

“ Ai jeo de Roul lunges cunte
E de sun riche parente.”

MS. Bib. Reg. iv. c. 11.

The work of Wace, the Roman de Rou, has been, since the first edition of this volume, printed by M. Pluquet at Rouen, 1827. He derives the Danes from a colony of Trojans under Danaus :

“ Une gent de Troie escaperent,
Ki en Danemarche assenerent
Par Danaus, un ancessor.”

P. 8.

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Baltic, at the end of the ninth century, to seek homes or booty elsewhere.³ Son of the favorite Jarl of Harald Harfagre, and long distinguished for his piratical expeditions, he happened to pillage a district, which Harald had added to his kingdom, and on which he had interdicted piracy.⁴ Not even friendship for his father could appease the wrath of the King of Norway, for the practice of an evil custom, which he was resolved to extirpate in his own dominions. Hrolfr the great walker was banished. His mother in vain solicited his recal. The fair-haired Harald was inexorable.⁵

Driven from his paternal home, Hrolfr resumed his depredations without restraint. His conduct was popular: his exile increased his celebrity; and, his reputation continually multiplying his followers, he enlarged both the scene and the magnitude of his expeditions. He roved among the Hebrides; he ventured to Flanders⁶; and even attempted England⁷, but, repelled by the genius and vigilance of Alfred⁸, he proceeded to Walcheren and the Scheld⁹; and after fighting there, he remembered the triumphs of

³ Wace confesses of his Northman ancestors, that they were accustomed to go to seize and pillage other countries, "altres terres prendre e rober." Rom. Rou, p. 7. He mentions our two islands in the Channel, under their present names, "en Guernesî, en Gersî," and Sark as Saire. P. 21.

⁴ The successive conquests of Harald Harfagre are the subject of the Harrallds-Saga of Snorre. His youthful victories led him to make an oath, that he would never comb his hair till he had conquered all Norway. In ten years he accomplished it. The father of Rollo then cut and combed his ragged locks, and called him Harfagre, or Fair-hair. Snorre, vol. i. pp. 78. and 99.

⁵ Snorre, p. 100. Wace's account is more detailed than Snorre's, and in the circumstances very different, and apparently incorrect, especially in placing the opposing king in Denmark; but the result is the same. He was obliged to fly before his royal persecutor, after his brother Garin had fallen. His castles were pulled down, and his houses and towns set on fire by the king. P. 45, 46.

⁶ Snorre, p. 101. Wace says he passed into Scotland with six ships; but, as he calls it, "un isle de mer," he obviously means one of its islands. P. 46.

⁷ Asser de Gestis Alfredi, p. 28. Dudo, p. 71.

⁸ Wace describes his attack and intercourse with the English king, but mistakes Alfred for Athelstan. P. 51.

⁹ Wace, 52—6.

his countrymen in France, and sailed boldly thither to renew them.¹⁰

The attacks of the Northmen on France were one of the great political causes, by which the empire of Charlemagne was dissolved, within less than a century of its duration. Assaulted first by ferocious bands, among whose leaders a name so similar to Ragnar Lodbrog¹¹, the famous scald and sea-king, appears, as to justify a belief of their identity; it was, after his death in Northumbria, invaded by his son, Biorn, the Iron-ribbed, under the military tuition of Hastings, the Danish warrior, who had struggled so long with Alfred for the occupation of England.¹² For nearly thirty years, Hastings and the Northmen made this great country the scene of a merciless warfare. He laid in ashes almost all the regions from Flanders to Poitou, and harassed Paris with a siege, in which it had nearly fallen his victim.¹³ The fancy of conquering Rome, and thereby becoming the emperor of the world, at last inflamed his savage mind; and he proceeded to Italy, where he wasted too much of his military force to be formidable again.¹⁴ But he had levelled the road, and shown the attainable

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He attacks
France.

¹⁰ Wace, 56.

¹¹ See Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. i. p. 401.

¹² Ibid. pp. 570—591.

¹³ Dudo, in his first book (Du Chesne Script. Norm. 61—67.) states the desolations of Hastings, but with a profusion of declamation that obscures what he intends to express. He composed his work at the request of Richard the First, who died in 1002, and with whom it ends. It is intermixed with Latin verses of all species of metre, and interlarded with Greek words. But his poetry has neither grace nor perspicuity.

¹⁴ Will. Gemmeticensis Hist. Norm. lib. i. p. 220. This author's History of the Normans is in the first part a judicious abridgment of Dudo's Rhetoric; though he refers also to original authority for his facts, as in p. 248. His subsequent books carry on the history not only to William the Conqueror, to whom he dedicates it, but even to Stephen. This latter part is suspected to be a continuation by some other monk. His style is plain, concise, and clear. Wace gives the fullest detail of these expeditions of Hastings, apparently enlarging, in his own way, on the two preceding chroniclers, making such additions as other information supplied him with. Roman de Rou, p. 11—36. He conducts Hastings back from Italy to France, and then begins with Rou, or Rollo.

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prize; and when Hrolfr, or Rollo, discomfited in England, was looking round for a more accessible booty, the kingdom of France, still smoking from the devastations of his countrymen, invited his approach.¹⁵

The power of Charlemagne, and the greatness of France, had been shaken by the suicidal hands of the French themselves. It was in 841 that they met on that dreadful day at Fontenay, in which, supporting the disgraceful competition of three brothers, almost all the French nobility and warriors perished.¹⁶ The awful lesson of that struggle was given in vain, and new civil factions arose; when the Northmen were suffered to invade a soil, where both filial and paternal piety, effective religion, and domestic tranquillity, had been alike proscribed.

Obtains
Normandy.

Rollo tracked the course of his ruthless precursors. He defeated the French armies, besieged Paris for four years, took Bayeux¹⁷ and Evreux, and attacked Paris again.¹⁸ Withdrawing from France to assist Athelstan¹⁹, he returned out of England to renew his devastations on the Seine.²⁰ At length, all hope of expelling him by force having expired, it was suggested by the counsellors of the French government,

¹⁵ Wace draws a parallel between Hastings and Rollo, to the advantage of the latter. He says, "Hastings did only evil in France, had always a proud and cruel heart, and made great destruction of the churches, and was perfidious and merciless to Christians: fearing neither the Divine power nor maledictions. Rollo always acted right; Hastings the contrary. Rollo was amiable; Hastings fierce and fractious. He had no mercy either on Franc or Serf; he loved neither the clergy nor the lay; neither monks nor convents." Rom. Rou, pp. 37, 38.

¹⁶ The destruction of this battle is frequently alluded to by the old chroniclers, as by Regino, lib. ii. p. 41.; Sigeb. Gembl. p. 564. ed. Pist.

¹⁷ Ordericus Vitalis, lib. iii. p. 459., another Norman monk, who has composed a copious and ill-digested Ecclesiastical History, desultory, incoherent, and tedious, yet full of curious facts, with some proportion of legendary fable. He was born in 1075. His work extends, in thirteen books, to 1141, in the reign of Stephen, and closes with a short account of himself. Wace is copious on his Rou's actions in Normandy, p. 56—68., and exhibits Hastings as sent to him by the French to expostulate on his aggression. P. 62.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 68.

¹⁹ Ibid. 69—72.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 72. He is very full of the disasters of the invaders before Chartres, in 911, p. 79—90.

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to propose to him the cession of a country for himself and his companions, in full property and sovereignty, yielding only feudal homage to the crown of France. Rollo, after some hesitation, with the consent of the chieftains, acquiesced in the proposition; and that extensive district from the Epte to the sea, which was afterwards called Normandy, was ceded to his power, with the title of duke, and the hand of the fair Gisla, the French king's daughter. The pacification arranged, the ceremony of the homage only remained. It was necessary to kneel, and kiss the king's foot; and this the proud pagan disdained. The prelate who attended the king, declared that a gift so magnificent deserved his compliance. "I will never," exclaimed Rollo, "bend my knees to the knees of any man, nor kiss any man's foot." Unfortunately, this was the ancient mode of feudal homage, and could not be dispensed with. The Frankish nobles solicited him in vain. At last, as a substitute, he ordered one of his knights to do the ceremony for him. The knight revolting, like his master, at the degradation, murmured, and obeyed; but, instead of kneeling, he seized the royal foot, standing upright, and carrying it suddenly to his mouth, threw the king on the floor²¹; a contumelious indignity, which, on such an occasion, a haughty savage only could have offered, and only a defeated prince have endured.

In the age of Rollo, the great feature of the Northman character was a love of glory, pursuing its gratification by an assiduous cultivation of bodily strength, agility, and manual dexterity; and combining, with the most daring intrepidity, ferocity and warlike for-

Northman
character.

²¹ Dudo, p. 84., describes this scene; and Gemmeticensis, p. 231., alludes to it. Wace thus describes it: "Rou became the king's homme, and gave him his hands. When he ought to have kissed his feet, he would not deign to do so. He stretched his hands down, the king raised his foot. He drew it to his mouth, and overturned the king. All laughed enough at this, and the king replaced himself, and gave him his daughter and Normandy before them all."

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titude. To climb steep and towering rocks, and to descend from them rapidly with a heavy burthen; to walk on the margin of a ship, and even outside of it, on the oars, while the men were rowing it; to use both hands alike, and throw two darts at once; to play with three swords, with that correctness of eye, that one should be always in the air while the others were caught by the handles; were accomplishments of dexterity coveted even by their kings.²² To hew well with the sword, to wrestle, to cast heavy weights, to run in skates, to sit firmly on horseback, to swim with vigor, to dart the lance with skill, and to manage dexterously the oar, were also their warriors' boasts.²³ Vigor in archery was an emulation of excellence; and they proved their strength by sending a blunted spear through a raw bull's hide.²⁴ All these qualifications proceeded from the great actuating principle of the Northman mind, the love of personal distinction and public admiration.

Love of
war.

Their fondness for war was their national inheritance, and first paternal lesson. It had long been the custom of the Northmen to send their children, as soon as they could wear armor, to seek their fortunes by their swords; and to this practice, their piratical depredations are ascribed by the Norman historians.²⁵ So rooted in their habits was this spirit of warfare, that even in the second century of their occupation of Normandy, and after Christianity had humanized their manners, their priests and bishops

²² Olaf Tryggvason, the celebrated sea-king, is thus described by Snorre, *Olaf Saga*, vol. i. p. 290.

²³ "We hewed with our swords" is the triumphant opening of every stanza of the *Lodbrog-quida*. For the other qualifications, see the ode of Haralld Hardraada, the king of Norway, who perished in England, from the *Knytlinga Saga*; and the *History of Grymer*, in *Mallet's North. Antiq.* vol. ii. pp. 238. and 249.

²⁴ Snorre, vol. ii. p. 19.

²⁵ Dudo, p. 63. The father drove out all his sons, but one, whom he kept for his heir. *W. Gemm.* 218.

still carried arms like the laity, according to the ancient custom of their nation.²⁶

Such were the first Normans, who in the beginning of the tenth century settled themselves in Normandy; a country, from their own devastations, an unpeopled and ruined desert, abandoned to a wild vegetation, uncultivated in every part.²⁷ Its wasted condition induced Rollo to reject the first offer of it, as incompetent to maintain his followers without rapine; but, on a promise that Bretagne should be added, he consented to attempt its colonization.²⁸

A barbarous people, seated in a desolate country, might seem to promise a perpetuity of barbarism. But, however revolting to our better feelings the ravages of the wild nations we have noticed may be, they were prelusive to that happier state into which Europe afterwards emerged.

The natural state of the Continent, anterior to their irruptions, was a succession of endless forests and impracticable marsh. Even after Gaul and Germany had been penetrated by the human race to their extremities, we read of one of the forests in Gaul being 500 miles long, and of another in Germany that was sixty days' journey in extent.²⁹ Flanders was in Rollo's time so full of marshes, that he refused to take it in addition to Normandy.³⁰

Hence, before civilization could flourish in Europe, it was necessary that its forests should be destroyed, its marshes drained, the fords of its rivers discovered, and the wild heath converted into fertilized land. The barbarous warfare of their savage state effected these improvements. The desire of security made them select the woods and marshes for their col-

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²⁶ We learn this trait from the ancient *Life of Herluin*, the first Abbot of Bec. *Vita Lanfranci*, p. 53.

²⁷ Dudo, p. 82. W. Gemmet. 219. 231.

²⁹ Cæsar de Bell. Gall.

²⁸ Dudo, p. 83.

³⁰ Dudo, p. 83.

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lective habitations, because, either least accessible in approach, or most defensible against attack. The destruction of their villages was therefore the annihilation of the incumbering forests; the burning of the country was the fertilisation of the soil; and the approach or the pursuit of enemies occasioned bridges and roads to be fabricated, and the watery places drained. It was the dreadful invasions of the Hungarians, which, compelling the German populations to live in towns, occasioned the commencement of their social improvements.

The wasted state of Normandy was not only favorable to the growth of the Norman mind, by presenting no luxuries or corrupting vices to weaken it; but it made wisdom in the chief, and industry and constant exertion in his followers, indispensable to their existence. It urged them to be an agricultural as well as a warlike people. The general poverty was auspicious to the preservation of the general liberty; and wise and equal laws became essential to the welfare of their poor and busy and fierce community. The character of their chief was suited to the exigency; and Rollo, like Romulus, by his prudent regulations, began the improved character and prepared the triumphs of his rapacious countrymen.

The father of Rollo had been a Norwegian chief-tain, distinguished for his wisdom⁸¹; and Rollo lived at the period when the ablest sovereign that had then appeared in the Baltic, was beginning the civilization of Norway.

It was the great object of Harald Harfagre to colonize the depopulated parts of his dominions, and to withdraw the active energies of his subjects from

Rollo
imitates
Harald
Harfagre.

⁸¹ Snorre, p. 84. His father, Rognvalldr, was popularly called, The wise and powerful one. The sober and precise narration of Snorre, on this subject, enables us to understand the loose declamation of Dudo.

piracy to agriculture and domestic quiet.³² He had even established an outline of the feudal system in Norway. He declared all the landed property of the country to belong in sovereignty to him, and received an annual payment from each proprietor, as his demesne lord. He appointed jarls over every province, with the power of collecting his revenues, and administering the laws; and he divided each jarldom into subordinate tenures, which he called Herseri, analogous to our baronies, with a condition of military service. Whenever the king went to war, every jarl was to send him sixty knights, and every herser twenty, maintained at their own expense.³³ He prohibited piracy under the severest penalties.

Rollo, banished for opposing some of these improvements, had the wisdom to feel their importance, and to adopt them in his new domain. He divided the country among his chieftains, afterwards called Barons, and distributed proportionate allotments to his followers, by the measurement of a rope, from whom military service was exacted. He rebuilt the cities; reploughed the country; and invited settlers from all parts.³⁴ The very fierceness of his nation compelled him to a strict and sagacious legislation. Accustomed to pillage, the abolition of robbery and theft became essential to the continuance of their social union. A steady justice in his own conduct, an inflexible rigor towards all offenders, and the beneficial results which every one experienced from these provisions, gradually produced a love of equity and subordination to law, among his own people, which mainly contributed to their future eminence. Under his administration, Normandy is declared to have had neither thieves, plunderers, nor private

Rollo's
wise mea-
sures.

³² Snorre, c. 20. p. 96.

³³ Ibid. c. 20. p. 80.

³⁴ Dudo, p. 85.

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}His Suc-
cessors.

seditions.³⁵ He became himself celebrated for his equity³⁶; and his subjects rapidly increased in number and prosperity. The adoption of Christianity as his national religion, powerfully accelerated all his legislative exertions, by enlightening both himself and his countrymen, and by gradually awakening their moral sensibilities.

The succeeding dukes, William, the two Richards, and Robert³⁷, the father of the English conqueror, were all able princes, who frequently subdued the Bretons, and repelled the aggressions of the French monarch. When pressed by their formidable neighbours, they invited new adventurers from the Baltic, who augmented their military population and national strength.³⁸ Environed with danger, their warlike energies had no leisure to abate; and from their perpetual exertions, the Normans became distinguished in Europe for their martial skill.³⁹

³⁵ Dudo, p. 86. Wace thus describes his severe police: "He loved peace; he sought peace and caused it to be established. He proclaimed through all Normandy, that no one should be so hardy as to dare to assault another; nor to burn either house or village, nor to rob nor to take away, nor to kill or mutilate any one; nor to fight or strike or lay in ambush, nor to concur in any depredation. The offender, however great, he disgraced, or made him expiate the offence by fire or the gibbet.—Many thieves and robbers he dismembered, plucked out their eyes, burnt them, or cut off their hands and feet." P. 97-9.

³⁶ The president Henault acknowledges this circumstance, in his useful abridgment of the French History. Having no issue by the French princess Gisla, "he married Pop, whom he then long kept;" "espusa Pop, k'il tint poiz lungement;" and by her had his successor William Longsword. Wace, 102.

³⁷

Rollo died 917.

His son William died 943.

Richard I. died 1002.

Richard II. died 1026.

Robert I. died 1035; when his son

William II. acceded.

³⁸ W. Gemmet. 246. 254. Wace, in his Metrical History of Normandy, has inserted a notice of this circumstance —

Richart ki volt sun dreit tenir

De Danemarche fist venir

Daneis e bons combatturs

Ki lui firent si grant sucurs.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

³⁹ Malmesbury (Hist. p. 174.) mentions this in the passage in which he praises

From the joint effects of situation, exigencies, wise legislation, and Christianity, they had so improved within 150 years after they had quitted the Baltic, as to compel this high national character from an historian of the country which they had most afflicted: "Their dukes, as they were superior to all others in war, so they as much excelled their contemporaries in their love of peace and liberality. All their people lived harmoniously together, like one great body of relations — like one family, whose mutual faith was inviolable. Among them every man was looked upon as a robber, who, by falsehood, endeavoured to overreach another in any transaction. They took assiduous care of their poor and distressed, and of all strangers, like parents of their children; and they sent the most abundant gifts to the Christian churches, in almost every part of the world."⁴⁰ When to this high encomium we add, that emulous love of glory, which authors of the middle ages declare to have been the most active principle of the Norman mind⁴¹; their beginning love of literature⁴², that spirit of enterprise, which led them to Italy and Greece; and that fervent piety⁴³, which produced a general decorum, and lasting steadiness of moral character; we see a people formed for lofty achievements and national celebrity.

It is remarkable, that a vein of civilization had begun to run through their first barbarian character. Even before they left the Baltic, they bathed fre-

the Flemings for their pleasing features, and the French for their superior courtesy.

⁴⁰ Glaber Rodulphus, c. 5. pp. 8, 9., gives this encomium.

⁴¹ Malmshury remarked this striking trait, which is one of the principal subjects of Bartholin's book on the causes of their contempt of death, who gives many instances of their vehement passion for fame.

⁴² See the instances of the literature and studies of the Normans, in 1050, and afterwards, in Ordericus Vitalis, pp. 462. 464. 468. 470. 473. 477. and 485.

⁴³ On their religious feelings, see Ordericus, pp. 460. 463. 465. 468. 480, &c. On their conquest of Apulia, see W. Gemm. 284. ; and Ord. Vit. 472. 483.

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quently, and cut and combed their hair.⁴⁴ They loved gorgeous ships and splendid garments⁴⁵; a taste created by their successful piracy. And by the time they invaded England, they shaved their beards, so as to seem like priests to the Anglo-Saxon spies.⁴⁶ They were enviably nice in their dress, and delicate to excess in their food.⁴⁷

It was in the year 1066, that this aspiring people sailed from Normandy, to attempt the conquest of England, which during six hundred years the Anglo-Saxons had been occupying.

State of
the Anglo-
Saxons.

At that period, the Anglo-Saxons, originally the fiercest nation of the predatory North, had become changed into a submissive and unwarlike people by the united influences of property and luxury, of a great landed aristocracy, and a richly endowed hierarchy. But their condition was rather degeneracy than civilization. Their sovereigns were men of feeble minds; their nobles, factious and effeminate; the clergy, corrupt and ignorant; the people, servile and depressed. All the venerated forms of the Saxon institutions existed, but their spirit had evaporated. They had still their witenagemot; their eorles, ealdermen, thegns and gerefas; their gilds and borhs; their shire-gemots, hundreds, tythings and wapentakes. Their payments to their lords were fixed and definite; their burghs were increasing in population; their freed-men were multiplying; and their lands were subject to the ferd, or military expedition, an effective obligation for the national defence.⁴⁸ But, amid all these means of prosperity, an intellectual torpidity had since the days of Athelstan pervaded

⁴⁴ Snorre, p. 99. Hence Harald, persisting to be uncombed till he had become Monarch of Norway, was called at first, Lufa, or horrid hair, till he submitted to have it reformed, p. 100.

⁴⁵ Snorre, *passim*.

⁴⁶ Malmsbury, p. 100.

⁴⁷ *Ib.* p. 102.

⁴⁸ On these topics, see the last volume of the History of the Anglo-Saxons.

the country. Canute had indeed impressed a new feature of grandeur and energy on the aspect of the court; but his example was solitary and transient; his children and successors had disgraced his name; and after his death, the Anglo-Saxons sank into a lethargic and sensual state. Their slothful and illiterate clergy imbibed and augmented the general degradation; and the finest island of Europe was becoming the residence of a debased, divided, and ignorant people.

England was slumbering in this declining state, when the Norman conquest, like a moral earthquake, suddenly shook its polity and population to their centre; broke up and hurled into ruin all its ancient aristocracy; destroyed the native proprietors of its soil; annihilated its corrupt habits; thinned its enervated population; kindled a vigorous spirit of life and action in all the classes of its society; and raised from the mighty ruins with which it overspread the country, that new and great character of government, clergy, nobility and people, which the British history has never ceased to display, and which, in the progress of this Work, it will be attempted to elucidate. It appears to be as true in human history as in the vegetable kingdom, that ancient stocks produce superior fruit from the engrafting of new shoots. England has certainly displayed this analogy, as we can clearly perceive a succession of improvements in its population after the several accessions to its original natives, of the Roman colonies, the Saxon conquerors, the Northmen invaders, the Danish sovereigns, and the Norman kings, ecclesiastics, and aristocracy. By slow degrees these blended into one people, who have become distinguished as Englishmen, and who have become further benefited by the domestic and civil intermixture of their fellow subjects from Ireland and Scotland, as well as of many settlers, as exiles or

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emigrants, at various periods, from the different regions of the European continent. All have concurred to form gradually one British nation, whose progression is still continuing. May its virtues and utilities, its piety and its intellect, increase with its advancing destinies and unexampled diffusion!

CHAP. IV.

The Reign of William the Conqueror.

1066—1087.

PERSONAL resentment had concurred with ambition, to stimulate William to the invasion of England, because though Harold had, with the consent or by the desire of the Saxon Witena-gemot, assumed the crown on the death of the Confessor, yet it was in violation of the oath which had been extorted from him by William. Hence the Norman gave his aggression a personal character.¹ It was the breach of faith and perjury of Harold, that he called on his own countrymen, and his foreign auxiliaries, to punish; and in the day of the battle, this was one of the topics of his military address.² By his plea of right,

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¹ Both the Norman writer of Poitou, the chaplain of William, in his historical fragment, printed by Du Chesne, from a MS. in the Cotton Library, p. 197., and the Anglo-Saxon Henry of Huntingdon, p. 367., state William's personal irritation. Wace describes the communication to William, of Harold's succession, with the poetical picturesqueness of reality. "The duke was in his park, 'parc,' at Rouen. He had a cross-bow in his hand. He had stretched and charged it, and given it to a varlet, surrounded with knights, damisels, and squires, when a 'serjeant' from England arrived, went straight to the duke, saluted him, and told him apart that Edward was dead, and Harold raised to be king. When he heard this, he seemed like a man enraged; he left the pursuit of the woods; he often laced his cloak, and often untied it. He spoke to no one, and no man dared speak to him. He passed the Seine in a boat, came to his palace, and, entering it, leant down upon a bench. From time to time he turned himself round; he covered his face with his cloak; he laid his head on a supporter; he fell into a profound meditation. While those, who dared, inquired behind him about what had so disturbed him, the seneschal, who had come from the parc on horseback, entering, passed before the duke along the hall, singing to himself. They asked of him the cause, who told them they would hear news they would not like. The duke then rose into a sitting posture, and the seneschal addressed him with his advice."—Roman de Rou, p. 121-2.

² Hen. Hunt. 368. Malmesbury admits the oath of Harold, p. 93. The

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he soothed the consciences, and by the promise of his liberality in the distribution of the plunder of England, to his followers, he excited the cupidity, of fifty thousand knights to attempt the arduous expedition.³ From all the adjacent countries, the eager adventurers gathered round him; he inspired them with his own courage and confidence: and, though his wiser counsellors dissuaded⁴ him from the enterprise, he persevered. He landed; he fought; he conquered by his superior skill and better managed weapons.⁵ Harold,

Anglo-Norman Ordericus states, that Harold swore his fealty before the barons of Normandy, p. 492.; and William of Poitou asserts, that he was assured of it by most illustrious men who were present, p. 191. Wace also affirms it, and adds, "William, to receive this oath, assembled a Parliament: at Bayeux, as they are accustomed to say, this great council was assembled." He describes the oath, and the duke's uncovering the concealed relics on which it had been sworn, p. 113, 114. Harold did not deny his oath, but endeavoured to justify his breaking it. Malmsb. p. 99.

³ Guil. Pict. p. 197. From Edward's favor, William had expected a quiet succession. Wace thus mentions the regard of the Confessor to the duke and his nation: —

Mult ama Normanz e tint chers :

E mult les ont fameliers.

E li Dus Willame ama tant

Come sun frere e sun enfant. V. 2. p. 70.

⁴ Guil. Pict. p. 197. And see Huntingdon's account of Fitzosborne's contrivance to obtain their assent, p. 367. Wace describes the first refusal of his barons, p. 132., and the coming of "soldiers" to him from other countries, p. 134.; and his anger that the French king declined to assist him, p. 137.

⁵ Wace describes the Norman knights as superior to the Anglo-Saxons in their mode of fighting. "The English did not know how to joust (joust), nor to carry arms on horseback. They wielded their battle-axes and gisarnes, and fought with these weapons. But when they wished to strike with their battle-axe, they were forced to hold it with both their hands. They could not cover themselves when they sought to strike a great blow. To strike strong, and at the same time to cover themselves, was what they could not do." Rom. de Rou, p. 262.—One of the incidents of his account of this battle, seems to illustrate the disadvantage of the Saxons occupying both their hands with their weapon, instead of guarding with one and striking with the other, or of so using a sword as to do both. "An Englishman was killing many Frenchmen; he had a very keen battle-axe, and he cut down many with it. He had a helmet of wood, which no blow had struck. He had attached it to his clothes, and laced it round his neck. A Norman knight, who saw the slaughter he was making, being on a very spirited horse, that neither fire nor water could stop if his master pricked him, spurred his steed, and was carried instantly to the fighter, and struck him on his helmet. It fell over his face, and extending his hand to raise it, and free his face from it, another blow severed his wrist, and his battle-axe fell to the ground." P. 232-3.

who had the whole day displayed all the personal bravery of his nation, at last perished as the evening was advancing; and his death decided that battle⁶, which has given celebrity to the town of Hastings. William had omitted no personal exertion to secure the momentous victory⁷; his barons were astonished when they saw, from the state of his armour, the dangerous attacks he had endured and survived.⁸

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He describes other Anglo-Saxons destroying many of their foes with their terrible battle-axes, till the Norman knights struck them fatal blows, as they unguarded themselves by raising both their arms to give their weapons overwhelming force. The assertion, that the Saxons could not joust nor use their arms on horseback, seems to me to imply, that they had not learnt the practice of couching their lance, and directing it with the speed and weight of their horse on their enemy. The one relied on the strength of his battle-axe blow; the other, with his shield attached, charged furiously with his lowered lance, and then used his sword with only one hand, while his shield guarded him as he struck. In this way Robert Tesser attempted to take Harold's banner: "He levelled his lance; he placed his shield, and came galloping full speed to the standard. With the keen point he struck down the Englishman who was before it, and then drawing immediately his sword, he struck many a blow on the English, and rushed forward to the banner to pull it down. But the English surrounded him, and with their gisarmes killed him. He was found when he was searched for, lying dead by the standard." *Ib.* p. 265.—All the great Anglo-Saxon warriors are described as using their two-handed battle-axes with destructive vigour, while the Normans are described as pursuing with their lances, p. 275. It was thus William rallied his soldiers when they gave way before the dreaded weapon of the English. "By its holders he grasped his shield, a lance he took, and dressed it straight, and spurred to where they were fighting," *ib.* Hence it appears that the Normans introduced into England the knightly mode of tilting and charging with their spears, with their protecting shields hung on their necks, and held to their sides.

⁶ Wace thus describes the fall of the Anglo-Saxon king. "Harold was at the standard, and defended it to the utmost of his power. He was severely wounded in the eye, and greatly harassed by the pain he felt from the blow upon it. An armed man came up and struck him on the visor, and felled him to the earth; and when he was rising up from it, a chevalier struck him down again, and pierced his thigh to the bone. The English fought still on till the day declined, and then fled. I cannot say who beat down Harold, as I was not there, and did not see it, nor with what weapon he was wounded, but he was found dead among the dead."—*Roman de Rou*, p. 279.

⁷ Wace remarks of him, "William fought well. He rushed into the thickest of the battle. He gave many a blow, and received many, and by his hand many died. Two horses were killed under him. He had been forced to take a third. He neither fell to the ground, nor lost a drop of blood." *Rom. de Rou*, p. 281.

⁸ Wace thus describes his countrymen's admiration. "William disarmed himself, and untied his shield from his neck, and took his helmet from his head, and the hawberk from his back. The barons and chevaliers, the damisels and esquires, came in. They saw the great blows on the shield and the helm, how

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claims by
legal right.

That the Anglo-Saxon nation would not identify itself with the aspiring noble, who had so precipitately obtained his election to the crown without right, contrary to his solemn engagements, and against the claims of the legal heir, had been William's principal hope. To produce this effect, he had laboured to give his pretensions the venerated character of a legal right, by asserting a solemn nomination of the Confessor in his favor⁹; and he was so confident of this ground, as to have proposed, in his short negotiation with Harold before the battle, to refer the question of right to the decision of the legal tribunals of either England or Normandy.¹⁰ That he was at first anxious to impress on the English people, that he came with a legitimate title to the crown, and that his arms were directed to punish an usurper's perjury, is sufficiently clear. His military force he thought to be competent to overcome the resistance of Harold and his adherents. But there is no evidence, and no probability, that he landed with the expectation of subduing England against the will of its inhabitants, or that he took the crown at his coronation by the right of conquest.¹¹

battered! They deemed it a great marvel, and all said, "Such a baron has never been, who has so charged and struck; since Roland or Oliver, there has not been such a knight upon earth; much they prized him; much they praised him, and rejoiced that they had seen it." Rom. Rou, p. 283.

⁹ The Norman assertion, that Edward had appointed William, his maternal kinsman, to succeed him, (Guil. Pict. 191. and Order. Vitalis, 492.) is confirmed by Malmsbury, p. 93. William's father was nephew to Edward's mother. And see the numerous authorities on the subject, collected in Anglo-Sax. vol. ii. p. 372.

¹⁰ Guil. Pict. p. 200. That Harold procured himself to be surreptitiously named king on the day of Edward's funeral, and against the opinion of a large party of the English nobles, is declared by Ord. Vital. p. 492.; and implied by Malmsbury, 93., and Hunt. 36.

¹¹ In some of his charters, William expressly states that he had assumed the crown by the right of donation. Spelman's observation, that *conquereur* means purchaseour, is correct. He adds, that *conquestus*, in old charters, denotes property acquired, not inherited. Wilkins's *Leges Sax.*, p. 285. But he may have used the term, *conqueror*, in its military meaning, in the latter part of his reign, when the

The unexpected vigour with which Harold, after defeating the Norwegian invader, had with an inferior force¹² maintained against him, near Hastings, such a fierce and for some time doubtful conflict, was not calculated to increase his confidence in his success. An armed force, that filled seven hundred Anglo-Saxon ships, was still in the channel¹³; and the nation, though degenerating, was full of nobles and their dependents, who, if their patriotism had been equal to their power, might have soon renewed a battle which he had won with difficulty and great loss.¹⁴ It may have been, from these considerations, that his first measures, after his victory, were cautious and hesitating. He did not immediately advance with decision and celerity to London, pursuing victory to its fullest extent, and profiting by the panic of his opponents; on the contrary, after burying his dead, he fell back seven miles, to Hastings. He stationed a garrison there; and, instead of marching into the interior, he proceeded along the sea-coast to Romney, and thence to Dover.¹⁵ This retroceding and circuitous movement, implies a greater solicitude to secure his retreat than to improve his success.¹⁶ The surrender

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His cau-
tion after
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insurrections of the Anglo-Saxons led him to the severest use and to the full feeling of his power.

¹² The fine old MS. of Waltham Abbey, in the Cotton Library, Julius D. 6., blames Harold for going to the battle so hastily, with only a modico agmine. He makes it not a fourth of the Norman army, "modico stipatus agmine quadruplo congressus exercitu," p. 101. The inequality is here, no doubt, exaggerated; though Malmsbury calls the force of Harold "pauci," and blames those who magnify it, p. 94.

¹³ Harold had sent his fleet to intercept William's retreat. Guil. Pictav. 201. and Order. Vital. 500.

¹⁴ The MS. Chronicle of Battle Abbey, in the Cotton Library, Domitian A. 2., from which Dugdale has taken a copious extract, states the Norman loss as above 10,000 men. It says, "How great must have been the slaughter among the conquered, when that of the conquerors exceeded ten thousand." 1 Monast. Angl. 312. W. Gemmet. considers the Norman loss as almost 15,000 men, Hist. Norm. l. 7. c. 36. The difficulty of the battle is obvious, from the account of Guil. Pict. 202, 203.

¹⁵ Guil. Pictav. 204.

¹⁶ Hastings was seven miles from the field of battle; Romney is 27 miles from

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English.

of the fortress of Dover, though full of men, and almost impregnable, was the first testimony he received that his attempt would experience a popular support. But instead of again advancing, he staid here eight days, increasing the fortifications and meditating on his future progress.

But the inactivity of the English, arising from the dissensions, in their Witena-gemot, about the choice of a successor, soon encouraged him to proceed. Great enterprises oftener succeed by improving upon the auspicious circumstances which unexpectedly arise, than from a removal of the difficulties that had been foreseen and provided for. Indeed most great undertakings are against the calculations of prudence. The mind of the bold adventurer is actuated by feelings distinct from judgment, and of unknown origin, which urge him imperiously to his object; and to gratify the mysterious emotions, the Cyrus, the Alexander, the Mohammed, or the Tamerlane of his day, dares all the probabilities of failure, and plunges into enterprises, that are to determine the fate of dynasties and empires, and change the mind and manners of mankind. Degraded as the Anglo-Saxon character had become, yet such were the resources, population, and institutions of the country, that the invasion of William would have been as vain as that of the Norwegian king, if Harold had not fallen in the conflict, or if he had at first encountered the Norman, or had not been precipitate.¹⁷ It would

Hastings, and Dover is 19 miles from Romney. At Dover he was 14 miles farther from London than he had been when at Battle. So that by his retrograde march to Dover, he went 67 miles out of his direct road to London. This warrants our inference, that his first object after his victory, was to provide for his retreat, in case it should become expedient.

¹⁷ The author of the Waltham Abbey MS., which was written about a century after the Norman invasion, though an encomiast of Harold, arraigns his precipitancy. *Nimis præceps et virtute sua presumens.* He would not wait for a competent force. Hence the monks of this abbey were so sure that the issue would be

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have been not less disastrous, if, at Harold's death, civil discord had not prevented the military force of the country from being put in action against the invaders. Most nations can defend themselves against their assailants, if the population be unanimous, persevering and resolute. Few are conquered by a foreign force but those who are generally indifferent about the issue, or who are so divided in sentiment as to assist the operations of their enemies. The most civilized are usually the most careless about their governments. The love and possession of individual ease indispose and unfit the mind for those sacrifices and exertions, and that enduring fortitude, never discouraged by reverses, by which only a powerful aggressor can be discomfited. But it was the will of Him, by whom all national destinies are governed, that England should be improved by a new dynasty, superior in intellect and moral character to the Anglo-Saxon line; and events were so ordered, and injudicious councils were permitted to have such influence, as to facilitate the Norman accession, and to avert the human agencies that would have prevented it.

A victorious invader being in the country, it was the first duty of patriotism and prudence, to have filled the vacant throne with an effective sovereign. But here began the feuds to which William owed his English crown. Harold had left sons, whose subsequent exertions showed vigour of character¹⁸; but they had no popular support; and their father's example of a bold usurpation, stimulated others to imitate him, instead of befriending his family. The

unfortunate to him, that they sent two of their most respected brethren, Osegod Cnoppe and Allric the Childemaister, to watch the battle, and, if he fell, to secure his body. P. 100.

¹⁸ As William's interest prevailed, they fled to Ireland. Ord. Vit. 513. His brother Tostl's sons, Skuli and Ketill, went to Norway. Snorre, Har. Har. Saga, c. 103. vol. iii. p. 171.

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two great men who might have maintained the Anglo-Saxon independence, were, Edwin and Morcar; the military commanders of Mercia and Northumbria, two-thirds of England. But they, instead of crowning Harold's son, or the real heir of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, Edgar Etheling, aspired to the throne themselves. Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the chief of the witena, opposed their pretensions, and supported Edgar, grandson of Edmund Ironside, unquestionably the legal heir, but a mild and inoffensive child. Had he been less inadequate to the crisis, his election might have been salutary; but his visible imbecility gave a plausibility to the wishes of the great body of the clergy, led by the archbishop of York, who decided for the Duke of Normandy. Affection to their ancient line prevailed in the witena-gemot, and Edgar was made king. This appointment affronted Edwin and Morcar. Instead of acquiescing in the choice, and marching with the nobles to meet the invaders, in proud discontent they abandoned the cause of their country, and withdrew with their forces to their respective provinces; vainly fancying that no Norman could disturb them there.¹⁹ They lived to be the victims of their sullen ambition and short-sighted selfishness.

His advance to London; and retreat.

While William remained at Dover, a dysentery, ascribed to the use of fresh meat and water, afflicted his army. At length he determined upon a movement in advance, and, leaving his sick at Dover, he marched forwards. He was soon cheered by a deputation from the people of Kent, who, forgetful of all

¹⁹ Malmsbury mentions the ambition and retreat of Edwin and Morcar, and the opposition of the clergy to Edgar, whom the nobles preferred, l. iii. p. 102. Guil. Pict. p. 205., and Ord. Vit. 503., state, that Edgar was made king, but that his election was abrogated when the party for William prevailed. — Malmsbury, p. 93., also mentions that Edgar a quibusdam in regem electus est. And see Flor. Wigorn. p. 430.

Anglo-Saxon patriotism, proffered him their fealty, and gave hostages for their good faith. When he encamped on the following day, his own health became affected, and his friends were alarmed. But it was important not to check the effusions of popular feeling, which had begun to declare themselves, nor to give the discordant chiefs an interval for union; and though his indisposition required rest, he continued his march towards London. He sent before him 500 Norman knights, who drove the Anglo-Saxon forces that came against them, back into the city, and burnt its suburbs. But, instead of besieging or assaulting the metropolis, he contented himself with patrolling awhile in its vicinity, and then, retiring from its formidable defences, he passed the Thames into Berkshire, and encamped at Wallingford, above forty miles distant from London²⁰; a movement which evinced a desire rather to negotiate than to fight.

For above two months afterwards, William employed himself with successful policy. He had conciliated the feelings of Harold's personal friends, by permitting his body, with difficulty recognized, and at first refused to his mother, to be buried at Waltham Abbey.²¹ He cherished the friendship of the clergy,

His nego-
ciations.

²⁰ We derive our knowledge of these circumstances from William of Poitou, a spectator of many of the facts which he narrates. He had been a warrior of note, but afterwards inclined to study, and became archdeacon of Lisieux. Our fragment of his little tract begins with William's infancy, and ends abruptly with the death of Coxo. He emulates, but not successfully, the style of Sallust, and mentions Virgil and Statius, as if acquainted with their works.

²¹ The Waltham Abbey MS., Julius D. 6., describes the circumstances attending the search for Harold very interestingly. The two monks, who had watched the battle at a distance, afterwards went to William, and earnestly begged permission to take away Harold's body. On his assent, they presented him with ten marks of gold as a tribute of their gratitude, and proceeded to the field of the dead to find the body. But they turned over the corpses in vain. The human features are so altered by death, that they could not recognise it. They saw only one melancholy alternative; this was to bring to the horrid place his favorite Editha, surnamed Swanneshals, or Swan's-neck. Osgeod went for her, and conducted her to the dismal search. Her affectionate eye and more familiar acquaintance with his

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whom the papal favor had already attached to him. He moved detachments of his army over the counties near the metropolis, to diminish its supplies, and intimidate or weaken his opposers. His position at Wallingford intercepted the route of Edwin and Morcar to London, if they should return to more generous councils. And he at last averted the hostility, and conciliated the support of Edwin, by the promise of his daughter in marriage—a temporising promise, never fulfilled! He abstained from diminishing his force, or hazarding disaster, by an attack on the warlike patriots in the metropolis; and he calmly waited the effects of his wise negotiations and increasing popularity. He reaped the whole harvest of his forbearing prudence. Edgar Etheling took no root. The country was too disunited, to maintain him against the matured and active talents of the Norman. Stigand and his other friends, who wished a native prince, finding themselves unsupported by the national energies, yielded to the exigency: they concluded an amicable arrangement, by which Edgar was deposed, and William was solemnly invited to ascend the throne. With a modesty which we must believe to be hypocritical, he hesitated to accept it; he said, the state was yet turbulent, that some would rebel, and that he preferred quiet to a crown. His secret reasons probably were, that he was not yet sure that his Norman barons, accustomed to a duke, would endure the greater superiority of a king. Their voices, however, united to intreat him to take the offered crown; they saw that their own honors and comforts would be increased by his elevation;

person, at last discovered him. He was conveyed to Waltham Abbey, many Norman counts assisting in his funeral honours. This Editha is the Editha pulchra so often mentioned in Domesday.—The author of this MS. states of himself, that he was appointed a canon at Waltham Abbey, through the patronage of Adeliza, the queen of Henry I.

and William acquiesced in their decision. Christmas Day was appointed for his coronation; and thus he quietly obtained the splendid object of his ambition, about three months after he had entered the island.²² There is nothing which resembles an ordinary military conquest in these proceedings.²³ Like his future namesake, William III., he was finally invited to the crown of the kingdom he had invaded. Nor did he accomplish a less extensive or less important revolution.

He omitted no means of security. The citizens of London were courageous and formidable²⁴; and to guard against any changes of their opinion, before he entered London, he sent a body of soldiers to construct a fortification within it, and to fit it for his residence. The ancient part of the Tower has been supposed to be their military work; and till it was so far advanced as to afford protection, he continued in the neighbourhood; where, says his chaplain, every thing was so tranquil, "that he might have hunted and hawked if he had chosen it."²⁵ He came now to the throne as the choice of the nation, and all hostility accordingly ceased.

William had acceded to his dukedom at the age of eight; and his youth was harassed by the rebellion of turbulent barons, and the attacks of his powerful neighbours.²⁶ These difficulties had excited his mind

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²² Guil. Pict. 205. Ord. Vital. 503. 511. Flor. Wig. 430, 431.

²³ Wace narrates, "Then he ordered the barons to attend, and assembled all the English, and put it to their choice what laws they would support, and what customs they wished, either the Norman or the English, and what lords and what kings: and they declared for King Edward's. His laws they would retain and observe — the customs which they knew, and in Edward's time had been accustomed to. These they wished; these they required; these they implored; these they would receive. This was done to their will, and the King granted it to them." Rom. Rou, p. 288.

²⁴ Guil. Pict. says of London: "Though it has only citizens, yet it abounds with a numerous population, famous for martial excellence." P. 205.

²⁵ Guil. Pict., p. 205.

²⁶ The Metrical Chronicle of Wace, MS. in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 4.

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nation, and
alarm.

to great activity, and had taught him and his barons great skill in warfare: but they had also produced a severe and mistrustful temper²⁷, which displayed itself on the day of the coronation, and led the way to that train of evils which disquieted his reign, and produced the actual conquest of the country.

Westminster Abbey was the place appointed for the ceremony; but his jealous caution stationed around it bands of Normans, both horse and foot. This measure might have seemed unobjectionable, but that their hasty conduct implied that their orders had been harsh and peremptory. When the nobles and people were assembled in the church, the archbishop of York, his favored prelate, addressed the English, and asked, if they consented that William should be their king.²⁸ The bishop of Coutance harangued the Normans. The English answered with loud shouts of warm and gratulating acclamation. This ceremony of electing a sovereign was new to the foreign soldiery without, who misconstruing the applauses to indicate rebellious tumult,

c. 11., contains a long account of William's birth and infancy. It occurs in the second volume of Pluquet's edition, pp. 1—58. : and the subsequent attack of the French on Normandy in pp. 70, 71. He says the French disliked the Normans, often accused them of violences and vices, called them bigots, "bigoz" and barley eaters, and said to the King, "Sire! why do you not take away their land from these bigoz? Their ancestors took it from yours and ours, when they came as robbers, 'robeor,' over the seas." P. 71. The French king accordingly invaded William in 1054, but was defeated, and peace at last re-established.

²⁷ Sigebertus Gemblacensis, a continental chronicler of the twelfth century, characterizes him in one line, "Vir singularis censuræ et severitatis." Germ. Script. Pist. p. 602. Wace thus mentions him: "He was a chevalier, preux and courteous. He established good laws in his land. He maintained justice and peace to the poorer people as firmly as he could; he could never love a robber, nor associate with felons." P. 96. No sovereign could then deserve this character without that also of the severitatis. Violences were the delight of the feudal aristocracy.

²⁸ William therefore clearly did not take the throne by right of conquest. The Norman historians state it as an election. Guil. Pict. puts the question, as, "Whether they would *consent*, an consentirent eum sibi dominum coronari," p. 205.; Ord. Vit. as, "Whether they would *grant*, an concederent Guillermmu regnare super se," p. 503.

immediately set the surrounding building on fire. Universal confusion and terror ensued. The bloody banquet of Hengist seemed again re-acting. The flames rapidly spread; the numerous company of both sexes and of all conditions, who had assembled at the ceremony, rushed precipitately from the church, to escape the impending destruction. The prelates and a few clergy only remained, pale and trembling at the altar; and were scarcely able to complete the coronation of the king, who was himself in the greatest alarm at the unfortunate mistake.²⁹ He took the usual coronation oath of the Anglo-Saxon kings, to protect the church, to govern his people with justice and kingly care, to establish and keep their right laws, and to prohibit all rapine and unjust judgments.³⁰ The consternation at the ravages of the fire was increased by the depredations that were attempted during its progress.

No circumstance could have occurred more likely to establish in the minds of the English a prejudice against their new sovereign, than this unprovoked aggression. Explanation could hardly palliate its commission, because no soldiers would have ventured, at such a moment, on an outrage so destructive, unless they had previously received corresponding instructions. No professions, however true, that it was only meant to be used in case of treachery or revolt, could avert the displeasure of the people. Even in this point of view, it announced an austere and jealous temper in their king, displayed at the moment when they were giving him the highest tribute of their confidence. We cannot therefore wonder that the people were, as the Norman historian states, exasperated at it to an excess, and

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Evil con-
sequences
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²⁹ Ord. Vitel. 503. Guil. Pict. 206.

³⁰ Flor. Wig. 431. Sim. Dunelm. 195.

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ralities.His wise
policy.

always afterwards beheld the Normans with mistrust, and cherished the hope of an opportunity for revenge.³¹ So true it is, that suspicion tends to create the evils which it too easily apprehends!

He distinguished his coronation by a more lavish distribution of the customary liberalities. The treasury of Harold contained a magnificent collection of the most valuable objects of commerce, besides an ample store of money. A magnificent portion of these was given to his military companions, and a part was divided among the monasteries in the different countries. He sent to the Pope the splendid banner of Harold, with a pecuniary present unusually great; and he increased the measure of his bounty by a contribution which he required from the country.³²

Having gratified the first expectations of his followers and friends, by these liberalities, he applied himself to conciliate the people who had become his subjects. He granted benefits to London, which increased its conveniencies and dignity. He prohibited all rapine and violence; he allowed no one to ask justice of him in vain; he restrained his soldiers from taverns; and extended to the female sex the vigilant protection of the law. He was careful that the English should not be oppressed. He limited their exacted contribution by a moderate scale; he appointed suitable judges; and inculcated to all a

³¹ Ord. Vit. 503.³² Guil. Pict. 206. Wace thus describes his liberalities; which may be more correctly referred to the general policy of his reign, than to this particular moment:—

As plusors qui l'orent sui
E qui l'orent longues servi,
Dona chastels, dona citez,
Dona maneirs, dona contez,
Dona terres as Vavasors,
Dona altres rentes plusors.

spirit of religion and equity. With an enlarged view of the nature of commerce, he opened his ports to merchants, and commanded them to be protected.³³ And he promoted marriages between his English and Norman subjects.

But amid all this wise and conciliating conduct, a mutual jealousy was spreading between the king and his people; and he withdrew to Barking in Essex, for a few days, till the fortifications were completed, which he was making in London to coerce the possible movements of its inhabitants.³⁴ The English nobles were not, however, tardy in doing him homage. Many came to Barking for this purpose, and among these Edwin and Morcar. He received the submission of all these very graciously, gave large promises of his favor, and reinstated them in their possessions. From Essex he proceeded to various parts of his new dominions, in all places making regulations that were alike beneficial to himself and the people. The general principles of his conduct to all, are stated to have been equitable, prudent, and popular; and his kindness and gifts to his young rival Edgar Etheling, whom he even cherished in his court, display a generous magnanimity which has seldom been equalled. But, still anxious for his own security, and perhaps too visibly discovering that anxiety, he built and garrisoned castles in various places, and confided their command to foreigners, chiefly Normans, on whose courage and attachment he could rely, and whose fidelity he ensured by the grant of

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He builds
fortifica-
tions.

³³ Guil. Pict. 207, 208. Matt. Paris, Abb. Alb. p. 47. His piety, and a previous vow, led him to found a monastery on the scene of his victory. The spot chosen for this edifice, Battle Abbey, was the lower ground called the Herste, on the west side of the hill or precipice where the chief slaughter had taken place. MS. Domitian A. 2, extracted by Dugdale, 1 Mon. Angl. p. 312.

³⁴ Guil. Pict. reveals the king's feelings, when he says, "that he saw from the first that it was peculiarly necessary (necessarium magnopere) that the Londoners should be coerced," p. 208.

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Normandy.English
suffer in
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large possessions.³⁵ The presence and conduct of these garrisons considerably augmented the dissatisfaction of the country.

Three months after his coronation, he returned to Normandy, taking with him the English noblemen whose influence he most feared. He committed the care of England to his favorite, William Fitz Osborne³⁶, dreaded for his military talents; and to Odo, his half brother, the bishop of Bayeux, who is praised for his intelligence, and who, according to the Norman custom, combined in part the soldier with the priest.³⁷ The king was received with transport by his countrymen, and he repaid their attachment by his munificence. He was visited here by the regent of France, whose courtiers were astonished at the beauty of the long-haired English, and at the rich gold-embroidered dresses, and gold and silver vessels, obtained from England.³³

His preference of his native soil, to a country whose inhabitants he feared and doubted, led him to commit the error of protracting this, his first and early absence, to an indefinite period. Nine months were passing without any indication of return. His English subjects felt severely the evils of his absence. His Norman garrisons were, in their different positions, harassing all orders of the people by their

³⁵ Guil. Pict. 208. This writer and Orderic particularize by name several of the Anglo-Saxon nobles whom William favored.

³⁶ It was this warrior who first incited William to invade England, and whose valor and counsels principally contributed to maintain his acquisition. Malmsh. l. 3. p. 105.

³⁷ In the ancient tapestry of Bayeux, this prelate is represented on horseback, in complete armour, but with a staff in his hand. The words marked over him, show that his employment was to encourage the soldiers: "Hic Odo Eps baculum tenens confortat."

³⁸ Guil. Pict. 211. Flor. Wig. 431. The Norman extols England as "the granary of Ceres, and the treasury of Arabia." The panegyric orators of the Roman empire had also praised its fertility and produce in terms which imply an agricultural abundance, and therefore, in our more northern climate, a cultivation superior to our neighbours.

contumelious behaviour and unjust exactions. The remonstrances of the sufferers to the two vicegerents, were received with arrogance and contemptuous neglect; and the oppressions of the foreign soldiery became more vindictive for the complaints, and more daring from impunity.³⁹

As the continued absence of the king made the plunderers more tyrannical, and the English more desperate, every evil feeling which was lurking in the nation became matured. Protection from the sovereign, against injustice, was their constitutional right, assured to them by his coronation oath. The want of it, made all lament the loss of a native king; and the people began to conspire to shake off a yoke, which had been made, from the royal inadvertence and a natural preference to his native soil, needlessly intolerable. Many, who dreaded the miseries of ineffectual revolt, withdrew to other countries, voluntary exiles. Some of the more adventurous, even entered into the service of the Grecian emperor; delighted to meet in practicable warfare, the Normans, who were assailing his territories. These English auxiliaries were honorably received at Constantinople. The Emperor, needing military assistance against his invaders, employed them in his armies. They served their new sovereign with fidelity, and obtained a permanent settlement in his dominions.⁴⁰

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Their dis-
content,

³⁹ Ord. Vital. though a monk in a Norman abbey, honestly states the oppressive conduct of those whose country he had adopted, and the proud contempt of the two regents, p. 507.

⁴⁰ It was Robert Guiscard, who had established the Norman Dukedom in Apulia, that was attacking Greece. The Emperor began to build, for his English allies, a town beyond Constantinople; but called them back into his city when the Normans endangered it, and delivered to them a palace with royal treasures. Ordericus says, "Hence the Anglo-Saxons sought Ionia, and they and their heirs served faithfully the sacred Empire; and they remain till now among the Thracians with great honor, dear to the people, the senate, and the sovereign." P. 508. This passage is interesting to us now (1823), when the same classical regions, having

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and con-
spiracies.

The discontented applied to the king of Denmark, the descendant of Canute, and solicited his aid. The Kentishmen invited Eustace, the count of Boulogne, a skilful and fortunate warrior, who had assisted William at the battle of Hastings, to surprise the Castle of Dover, at a time when its governors and a large part of its garrison were absent beyond the Thames. Eustace sailed over in the night, and made an attack, which the Kentishmen warmly seconded. The strength of the fortifications enabled the Normans within to make a stout resistance; and after a conflict of some hours, the Count, despairing of carrying it by assault, sounded his trumpets for a retreat. As he withdrew, the garrison opened their gates, and cautiously followed. The retiring assailants misconstrued their appearance to be Odo, returning from the interior with a large reinforcement, and instantly scattered in the most wild and disgraceful panic. Some, in their blind alarm, fell headlong from the rock; some slaughtered each other; and many rolled into the sea. They who reached the ships, crowded into the nearest with such hurry, that the vessels sank with the excessive weight; while the Normans destroyed all they could overtake, astonished at their own success. The English easily escaped, because the garrison were too few to pursue. Eustace got away, and returned home.⁴¹

The revolt spread: and Earl Coxo, one of William's most powerful English friends, was assassinated, because he would not countenance the attempt. But the insurrections seem to have been disorderly and

become the scene of conflict between the descendants of these Greeks and their Turkish despots, are again exciting our national sympathies, soliciting our assistance, and materially affecting the general policy of Europe.

⁴¹ Ord. Vit. 508. Eustace made his peace with William afterwards; and therefore, says Guil. Pict., "we shall spare him, as he now is in proximis regis honoratur." P. 212.

unconnected, and therefore ended in no change; the greatest English chieftains were in Normandy, with William, and their dependents were afraid of committing their safety. The archbishop of York, and the higher clergy, continued steady in their attachment to William; and a portion of the English even took arms on his side.⁴²

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The news of these transactions alarmed the king: he quitted Normandy in haste, consigning it to the care of his queen Mathilda, and his son Robert. He crossed a wintry sea, and reached London by Christmas. His presence, and prompt decision, checked the immediate progress of the revolt; his affability and liberality regained the attachment of many of the English nobles: and his activity suppressed a serious struggle of the discontented at Exeter, from which the mother of Harold, and the most indignant of its defenders, fled to Flanders.⁴³

William
returns.

The country continuing in a state of gloomy disquiet, William, sensible of his former inadvertence, returned no more to Normandy, for several years. He sent for his queen Mathilda to England, on which he imposed a heavy taxation; and he prepared to repress disaffection with severity and decision.⁴⁴

1068.

⁴² Ord. Vit. 509. The Cotton MS. of W. Poitou here leaves us, though it appears from Ord. Vit. 521., that his history was carried on to Edwin's death. He notices the revolt, with great praise of Coxo, for his fidelity to William; and with much indignation at the rest of the English: but he drops all mention of the conduct of his countrymen, which caused it. This, however, Ordericus, with honest impartiality, both records and censures.

⁴³ Ordericus details the siege of Exeter, 510. This desultory but valuable compiler, who wrote in 1141, among his other authorities, mentions a poem of Guido Presul Amblianensis on the battle of Hastings, and the continuation of Marianus by Joannes Wigornensis, who "honeste deprompsit" the actions of the Conqueror and his two sons, and which he wrote at the request of Bishop Wulstan, p. 504. I have not met with these works. He mentions the Chronicles of Marianus and Sigebertus Gemblacensis as very rare in his time.

⁴⁴ Flor. Wig. 432. His son Henry was born this year. Ord. 510. He had married Mathilda, daughter of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, in 1053. Chron. Tar. The

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English.

His mistrust, and ill humor against his people, began to turn into aversion. He refused to Edwin the marriage he had promised; and this breach of faith determined this powerful chief and his brother Morcar, to promote the revolt. A formidable rebellion soon appeared. A large portion of England armed at the summons of these popular leaders. The Welsh princes lent a zealous aid, and the Scotch and Danes were expected to co-operate. The insurrection was very general beyond the Humber; and the woods, marshes, and passes were fortified by the indignant patriots. Such was their ardor, that, disdain- ing to repose in houses, lest effeminacy should incapacitate them for the hardy conflict they projected, they preferred to dwell in tents and forests.⁴⁵

But William had been practised in warfare from his infancy, and he knew how to wage it with celerity and effect. His movements were rapid and decisive. The English, having no castles, could not long delay his progress; and their personal bravery was un- availing against equal valor and superior skill. He marched from point to point, every where vic- torious and irresistible. Denmark and Scotland, intimidated by his activity and success, forbore to invade; and the king, to coerce the people whom he had now subdued, built and garrisoned castles at Exeter, Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and York. Some of the northern nobles, who had most to dread from his resentment, fled to the Scottish court, taking with them Edgar Atheling and his sisters, one of whom married Malcolm, the king of Scotland.⁴⁶

The sword had now become unsheathed between

Council of Rheims had, in 1049, forbid her father to give her to William, and the young duke to take her.

⁴⁵ Ord. Vit. 511. Hence the Normans called them Foresters.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Ordericus's character of the Scotch, at this period, is, "Fierce in battle,

the king and his people. He forgot the causes of the revolt in its pertinacity and progress; and the people, increasing in exasperation from the inflictions of his hostility, were now more than ever irreconcilable. That direful state of things occurred, in which each of the contending parties struggled for the extermination of the other. Mutual hatred reigned, with a mutual spirit of rapacity and revenge. William, provoked by what he thought an unreasonable enmity, became thenceforward the stern conqueror; and a disquieted, oppressive and sanguinary reign, destroyed his own peace, and the happiness of his people.⁴⁷ But this calamitous visitation effected what it seems to have been meant to effect, an extensive revolution in the state of property, mind, and manners, of the English nation.⁴⁸ It was a gloomy and suffering period of transition to a much superior individual and national condition. The dismal tempest over, a new political creation appeared in the island, which every reader may discern, who contrasts the two centuries that followed the Norman conquest, with those which preceded it; and to the production of which, the evil passions of both parties were made subsidiary.

The king had driven his enemies from the field. But conquest is not pacification. He who conciliates

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The internal warfare continues.

but preferring ease and quiet: averse to being molested by their neighbours, they were more intent on religion than on war." Ord. Vit. 511.

⁴⁷ Malmesbury's account of the fact, and his apology for William for it, is this — "He may be excused if he was sometimes peculiarly harsh towards the English, because he found scarcely any of them faithful. This circumstance so exasperated his *fierce* mind, that he deprived the more powerful, first of their money, then of their lands, and some of their lives." P. 104. It does not, however, appear that the king sufficiently tried the effect of conciliation: the severity of his temper preferred force to persuasion.

⁴⁸ How complete the change of society must have been, we may infer from Malmesbury's expressions: "England became the habitation of foreigners — a territory of aliens — no Dux, or Bishop, or Abbot, is an Englishman: strangers consume the riches and the bowels of England." P. 93. To the same purpose, Hunt. 370.

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his enemy, removes his irritation, and terminates his activity. He who merely defeats him, leaves all his causes of resentment alive, with an augmented appetite for revenge. Hence, although the Anglo-Saxons could assemble no force able to resist the Norman armies, yet, whenever these retired, the petty but wasteful war of eager and implacable partisans began; and the country was filled with bloodshed, devastation and famine. The revolting English plundered both their own countrymen, who had submitted, and the lands of the new Norman proprietors; and the Norman garrisons, remunerated every where by confiscations of the property of the patriots, were nothing averse, both to endure and often to provoke the profitable conflicts.⁴⁹ To supply the losses of such embittered warfare, William invited adventurers and soldiers from all parts to join his armies, and liberally rewarded their valor and fidelity. When some few of his Norman knights desired to return to their wives and families, the king, who could not afford their absence, divested them, with displeasure, of the honors he had conceded; but their secession was soon supplied by other adventurers, eager to share in the spoils of a country, whose disaffection and struggles, too late to be availing, only exposed it to be pillaged and divided among new masters. Patriotism would have hallowed such magnanimous efforts, if they had followed the battle of Hastings: they were now but mischievous and impotent revenge.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Ord. Vit. 512, 513. The confession of this half Saxon half Norman writer, of the evils of the country, is sufficiently strong: "England was worn down by extreme and multifarious desolations, and her sufferings were aggravated both by natives and foreigners. Burnings, rapine, and daily slaughter, afflicted, destroyed, and wasted this miserable nation. Adverse fortune entangled in her net the wretched conquerors as well as the conquered. She struck indiscriminately at both, with the sword, pestilence, and famine." *Ib.* 512.

⁵⁰ The author of the Dialogue on the Exchequer, composed in the reign of

The most prominent successes of the English, were in Northumbria. The people of Durham, by a sudden insurrection in the night, destroyed the governor and his garrison. At York, the son of the Norman commander, and many of his soldiers, were cut off, and the castle was besieged, and nearly taken. The king flew in wrath to its succour, attacked the assailants, and spared none. He staid eight days, building there an additional fortress, which he entrusted to the able William Fitz Osborne. His departure was but the signal of new assaults, and new turbulence elsewhere burst out. As the danger now wore an angry aspect, he sent back his beloved queen to Normandy, to keep that quiet; and he prepared to meet the perilous crisis with a determined and unpyting vigor. He distributed a large portion of his forces, for the protection of his coast, who had soon an opportunity for action. The sons of Harold, who had taken refuge with Dermot, one of the kings in Ireland, appeared off Exeter, with an Irish fleet of sixty-six ships. The invaders were immediately met by the Normans under the command of the son of the Earl of Bretagne, and they suffered so severely, in two destructive conflicts on the same day, that the survivors who escaped, scarcely filled two vessels. But the most formidable enemy, in the eye of William, was the Danish fleet. With 240 ships crowded with warriors, collected, as in the days of Alfred, from all the regions near the Baltic, the sons of Sveno came, full of hope and indignation, to efface the remembrance of the disgrace, which the valor of

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Danish
fleet sails
to assist
the insur-
gents;

Henry II., gives this description of the contending parties: "The English who survived, laid secret ambushes for the hated and suspected Normans, and killed them everywhere, at every opportunity, in the woods and private places. In revenge, the king and his ministers raged against the English for many years with cruel torments." Every hundred was at last mulcted in a heavy fine, for every Norman found dead. Dial. de Scacch. appended to Madox Exch. vol. ii.

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the North had sustained in the fall of Haralld Hardrada. This force presented an army whose numbers would require his concentrated powers to subdue, and whose hereditary bravery always made their conflicts severe.

Sveno, the sovereign of Denmark, was the son of the sister of Canute the Great.⁵¹ He had been unsuccessful against Haralld Hardrada; but on his fall, he rose to distinction in the North.⁵² Two of our Harold's sons, with their sister, took refuge in his court⁵³, and concurred with the Anglo-Saxons to solicit his exertions in their cause. He first led his army against Norway; but Olave, who had been allowed to quit England on his father's failure, was admitted to conclude a peace with him, and to marry his daughter.⁵⁴ This gave him leisure to direct his arms against William, in England; and he entrusted his sons, and some select friends, with the fleet that now invaded it.

But so vigilantly was William guarding his coast,

⁵¹ He was the son of Ulfr, who married Canute's sister. See *Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 324. The Saxon Chronicle mentions of the Danes, that they had been formerly reckoned "the truest of all folk," p. 296.

⁵² Saxo Grammaticus gives the Danish account of his struggle with Hardrada, in his usual paraphrastic Latin, l. 11. p. 205—207. In Snorre we have the rude statements of the Norwegian Annals, interspersed with the poetry of the Scalds. *Har. Saga*, vol. iii. p. 90—137. Their struggle lasted thirteen years, from 1051 to 1064. In Adam of Bremen we have a simpler sketch of his actions, pp. 41, 42. 55.

⁵³ Saxo, p. 207. He adds, that this lady, our Anglo-Saxon country-woman, was married by Sveno, to the Sovereign of Russia: so that the Norman conquest occasioned an English princess, our Harold's daughter, to partake the Russian throne at that period. She must, however, have been somewhat alarmed for her safety; for about that time, in 1071, a famine happening in a part of Russia, the idea arose, that the women caused it by magic; and this sagacious opinion was so popularly believed, that a great number of women were murdered, on the fancy that they kept the earth barren, and stopped the labors of the bees. *L'Evesque, Hist. de Russie*, vol. i. p. 208.

⁵⁴ Olave was surnamed The Tranquil. He encouraged his countrymen to pursue commerce, and occasioned many markets to be established in Norway. Bergen rose under his auspices, and became an emporium for trade. Snorre, *Har. Saga*, vol. iii. p. 176—180. Snorre mentions several customs introduced by Olave, that tended to advance the civilization of his country.

Sent by
Sveno;Arrives at
the Humber.

that this powerful armament attempted in vain to land at Dover, at Sandwich, at Ipswich, and at Norwich. Repulsed at all these places, it proceeded with this discouragement to the Humber, where its friends predominated, and it experienced there a cordial reception. Waltheof, an illustrious Anglo-Saxon, son of the celebrated Siward, Edgar Atheling, and crowds of English, united with the Danes. York was assaulted by them with success; and tidings of their progress were conveyed to William. The king was hunting when he first heard of the Danish invasion. His unwearied spirit soon collected an adequate force, and he marched it to the scene of danger. The Danes, respecting his formidable array, retired to the Humber, and sheltered themselves from his attack among the marshes of Lindesey.

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Consentaneous movements were made by the English in Dorset and Somerset; the Welsh joined to attack Shrewsbury; and insurrections also pervaded Devonshire and Cornwall. It required all the vigor and sagacity of the king, to surmount the multiplying dangers. But his providing foresight, his indefatigable activity, his numerous armies, his rapid marches, and the superior military skill of his commanders, at last prevailed. Even the Danes, whose invasion was so dreaded, found themselves circumscribed, threatened, and occasionally defeated.⁵⁵ The king, who flew from post to post, as the pressure seemed most critical, was at last enabled to liberate himself from the attack he most feared. From causes which we cannot now detect, the Danes quitted the island without fighting any battle that could endanger William. The Anglo-Saxon chroniclers are loud in accusing the Danish chiefs, of preferring the lavish bribes of William, to their national honor. The

William's
activity
and re-
venge.

⁵⁵ Ord. Vit. 514.

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QUEROR.He deso-
lates Nor-
thumbria.

Norman writers by no means satisfactorily explain the reasons of their inactivity and departure. But their retreat left their English allies exposed to all the vengeance of the Conqueror, and he wreaked it to the full. When he first heard of the arrival of the Danes, he had sworn, in the transports of his wrath, that he would destroy all the people of Northumbria⁵⁶: and this dreadful oath he now mercilessly proceeded to perform.

He spread his camps over the country, for the space of a hundred miles; and then the horrible execution of his vow was begun. All the cattle, corn, property, and habitations, beyond the Humber, were destroyed and burnt by his soldiery; the fields were laid waste; the people slaughtered, or driven away. The young and old, the female, and unoffending peasant, indiscriminately suffered. The amount of human misery produced by this sanguinary measure, may be conceived by the asserted fact, that the vast tract between York and Durham, was left without a single habitation, the refuge only of wild beasts and robbers.⁵⁷ So complete was the devastation, that William of Malmsbury states, that this district, above sixty miles in length, which had been full of towns and cultivated fields, remained barren and desolate to his time, which was nearly a century afterwards.⁵⁸ More than 100,000 persons perished from this vindictive tyranny. The famine, diseases, and misery, which followed in this and the contiguous provinces, are described by the chroniclers in terms

⁵⁶ Hoveden, 451.

⁵⁷ Ord. Vit. 514, 515. This writer, although a monk in Normandy, confesses that he cannot justify the cruelty of William; he says, honestly, "I dare not praise it. I assert, without hesitation, that such ferocious destruction will not be remitted him with impunity. The omnipotent Judge beholds both the highest and the lowest, and with the strictest retribution will punish equally their transgressions." P. 515.

⁵⁸ Malmsbury, l. 3. p. 105.

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which excite horror as we read them, and which it would be loathsome to repeat.⁵⁹ No reasoning, no exigency, can palliate or justify atrocities like these: they prove that, amid all William's virtues, the Northman barbarian was still lingering in his heart: and yet, it will be just to his comparative character to recollect, that in a more polished age, a Louis the Fourteenth could command, and even a Turenne could execute, a measure somewhat similar in the German Palatinate. But the cry of human misery is an accusation of its producers, which no greatness can avert and no policy excuse.

The Danish fleet suffered so severely by shipwreck and famine, on its return⁶⁰, that Svenno was not in a condition, if he had been disposed, to renew the aggression. But his mind directed itself to nobler objects. His example was peculiarly favorable to the spread of literature among his countrymen, and his exertions diffused Christianity extensively in the North.⁶¹

William pursued his opponents to the Tees, where Earl Waltheof, and others, submitted to his government. He returned from the Tees to Hagulstad and York. The hills he passed were covered with snow; and the severity of the frost caused a great destruction of his horses, and much suffering among his men, who forgot their discipline in their distresses. The king was at one time lost, with six companions, and wandered a whole night, ignorant of the position

William's
winter
march.

⁵⁹ Hoveden, 451. Simeon of Durham, 199. Flor. Wig. 434.

⁶⁰ Ord. Vit. 515.

⁶¹ Saxo speaks warmly of his studies and attainments, and of the improvements he produced, pp. 208, 209. And Adam of Bremen says of him, "Hearing of this king's wisdom, I determined to visit him, and was most courteously received. A large portion of the substance of my book I collected from his lips. He had great knowledge of learning, and was very liberal to foreigners. He sent preachers to Sweden, Norway, and the adjacent islands. From his correct and pleasant narrations, I learnt that in his time many of the barbarous nations were converted to Christianity." Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 16. p. 54. ed. Lind.

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of his army.⁶² From York he crossed the country towards Chester, to relieve Shrewsbury from the attacks of the Welsh. Here again we find difficulties enumerated, which forcibly imply the uncultivated state of England at that time. The roads had never been passed by cavalry before. The lofty hills, the perilous rivers, the overflowed valleys, and the destructive marshes, with storms of hail and rain, so harassed the soldiers, that the king was obliged to cheer them, by advancing before them on foot, and often to assist with his own hands to extricate them from their dangers. But his perseverance attained its end. He reached the midland provinces of Mercia, and cleared them of the disaffected; and after building more castles for the subjection of the country, he retired to enjoy a temporary repose.⁶³

New
Clergy in-
troduced.
1070.

He made important changes among the English clergy. He caused Stigand and others to be deposed, and he filled their places with men from Normandy and France, who were distinguished by the characters of piety, decorous morals, and a love of literature. This measure was an important addition to the civilization of the island.⁶⁴ No present can be greater to any country than that of a moral and lettered clergy; and from no other class of men does social improvement, or deterioration, more certainly flow. Their natural influence is that of mind, virtue, and piety, wherever these mark their character; and it is an influence ever loved and welcomed, when these invaluable qualities really exist to create it. The

⁶² The expressions of the Norman monk represent on a small scale, in these English counties, the disasters of Bonaparte's army in the Russian winter:—*"Iter difficulter peractum—sonipedum ingens ruina—anxius pro sua quisque salute extitit, Domini parum aut amici meminit."* Ord. Vit. 515.

⁶³ Ord. Vit. 516. Malcolm made a predatory invasion from Scotland into Yorkshire, and led back so many of the inhabitants as his captives, that Simeon of Durham says, "Not only every farm, but every small house in the southern part of Scotland, had an English slave." P. 201.

⁶⁴ Ord. Vit. 516.

improvements which gradually flowed from the Norman ecclesiastics spread through England a new spirit of knowledge and prosperity. A temporary quiet pervaded the country; violence disappeared; the Normans and English began to intermarry; foreign merchandize appeared in their markets; and the Anglo-Saxons imitated the dress of their conquerors. The king, as one means of popularity, restored the dilapidated churches; and, with a wise condescension, endeavoured to learn the English language, that he might understand their legal complaints himself, and redress them without delay. His advanced age, and multifarious occupations, however, precluded a successful progress⁶⁵; but the attempt showed true wisdom and kingly patriotism, in trying to relieve his own unbiassed judgment from the mistakes or perversions of interpreters. His study of the national language so late in life was, therefore, evidence of a sincere desire to reign uprightly towards all his subjects.

By conduct like this he might have recovered the attachment of the people. But the poison of alarm had affected his mind, and his anxiety to anticipate possible evils impelled him to actions which created them. He dreaded the influence of Edwin and Morcar; and, though they were living under his pardon and protection, he resolved on their destruction — an act of perfidy which power might perpetrate, but could never excuse, which rekindled every bitter feeling, and precluded all future confidence between the nation and the throne. So mixed is man's moral character! So many spots of darkness stain the most illuminated mind that mixes in the contests of ambitious life!

His attack
on Edwin
and Mor-
car.

Morcar was living in the isle of Ely, in peaceful

⁶⁵ Ord. Vit. 520.

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greatness, and neither meditating nor suspecting wrong, when the forces of William surrounded him. As the place was naturally inaccessible, he might have long defended it, or have easily escaped. But the deceitful king deluded him from his measures of safety, by the kindest assurances of friendship and protection. Morcar went quietly with his followers, and was put into bonds, and imprisoned for life.⁶⁶ That a sovereign of William's general probity should commit this treachery, is a striking instance how greatly suspicion deranges the judgment, and how much love of power can indurate the heart!

Edwin, hearing of his brother's unmerited fate, swore that he would rather die than not liberate or avenge him. For six months he wandered among the Scotch, English, and Welsh, seeking auxiliaries. The Norman fleet, and the more perilous Norman wiles, pursued him. None durst openly assist him; and at length he was betrayed by some of those whom he most trusted. He defended himself to the last, but perished in the unequal conflict. His memory was long consecrated by the lamentations of his countrymen, and even the Normans pitied his fate.⁶⁷ The adherents of these unfortunate noblemen were scattered through England, with the loss of their hands or eyes, to intimidate the nation⁶⁸; — a terrible punishment, which shows that the national mind was then, in many respects, in that state which

⁶⁶ Ord. Vit. 521. Gaimar, the Norman poet, nearly a contemporary, in his *Estorie des Angles*, says of Morcar and his friends, "Ki se rendirent follement." MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21.

⁶⁷ Ord. Vit. 521. This ecclesiastic honestly stigmatises these actions of the king; who yet affected to weep at the treachery by which Edwin perished, and banished the wretches who brought his head. *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Matthew Paris has drawn the dark side of William's character with severity, but the features, though exaggerated, and not contrasted by his good qualities, have some truth: "He was a merciless king, and an inexorable tyrant; and to those whom he could delude with soft words and large promises, he became a faithless oppressor. He was active and warlike; ever dividing his opponents, and assailing them when divided." *Ab. Alb.* 47.

we find among the savage tribes of some of the islands of Polynesia.

The Anglo-Saxon warrior, who was most distinguished for his talents and heroism, in opposition to the Normans, was Hereward le Wake, the Empeccinado or the Mina of his day, whose romantic character has been described in the account of the Anglo-Saxon chivalry.⁶⁹ His successes arose from the difficult union of an ardent patriotism and the most desperate intrepidity with a fertile invention and calm and steady judgment. Always daring to the very verge of rashness, he yet conducted his temerity with a skill which was never mistaken or surprised. Hearing that, after the battle of Hastings, his paternal lands had been given to a Norman, and that his mother was greatly oppressed, he sailed with his wife from Flanders, whither he had been exiled, to England; procured the gift of knighthood from his uncle, without which he was not entitled to command others; and commenced his successful onsets against the usurpers of his ancestral territory.⁷⁰ He became so formidable in Lincolnshire, that the Norman abbot who had succeeded his uncle to the monastery at Peterborough, gave away sixty-two hides of the church lands to stipendiary knights, to protect the abbey from his assaults.⁷¹ Hereward, however, determined to plunder the golden city, as it was then called, because it was possessed by a Norman, and defended by the oppressors of his family. The monks learnt his intentions, and dispatched their secretary to collect the Norman forces, in the district, against him. But the celerity of Hereward always corresponded with his audacity. On the same day that the messengers departed for their military auxiliaries, the Anglo-Saxon was at their gates: unable

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Exploits of
Hereward.

⁶⁹ Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 105.

⁷⁰ Ingulf. Hist. p. 70.

⁷¹ Chron. Abb. Peterburg. p. 47.

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to force them, he set fire to the outbuildings, and obtained a passage through the flames. A splendid booty, that had then no parallel in England, rewarded his adventure; it was conveyed to his ships with his accustomed rapidity; and he had the gratification of sailing away, while the Norman knights were advancing to protect.⁷²

On a subsequent attempt, he was pursued by the united forces of the warlike abbot, and of Ivo Tailboys (literally, the Woodcutter), the Norman commander of the district, into the woods. Ivo, who is described as remarkable for his pompous verbosity, boasted that he would penetrate them with his soldiers, and destroy their noxious enemy. The abbot and nobles were afraid to encounter Hereward, in the defiles of the forest, and thought it safer to station themselves on its skirts; Hereward was looking on their motions, from his hiding places, with a watching eye; and as soon as he saw that the proud Norman baron had completely entered the right side of the forest, he drew his men out of it, with silent activity, on the left, and then, darting with rapidity on the noble party at the entrance, he made them all his prisoners, and compelled them to redeem their safety with a large amount of treasure.⁷³

He chose the isle of Ely for his central station, and there erected a wooden castle, which long retained his name. William surrounded the island with his fleet and army, and made solid roads and bridges over the marshes, to facilitate their movements.⁷⁴ But Hereward, from this position, made irruptions on all sides, which precluded William from accomplishing the conquest of the county. His activity was so successful, and his successes

⁷² Saxon Chronicle, p. 273, 274. Hugo Candid, Hist. 48-50.

⁷³ Pet. Blessensis, Contin. Ingulf. p. 125.

⁷⁴ Matt. Paris, Hist. p. 7.

were so dreaded, that the king, who had conquered the rest of the country so triumphantly, was persuaded by Ivo to get a witch to march at the head of the army, and to try the effect of her incantations against him. On a bridge that was thrown over the marsh, for the passage of the soldiers, a lofty wooden tower was erected, and in this the supposed commander of the powers of darkness was placed; while the military and labourers were stationed a little in advance. As she was forming her spells, Hereward, ever vigilant for his opportunities, put his more sagacious schemes into operation, and set all the surrounding reeds and vegetation on fire; the flames spread rapidly to every thing above the waters, and involved the enchantress and the troops who relied upon her, in a circle of smoke and fire, which destroyed both them and the works that were constructing.⁷⁵

This indefatigable partisan was with Morcar, when he surrendered to William; but, disdainful to obey the person whom he considered as the tyrant of his country, he fled over the marshes and escaped from his snares. But action, not safety, was his happiness; and he displayed the character of his mind, in his daring mode of evading his pursuers. His exploits had endeared him to his countrymen; and a fisherman, who was accustomed to carry fish to the Norman wardens of the marshes, received him and his companions into his vessels, and covered them with straw: the fisherman sailed to the part where the viscount Guy was keeping his guard, who, knowing the man, allowed him to approach as usual, without alarm or inquiry. But while the Normans were feasting in their tents, Hereward sprang with his friends from their concealment, rushed on their

⁷⁵ We derive the knowledge of this curious incident from Petrus Blessensis, the friend and correspondent of Henry II. Contin. Ing. p. 125.

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lebrity,and happy
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astonished opponents with their battle-axes, and destroyed or dispersed all the troop.⁷⁶

The actions of this romantic adventurer were the favorite subject of the popular songs of the Anglo-Saxons, and even of the Normans. These have now perished; but the Conqueror's secretary gives him the character of an heroic patriot: "When he had been made a commander in war, and a master of knights, he achieved so many brilliant and warlike adventures; he conquered his enemies so often, and he so frequently eluded them; that he merits perpetual fame. He supported the ruins of his falling country as long as it was possible, and he did not suffer it to perish unrevenged."⁷⁷

His enmity was so formidable, that the king at last purchased his friendship with the grant of his father's estate, and the end of his life was happy. "After great battles," says Ingulf, "and a thousand dangers frequently dared and bravely terminated, as well against the king of England, as against his earls, barons, prefects and presidents, which are yet sung in our streets; and having avenged his mother with his powerful right hand; he at length obtained the king's pardon, and his paternal inheritance, and ended his days in peace; and was very lately buried, with his wife, near our monastery."⁷⁸ Such men ought not to be forgotten in history. Patriotism, although not always an unmixed, or an unquestionable virtue, yet can never be exerted against power, without the sacrifice of personal comfort, and the perpetual risk of personal safety. Hence, in arduous times, it is the mark of a lofty and powerful mind; a sacred principle, whose certain sufferings nothing can remunerate, but the consciousness of

⁷⁶ Gaimar, in his *Metrical Estorie des Angles* (MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21.) has preserved this trait, and relates several other particulars about him.

⁷⁷ Ingulf. *Hist.* p. 71.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 68.

its own justice and magnanimity, and its secret anticipations of the approbation of posterity.

William completed his security by the submission of the king of Scotland, whom he invaded with a force that Malcolm was unable to resist, and who yielded to the conqueror. His puny rival Edgar Etheling again sought his friendship; and it is a pleasant and generous trait in William's jealous character, that he always pardoned, and at last hospitably maintained in his own court, the prince who was so often set up against him as his competitor, who was surnamed England's Darling, and who was considered by the nation as the rightful heir to the throne. He allowed Edgar a pound of silver a day, which was a magnificent appointment at that period; and it is remarked by an old chronicler, as a specimen of his weak intellect, that he once gave all his money for a horse. Edgar afterwards went to Palestine with a valorous knight. The Greek Emperor would have detained him, out of respect to his descent; but the love of his native country induced him to return to it. William received him with his former kindness; and the prince lived in his court, amusing himself with his dogs, and preferring ease and indolence to violent and fruitless ambition.⁷⁹

England being now completely conquered, and the power of its ancient nobles destroyed, William proceeded to distribute the spoils among his adherents. To one, he gave the Isle of Wight, and the county of Hereford; to another, the county of Chester; to a third, Shrewsbury and its county. These barons were particularly instructed to watch and repress the Welsh; and they executed their

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William
invades
Scotland;
— his kind-
ness to
Edgar.

The Eng-
lish ho-
nors dis-
tributed to
Normans.

⁷⁹ Will. Malms. p. 103. Ingulf, and the Saxon writers, assert that Malcolm did homage to William, and swore fealty to him. Ing. 79.; Chron. Sax. 277.; Sim. Dur. 203. The Scotch antiquaries contend that the homage was not for Scotland, but for Malcolm's English possessions. It is difficult now to decide, whether our Anglo-Saxon chroniclers confounded a particular with a general homage.

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sion of the
Natives.

allotted duty with a vigor and severity, which first debilitated the strength of Wales.⁸⁰ To Waltheof, he presented the county of Northampton, and his niece. Surrey, Buckingham, and Lincoln, Norfolk, and Leicester, were committed to others who had distinguished themselves in his service. He distributed his grants of honors and lands so profusely, that low and poor Normans found themselves raised to great proprietors; and many had tenants under them far richer than their own parents.⁸¹

To supply these liberalities, the native English were sacrificed. Considered as rebels, hated and mistrusted, as all resisting patriots will be by the power that oppresses them, they obtained no protection from the government they had withstood: their Norman tyrants were allowed to insult and plunder them with impunity. And thus the English population sank to be servants or the dependents of their conquerors.⁸²

The cruelty with which the English were treated, filled William's court with knights eager to share the property of the natives, which the king so willingly confiscated; but it also awakened a strong feeling of indignation in others abroad, who heard of his severities with undisguised aversion. We have one evidence of this censorial sympathy, in the letter by which a foreign monk refused to accept ecclesiastical dignities in England, which William offered.⁸³

⁸⁰ Ord. Vit. 521, 522. He first invaded Brecon, and overcame three British kings that advanced against him—Rhys, Cadoc, and Meriadoc.

⁸¹ Ord. Vit. 521—523. To the Bishop of Coutance he gave 280 English manors. This writer adds, "Thus strangers were enriched by the wealth of England, whose sons for their sakes were nefariously killed, or driven out, to wander wretched exiles abroad." Ibid.

⁸² Ord. Vit. 523. His language, in this and other places, is strong. His facts remind us of the sufferings occasioned by the French revolution.

⁸³ This was Guitmund. He says to the king, "I know not how I can preside over those whose foreign names and *barbarous* language I understand not; whose fathers, dear relatives and friends, you have slain with the sword, or disinherited

William had scarcely begun to enjoy the interval of tranquillity, which his stern government had imposed on England, when he was called into Normandy to repress revolts and aggressions of warlike nobles, which produced the addition of the province of Maine to his dominions.⁸⁴ While remaining there, he was alarmed by the tidings of a conspiracy in England, which at first wore the aspect of unusual danger; it was an attempt of some of his most favored Norman barons to dispossess him of his crown. The exciting causes of their resentment or ambition are not satisfactorily explained, but the plot seems to have been equally daring and absurd; it was framed by the son of his deceased favorite, William Fitz Osborne⁸⁵, who had now the command of the county of Hereford, in conjunction with the earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. They persuaded Waltheof, the popular Anglo-Saxon noble, who had the earldom of Northampton, to listen to their plan. They projected to depose William, and that one of them should be king, and the other two, principal governors under him. They fortified their castles, collected their military friends, and were preparing for the insurrection, when the plot became known to the government.⁸⁶ Its premature explosion was so early suppressed, that Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, one of the regency, in his dispatch to

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Conspiracy
of Norman
Barons.
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and exiled; or thrown into an unjust prison, or intolerable servitude. How can you impart, without a fault, what in war, and by an effusion of much blood, you have ferociously (*truculenter*) seized!" Ord. Vit. has inserted a copy of his letter, p. 524—526.

⁸⁴ Ord. Vit. 532, 533. He was accompanied in this expedition by English forces; "who," says Malmesbury, "though easily oppressed at home, are always invincible abroad," l. 3. p. 105.

⁸⁵ The king had sent this active soldier to Normandy, to aid his queen in defending the province. He went afterwards to Flanders, to assist her brother, Arnulph, son of its Earl Baldwin, against the invasion of the disinherited Robert. He was surprised by the exile, aided by imperial troops, and perished from his careless security. Ord. Vit. 526.

⁸⁶ Ord. Vit. 534. Malmbs. 104.

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the king, announcing the defeat of Norfolk, requests him not to trouble himself to cross the seas for such a cause.⁸⁷

The earl, who had been one of William's auxiliaries from Bretagne, was chased to Norwich; the castle was forced; and he undertook to quit the kingdom, with his Bretons, in forty days.⁸⁸ The son of Fitz Osborne was as easily vanquished.⁸⁹ The remembrance of his father's great services preserved his life; but he was committed to prison, where he precluded forgiveness by the most wanton insults to his sovereign.⁹⁰

The Breton lord was pursued to his own country by William, who made it an opportunity to attempt the conquest of Bretagne. The town of Dol resisted his attacks; he swore he would not quit it till he mastered it; but the unexpected advance of the count of Bretagne, with a great superiority of force, supplied in part by the French king, put William into such danger, that he was glad to escape with precipitation, abandoning all his baggage and treasure.⁹¹

Waltheof's
punish-
ment.

The punishment of Waltheof, for his privity in this conspiracy, greatly excited the sensibility of the people. Son of the powerful Siward, he was, like his

⁸⁷ Lanfranc tells the king, that it would be a disgrace to them, if he should come over to surmount such perjuries and robbers. "Their armies are all in flight; and before few days they will be either driven out of the country, or be taken, or killed." See Lanfranci Opera Omnia, Ep. 34. p. 318.

⁸⁸ Lanf. Epist. 35. p. 318. The castle at Norwich was then committed to the care of William of Warenne, with 300 coats of mail, with balistarii, and many machines. Ib.

⁸⁹ Lanfranc wrote him a kind letter, on the first intimation of his purposes, urging him to abandon them: inviting him, with affectionate friendship, to come and converse with him; and promising perfect safety in going and returning from the meeting. Ep. 40. p. 320.

⁹⁰ He not only repeatedly reviled the king, in his confinement, but when William, with a returning friendship, sent him, on an Easter festival, a splendid present of costly apparel, he had a fire made in the prison, and contemptuously burnt it. Ord. Vit. 535.

⁹¹ Ord. Vit. 544.

father, of giant size and strength, and of undaunted courage. William esteemed him, and had given to him in marriage his niece Judith; a fatal present, for she betrayed the conspiracy he had been invited to join, and accused him as a traitor. He admitted his knowledge, but denied his participation of the plot. It is impossible now to ascertain the degree of his criminality. The ancient chroniclers differ on the subject.⁹² The most favorable statement admits, that he knew of the conspiracy, without immediately impeaching the conspirators; and this, even by our present law, is treasonable. The king was inexorable; and Waltheof, though greatly beloved, was at last beheaded.⁹³

The life of William was an alternation between great successes and great disquietudes; one danger was scarcely surmounted, when another arose; a circumstance which implies some deficiency of good judgment or right conduct in the latter part of his reign. The conquest of England was followed by the turbulence of his Norman barons; and this evil was increased by the unfilial conduct of his son Robert, with whom he had soon to support an unnatural warfare. It seems probable, that the severity of the king's temper, that spirit of mistrust which pervaded his reign, the dissatisfaction of a conquered country, and the fuel which this afforded to the pride and irritability of his feudal chieftains, prevented any personal attachment between him and

⁹² Florence of Worcester (439—441.) states, that as soon as he could, he revealed the plot to Lanfranc, in his confessions, who advised him to go to the king, discover the truth, and trust to his mercy. Ordericus, who mentions the accusation of Judith, yet describes the earl as endeavouring to dissuade the conspirators from their design, 536. Henry of Huntingdon, on the contrary, declares, that he concurred to advise Norfolk to the rebellion, p. 369. Malmesbury rather implies his criminality, p. 104.—His memory was so dear to the nation, that miracles were ascribed to his tomb.

⁹³ Judith is frequently mentioned in Domesday Book as the proprietor of numerous estates.

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his nobles. Hence he found himself often thwarted by the nobles whom he had most obliged. But a reign of violence is always a reign of insecurity and disquiet. The king, who acquires territory, and governs it by the sword, creates a fierce and unprincipled spirit around him, even among his own adherents, from whose petulance and selfishness he is never safe. He is obeyed from the basest of all human motives — fear — and when that spring fails, his throne begins to tremble.

William acted too often on the unwise maxim of some short-sighted statesmen, that political perfidy is a venial offence. He made promises, to gain temporary objects, which, from his spirit of mistrust, he never fulfilled. He experienced the just and natural and inevitable consequences of faithlessness, in the hatred, unpopularity, and disappointments, which it occasioned. When a character of this sort is once perceived, the human sympathies withdraw from it, and are easily arrayed in hostility against it.

Robert's
rebellion.

The turbulence of his son Robert began from this cause. When he first meditated the invasion of England, it was necessary to secure the neutrality of France: to procure it he promised the French government, that if he succeeded, he would invest his son Robert with the Norman duchy.⁹⁴ He forbore to redeem this pledge; but afterwards, when a dangerous illness attacked him, he solemnly appointed Robert his heir, and commanded his nobles to do him homage. His suspicious mind again impelled him to retract what he had done; and Robert deeply felt and resented both the breach of promise and the mistrust.⁹⁵ He allowed his indignant feelings to overcome his filial duty. Many of the great barons encouraged him; and his irritable

⁹⁴ Flor. Wig. 442. Hoveden, 457.⁹⁵ Ord. Vit. 545.

state of mind was provoked by insult from his younger brothers. These, envying his state and pretensions, sided with their father; and, going to the castle where he was residing, began to play at dice or drafts on the terrace, as it is said soldiers were used to do. They made a contemptuous noise, and at last threw down water on Robert and his friends below. Incited by the remarks of his followers, on the visible intention of the contumely, he rushed up the stairs with the most vindictive purposes. The clamour that ensued roused the king; and his authority for a time appeased his contending children. Robert quitted the camp on the next day, with projects of resentment. He failed in his attempt to surprise Rouen; but he gained adherents enough to disquiet if not to endanger his father.⁹⁶

He applied to the king again to be invested with the duchy of Normandy; William refused, and exhorted his son to remember the fate of Absalom, and to be dutiful. Robert disrespectfully answered, that he came not to hear sermons, with which he had been nauseated at his grammar-school, but to receive a right which had been promised him. The king, both enraged and alarmed at his peremptory demand, declared with vehemence, that he would not part with any portion of his power while he lived. His son with equal fury declared, that he would seek by the help of strangers that justice which his father denied him: and quitting Normandy with several barons, he passed five years with the neighbouring powers, striving to unite a force competent to extort the object of his ambition. But his character was too unsteady to endanger William. The splendid presents which he received from many barons he squandered on minstrels, parasites, and

⁹⁶ Ord. Vit. 545, 546.

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loose women, frequently enduring the greatest pressure of distress.⁹⁷

His mother often supplied him with money and presents. The king, discovering her liberality, sternly commanded her not to repeat it; but her affection for her son led her to disobey the prohibition. His upbraidings, on the discovery of her conduct, were severe: he reminded her of his unabated affection and unbounded confidence in her; and he appealed to her reason, whether she ought to be the person who should employ his property in arming his enemies against him. In her answer, Mathilda pleaded a mother's fondness for her first-born child, and added, "If Robert were in his grave, and could be revived by my blood, I would pour it out to restore him. How can I enjoy my prosperity, and suffer my son to be pining in want? far from my heart be such cruelty! nor ought your power to exact it." The king respected her maternal sensibility, but endeavoured to punish those who conveyed her bounty.⁹⁸

Robert at last obtained the aid of the French king. He gained possession of the castle of Gerberoy, on the borders of Normandy, and made it the asylum of the discontented; and he was joined by many, even of the king's friends. William collected his forces and besieged the place, which was becoming

⁹⁷ Ord. Vit. 570.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 571. Mathilda hearing that a German anchorite was famous for his prophetic powers, sent to entreat his prayers for her son and husband, and his opinion as to the event of their contest. He sent his answer in a pleasing allegory: "I saw in a dream a beautiful meadow covered with grass and flowers, and a fierce charger feeding in it. A numerous herd hovered about it, desirous to enter and partake the feast; but the intrepid steed drove them all away. Suddenly the noble creature died and vanished, and a silly cow appeared in his stead, the guardian of the place. The animals that had been kept at distance now rushed in, consumed all the herbage and the flowers, and defiled the meadow with pollution and ravages. The steed is William; Robert will be the cow. The surrounding animals are the neighbouring potentates, who, when Robert succeeds, will overrun and destroy the Norman Duchy, now so prosperous and happy." His discernment perceived, from the character of Robert, the miseries which his government would occasion.

every day more dangerous to him. During this siege, Robert, in a vigorous sally, engaged a knight enveloped in armour, and wounded him in the hand, while his horse was killed under him. Another steed was brought to the unknown knight; but the assistant was slain by a dart in doing him this service, and then Robert discovered that this fallen antagonist was his father! he dismounted with precipitation, respectfully assisted William to regain his horse, and permitted him to depart unmolested.⁹⁹ At length, the earnest entreaties of the nobles and clergy, procured a termination to this unnatural war. The king confirmed his promise of the duchy to Robert, after his own demise, and Normandy recovered its internal tranquillity. But the family dissensions soon revived: Robert's conduct became again disobedient and immoral; the king rebuked him; and the untractable prince quitted his father's court. William now turned his affection on his dutiful sons William and Henry, and rewarded their filial attachment by every honor which his government could confer.¹⁰⁰ The ambition of his half-brother, Odo, who was contriving to acquire the papal dignity, exciting his displeasure, he ordered the bishop's arrest; but no one dared to expose himself to the resentment of the ecclesiastical body, by obeying the command. The determined king became his own officer, and arrested Odo himself, who exclaimed, "I am a clergyman, and no one can condemn a bishop, without the sanction of the Pope." William answered, "I do not arrest the clergyman or the bishop, but my own earl, whom of my own

⁹⁹ Flor. Wig. 443. Hoveden, 457. The Sax. Chron. names the friend who suffered: "This was Tokig, the son of Wiggod," p. 285. Robert's brother, William, was also wounded in the severe conflict.

¹⁰⁰ Ord. Vit. 573. From this reference to the next, this excursive author digresses into an account of the benefactors to his monastery; the legends of St. William and St. Ebrulf; and the adventures of the famous Guiscard in Italy.

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menace
another
invasion.

will I made governor of my kingdom, and from whom I require an account of his stewardship." Odo was confined in Normandy during the remainder of William's reign.¹⁰¹

Mathilda died about the time of Odo's apprehension, and William survived her but four years, and they were years of trouble. The king of Denmark, St. Canute, projected an invasion, to reunite England to the Danish crown.¹⁰² The earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, agreed to assist; and Olaf Kyrre, the king of Norway, sent sixty ships, full of warriors, to join in the expedition.¹⁰³ St. Canute pleased himself with the hope of reviving the faded glory, and recovering the lost inheritance, of his ancestors: and a thousand vessels were to convey a force that would overwhelm all opposition. William was sufficiently alarmed at the menace; his English subjects were discontented, and his Norman barons disposed to be turbulent. But he was, as usual, provident and indefatigable. From all parts of the Continent, he invited knights and warriors to his standard, and they came in such abundance, that the Saxon chronicler says, "Men wondered how this

¹⁰¹ Ord. Vit. 646. Wace thus describes the scene: "No baron dared lay his hand on Odo. The good king then sprang out and seized him by his collar, and pulled him quite out of the ranks; 'I take you,' said he, 'I take you.' 'You do me wrong,' cried Odo; 'I am a bishop, and carry a cross: you ought not to lay hands on me.' 'By my head,' replied the king, 'but I ought. I arrest you as the Earl of Kent, who is my bailiff and my servant, and who has not rendered me an account of my kingdom while he held it.' He kept him in prison four years." Rom. Rou, p. 297.

¹⁰² Saxo, who becomes authentic as he approaches his own times, narrates, with some pomp, the preparations and romantic hopes of the Danish king, St. Canute, or Canute IV. It may be read as a specimen of that style which Erasmus so highly extolled. Hist. Dan. l. 12. p. 217. Sveno Aggon. in his ancient compendium of Danish History, from Skiold to Canute VI. mentions it more concisely, c. 6. p. 57. ap. Langb. Script. Dan.

¹⁰³ According to Snorre (Saga af Olaf Kyrre) Canute offered Olaf the command of the expedition: Olaf declined it, frankly confessing, that the flower of the Norwegian warriors had fallen in the disastrous invasion of Haralld Hardrada, and that Norway had never been able to recover from that blow. He therefore desired only to assist as an auxiliary, not to lead as a principal.

land might feed them all.”¹⁰⁴ But William’s day of heroism was past: preferring quiet to glory, he strove to avert a collision that, in the state of the public mind, might be dangerous, and with the best result must be destructive. A seasonable application of his treasure, among the counsellors¹⁰⁵ and chieftains of St. Canute, excited a seditious dissatisfaction in the armament, as it lay at anchor at Hæitheby, which compelled him to allow it to disband itself¹⁰⁶; and soon afterwards, he perished in a revolt.¹⁰⁷

This danger had scarcely subsided when the barons of Mante became turbulent. A warfare with Philip¹⁰⁸, king of France, followed; which exhibits William indulging again those vindictive passions that had so often disquieted his reign; and experiencing in his own person those disastrous consequences which impress mankind with the belief of a moral retribution. A joke of Philip’s exasperated his irascible temper. William had become corpulent and unwieldy; and Philip, hearing that an indisposition confined him to his bed at Rouen, declared that he was *lying-in* there. William was weak enough to be enraged at this idle sarcasm, and swore by the resurrection and glory of the Deity (his favorite oath),

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William
burns
Mante.

¹⁰⁴ “Swa myclan here — Swa nefre er this land ne gesohte; swa tha men wundredon hu this land mihte eall thone here afedan.” P. 288.

¹⁰⁵ Chron. Petri. 51.

¹⁰⁶ Snorre admits the sedition, vol. iii. p. 186. Sveno states it as a conspiracy, p. 57. Saxo intimates, that the king’s brother, latent æmulum, cherished the disaffection, and labored to frustrate the attempt, p. 217. Ælnothus, in his Life of the King, c. 13., does not accuse the brother, but makes him deputed by the army, to express their discontent; for which, Canute sent him a prisoner to Flanders.

¹⁰⁷ Canute’s severity on his disappointment, and heavy exactions, excited a revolt; and one of his own household headed the military rebels, who forced the church to which the king had retired. A few faithful friends chose to perish with him, rather than to desert him. The king took refuge at the altar, but a lance, darted through the window, pierced his side, and killed him. Saxo, p. 221. Ælnothus, c. 26. — c. 32.

¹⁰⁸ Philip I., who succeeded his father, Henry I., in 1059, had been brought up by Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and reigned till 1108; when Louls Le Gros acceded. Frag. Hist. Franc. p. 94.

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that at his *churching*, he would light up a hundred thousand candles in France.¹⁰⁹ At the following harvest he performed his terrible vow. No consideration mitigated his rage: he ravaged and burnt every part he approached; and this gratification of his revenge, proved at last his destruction. He took the town of Mante, and, continuing to indulge his wrath, he committed it to the flames. As if the misery he was causing, had been an enjoyment to his mind, he rode from part to part of the burning town, directing his men where to feed and spread the conflagration, in which many of the inhabitants were perishing. In this cruel and disgraceful activity, his horse stepping on some of the hot ashes, suddenly plunged, and, striking the saddle against his belly, produced a rupture, or an inflammation, which from the heat of the season and of the fire, was followed by a fever that soon exhibited mortal appearances¹¹⁰, and dis-

¹⁰⁹ Malm. Ord. Vit. What the other old chroniclers mention, Wace thus describes:—“He had remained long at Rouen. An infirmity came on him there: he could not mount his horse, nor bear his arms, nor fight. The King of France heard that he was not able to go to his army, and was kept lying on his bed, and sent word to him spitefully, that he had as long a lying-in as a woman behind her curtains. But he ought to get up now; he was reposing himself too long. Willam, who was still confined to his bed, answered him, ‘When I shall rise, I will go to mass in his country, and a rich offering I will carry. I will present a thousand candles. Flaming lights of wood they shall be, and steel shall glitter above the fire they make.’” Rom. Rou, p. 291.

¹¹⁰ Malm. 112. Ord. Vit. 656. Wace gives the following account of this event:

En France mena mil armez
Lances dreites, les fers levez,
Maisons e viles fist ardeir,
Les feus en pout li reis veoir.
Pois fist a Meante un arson,
La vile mist tote en charbon,
Les bois arstrent e les citez
E les moistiers ont alumez
Parmie la vile trespassout
Sor un cheval qui mult amout
En un arsis mist ses dous piez
Mais tost les ont ascie sachiez
Par grant air avant sailli
Li reis se tint qu’il ne chai
E ne poroc mult se bleca
A son arcon ou il hurta.

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QUEROR.
His dying
state.

played to mankind an impressive instance of inhumanity causing its own punishment.

He was taken back to Rouen; but the noise of this populous city being disagreeable to him, he was removed by his own desire to a monastery without the walls. His physicians and religious friends attended, and as their hopes departed, his approaching death was announced to him. In the awful moments of impending dissolution, the delusions of ambition and revenge disappeared. He reviewed the violences of his perturbed reign with remorse; and was so much shocked at the recollection of the cruelties he had committed in England, to maintain his crown, that, although he confirmed the dukedom of Normandy to his son Robert, he declared he could not give the kingdom of England to any one, lest his disposition of it should be the cause of similar horrors; but he expressed his hope that William, his obedient son, might be allowed to possess it.

As the king paused at this moment, his youngest child, Henry, finding himself unnoticed, exclaimed, with tears, "Father! what do you leave me?" "Five thousand pounds of silver, out of my treasury," said the king. The prince asked him, of what use would the money be, if he did not give him a home? The king exhorted him to be patient, and to allow his elder brothers to enjoy their prior rights, assuring him, that in time he would be superior to both. He directed Rufus to sail immediately to England, with his letter to Lanfranc, recommending his coronation; and Henry went out to receive and secure his legacy, while the king was alive.¹¹¹

William continued in the full possession of his senses, and gave many wise directions for the wel-

¹¹¹ Wace states that on this son's behalf, the conqueror added, "and I command William and direct my other son Robert, that each according to his power, shall also, as he esteems me dear to him, make Henry rich and prosperous; more than a man holding under him." P. 295.

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fare of his dominions. His ministers and nobles who had come to take leave of their departing sovereign, now spoke in behalf of the many prisoners whom he detained in captivity. The king confessed that he had imprisoned the earl Morcar unjustly, but that it had been from apprehension of his hostility. From the same distrust, he owned that he had kept many others in custody, and some from their own obstinacy: "But at this hour," he added, "when I have myself to hope that my offences will find mercy from my Creator, I order all the prisons to be opened, and every captive to be released, on condition that they swear to be peaceable—except my brother Odo." This exception, at that world-departing moment, startled his nobles, and occasioned an earnest intercession for Odo's liberation. The king declared, that he was surprised at their solicitation, for a man so unworthy: he expatiated on his vices, and assured them, that his release would only enable him to excite new troubles, and cause the death of thousands. Being pressed again with assertions of Odo's reformation, the king at last unwillingly consented to his discharge.¹¹²

William lingered until the ninth of September: after sun-rise, being roused by a noise, he asked what it was, and was told it was the clock of Saint Mary's church, striking the hour; he raised his eyes devoutly to heaven, and extending his hands, cried out, "To my lady the holy Mary, I commend myself, that she, by her prayers, may reconcile me to her beloved Son." He expired as he spoke, to the surprise of his attendants, who had been deceived, by his passing a tranquil night, to expect a favorable change. His richer courtiers flew immediately to their horses, and went to their homes, to take care

¹¹² Wace represents Odo as malicious, covetous,—no one could be more so. His seneschals had been cruel and evil to all people. P. 296.

of their property; his poorer vassals, seeing the selfish conduct of their superiors, hastened to imitate it, and seized, like vultures, his armour, clothes, valuables, and furniture, and disappeared; leaving his dead body almost naked on the ground, deserted and neglected by every one.¹¹³ So little was he loved! So unstable is the attachment of interest and fear!

The humiliation of greatness was not yet complete. No one was found, who would convey the body to Caen to be interred, till an obscure country knight performed the pious office at his own expense. At its entry into Caen, a fire happening to break out in the city, all ran from the royal remains, to behold or extinguish the flames; and when the hour of his interment came, the very spot intended for his burial was claimed by a person as his property, which William had unjustly taken from him. The funeral was suspended till the man's demands were satisfied. This disagreeable circumstance surmounted, another arose. The sarcophagus that had been prepared for him, was found too small, and they were obliged to force in the corpulent body, which burst with the most offensive violence; and the ceremony was hurried over with a precipitation and disgust which extinguished all respect and sympathy.¹¹⁴

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rupted
burial.

¹¹³ We derive the particulars of his death from Ordericus (656—661.), who was twelve years old when the Conqueror died. His moralising peroration may be quoted, because it gives some striking circumstances of the first effects of his death. "O secular pomp! how despicable art thou, because how vain and transient! Thou art justly compared to the bubbles made by rain; for, like them, thou swellest for a moment, to vanish into nothing. Survey this most potent hero, whom lately 100,000 knights were eager to serve, and whom many nations dreaded, now lying for hours on the naked ground, spoiled and abandoned by every one! The citizens of Rouen were in consternation at the tidings. Every one fled from his home, and hid his property, or tried to turn it into money, that it might not be known." P. 661. This expectation of a general pillage, shows the imperfect state of government and polity at that period. Wace also details the same circumstances in his Roman, 294—300. He notes the fatal illness to have lasted six weeks. P. 298.

¹¹⁴ Ord. Vit. 662. Eadmer, p. 13. Wace thus describes the claimant: —

E is vos un Vavasor errant
Qui la presse vint derompant,
Acelin out nom filz artur
Par la presse vint assureur,

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His per-
son, and
character.

William had reigned above twenty years in England, and had governed Normandy fifty-four years. He was in his sixty-third year when he died. His person was tall, and became unusually lusty. His countenance had a fierce expression: his forehead was bald. His deportment, whether he was sitting or standing, was very dignified. Such was his health, that he had experienced no illness till his last; and such was the strength of his arms, that no one could bend his bow. At his great festivals at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, no sovereign could be more courteous or liberal.¹¹⁵ His occasions for money, to repel the enmities he had to encounter, made him appear avaricious and rapacious; and his fondness for the chase, led him to a merciless exertion of his power, in making the New Forest in Hampshire, for which he depopulated above thirty miles of an inhabited country. The degree of human misery produced by this tyrannical measure, has made our old chroniclers remark its apparent punishment in the calamities that occurred from it to his family.¹¹⁶

Sor une pierre en haut mouta
Devers la biere se torna,
Clers et evesques apela
En haut sestut, en haut parla. Rom. p. 301.

On making his claim, he adds, —

Est de mon dreit, e de mon fieu
Jo nai dreit graignor en nul lieu;
Jo nel vendi, neu engagai;
Ne nel forsis, ne nel donai;
Ne il de mei, ne l'engaga;
N'en gage rien, ne men dona;
Par sa force le me toli
Onques pois dreit ne men offri.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11. Pluq. ed. p. 302.

I coincide in the remark of M. Pluquet, that although the account of Wace has great similarity to that of Ordericus, it is yet most probable that it is not a copy, but that each took his facts from some authority common to both. P. 304.

¹¹⁵ Malmsb. 112.

¹¹⁶ They notice, that his two sons, Richard and Rufus, and his nephew William, perished in it, and all while hunting there. The popular feeling was so strongly

The Saxon Chronicle complains heavily of his game laws.¹¹⁷

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The usual severity of his temper has been mentioned by several of his contemporaries¹¹⁸: the exigencies of his life concurred with the manners of his people to produce it. Acceding to his Norman dutchy a child, his barons revolted from their allegiance; and he had many fierce conflicts to endure, in his maturer age, before he could subdue them. The stern virtues and great energy of his character, became, by their very vigor and frequent excitation, harshness, cruelty, and irascibility.¹¹⁹ But his mind was of a superior cast. It had the vices of a semi-barbarous age, of a deficient education, and uncor-

excited on the subject, that it became a tradition, that whoever should hunt there on the anniversary of his birthday, would become blind or suffer some calamity. See Robert of Gloucester, vol. ii. p. 376.

¹¹⁷ "He appointed many deer-forests, and he established many laws concerning them; that whosoever should slay hart or hind, man should blind him. He forbad harts and boars to be taken away. He so very much loved wild deer as if he were their father. So he ordered of hares, that they must go free. His great men complained of this, and the poor men murmured." Sax. Chr. p. 296.

¹¹⁸ The excuse which his friends made for deserting him on his death, was, that he was a savage: ut barbarum nequiter deseruerunt. Ord. Vit. 661. Eadmer remarks his 'feritas' qua multis videbatur sevus et formidabilis, p. 13.; which corresponds with Malmsbury's facie fera, p. 112. All active worldly minds tend to this defect, as their bodily constitution declines; and where it is not counteracted by the better habits of their surrounding society, or by more influencing moral and religious principles, it displays itself in great cruelty. Herod, Nero, our Hen. VIII., Louis XI. and many others, in all countries, and prominently in Turkey and Morocco, are but illustrations of the general principle, when it is allowed to get into activity. The facts collected by Sir Walter Raleigh, in his History of the World, of the cruelties of Alexander the Great, show, that even younger minds of once nobler pith, are corruptible into an inhumanity that we now abhor.

¹¹⁹ The Saxon Chronicler speaks of him fairly: "King William was a very wise man, and very powerful; more honored and much stronger than any of his forefathers. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but stern above measure to those men that withstood his will." P. 294. Robert of Gloucester expresses himself in similar terms:—

Kyng Wyllam was to mylde men,
Debonere ynou;
Ac to men that him wythsede,
To all sturnhede he drou.

Vol. ii. p. 369.

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pendent
conduct
towards
the Pope
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rected selfishness, but none of the degrading follies of the voluptuary. It was always bold, judicious, decisive and indefatigable. Ambition often hardened his heart, and jealousy contracted it; but when these evil passions slumbered, his government was just, intelligent and beneficial.¹²⁰

His tender affection and fidelity to his queen, show his susceptibility of the best sympathies of our nature; and his behaviour to Edgar Etheling was truly magnanimous, where few princes have the courage to be so. Pursuing the customs and policy of his ancestors in Normandy, he exacted of all the higher orders of the clergy, obedience to his laws, without any excuse.¹²¹ His conduct to the Pope displayed that determined dignity of mind in the sovereign, in his public transactions, which is the best guardian of his people's honor. He would not suffer any one to receive the Pope elected at Rome, as the apostolical father, without his permission, nor to introduce the papal letters or bulls until he had first inspected them. When the Legate required him to do homage to the Roman See, his answer to the Pope himself, the most formidable Gregory VII., was,

¹²⁰ He drew a picture of his Normans on his death bed, which two of them have transmitted to us. In Wace it is, "They are a proud people; preux and valiant knights conquering in all countries. If they have a good chieftain they are greatly to be dreaded. But if they have not a seignor whom they fear, who constrains and oppresses them, they will be all in evil deeds, and neither be honorable or just. They must be trodden on and bent and kept under foot, and he who does so to them may use them at his need. They are haughty and fierce, boastful and vain-glorious. They must always be kept subdued, for they are ready and strong to resist and battle." Rom. Rou, p. 290—94. The words of Ordericus are rather more guarded: "If the Normans are kept under a good and rigid government, they are most brave and invincible. They surpass all men in difficulties, and are superior to every enemy; but if not so coerced, they will consume and tear each other to pieces. They love rebellion. They desire seditions. They are ready for every wickedness. They must therefore be ruled by the strong coercion of what is right, and compelled to take the part of justice by the bridle of discipline. If they be allowed to live as they please, without a yoke, they will be like a wild ass, and both they and their princes will be involved in penury and confusion." Ord. Vit. p. 656.

¹²¹ Eadmer, p. 6.

“ I have been unwilling to do fealty to you hitherto, and I will not do it now ; because I have never promised it, nor do I find that any of my predecessors performed it to yours.”¹²² He would not allow any ecclesiastical council in his kingdom to enjoin or forbid any thing but what he approved, and had first ordained. He permitted none of the bishops to implead, excommunicate, or by any sacerdotal sentence to punish his barons or ministers for any capital crime, unless publicly by his command.¹²³ Hence, though he allowed the bishops to hold an ecclesiastical court distinct from the ancient tribunals of the country, he subjected the ecclesiastical authorities to the superior control of the crown. How important an addition this was to the liberty of the people, the history of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and all countries where the papal church has exerted a superior or independent authority, sufficiently proves.

His religious conduct was correct, according to the customs of the age. He built many monasteries of the rule of St. Benedict ; he invited the best informed monks into his dominions ; he filled the churches with the best pastors he could procure ; and he was respectful to the clergy, without being their slave ; for he dispossessed both bishops and abbots when he thought it necessary. Lanfranc appreciated his character in this respect with much judgment, when he recommended to the Pope to pray for the king’s length of life. “ While he lives, we shall have some peace ; but after his death, we cannot hope to have either peace or any good.”¹²⁴ A prediction of his sagacity, which Rufus took care to fulfil.

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¹²² The king ends his letter with a delicate intimation of rebuke : “ Pray for us, and for the state of our kingdom, for we *loved* your predecessors ; and particularly *desire to love* you sincerely, and to listen to you obediently.” Opera Lanfranci, Ep. 6. p. 305.

¹²³ Eadmer, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Op. Lanfranci, Ep. 1. p. 300. The clergy seem to have lamented his death

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QUEROR.His feudal
donations.

The reign of William has become prominent in our history, for the great revolution which it produced in the internal state of England; and more especially for the establishment of a new aristocracy, which has materially contributed to our constitutional and national improvements.

As his persecutions and their own resentments drove almost all the Anglo-Saxon nobility into revolt or exile, the largest part of the landed property of England fell gradually into his hands. He was obliged to grant what he seized or confiscated, to his clamorous followers; but he made military service the inalienable condition of the donation. This had been customary in England before, to a modified extent¹²⁵; but many lands had become exempt from it, and feeble governments had lost much of the power of enforcing it. It was now imposed as an universal obligation, and its performance was rigidly exacted. This condition of his bounty was made one of the fundamental laws of the kingdom in parliament, where it was ordered that "all earls, bishops, knights, esquires, and freemen, should hold themselves ready in horses and arms to do the king full service, and to go as they ought, and as he by the common counsel of all the kingdom should provide, and as he had granted in hereditary fee."¹²⁶

more than his nobles, if we may judge from Eadmer's hyperbole: "On hearing of his death, we thought we should have died, *præ cordis angustia*," p. 13. But we can hardly reason from rhetoric so extravagant. A writer in the time of his son Henry I. has recorded of him, that "as soon as he was born, he had been placed on the straw which was laid in the house, and there extending his little hands, he grasped the loose stems, and laid his hands full of them upon his breast." *Tayl. Breif. Relatiou*, p. 208. The inference seems to have been, that it prognosticated his future acquisitions. The incident shows that ladies being on such occasions "in the straw," was an ancient reality.

¹²⁵ See *Hist. Ang.-Sax.* vol. ii. p. 485.

¹²⁶ *Leges Will. Conq. ap. Wilkins Leges Saxon*, p. 228. His military grants made 60,000 knights fees in the island. *Ord. Vit.* 523. And this was the number of knights which he called out on the threat of a Danish invasion. *Ib.* p. 649. The *Saxon Chronicler* blames him for letting so many castles be built, p. 295.

It was also William's early and perpetual policy to secure the submission of the country by building castles in every part, and committing them, with grants of lands, to warlike chieftains, on whose fidelity and activity he could rely. He countenanced the erections of fortresses by his military tenants, as their best protection against the disaffection of the country. The laws encouraged the practice. It was declared, by the common council of the nation, that castles, cities, and burghs, were founded for the defence of the kingdom and the people, and ought to be kept in all their rights and liberties. They were directed to be carefully watched, and guarded against the hostile and ill-intentioned; and all markets were to be held there.¹²⁷

This system, while it completed the conquest of the island, after its ineffectual revolt, also filled it with a new military aristocracy; vigorous, from its youth; formidable in its means of offence, from the power necessarily given to it, to effectuate the purpose of its establishments; and independent, in its own domains, of the crown, by the ancient laws and customs of the country. It was an important peculiarity of the Norman conquest, that though it changed the individual persons of the proprietary body of England, it left most of its civil institutions undestroyed, or only new named. The witenagemot survived in the parliament. The earl, the alderman, the knight and the freeman, the gerefafa or mayor, the shire-gerefafa or sheriff; the hundred and the wapentake; the county court; the elective franchises; the cities and burghs, and their various privileges — the former customs, tolls, and services — were all preserved. These were rights of the ancient aristocracy, and of all its minute ramifications, too pleasing

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He encour-
ages the
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¹²⁷ Leg. Wil. Conq. Wilk. pp. 228, 229.

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QUEROR.His laws to
diminish
slavery.

to the new lords of the soil and proprietary body—and too generally useful, not to be carefully retained. Hence it continued to be still an Anglo-Saxon country with a Norman sovereign, and a Norman nobility, clergy, and gentry, amid Saxon franklins, yeomanry, burghers, and freemen.

Many minor innovations—some new domestic manners, and new pursuits of life—must have accompanied the diffusion of the new landlords and masters. But William studied rather to ascertain the ancient customs of the land, and to govern by them, than to subvert them. He directed the laws of Edward the Confessor to be continued and observed, with the additions which the good of the country had made necessary¹²⁸; and he opened an important channel for the augmentation of the free part of the people, by enacting, that the residence of any of the servile portion of the population, for a year and a day, without being claimed, in any city, burgh, walled town or castle, should entitle them to their perpetual liberty.¹²⁹

Nor did this benefit of his legislation to the enslaved rest here. Almost all the rustic population of England was in the servile state, under the different names of Villani, Bordarii, Servi, Cotarii, Coscez: they were attached to the land, sold with it, like the cattle, and were a part of its live feoh, or living money. But the laws of William gave them legal rights, and rescued them from arbitrary bondage. It was enacted, that lords should not deprive their husbandmen of their land, so long as they did the

¹²⁸ Leg. W. Conq. p. 229. The Saxon Chronicler gives this important testimony to the beneficial effect of his general government in that day of violence: "Amongst other things, the good peace which he made in the land is not to be forgotten: so that a man, who had property of his own, might go unhurt over the kingdom, with his bosom full of gold: and no man durst slay another, though he had done never so much evil against him." P. 295.

¹²⁹ Leg. W. Conq. p. 229.

proper service for it; that these cultivators should not be called upon to do any other work than their due service¹³⁰; and, that no man should be sold out of the country.¹³¹ These important provisions rescued the servile peasantry from the caprice and tyranny of their masters, and made the king, whose courts and officers could alone enforce these laws, the popular, beneficial and necessary friend and patron of the great mass of the population of the country. In William's Domesday inquisitions, it was one of the legal inquiries, Whether any of the peasantry had a right of leaving the lands they occupied, and of going where they pleased? and this important privilege was carefully recorded¹³², that they might not be defrauded of it. An easy mode of emancipation was established, which, from its publicity, tended not only to secure the freedom of the liberated, but to give the generous master the satisfaction of knowing, that his bounty was witnessed by the first men of his district. In the full county court, he was to take his slave by the right hand; to deliver him to the sheriff; to declare his manumission; to show him the open door; and to put into his hands the arms of the free, a lance and a sword. The sweetest blessing of life became the legal property of the bondsman: from that hour he was irrevocably free.¹³³

The revenues of the crown were the continuation of those which the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns had enjoyed; and the commissioners were ordered to inquire, all over the kingdom, what payments had been made to Edward the Confessor. We see these carefully recorded in Domesday Book.¹³⁴ In many parts, the

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¹³⁰ Leg. W. Conq. 225. Ingulf. p. 90.

¹³¹ Ib. 229.

¹³² See Domesday Book, passim.

¹³³ Leg. W. Conq. 229.

¹³⁴ Domesday Book, passim. Ordericus says, that the king received from his just revenue, at the rate of sixteen hundred pounds thirty shillings and three half-pence a day, exceptis muneribus regis et reatum redemptionibus aliisque multiplicibus negotiis, which daily increased the king's treasury. P. 523.

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QUEROR.

Norman
conquest
not unfa-
vorable to
liberty :

ancient sum is increased ; but it is probable that the augmentation corresponded with the improved cultivation of the district.

The Norman conquest was, therefore, no abridgment of the liberties of England ; on the contrary, it established, as we have remarked, a powerful and active aristocracy, which was strong enough at times even to give the law to its sovereign, and which was too independent both of king and law, within their own baronies, for the general freedom of the country, when the emancipated population began to multiply. To counteract this evil, the crown steadily promoted the emancipation of the servile, and protected the privileges of the free. It was enacted, that "all free men of the whole kingdom should have and hold their lands and their possessions well and in peace, free from all unjust exaction and contribution, so that nothing be exacted or taken from them but the free service which they owe by law and by the tenure of their lands, and as is appointed and granted to them in hereditary right for ever by the common council of all our kingdom."¹³⁵ All freemen were to take the oath of fealty to the king, and to preserve faithfully his lands and honors, and to defend him against all enemies and strangers.¹³⁶ And thus both king and people had their respective rights acknowledged and protected. It is too generally assumed that the accession of William diminished the beneficial liberty of the nation. By his stronger exaction from his tenants in chief, or barons, of fealty, of attendance in his court, and of military service ; and by leading the parliaments to greater vigilance and control, both in the judicial and legislative capacity, over all classes, he began the habit of subjecting the great and warlike to the dominion of government and

¹³⁵ Leg. Wil. p. 228

¹³⁶ Ibid.

law. But the country, after the conquest, increased rapidly in the number of its freemen, burghers, traders, and middle classes; and a greater spirit and enjoyment of liberty and comfort became diffused through the whole country. It is expressly mentioned by the Saxon chronicler, that when he invaded Wales in 1081, "He there freed many hundred men."¹³⁷

One great advantage derived by England from the Norman conquest, was the new spring and spirit which it gave to the national mind. All the torpor, debility, and degradation of sensuality and sloth — without literature, arts, or laudable pursuits — and all the factions and vices of a corrupted aristocracy, and debased, yet powerful clergy, had enervated the Anglo-Saxon intellect; and were precluding its improvement, and palsyng the operation of the wise institutions of Alfred and his forefathers. The universal destruction of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, and the sufferings and consumption of a portion of the Anglo-Saxon population, ended this state of affluent effeminacy. A new race of men was spread over the whole island, with a peculiar principle actuating every one to excellence. This was that love of glory, which made every Norman mind restless, till it had acquired personal improvement and personal distinction. The wealth and situation of England opened new avenues to fame, and drew from all parts of Europe the most aspiring and the most able, to get honors and profit. A new creative vigor appeared afterwards, in every path of human merit. Activity and emulation became the characterising qualities of the nation; and the different classes, attaching themselves to various pursuits, infused the spirit and enlarged the boundaries of improvement in

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Occasions
great im-
prove-
ments in
England.

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all. In war, in religion, literature, trade, and amusements, the Anglo-Normans became equally fervent and indefatigable. A steady and effective judgment and perseverance appeared in their undertakings; and tho' their energies frequently deviated into civil turbulence, yet the progress of the nation, as a whole, never intermitted. The change produced in England was so great, in the eyes of a foreign writer contemporary with this period, that he is pleased to say that "William *mitigated* our barbarous manners, and amplified our cultivation of Christianity, which, before his coming, had been in a very low state."¹³⁸ We have already seen by Guitmund's letter, that the Anglo-Saxons had been considered by him as a barbarous people.

The curfew.

That William ordered all fires to be put out, on the tolling of the curfew bell, to prevent nightly meetings for conspiracies, has been the popular belief, from the assertion of Polydore Virgil. That there was a time named and known from some such practice is clear, from a law of Edward I., which forbids any one to be in the streets after 'coever-fu.'¹³⁹ But Malmsbury's intimation of Henry I.'s partial restoration of the use of lights to his court, which had been intermitted in his *brother's* reign, refers the prohibition to William Rufus.¹⁴⁰

Domesday
book.

The most important financial operation of his

¹³⁸ Hist. Franc. p. 87. ed. Francof. 1596.

¹³⁹ Que nul seit si hardi estre trove alaunt ne batraunt parmis les ruwes de la cité apres coeverfu. Stat. civit. Lond. 13 Edw. I.

¹⁴⁰ Malmsb. l. 5. p. 156. Stow's account is, "Hee (Henry) restored to his subjects the use of lights in the nights, which lights, and also fire, had bene forbidden by his father to be used after ringing of a bell at eight of the clock at night," p. 135 This passage, written 500 years after the event, may be only the echo, decies repetita, of a popular story; if the forbidding order was made, it may be considered rather as a cautionary provision of police, in an hour of perilous rebellion, than as an act or evidence of systematic or established tyranny. It was obviously meant to prevent conspiracies, not to destroy the general liberties of the country. We must also recollect, that in that age, eight o'clock was the usual time of all classes retiring to rest. It has been unhappily found necessary to make some regulations

reign, was the inquest taken throughout the country, of the quantity of lands chargeable with military service—the great proprietors—their servile population, and established payments, and detailed in the record which is the celebrated Domesday book.¹⁴¹ It was meant to ascertain the legal rights of the crown; and, perhaps, as the chroniclers intimate, to acquire a knowledge of the state of the property of the country. The facts required were for the most part ascertained by the oaths of a competent number of persons in every district.¹⁴²

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of this sort in Ireland, in our days; but these are manifestly the creatures of a temporary exigency, anomalous to the real and enjoyed freedom of the country, and not meant to destroy this, nor likely to be continued when the necessity has passed away.

¹⁴¹ The second volume, as printed, of the Domesday Book, ends its account of Suffolk with this annotation: "in the year 1086, this description was made, &c." The same date is given by the old chroniclers, Flor. Wig. p. 449. Hoveden, 460. Sim. Dunel. 213. Its objects are fully described by the Saxon Chronicler, p. 289.

¹⁴² The year 1086 is remarked by the contemporary Saxon Chronicler for its bad weather, dearth of cattle, and deficient harvest. In the next year, a pestilential sickness, which he calls "Drife," that may mean fever or diarrhœa, afflicted almost every other person, and many fatally. Famine, from the want of produce in the preceding year, followed, and many hundreds of men perished from want. P. 291.

CHAP. V.

History of WILLIAM II. surnamed Rufus, or the Red.

1087—1100.

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V.
Corona-
tion, 1087.

WILLIAM had reached the English coast, when the tidings of his father's death overtook him. He hastened to Lanfranc with the dying king's request, that the archbishop should exert his influence to procure William to be elected to the throne of England; the prelate complied with his master's last injunction, and was successful in his solicitation. While Robert was securing Normandy to himself, his younger brother, William, popularly called the Red King¹, from his complexion, or Rufus in his latin etymon, was chosen and crowned king of England. He took possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, and distributed it in the liberalities which his father's charity or his own policy suggested.²

Odo's ma-
chinations.

Odo soon verified the Conqueror's prediction of his turbulence, by exciting the Norman barons into a confederacy to place Robert on the English throne. Odo is described as a man of great talents and energy, but misplaced in the church. Ambitious, sensual, and daring, he courted the pursuits of the active world, and spurned his ecclesiastical restraints.

¹ Thus Wace calls him "Le reis ros." MS. Bib. Reg. — "Willame li ros," p. 304. Pluq. — So Robert of Gloucester: —

Wyllam the rede King anon so he
adde tydyng
Of hys fader dethe, he let hym
crownyn to Kyng. P. 383.

And Brunnes Langtoft: — "To William the rede King is given the coroun." P. 85.

² Sax. Chron. p. 192. Ingulf states the treasure to have consisted of sixty thousand pounds of silver, besides gold and jewels. P. 106. About this time Ingulf ends his short history, which Petrus Blessensis a while continued.

But many useful qualities accompanied his vices. He was munificent to the poor; he built several splendid edifices; he favored the progress of the monastic order, then the best instrument of civilization; he sent many persons to the cities, where they might acquire what was at that time called philosophy, and he supported them liberally while they pursued their studies.³ But he encouraged the Norman barons to believe, that as they had possessions in England as well as Normandy, it was impossible to please two masters, and therefore that one portion of their property would be in jeopardy, unless both countries were under the same head. This head, as Robert was so tractable, and William unmanageable, ought for their interest to be Robert.

The character of Robert⁴ was a display of some great qualities, debilitated by vice. He was brave, generous, and mild; but so changeable as to be always indecisive and unsteady. Sometimes daring the most chivalric actions; but in general slothful and voluptuous. Careless of truth, and prodigal of promises, he was soon despised for his falsehoods and bad faith. So credulous, that the ill-designing could practise upon him with facility; and so ductile that even the weak could rule him; his government was neither respected by the great nor popular with the multitude. Too anxious, from his vanity, to please all, he refused no one. Hence he wasted his noble patrimony in making others powerful enough to despise and defy him. The nobles, relying upon his weaknesses, turned the royal officers out of their castles, and claimed and exerted an independence

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Robert's
character.

³ Ord. Vit. 665. He had earnestly sought the papacy; and filled the wallets of the pilgrims with letters and money, to purchase the dignity at Rome. Malmsb.

⁴ Being short and thick in stature, Robert was called by his father, Court-hose, or Short-boots. Ord. Vit. 664. Wace's description is, "He was very little, but exceedingly fat. He had short legs and large bones. Hence he was booted with short hosen." P. 304.

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which destroyed the peace and happiness of Normandy. It was the firm maintenance of the royal authority alone, which at that time could awe the rapacious and quarrelsome barons into mutual tranquillity. Their delight was to attack each other, from the love of plunder, the desire of martial praise, the necessity of gratifying their needy followers, and perhaps the want of other employment. Hence, when the power of government relaxed, these feuds and violences revived; and the feeble and irresolute administration of Robert filled Normandy with bloodshed and rapine.⁵

Robert
invades
England;
1089.

The claim of Robert to succeed his father in England was supported by the respected rights of primogeniture. But the Anglo-Saxon crown had always been elective; the Conqueror himself had sanctioned the custom, by submitting to it; and Rufus had sought his dignity through the same venerated channel, by which the two next sovereigns also acceded. Primogeniture, therefore, however absolute in determining the succession to landed property, gave at that time no right to the crown of England, independent of the election of its parliamentary assembly. Having secured this title, the power of Rufus rested on the foundation most congenial with the feelings and institutions of the nation, and from their partiality received a popular support, which was soon experienced to be impregnable.

is disap-
pointed.

The danger compelled the king to court his people by promises to diminish their grievances⁶; which drew thirty thousand knights spontaneously to his banners, happy to have got a sovereign distinct from

⁵ We derive this picture from Ord. Vit. his contemporary, p. 664. Robert soon becoming necessitous, sold the peninsula of Cotantin, which extends from Cherbourg to Avranches, and formed one-third of his dutchy, to his brother Henry, for three thousand pounds of silver. *Ib.* p. 665.

⁶ He promised them, says the Saxon Chronicler, "better law than ever before was in this land, and all unlawful exaction forbad; and granted to men their woods and hunting." P. 300. But, "hit ne stod nan hwile."

hated Normandy. The invasion of Robert, thus resisted by the English people, effected nothing but some temporary devastations. The bishops and barons interfered to sooth Robert, and to effect a reconciliation; and the elder prince agreed to retire from England, on a compact that he should be paid, for life, five thousand pounds every year; to which Rufus willingly assented.⁷ Odo, with some of the chief barons who had joined him, took refuge in Rochester. The king swore they should be all hanged. His nobles at last obtained a promise that the offenders might be allowed to leave the country. The concession of this boon encouraged Odo to ask another — that the royal trumpets might not sound their usual flourish of triumph as he and his friends quitted the castle. But nothing could induce the king to forego this gratification, and Odo was compelled to evacuate the place amid the exultations of the besieging army and popular taunts. His proud spirit was stung with vexation at the disgrace, and menaced a revenge which he had never the power to inflict.⁸

The state of Normandy, under Robert's administration, for some time furnished an ample field for his ambitious uncle's activity. It continued to exhibit a negligent government in its most vicious form. The sovereign pursued his personal indulgencies, and left the country to itself: Normandy therefore became, what all countries without a prudent and vigilant government will be, while human passions operate, a scene of the strong and turbulent struggling with each other, and oppressing the weak and peaceful. Odo's advice to Robert, to terminate

His ill-go-
vernment
in Nor-
mandy.

⁷ "Ke li reis a Robert donreit chescun an, mez tant com vivreit cinc mile livres de deniers." Wace, p. 309.

⁸ Ord. Vit. 666—669. Griffith ap Cynan, king of Wales, took this opportunity of making a predatory invasion. See Hanes Griff. Welsh Archæology, vol. ii, p. 598.

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this disgraceful state, by exerting his power against the lawless and violent, was wise; but in selecting the particular barons, for the first objects of the attack, he aimed at indulging his own vindictive and political purposes. Robert subdued those whom he assailed; but his exertions soon subsided into his habitual inactivity, and he was contented with promises of tranquillity, from such as found themselves unable to resist him. Their resentments increased the influence of William in the dutchy, and Odo's politics only facilitated the reannexation of Normandy to England.⁹

His peace
with Wil-
liam.

But this event was not completed in William's reign. When he retorted the attempt of Robert by an invasion of Normandy, the great barons of both countries found themselves endangered by the conflict, and combined their interest to persuade their respective sovereigns to a fraternal pacification. The most important article of their reconciliation provided, that if either should die without issue the survivor should inherit his dominions. Hostilities were then abandoned; mutual courtesies ensued; and Robert visited England as his brother's guest.¹⁰

William's
character.

The mind of William the Red King was cast in no common mould. It had all the greatness and the defects of the chivalric character in its strong but rudest state. Impetuous, daring, original, magnanimous, and munificent; it was also harsh, tyrannical, and selfish; conceited of its own powers, loose in its moral principles, and disdainful consequences. The anecdotes which his contemporaries have transmitted to us concerning him, breathe all the life of reality, and are too original and consistent to have been invented by monkish chroniclers.¹¹

⁹ Ord. Vit. 672—676.

¹⁰ Sax. Chron. 302—304. Flor. Wig. 456. The king of France had at first armed to support Robert, but afterwards abandoned him.

¹¹ Malmesbury speaks of William with great affection and admiration, though he freely exposes his defects, l. 4. Pp. 119—122.

As he was hunting in a forest in England, a messenger arrived to tell him that the city of Mans, which his brother had lately given to him on the Continent, was besieged by another claimant. He turned his horse's head immediately, and rode to the sea coast. Being reminded that he must first prepare an army and supplies, he exclaimed, "I will see who will follow me. Do you think I shall not have men? If I know my young friends, they will even dare the shipwreck to come to me." He reached the sea almost alone, and found the atmosphere cloudy, the wind adverse and sweeping the ocean into tempestuous billows. Notwithstanding these appearances, he insisted on sailing; and when the pilot begged him to wait till the weather moderated, "I never heard of a king perishing at sea," he replied; "weigh the anchor."¹² He crossed the ocean in safety; and on the very rumor of his arrival, the hostile baron raised the siege. But the king pursued him till he was taken prisoner. "I have you now, my master," said William, exultingly; but the baron, whose pride of mind was equal to his own, indignantly answered, "By accident you have got me; but if I could escape, I know what I should do." William, to whose heart fear was a stranger, and who felt a threat as a question of his own prowess, cried out, with the romantic spirit of an Alexander, "Knave! what would you do? Hence—go—fly—I give you leave to do all that you can; and by the holy face of Lucca, if you should conquer me, I will ask nothing of you for this lenity."¹³

¹² Malmsb. 124. This writer discredits the supposition that the king imitated Cæsar; and his reason is, that William was so completely illiterate as not to have heard any history. *Non erat ei tantum studii vel otii ut literas unquam audiret.*

¹³ This baron was Helias de Flechia, who, finding the Italian prince, that was sent from Liguria to take possession of Mans as his family inheritance, too feeble-minded to support his claims, had purchased his right to the county for ten thousand shillings. *Ord. Vit. 684.* I had translated Malmsbury's phrase, *per vultum de Luca*, "The face of St. Luke; but I prefer M. Pluquet's idea, that the king

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He displayed a greatness of mind, while besieging Henry in St. Michael's Mount, on an incident where many would have been alive only to resentment. Coming out of his tent, he saw some hostile forces on an eminence, riding vauntingly about; without reflecting on their numbers, or confident that no one could personally resist him, he presumptuously rushed on them alone and unsupported. His horse was soon killed; but he continued to fight bravely on foot, till his armor was pierced, and he was thrown to the ground. His antagonist grasped his sword, to give the mortal blow; when William cried out, "Hold, scoundrel! I am the king of England." The soldier's arm was stayed by his reverence and surprise. They raised William from the ground, and mounted him on another horse. The king, looking around with his piercing eyes, asked which of them had thrown him; the soldier avowed the deed, but declared his ignorance of his rank. "By the holy face of Lucca," said the magnanimous king, "you shall now be my soldier, and under my banners¹⁴ enjoy the reward of honorable knighthood."

But the spirit of the chivalric character, and of

meant and referred to the fabulous picture of our Saviour said to be at Lucca. He describes this "as a representation of Christ clothed in splendid apparel, and crowned with jewels." There is a print of it in Milton's *Voyage en Italie*, v. 2. p. 321. Rom. de Rou, p. 328. The oaths of this day were very strange. William's grandfather, Robert duke of Normandy, swore "by the soul of my belly." Anon. Relat. p. 187. printed with Taylor on Gavelkind.

¹⁴ Malm. 121. Wace thus describes William's peril on this occasion: "The king was stationed at Avranches and the duke at Genes. They were seen to just often and to tourney individually, between the mount and Ardeness and the river of Coiseon. Every day at the retiring of the flood, the chevaliers came to just against each other. The king was borne down and struck with many lances. The breast plate of his horse was broken, and also the two belts. The king fell from his saddle, yet clung to it, and did not lose it. He was freed, and jumped on his feet, and defended himself with his sword. He did not let go his saddle, but held and kept it well. He called to his loyal knights, and a crowd of vassals came to him. The Normans succoured him, and the English who were with him received many a great blow till they had rescued him. They led him safely out, and then the king began to joke on his defence of his saddle, and of the great blows he had endured. He said, laughing, that he ought to have been his own guarantee. It was a shame to lose what was his own. He thought the Breton would vaunt "greatly for having carried it away." Rom. Rou, p. 315.

William, was capricious, and rather the result of personal pride than of moral feeling. William had no repugnance to struggle to dispossess Robert of Normandy; nor did those two princes hesitate to unite to deprive their brother Henry of his possessions, and to besiege him in his castle. In this siege Robert surpassed William in generosity. Henry, in distress for water, avowed the situation of his garrison to his brothers; but added, that it was unworthy of them to gain a conquest by a want of one of the common elements of life—the soldier's triumph was in the superiority of his valor, and it was by bravery that victory should be achieved. Robert felt the chivalric appeal, and immediately relaxed the siege, till Henry was supplied. But William was enraged at the indulgence, and reproached the duke for his ignorance of the effectual modes of waging war, since he could thus relieve an enemy. Robert nobly answered, "Absurd! ought I to let our brother die of thirst? If we had lost him, how could we replace him?"¹⁵ The conduct of Robert, in this instance, shows that there was in those days some connection between the qualities which were considered as weakness of character, and the sympathetic virtues which are so essential to human happiness and improvement. The milder feelings were budding in Robert's breast; but his dissolute vices destroyed him.

¹⁵ Malm. 121. Wace thus details this incident. "Henry maintained his mountain fiercely. He had plenty of food, but great scarcity of drink. They had quite enough to eat, but they found their wine scanty. When Henry had suffered from this a considerable time, he sent mildly to duke Robert, and asked him for some wine, not needing any thing else. Robert sent him some, a tonnel full of wine very soon, the best which he could find in his army, and all the day granted a truce, that those in the mount might furnish themselves with water. They might take it safely as they pleased, and fear nothing. Then you might see the servants go about and carry water in their vessels. The duke Robert was much blamed for this. The king was in great wrath when he heard of it. He was indignant, that his enemies should drink of the best wine that he had. They ought to have been famished out. But the duke stopped him: "Be not displeased with me if I have relieved Henry from his want. It would have been a felon's act in me, and I should have done villany to have denied him victuals and drink, when he chose himself to ask for it." Pp. 316, 317.

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While Lanfranc lived, William had a counsellor whom he respected, and whose good opinion he was careful to preserve: yet, even under Lanfranc's administration, the selfish spirit occasionally burst out. To secure his accession, the king was profuse in his patriotic promises to his people; but when the danger of competition had passed, he forgot his engagements. The archbishop recalled them to his recollection; and William felt it no disgrace to reply, "Who is he that can perform all that he promises?"¹⁶ So little was the true spirit of kingly honor, or of wise probity, at that time understood.

Changes on
Lanfranc's
death.

The death of Lanfranc removed the only man whose wisdom and influence could have meliorated the king's ardent, but undisciplined temper. It was his misfortune, on this event, to chuse for his favorite minister, an able, but an unprincipled man, who considered the replenishing the exchequer as the summit of ministerial excellence, and as a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice of the royal character. He first caused all the lands of England to be measured. As the public taxations were then collected from the quantity of hydes which they contained, and as this quantity had been taken upon their former cultivation and ancient estimation, it was obvious that a new admeasurement would greatly increase the royal revenue. But it was a measure unpopular, from the additional burthen which it occasioned; and was felt to be unjust, because the ratio of the established taxations had become a constitutional privilege to the people, and no public necessity demanded the increase. This novelty was followed by another, which deeply affected the whole ecclesiastical body. The minister advised the king, on the death of every prelate, to seize all his temporal pos-

¹⁶ Eadmer, 14.

sessions, and allowing from the incomes only a scanty subsistence for the new dignitary and chapter, to reserve the rest of their produce for his knights and officers. The great revenues obtained from this violent innovation, tempted both the king and his minister to increase its productiveness, by deferring the nomination of every new prelate for an indefinite period.¹⁷ Thus he kept many bishoprics, and among others the see of Canterbury, vacant for some years; till a severe illness alarming his conscience, he suddenly appointed Anselm to the dignity.¹⁸ Anselm was an intelligent and well intentioned man: but as the king was likely to pursue his system of pecuniary encroachments, Anselm saw that it would be his duty to maintain the ancient rights and property of his see. Hence, when the king, raising himself in his bed, said, "I chuse Anselm to be the man," while the bystanders were loudly applauding, Anselm turned pale, and trembled, and refused to accept the promotion.¹⁹ His friends, who perceived that the only chance for preserving the hierarchy in England, was by taking the king's nomination while he was willing to make it, earnestly pressed him to comply. His answer expressed his just conception of the king's character: "You are joining an untamed bull and an old and feeble sheep in the same plough: the sheep will be dragged by his wild and fierce companion through thorns and briars, till she has

¹⁷ Ord. Vit. 678, 679. The minister was named Ranulph, but was soon called Flambard, or a Burning Flame. He was a clericus who had risen from poverty by his talents. He is described by Vitalis as keen, sensual, ambitious, rapacious, cruel, and prodigal; and more versed in sophistry than literature. One of his principles of government was to commute capital offences for pecuniary fines. Malmsbury pourtrays him unfavorably, 123. But their descriptions may be strongly charged.

¹⁸ Anselm had been invited by the Earl of Chester into England. One of his admirers praising his disinterestedness to William, said, "He loves nothing but his Maker." "No," exclaimed William with a shout of laughter, "not the archbishopric of Canterbury? But," adding his usual oath, "neither he nor any but myself shall now be the archbishop." Eadmer, p. 16. Malmsb. de Gest. Pont. 217.

¹⁹ Malmsb. de Gest. Pont. l. i. p. 218.

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ence with
Anselm.

lost her wool, milk, and lambs, and she will then become of no use either to herself or to others." But as any possibility of good was better than the evil actually endured, his friends continued their solicitations, till Anselm accepted the dignity.²⁰

While the king's illness bore a fatal aspect, he was penitent and submissive: he made his confession, and promised amendment of all his errors. He commanded all his prisoners to be released, all his debtors to be forgiven, and all offences to be remitted; and he vowed, that if he recovered, he would govern the people by good and righteous laws.²¹ But his good resolutions ceased with his illness; for he was scarcely recovered, when he sent to detain all the prisoners who had not been released, reclaimed the debts he had absolved, and renewed the abuses he had promised to reform.²²

His disagreement with Anselm soon began. The prelate injudiciously began the battle by asking the king to restore, not only the possessions of his see, which were enjoyed by Lanfranc — a fair request — but also the lands which had before that time belonged to it; a demand that, after so many years alteration of property, could not be complied with without great disturbance of other persons. Anselm also exacted of the king that in all things which concerned the church, his counsels should be taken in preference to every other; and declared, without qualification, that he would himself receive and implicitly obey as

²⁰ Eadmer, 16—19, describes in full detail the persevering refusal of Anselm, till his fingers were unclosed, and the crosier forced into his hands. It is clear that he foresaw, from the king's temper, the struggle which followed, and his love of repose induced him to endeavour to avoid it. But Eadmer confesses, that "pro usu terræ homo regis factus est." P. 20. On the day that Anselm took possession of his dignity at Canterbury with great public pomp, the king's ministers instituted a legal process against him; but the words "eodem die placitum instituit" do not authorise the statement that "Flambard arrested him in the street as he was going in procession." The offence is not detailed; Eadmer only mentions that it "ad jura ecclesiæ pertinebat."

²¹ Eadmer, p. 16.

²² Ib. p. 19.

Pope, that pontiff, whom the king had rejected. He required of the king a formal assent to these points, who immediately refused to grant him what his predecessor had not possessed.²³ When the prelate brought him five hundred pounds as a voluntary present for his Norman war, the king refused it, expecting it would be doubled. Upon Anselm's asking him to appoint abbots to the vacant abbeys, he replied fiercely, "What is that to you; are not the abbeys mine? Do as you please with your own farms, and I will do as I like with my abbeys." The archbishop replying, that he ought to defend and keep them, and not to invade and plunder them, the king became indignant: "You know that you are saying what is offensive to me: your predecessor would not have dared to have held this language to my father; and I will do nothing for you."²⁴ As the king had appointed Anselm to the metropolitan honors, in the alarm of a doubtful malady, but had changed his feelings on his recovery, it is probable that he saw the prelate afterwards with displeasure, as a memorial of his own weakness. On the other hand, though Anselm, as a literary man, was an honor and a benefit to his age, yet his monastic and studious habits prevented him from having that social wisdom, that knowledge of human nature, that discreet use of his own virtuous firmness, and that mild management of turbulent power, which might have enabled him to have exerted much of the influence of Lanfranc over the mind of his sovereign. From the conversation already mentioned, it is clear that William thought he used a style of reproach not sufficiently respectful. Another incident proves that the archbishop had a sturdiness of mind, which would not even attempt to conciliate the king, when

²³ Eadmer, p. 19.²⁴ *Ib.* pp. 19, 20.

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he had the opportunity. It was hinted to him, that altho William had refused the offered gift of five hundred pounds, because he hoped by the refusal to stimulate him to increase it; yet as that result had failed, that it would please him to have it offered again. Anselm was unwise enough to refuse: and when his counsellors reminded him, that it would be only giving what he had proposed to give, he persevered in his refusal, on the ground, that he had disposed of part to the poor. Few minds could be so weak as not to have discerned that this impolitic parsimony, or rather perverseness, could only exasperate William, by an unnecessary provocation. The king, being informed of his refusal, gave this answer: "I hated him yesterday; I hate him still more to-day; and let him know, that I shall hate him more bitterly, the longer I live. For my father or my archbishop, I will never esteem him; I abhor his benedictions and his prayers. He may go where he will, he will never find me sailing after him."²⁵

It is obvious, from these circumstances, that independently of all political differences, Anselm had so conducted himself as to excite in his sovereign a personal antipathy, which, if it might have been prevented, cannot be excused, as it deprived the country of all the benefits which might have resulted from his judicious councils. The fact seems to have been, that William's faults excited the ill humor of the archbishop; and he at last determined to oppose what, by a wiser conduct, he should have tried to have governed:²⁶ but the king's mind had a daring presumption which rushed sometimes to the very verge

²⁵ Eadmer, p. 25.

²⁶ Anselm was injudicious enough to take offence at the courtiers introducing a fashion of long hair, at their having it daily combed, and at their walking delicately. He refused his benediction on Ash Wednesday to those who would not cut their hair. Eadmer, p. 23. Such, however, was the mistaken judgment of his friend and encomiast, Eadmer, that he calls this conduct acting "*prudenter et libere.*" Ibid.

of impiety²⁷, and alarmed the bishop into a dislike and displeasure that increased the evil of their mutual hostility.

In this state of mutual aversion, every further communication hastened the public rupture. Anselm asked the royal leave to go to the Roman pontiff, for the pall—the confirmation of his dignity. “From which Pope,” (for there were two disputing competitors at that time) “do you mean to ask it?” inquired the king. “From Urban,” was the answer. “But you know that I have never accepted him for Pope; and I, like my father, will allow no one to be received as Pope in England, independently of my permission. You might as well try to take away my crown, as to dispossess me of this power.” This was the correct feeling of an English sovereign. But Anselm reminded the king, that at his first nomination he had declared he should side with Urban; and he added, that he would not now forsake him. William, with great emotion, told him, that obedience to the Roman see, in contradiction to his sovereign’s will, was incompatible with his duty to that sovereign. Anselm desired that a meeting of the Great Council of the kingdom might be called, but protested that he would rather quit the country than fail in his obedience to the vicar of Saint Peter.²⁸

The parliament met at Rockingham. At a private meeting of the ecclesiastical members, Anselm endeavoured to impress them with his feelings; but they intimated to him in secret, what they avowed openly in parliament, that they should not support

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²⁷ A striking instance of this tendency appeared in his insane answer to the Bishop of Rochester, who, on congratulating him on his recovery from his disease, expressed a hope that he would act more circumspectly in things that concerned the Most High. “Bishop! by the Lucca face, he shall never find me good, for having brought so much evil upon me.” Ead. p. 19. It is surprising that the human mind can deviate into such absurdity, as for a moment to place itself as the antagonist and censor of its Creator. Yet how often is it done!

²⁸ Eadmer, 25, 26.

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him against the king on this question; and they recommended him to abide by the decision of the Great Council. Unfortunately, Anselm rejected with disdain this patriotic feeling, and declared his unqualified reference to the will of the Pope. The parliament was agitated with indignation: they threatened to carry his words to the king. He chose to be his own messenger, and went himself to the king, to repeat what he had expressed. He had now visibly made up his mind to be the martyr of the papal supremacy; and he acted upon his determination with great courage and constancy. The king endeavoured to dispossess him of the see; but finding himself unable to effectuate a measure so violent, the proceedings were suspended.²⁹

Urban, after this, contrived to appease William, by appearing to favor some of his measures; which occasioned the sarcastic remark, "If Rome prefers money to justice, what consolation can they hope to receive in their oppressions, who have not the means of giving what will alone procure it?"³⁰ The king now ordered Urban to be acknowledged as Pope; and this terminated one of the points of difference between him and the archbishop.

But new enmities soon burst out. The king returned from an expedition against the Welsh, accused Anselm of sending, for the knights he was bound to provide, persons neither fit for war, nor properly supplied. And Anselm, seeing the churches and abbeys oppressed in their property, by the royal orders, resolved to visit Rome, and to concert with

²⁹ Eadmer, 27. 31. To what an extent Anselm was urging the pretensions of the papal power, we may judge from his own words to the king: "As to your commanding me to swear never to appeal again to St. Peter on any subject, I say, that to swear this, is to abjure St. Peter; but to abjure St. Peter is undoubtedly to abjure Christ, who has made him Prince over his church." Eadmer, 40.

³⁰ Eadmer, 32. The Pope, at William's request, sent the pall to Anselm in England, instead of compelling the Archbishop, as was usual, to go to Rome for it. P. 33.

the Pope the measures most adapted to overawe the king. It was necessary to ask leave to quit the country; this was peremptorily refused; the request was twice renewed, with the like success. Again the bishops declined to support him; and William threatened, that if he did go to Rome, he would seize all the possessions of the archbishopric. Anselm declared, that he would rather travel naked and on foot, than desist from his resolution: and he went to Dover with his pilgrim's staff and wallet. He was searched before his departure, that he might carry away no money; and was at last allowed to sail. But the king immediately executed his threat, and sequestered all his lands and property. This was about three years before the end of the reign. Anselm sent his complaint to the Pope, and soon arrived at Rome. Urban wrote to William, exhorting him to restore what he had seized, but abstained from more violent measures; and Anselm continued in Italy till William's death.³¹

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The possession of Normandy was a leading object of William's ambition, and he gradually attained a preponderance in it. His first invasion compelled Robert to make some cessions; these were increased on his next attack: and when Robert determined to join the Crusaders, he mortgaged the whole of Normandy to William, for three years, for ten thousand marks.³²

Incidents
of his reign.

He obtained the usual success of a powerful invasion in Wales. The natives were overpowered

³¹ Eadmer, who accompanied the Archbishop in his exile, details these transactions, 37—50.

³² Ord. Vit. 693. 697. Eadmer, 35. Sax. Chron. 314. In the year 1091, Ordericus introduces a dream of a priest, which displays some fancy, but which is more remarkable for showing that *Blacks* were then known in Europe: he mentions a trunk carried by two *Æthiops*; and afterwards, mentioning an army quite black, calls it an *Agmen Æthiopum*, 694, 695. But we learn the same curious fact from Domesday Book, where one is mentioned with the *Servi* in England. In the enumeration of Gloucestershire, we have *octo servi et unus Afrus*. P. 165. There is also a person called *Matthus de Mauritania*, p. 170.

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on the plains, but annoyed the invaders in their mountains.³³

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He marched an army against Malcolm king of Scotland, to punish his incursions. Robert advised the Scottish king to conciliate William; Malcolm yielded to his counsel, and accompanied Robert to the English court: but, on his return, was treacherously attacked by Mowbray, the earl of Northumbria, and killed. William regretted the perfidious cruelty of the action; and on a subsequent occasion, when Mowbray, by his arbitrary depredations and conspiracies, provoked the exertion of his power, defeated and consigned him to a dungeon.³⁴

His temper.

The government of William appears to have been beneficial both to England and Normandy. To the church it was oppressive. But in that day, when a serious contest had begun, whether civil monarchy, or hierarchy, should be the actual government of Europe, he may have felt the importance of diminishing the power of the church: and it was the vicious propensity of his temper, to act on his impressions with violence and precipitation. His character was as arbitrary as his father's, but more generous and spirited. He suspected no one; he feared no one—scarcely, it is said, even the Supreme. In public, his gait was erect; his countenance proud; his eyes fixing and intimidating; his voice loud and

³³ See Sax. Chron. 312. 315.; and the Hanes Gruffud ap Cynan, p. 598. This royal Welsh adventurer, whose life was full of vicissitudes, which his hanes, or history, narrates, surprised one of William's barons. Gruffyth, with three ships, attacked the border lord's territory. The sea ebbing, left the vessels on dry land, while Gruffyth was plundering. The baron hearing of his attack, started from his bed, and hastened, with the followers he could assemble at the moment, to punish the assailants. From the top of a hill he saw the Welshmen binding their captives, and hurrying the cattle to the ships. Irritated at the sight, he rushed madly down the descent, though without his armor, followed only by one knight. His shield was soon covered with arrows, and his body pierced with their darts. No one durst approach him while he could stand; but when he sank from loss of blood, they cut off his head, and, fastening it to their mast, sailed away in triumph. Ord. Vit. 670.

³⁴ Ord. Vit. 701. 703. Sax. Chr. 306. 310—12.

vehement. In private, he was all humor, vivacity, and facetiousness. To his opponents, he was severe, even to ferocity; to his knights, good-natured, affable, and convivial.³⁵

His munificence was so lavish, that he soon exhausted his father's treasure. But although his resources failed him, his liberal spirit never quitted him: the habit of giving became a part of his nature. He viewed all things with a magnificent yet ostentatious mind. Hence he one day threw away a pair of new hose with disdain, because they had only cost three shillings. "A king should not wear," said he, "things so parsimonious; fetch me some worth a mark of silver."³⁶ That the sovereign should labor to excel his subjects, in dignity of mind, exalted virtue, and wise generosity, is unquestionably proper, and the blessings of mankind will be his reward; but to waste his funds in the fastidious expenses of personal luxury, or pride, or in liberalities to the unworthy who happen to be about him, is inconsistent with the national welfare and with his personal honor. The reputation of Rufus has suffered from this folly.

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His extra-
vagance.

³⁵ Malmsb. 122. Ord. Vit. 771. Huntingdon says that he was *ferus ultra hominem*, p. 378. This trait was derived from his father. The tempers of parents early attract the notice, and impress the imaginations, of children.

³⁶ Malmsb. 123. Robert of Gloucester's description of a worse pair pleasing him better, because dearer, may be cited as a specimen of this old versifier's best manner:—

"There ne should non mete ne drynke, bote it were overdear
Come in hys wombe, ne cloth over his swere.
When it come before him, he nolde thereof nought
Nere it no so little worth but it were dear ybought.
As his chamberlain him brought, as he rose a day
A morrow for to wear a pair hose of say,
He asked 'What they costened?' — 'Three shilling,' the other seyde.
'Fy a debles,' quoth the King, — 'Who say so vile deed,
Kyng to weareye any cloth but it costened more.
Buy a pair of a mark, other thou shat be acorye sore.'
A worse pair of ynou the other suththe him brought,
And said, 'They were for a mark and unnethe so ybought.'
'Ye bel ami,' quoth the King, 'they were well ybought;
'In this manner serve me, other thou ne shalt me serve nought.'"

Chron. pp. 389, 390.

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William had all the feelings of the chivalric king; and delighted to be surrounded with knights. To them he was profuse, and the fame of his military gifts became so diffused over Europe and the East, that knights flocked to him from every region, and were splendidly rewarded.³⁷ But this profusion being rather the result of vanity, than of the generous virtues, was so connected with selfish feelings, that when it had exhausted his usual means, he had no repugnance to enforce the most unjust and scandalous measures, to obtain them from his people. Heavy burthens were imposed upon the country; and their weight was aggravated by the rapacity of the minister.³⁸ Ecclesiastical benefices were not only kept vacant, that the royal exchequer might reap their produce, but they were afterwards shamelessly sold to the highest purchaser. The moral principle of the nation, thus contaminated in its most venerated source, degenerated among all ranks. Around the throne were rapacity, profusion, and profligacy; which they who had the means, became emulous to imitate, and which they who could not imitate, beheld only to revile and covet.³⁹ Yet some-

³⁷ Malmsb. 123. Hence Suger, the contemporary French minister, calls him *mirabilis militum mercator, et soldator*. Hist. Franc. — Wace says, he did not hear any knight praised for his prowess, without enrolling him in his service. He says, —

Li reis ros fu de grant noblesce.
Proz, et de mult grant largesce.
N'oist de chevallier parler,
Qui de proesse oist loer,
Qui en son brief escrit ne fust,
Et qui par en del soen n'eust.

MS. Bib. Reg.

³⁸ William sometimes stripped the churches of their plate. The MS. of Waltham Abbey, written soon after his reign, gives an instance of this, to an amount scarcely credible. The author says, "We have found, in an authentic writing in the hands of the Master Athelard, that Rufus took from Waltham Abbey, at one time, 6666*l.* in gold and silver vessels, crosses, embroidery, and other ornaments." The writer says he was educated by Peter, the son of Master Athelard, the instructor and ordinator of Waltham Church. MS. Cott. Julius D. 6. This is a contemporary authority; but the sum, if it has been correctly transcribed, proves the riches of the church at that time.

³⁹ Malmsb. 123. At the time of his death he had farmed out the see of Canter-

times, amid this gross misconduct, the king's natural greatness would break out. Thus, when two monks were outbidding each other for a rich abbey, he asked a third, who was standing by, silent, How much he would give? The monk said he had no money; and if he had been richer, his conscience would not have sanctioned such an application. The king, interested by his integrity, swore by the holy Lucca, that he best deserved it, and should have it for nothing. When we read in Malmsbury, that while Lanfranc lived, he shrank with abhorrence from all dishonorable crime; that he afterwards for some time stood as in a balance between his virtues and his vices, and that magnanimity was the natural characteristic of his mind⁴⁰: we cannot avoid regretting that Anselm did not take more trouble to acquire his confidence, and to guide his ardent but impetuous soul, by gentle wisdom and conciliating manners, into the true paths of personal honor and public virtue: A noble and useful reign might then have been the result.⁴¹ But perhaps the king's mind was too proud to permit a new preceptor, and too confident in its own powers to suppose that it needed one. It was of that order and force of character which peculiarly resent all attempts to govern it.

Left to himself, or resolving to act independently

bury, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys; and, first of all the kings of England, applied the revenue to the treasury: others had accounted for them to the new prelates, when appointed. Pet. Bless. 111.

⁴⁰ So says Malmsbury, 122., who speaks in high terms of him. He says, he was beyond all doubt a prince incomparable in his age. P. 119. At one time he compares his spirit to that of Alexander; at another he mentions, that if he could have believed in transmigration, he should have thought that the soul of Julius Cæsar had passed into Rufus. Malmsbury kindly says, *de tanto rege mala dicere erubescio*. P. 123.

⁴¹ Anselm is highly praised, and deserves celebrity; but that he wanted either the *suaviter in modo*, or the art of choosing the *mollia tempora fandi*, seems inferable from the king's dislike to him. After he had been some time out of England, on the rumor of a new pope, William asked what sort of a man he was. "Somewhat like Anselm," was the answer. "Like Anselm!" exclaimed the King, with his usual oath, "then he is worth nothing!" Eadm. 54. Facts like these imply a personal aversion, which is more likely to have been caused by offensive manner, than by political opposition.

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from himself, and selecting ministers who proved to be unprincipled and rapacious, in an ignorant age — himself undisciplined and illiterate, — he knew not the true principles of moral greatness: nor was he able to acquire the habit of self-government, the most indispensable of all habits, both to kings and subjects. There was nothing about his clergy who approached him, to interest him; for some were mere soldiers, some voluptuaries, some but mercenary politicians. Hence he contracted an indifference to religion, and occasionally a contempt for it. To invite the Jews to dispute publicly against his bishops, with a sarcastic assertion that he would embrace the faith of the conquerors⁴²; and to take money from the Jews, for compelling their sons who had become Christians to return to Judaism; shew a laxity of principle about the most sacred of all obligations, which no wise man will encourage, and no good man imitate. The instance given by Eadmer displays this vice in a characteristic, but most censurable light. A Jew complained to him with tears, that he had lost his son, implored his pity, and petitioned, that he would order the youth to return to his paternal faith. The king gave no answer, as he saw no reason for his interference. The Jew, knowing his necessities, promised him sixty marks. William then sent for the young man, mentioned his father's request, and commanded him to return to Judaism. The son expressed his supposition, that the king was joking with him. "Son of a dunghill!" exclaimed William, "do you think I should joke with you? Obey my orders instantly, or, by the holy face of Lucca, you shall lose your eyes." The youth, with a virtuous spirit, adhered to his adopted religion, and respectfully suggested to the king, that it was his duty, as

⁴² Malmsh. 123.

a Christian sovereign, to protect those who professed Christianity. The king did not attempt to execute his threats, but sent for his father, and demanded the sixty marks. The father objected, that his son was unconverted. The king is stated to have answered, "I did what I could, and though I have not succeeded, I will not submit to work without reward." The Jew was forced to pay half the stipulated sum.⁴³ No character shows more than William's, the necessity of acquiring early a fixed moral principle, and the wisdom of basing that upon its most natural and best foundation. No life more forcibly inculcates the evil, of allowing the mind to sport with its sacred duties. Thus left without their most effective guide, his high talents and impulses became spoilt and degraded amid the temptations and necessities of life. Formed by nature for great things, he misapplied her bounty, and threw himself away.⁴⁴

He had scarcely reigned twelve years, when he fell by a violent death. The night before it occurred, he was troubled with a disagreeable dream; and on the morning of the fatal day, a confidential ecclesiastic repeated to him another. The king burst into a loud laugh, on hearing it, telling him that the

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His death,
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⁴³ We have this incident from a contemporary, Eadmer, p. 47., whom Malmsbury styles, "an historian to be praised, for his sincerity and truth," p. 125. : and we have seen how anxious Malmsbury was, not to dispraise the king. The anecdote possesses an individual life and harmony of character with the best attested facts of Rufus, which plead in favour of its veracity.

⁴⁴ *Ingentia parturientis animus*, says Malmsbury, p. 119. We have another incident, preserved by the Norman chronicler, which displays both the spirit and the faults of his character. A baron told him he was going on the crusades, and therefore hoped he would leave his territory (Mans) in peace while he was gone. "Go where you please," said William, "but I will have your city." The baron answered, that he possessed it by hereditary right, and if the king disputed that, he was ready to plead before the proper court. "I will plead with you," replied the king, "but my lawyers will be swords, and spears, and arrows." When the baron urged that he had taken up the cross, and that he would mark it on his shield, his helmet, his saddle, and his horses; and thus, become a soldier of Christ, he would leave his cause to the protection of heaven, the King, unmoved by an appeal then so solemnly revered, jestingly answered, "Do as you like — I do not want to war with crusaders, but I will have the land my father had; so you had better fortify your city, and animate your men, for I shall certainly pay you a visit, with 100,000 lances at my heels." *Ord. Vit.* 769.

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dreamer was a monk, and for the sake of money had dreamt like a monk: he ordered him a hundred shillings. An impression had however been made upon his spirits, and he declined his usual hunting before dinner. He went to his repast, indulged copiously at it, and drank more liquor than he was accustomed to. Animated by the banquet, he resolved to have the sport he had deferred, and went with a few attendants into the New Forest. It happened that, his friends dispersing in pursuit of game, he was left alone, as some authorities intimate, with Walter Tyrel, a noble knight, whom he had brought out of France, and admitted to his table, and to whom he was much attached. As the sun was about to set, a stag passed before the king, who discharged an arrow at it: the animal was wounded, but did not fall, and the king pursued its motions with his eyes, raising his hand to screen them from the horizontal rays of the departing sun. At the same moment, another stag crossing, Walter Tyrel discharged an arrow at it. At this precise juncture, a shaft struck the king, and buried itself in his breast. He fell, without a word, upon the arrow, and expired on the spot. Walter ran to him, but finding him breathless, became alarmed for his own safety, and, remounting his horse, fled straight to the sea, and crossed over to Normandy; those who were about, conniving at his escape. Though Henry was at the hunt in the forest, the king's death was not immediately known to him. Some rustics saw the body, and carried it in their cart to Winchester.⁴⁵ The arrow was found broken, and part sticking in his breast. He died, says Malmsbury, meditating great things, and would probably have achieved

⁴⁵ Malmsbury, p. 126., and Ordericus, 782., make the arrow to have come from Tyrel's bow. "The monks buried him in their choir at Winchester. Tyrel fled to France, and lived long at Chaumont." Wace, Rom. Rou, p. 344.

them. He does not disclose what he alludes to; but we learn from the French minister of the time, that his object was believed to be no less than the crown of France.⁴⁶

It seems to be a questionable point, whether Walter Tyrrel actually shot the king. That opinion was certainly the most prevalent at the time, both here and in France. But the French abbot says, "I have heard Walter Tyrrel often swear, and solemnly declare, and at a period when he had nothing to fear or hope from the avowal, that he had not come into that part of the forest in which the king was hunting, nor had he seen him at all in the forest."⁴⁷ Eadmer relates, that in the opinion of many the king had stumbled, and fell upon an arrow.⁴⁸ Gaimar, a contemporary versifier, or nearly so, says, "an arrow struck the king, but we do not know who held the bow; but the other archers said, that the shaft had come from Walter Tyrrel's."⁴⁹ John of Salisbury says, that when he wrote, it was as doubtful by whom William was killed, as it was by whom Julian the Apostate fell.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the writers are numerous, who ascribe the catastrophe

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Doubts of
its author.

⁴⁶ Suger mentions this as the common opinion. Vit. Lud. Grossi. p. 96. Gaimar, in his Anglo-Norman poem, describes the King as conversing with Tyrrel on this subject, and proposing to attack Mans, Poitou, Burgundy, and France. MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21.

⁴⁷ Suger, Vit. Lud. p. 97.

⁴⁸ Eadm. p. 54.

⁴⁹ MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21.

Des ci alquer le rei feri
Une salete et quer li vint
Mes ne savoin ki l'arc sustint
Mes co disaient le altre archer
Ke le eissi del arc Walter.

He adds that this was probable, because he fled,

Semblant en fu kar tost fui.

Peter Langtoft, in his Chronicle, states the same:

Et ly francays T'irel se pressayt a seter,
Qui de ferir la beste et fert le rays alquer.

MS. Cott. Lib. Julius A. 5.

⁵⁰ Vita Anselmi.

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to Walter Tyrrel.⁵¹ None of the authorities intimate a belief of a purposed assassination⁵², and, therefore, it would be unjust now to impute it to any one.

Wace, who was almost a contemporary, seems unable to decide on the real cause of the casualty. He enumerates the various opinions of the day upon it; but leaves the question in as much doubt as he found it.⁵³

⁵¹ Malsmb. 126. Ord. Vit. 782. Matt. Par. 54. Hunt. 378. Hoveden, 467. Chron. Petrib. 57. Petri Bless. Cont. 110. Chr. Mailros, 162. Chr. The Wikes, 24. Ann. Wav. 141. Sim. Dun. 225. Rad. Dic. 498. Brompton, 996. Rob. Glouc. 419. Matt. West. 21. So MS. Chron. I de Taxter, Julius A. 1. p. 54. and Chron. I. Pike, Julius D. 6. p. 46.

⁵² It is just to Anselm's memory to state, that he received the news of William's death with great sympathy and emotion. Eadm. 55.

⁵³ His account is:—

Gautier Tirel un chevalier
Qui en la cort estel mult chier;
Une saiete del reis prist
Dont il l'occist si com l'en dist.

En la nove forest entrerent
Cers et blsses, berser quiderent,
Lor agace par la forest firent,
Mais a grant dol se departirent.

Ne sai qui traist, ne qui laisse
Ne qui ferit, ne qui bersa;
Mais co dis l'en, ne sai s'il fist,
Que Tirel traist, le rei ocist.

Plusers dient qu'il trebucha,
En sa cote s'empеча,
Et la saiete trestorna,
Et le acier el rei cola.

Alquers dient qui Tirel volt
Ferir un cerf, qui trespasout
Entre lui et le rei coreit
E il traist qui entese aveit;

Mais sa saiete glaceia,
La fleche a un arbre freia;
Et la saiete traversa,
Le rei ferit, mort le rua.

Wace, Roman de Normandie,
MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

If we believe Walter Tyrrel's declaration of his innocence, the question recurs, whether the king fell accidentally on the arrow, or was assassinated? The previous dream of the ecclesiastic, and the prediction, to Henry in the forest, that he would soon be king, which Wace mentions after the above extract, are circumstances that might be construed to imply the knowledge of some plot. It was the misfortune of Rufus, that his death benefited so many—Henry, France, and the clergy,—that no critical inquiry was made into its cause.

CHAP. VI.

The Reign of HENRY I., surnamed Beauclerc.

1100—1135.

HENRY was hunting in a different part of the New Forest when Rufus fell. Informed, by the outcries of the attendants, of his brother's calamity, the claims of fraternal sympathy might have been expected to have drawn him to the fatal spot, to have paid the tribute of affection or decency to his remains. But ambition extinguished sensibility. He left the body to the casual charity of the passing rustic¹, and rode precipitately to Winchester, to seize the royal treasure. According to the compact between Robert and Rufus, the succession had now devolved to Robert, who was abroad on the crusade; and the baron, to whose care the treasury had been committed, came breathless to the castle, to anticipate Henry's purpose. With honorable fidelity, he asserted the right of the absent Robert, to whom both he and Henry had sworn fealty. The discussion grew fierce; a great concourse collected; when Henry, unsheathing his sword, declared that no foreigner should presume to

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1100.

¹ Wace adds to Rufus's death a strange story, that Henry, going that day to the forest, found the string of his cross-bow broken, and taking it to a "Vilain" to be mended, found an old woman there, who told him, that he would soon be king.

Une novele te dirai;
Henris iert reis hastivement.
Se mes augures ne me ment.
Remembre toi de co qu'al dit.
Que cist iert reis jusque petit.

MS. Bib. Reg.

If this were more than a village tale, it might imply some knowledge of a projected assassination.

withhold his father's sceptre from him. Mutual friends interfering, he obtained the treasure, and proceeding hastily to London, was on the following Sunday, the third day after William's death, elected king, and crowned.² His coronation oath was the same that had been taken by the Anglo-Saxon kings.³

He began his reign by removing the unpopular agents of his unfortunate brother. He recalled Anselm, and conciliated the clergy. He gratified the nation, by abolishing the oppressive exactions of the preceding reign. He assured many benefits to the barons; and by a charter, signed on the day of his coronation, restored to the people their Anglo-Saxon laws and privileges, as amended by his father⁴; a measure which ended the pecuniary oppressions of his brother, and which favored the growing liberties of the nation.

The Conqueror had noticed Henry's expanding intellect very early⁵; had given him the best education which the age could supply, and had urged him to cultivate letters. As he had two elder brothers, there was no certainty of accruing dignity, to divert him from his intellectual cultivation. Imprisoned, after his father's death, by one brother; besieged, and

His literary education.

² Ord. Vit. 782, 783.

³ The ceremonial of his coronation is preserved in MS. Cott. Claudius A. 3. In most parts, it resembles that of Ethelred, given in *Hist. Angl. Sax.* vol. iii. p. 133. Henry had been born after his mother had come to England to be crowned. "Wherefore many said, that it was just that he should be the sovereign, whose father was a king and whose mother was a queen at the time of his nativity." *Tayl. Brev. Relatio*, p. 194. His birth in England making him an Englishman, was another inducement.

⁴ *Flor. Wig.* 471. gives the substance, and Richard of Hagulstad, the words, of his declaration, *Scriptores* 1. p. 310. One of the writs which he sent to the counties of England on this occasion is in *Matt. Paris*, p. 55. to the same effect. That in this act it should have been thought a popular boon for him to add to the Anglo-Saxon law of the Confessor, the "emendations which my father made with the counsel of his barons," *Wilk. Leg. Sax.* 235, implies forcibly, that William's alterations were felt to be improvements.

⁵ The high opinion which his father had of him, appears from the prophecies about his becoming king, which William is said to have uttered. See one in *Malm.* 155. another in *Ord. Vitalis*. Henry soon got by heart the maxim, that "rex illiteratus" was "asinus coronatus." He may have triumphed in this aphorism, as a sarcasm on his brothers.

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driven out of Normandy, by both; he passed a necessitous exile in Bretagne and France.⁶ His distresses compelled him to be frugal⁷; and the absence of luxurious enjoyments removes a dangerous obstacle to mental cultivation. He became the most learned monarch of his day, and acquired and deserved the surname of Beauclerc, or fine scholar. No wars, no cares of state, could afterwards deprive him of his love of literature.⁸ The nation soon felt the impulse and the benefit of their sovereign's intellectual taste.

His marriage.

He acceded at the age of thirty-two, and gratified the nation by marrying and crowning Mathilda, daughter of the sister of Edgar Etheling by Malcolm the king of Scotland, who had been waylaid and killed.⁹ As she had worn the veil, Anselm at first pronounced that she could not marry. She pleaded her cause with unanswerable reasoning: "I do not deny that I have worn the veil; for when I was a child, my friend Christiana put a black cloth on my head, to preserve me from outrage; and when I used to throw it off, she would torment me both with harsh blows and indecent reproaches. Sighing and trembling, I have worn it in her presence; but as soon as I could withdraw from her sight, I always threw it on the ground, and trampled it under my feet. When my father once saw me in it, he tore it from me in a great rage, and execrated the person who had put it on me."¹⁰ Her interesting statement

⁶ Having purchased the peninsula of Cotantin from Robert, he lived quietly, till his brother imprisoned him on suspicion. After he was released, he endeavoured to attach some barons to his cause, and was besieged and expelled, by William and Robert uniting their forces against him. Ord. Vit. 665. 677. 689. 697.

⁷ Malm. 184. In this state he was assisted by a clergyman, whom, on his becoming king, he gratefully raised to the highest honours of the state. Ib.

⁸ Malm. 155.

⁹ On his death, her mother sent her with her sister to Romsey Abbey, to be educated, where she was taught the "litteratoriam artem." Ord. Vit. 702. So that Henry had a wife who could sympathize with his studies. She had been twice solicited in marriage before.

¹⁰ Eadmer, p. 57. This author, from his close connection with Anselm, has given us her own words.

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Invasion by
Robert.

was not denied; and as she had never taken the oaths, she was declared at last free to marry the king.

Robert had acquired so much reputation for his valor in Palestine, that the kingdom of Jerusalem had been offered to him, before it was conferred upon Godfrey; and he offended the feelings of the age by his refusal.¹¹ He had left the East, and been courteously received by his countrymen in Apulia and Sicily, where he married Sibylla, the daughter of one of the Norman chieftains, and had sailed with her to Normandy. He reached this duchy soon after his brother's death, and found there Flambard, William's obnoxious minister, who had escaped from the dungeon to which Henry had consigned him, and who stimulated Robert to invade England immediately, and to contend with Henry for the crown.¹²

But Henry had now established himself in the popular favor. Even in his brother's lifetime, comparisons had been made to his advantage, and the English barons and clergy assembled to support him. Robert effected a landing at Portsmouth; but the formidable army collected by Henry, gave no encouragement to his hopes, and produced a pause, which enabled the counsellors of both to mediate a peace. Robert, whose passions were versatile, who acted by paroxysms, and who was as easily tranquilized as he was easily excited, was satisfied with the honor of having invaded his brother, with the chance

¹¹ Malm. 153. Hunt. 379. M. Paris, 62.

¹² Ord. Vit. 780. 787. Ranulf Flambard, who had been made bishop of Durham by Rufus, was sent to the Tower by Henry. He is described as an artful and eloquent man; cruel and passionate, yet liberal and jocose, and therefore loved by many. He was allowed, by the king, two shillings sterling a day, for his subsistence; and this, with the help of his friends, enabled him to keep a splendid table. One day a rope was sent him in a vessel of wine. He gave a large feast, and his keepers drank his Falernian till they began to snore. Fastening his rope to the window, he slid down it, but as he had forgotten his gloves, he rubbed his hands to the bone: he was hurt in his last jump, but was carried by his friends safely off to Normandy.—His mother had the reputation of being a witch, and of conversing with dæmons. Ord. Vit. 786, 787.

of the succession that was promised him, and with an agreement from Henry to pay him three thousand marks, or two thousand pounds of silver, every year. The friends of each were to enjoy their properties in England and Normandy undisturbed. The brothers embraced in sight of both armies; and the arrangement was so cordial, that Robert became Henry's guest for two months.¹³ The romantic facility or disinterestedness of Robert was fully exhibited two years afterwards, when he made a present to the queen, at her request, of the appointed payment, notwithstanding the embarrassments in which his profusion and heedlessness were involving him.¹⁴

The peculiar epithet acquired by Henry, The Lion of Justice, announces the exertion of his wisdom and vigor in that path of action which was then most essential to the improvement of his country. This was, the abolition of the fashionable system of rapine, and the subjection of the great proprietors of land to the supreme government of the law. Till this was accomplished, the country was not in the care of one sovereign presiding over all for the benefit of all, but was overrun with myriads of petty despots, incessantly conflicting and plundering each other. The scene of turbulence was endless, for, as one part became exhausted and tranquil, another part became inquiet.

He attacks
the system
of rapine.

With the true spirit of enlightened policy and patriotism, Henry directed his reign to the termination of these evils. He saw that there could be no beneficial government, no public improvement, no social peace, while the barons retained their barbarous independence, or any class of society was allowed to practise civil rapine and warfare. In England he was firm and severe, and unremitted in

¹³ Sax. Chron. 324. Ord. Vit. 788. Robert absolved Henry from his homage. Robert also entered into a treaty with his brother, to furnish him with 1000 knights, if required. See it in 1 Rymer, p. 4.

¹⁴ Flor. Wig. 476. Ord. Vit. 805. supplicanti reginæ indulisit.

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chastising these habits. He armed his legal ministers with his military force, and he struck down these powerful robbers with unsparing justice, altho their practices were so popular, that his severity was censured.¹⁵ He was as vigilant and decided in his plans to break the injurious power of the baronial aristocracy. He summoned them to his court, to answer for their turbulence and violences. He did this gradually and cautiously; but he compelled them to appear. Some were condemned in heavy fines, and some were disinherited. He executed the legal adjudications with vigor. He embraced every opportunity which their revolts afforded, of attacking the proudest chieftains with the arm of the law, and with his military means. Their fierce and anti-social habits were so inveterate, that he was compelled to uproot many, before he could terminate their violences. But he never relaxed from his purpose till he had fulfilled it. Hence he abased and expelled, both from England and Normandy, many of the ancient but restless chieftains, notwithstanding all the struggles of themselves and of their friends against his system. The more discerning part of the country applauded and seconded his efforts. Gradually, his skill and energy prevailed against them¹⁶, and in their stead he raised new stems of aristocracy from the lower ranks of life, whom he advanced for their services, and rewarded with royal munificence¹⁷, and

¹⁵ The Saxon Chronicle is emphatic on this subject: — 7 ahengen ther swa fela thefas swa nefre er ne weron, thet wer on tha litle hwile ealle sfeower 7 feowerti manne. 7 six men spilde of here ægon 7 of here stanes. — “And they hanged there so many thieves as never before were. There were in a little while in all four and forty men; and six were deprived of their eyes,” &c. He adds, “Many honest men said that several were unjustly punished. But God Almighty, who sees and knows all secrets, He sees that men had oppressed the poor folk very unrighteously; first bereaving them of their property, and then slaying them.” P. 350. And see Eadmer, 94

¹⁶ Ord. Vit., 804—808. Vitalls mentions the gratulations of England on his success, especially in destroying one who had been an untameable tyrant.

¹⁷ Ord. Vit. who informs us of these curious facts, gives the names of some of the persons whom Henry exalted to wealth and honors, de ignobili stirpe; de pulvere ut ita dicam. P. 805.

of whose peaceful subordination he was more assured. Henry had the gratification, not only of succeeding in his object, but of acquiring from his success a degree of fame in his own day, both at home and abroad, which it is the lot of few to enjoy.¹⁸

While England was daily increasing in its domestic peace, under a government so able, Normandy was the prey of violence and wrong. The turbulent chieftains dared and defeated Robert; and his friends were surprised, that he who had acquired such celebrity for his heroism in the East, should be so inglorious at home. The miseries of the country increased¹⁹; and at length every eye was turned to Henry as their deliverer. His attention was for some time occupied by the approach of Magnus, king of Norway, to the British Isles, with a formidable armament; but that warrior perishing in Ireland²⁰, Henry yielded to the prayers of Normandy, and landed there with a great force. In a friendly interview with his brother, he showed him the mischiefs of his bad government, and the evils which resulted from it to

¹⁸ The French minister, Suger, warmly praises him, and states, like Ordericus, his wide spread fame, "cujus admirabilem et pene per universum orbem declaratam excellentiam." Vita Lud. p. 108. His applying to Henry the prophecy of Merlin, is a great proof of the king's celebrity. Suger also speaks strongly of Henry's delivering his kingdom, during his reign, from that system of depredation noticed in the preceding chapter.

¹⁹ Ord. Vit. 808. gives a strong picture of these sufferings.

²⁰ This was Magnus Berfetta, or Naked Feet, the son of Olaf-Kyrre. He acceded 1093. Snorre has devoted a Saga to his history, vol. iii. p. 191—230. With the best warriors of Norway, he sailed to the Orkneys and Hebrides, and then invaded Ireland. Allying with the king of Connaught, he attacked the king of Ulster, and conquered Dublin. The Irish called the Normans to their aid, but Magnus was too powerful for their succour to avail. He colonized some parts, and built "oppida" and "villas" there "aliarum more gentium." About to return to Norway, he marched up the country to procure supplies for his fleet. He went through marshes and over rivers, where treacherous bridges had been placed, till he came near an immense cloud of dust. It resembled the approach of cavalry. He put on his helmet, braced his red shield, on which was a golden lion, and took his favorite sword, called Leg-biter, and his battle-axe, and threw over his coat of mail his red silk vest, on which appeared a yellow lion, that the king might be conspicuous. The cloud opened, and discovered herds of cattle provided for his use. He turned back with them towards his ships, but found the bridges gone, and the surrounding woods full of ambushed enemies, who never quitted him till he fell with his bravest friends. Snorre, 227—229. Ord. Vit. 812.

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Invited to
Normandy.

both countries. Robert acquiesced in establishing a better system, and allowed one of his chief barons to do homage to Henry for his county, as he desired.²¹

But the former evils burst out afresh, when Henry returned to England. The duchy was soon filled with rapine and bloodshed; the cultivators of the soil fled, with their wives and families, into France; and the thistle and the nettle overspread the cultivated ground.²² Again the presence of Henry was solicited, and again he appeared with his army. The dignified clergy hailed his approach. "Normandy," they said, "the prey of profane robbers, wants a fit ruler. Your brother is not our governor; his people have no protection from his power. He dissipates all his wealth in follies, and often fasts himself till noon for want of bread; often he cannot leave his bed for want of clothes; strumpets and buffoons, in his hours of intoxication, strip him of all his garments, and boast with derision of their robbery." They called upon Henry to assist the country which his ancestors had so nobly governed; and, in conjunction with most of the nobles, they implored him to accept the sovereignty of the province.²³

His war-
fare with
Robert.

The king accepted the offered trust, and exerted himself against the enemies of the public peace. He stated to his brother the invitations he had received, and the unaltered imbecility of his government: "Resign to me the command of the province, and half of your ducal rights; with a pecuniary equivalent from my treasury for these, and with the revenues of the other half, you may enjoy the sports and indulgencies which you love; and I will deliver Normandy

²¹ This was William Count of Evreux. His address to the two brothers was mainly:—"I served your father faithfully all my life: I have endeavoured to be as true to his heirs. But I cannot serve two masters. My feudal duty must be single. I love both the king and the duke; they are both the sons of my former lord: I desire to respect them both; but I must only have one for my legal sovereign."—Robert took him by the hand, and led him to Henry. Ord. Vit. 814.

²² Ib. 814.

²³ Ib. 815.

from its oppressors.”²⁴ Robert was advised to reject this proposal, and hostilities took place. The more respectable barons sided with Henry, and justified his war against his brother, by the general misery of the country, which Robert’s administration had produced, and by the general call for his deposition.²⁵ A

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²⁴ Ord. Vit. 820.

²⁵ We may see their reasonings, and the feelings of the day, in the speech of Helias the baron of Mans. Ord. Vit. 822. One of the incidents detailed by Wace as it occurred at Henry’s siege of Bayeux, on one of these invasions, may be cited as a specimen of his narrative powers, and of the manners and events at that period. The chivalry of both the contending parties assembled on this occasion to take and defend the city.

“The king had a soldier named Brun, a new knight; he had come from a distant country to obtain prizes and chivalry. His dress was noble and abundant, and he had much rich armour. There was no one at the court whose harness resembled his. On his horse he carried himself nobly, and splendidly apparelled. He was fastened to his saddle, and tied to it by his thighs; so that he could receive no blow, however great, that would move him from it. He dressed his lance, he took his shield, he spurred his horse, and placed himself on the field. His steed went galloping and made semblance of justing. He seemed as if he wished to tilt, and to demand it of some one.

“Robert of Arcoches came out of Bayeux. He was seated, well armed upon his horse, and quite prepared for justing. He saw Brun on the other side ready to do so. Raising his lance, he took his shield with a desire to tilt. The knights who were on the field, and perceived the two horses moving to it for the encounter, caused the place to be cleared by their vassals, that the justing might take place, and forbad the archers to shoot, and commanded the common men that they should not harm, but remain quiet, whatever might happen. The whole space was made free, nor did any one do mischief.

“When the place was cleared, and the just proclaimed, the knights who were to tilt stood at the farther end of the field. They put their horses into motion, which ran with great speed immediately on each other. Each rode toward the other, spurred his steed, relaxed the bridle, and held his shield before his breast. Their raised lances crossed. With great force they drove at each other; so that on all sides it was seen that Dan Brun had struck Robert, and uncovered him of his shield. From this blow, so given by the other, Robert was forced back; but he kept in his stirrups, and with great strength raised himself, and struck Brun with such force by his saddle-bow, in the middle of his shield, that the saddle was cut through. Being fastened to it behind, he could not fall to the ground, but lay hanging by his thighs. He swooned upon his horse: his head was turned downwards. From all sides they ran, and upheld Brun as he was hanging. They detached him from the saddle, and laid him on the ground on his back; but his soul was gone. It could not remain. Then you heard many plaints and much deploring, both among those of towns and those of boroughs. They came up from all sides to the corpse. Much they bewailed him, and regretted the handsome Brun. Many did so who had never seen him before, and knew not who he was. The servants who were serving him, and were of his country, greatly cried and wept much; and around his body exclaimed, ‘Brun! Dan Brun! Dan Brun! Gentil Baron! much have we to lament for thee. Never shall we go in peace to our country, since we cannot lead you with us. Who will dare to tell your friends that you are slain? We ought to have died for you; but you could not be saved by us.’ Thus they wailed and deplored, till they had carried his body away.

“On account of Brun’s death, both parties left the field, and neither fought more that day. The king was so enraged against this Robert, that he would have

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He im-
prisons
Robert.

decisive conflict at length ensued at Tenchebray. Robert had a numerical superiority of infantry; but Henry had the advantage in knights.²⁶ Robert exerted in the conflict one of those fits of valour and energy of which he was sometimes capable; but he could not prevent a speedy defeat. The king, in his letter to Anselm, states, that he gained the victory without much loss: and adds, that he had taken prisoner his brother, with some barons, 400 knights, and 10,000 foot; that the slain were innumerable; and that the success had given him Normandy.²⁷

Warfare between brothers is such a breach of the feelings which link society together, that there is scarcely any exigency which can justify it. In the present case, Robert had virtually deserted his subjects. His conduct dissolved the implied compact on which all government is founded, and especially the governments of Europe. His subjects were at length driven by their sufferings to look elsewhere for their sovereign; and they invited Henry to assume that character. But he could not accept it, without deposing his brother. Was he right to sacrifice the feelings of nature to either policy or philanthropy, especially when he was to profit by the sacrifice? or, ought he to have let the moral sympathies have restrained him? When he decided the question in favor of his ambition, it is perhaps his best apology, that the Norman clergy, the venerated teachers of the day, solicited his interference. But the imprisonment of his brother, in Cardiff Castle, for his life, has not this excuse: it exhibited the same

put him to death; nor could he venture to remain in Normandy; but when the war was over, he departed with his equipage to Apulia, to the acquaintance that he had there." Roman de Rou, p. 385—390.

²⁶ Ord. Vit. 820.

²⁷ See the King's letter, in Eadmer, p. 90. Edgar Etheling, who had joined Robert, was among the prisoners; but Henry kindly set him at liberty. Sax. Chron. 329.

selfish jealousy of power, which had spoilt his father's mind, and embittered his reign.

He is stated to have treated Robert in his captivity, which lasted twenty-eight years, with every delicacy of food; with royal robes; with permission to play at chess and dice; and to visit the neighbouring gardens, woods, and pleasant places.²⁸ These things would have been indulgences to a criminal; but they were penurious kindnesses to an unfortunate brother, who had always been too weak and too unpopular to be formidable, at least in England. Robert one day attempted to escape: he seized a horse, and rode away: he was pursued, and retaken in a marsh. He was conducted respectfully back, till the king's orders on the event were received. It is stated that they were to deprive him of sight!²⁹ Alarmed power is so prone to be cruel, and cruelty so soon becomes insensible to its own disgrace, that the unnatural incident would not of itself be incredible. But William of Malmsbury, who lived at the period of Robert's death, is so expressive in his assertions of Henry's lenity to his brother, in his confinement, and so unequivocal in declaring that Robert suffered no evil but that of solitude³⁰, that the later accounts, of Matthew of Westminster and Matthew Paris, of this unnecessary cruelty, must be questioned.³¹

²⁸ See Matt. West. part ii. p. 25. Ord. 823. and Io. Saresb. Polyc. p. 198. Henry's own account, to the pope, of his treatment of his brother, was, "I have not imprisoned him as an enemy, but I have placed him in a royal castle, as a noble stranger broken down by many troubles; and I supply him abundantly with every delicacy and enjoyment." Ord. Vit. p. 866.

²⁹ Matt. West. ib. Matt. Paris, p. 63. The author says, Robert had provoked his brother by *ampullora verba et minas*, and was roused to his attempt by false promises, and especially of the earl of Chester. The destruction of Robert's sight is also mentioned in Tho. Wike's Chron. p. 24. and in Bever's MS. Chron.

³⁰ *Ad diem mortis in libera tentus custodia laudabili fratris pietate, quod nihil præter solitudinem passus sit mali, si solitudo dici potest ubi et custodum diligentia, et jocorum preterea et obsoniorum non deerat frequentia.* L. iv. p. 154.

³¹ Wace notes, that Robert earl of Gloucester, the king's illegitimate son, was appointed the keeper of his brother Robert at Cardiff; and that the earl was his warder there till he died, when his body was taken to Gloucester, and buried in that city, p. 407. From the intellectual and honorable character of this nobleman, as it was displayed in Stephen's reign, I cannot but consider this fact of Robert

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HENRY I.He tries to
take his
son.

Robert had a son, an infant, whom Henry at first committed to Helie, a Norman baron, to be educated. But the king becoming apprehensive of the effects that might result from his future talents, suddenly sent a trusty officer to regain him. The messenger arrived, in Helie's absence, at the castle; but friendly hands suspecting his purpose, suddenly and secretly carried off the sleeping child, before the royal officer reached the apartment. The disappointed courtier seized the castle for the king. But Helie, with a generous sacrifice of his own comfort, continued to nourish the young prince, an exile in foreign lands, as his own son. To secure his safety, this benevolent protector moved with him from place to place, every where making friends by the accomplishments of the maturing boy, and from the general indignation at his uncle's persecution. As he grew up, many of the neighbouring chiefs befriended him; and the count of Anjou intended to wed him to his daughter. The threats, the intreaties, the money, and the promises of Henry, prevented this alliance; and the youth was compelled to be a wanderer again, every where endangered by disquieted and rapacious power. A happier fortune at last awaited him: the earl of Flanders having been assassinated in a church, and leaving no heir, the queen of France persuaded her royal husband to invest the prince with the Flemish earldom.³²

He tran-
quillizes
Normandy.

Henry happily united such a wise spirit of conciliation and such a visible spirit of justice with his exerted power, that Normandy subsided rapidly into the peace and order of England. He made the Normans feel the consequences of his government to be

being under his care at Cardiff, as satisfactory evidence that no cruelties aggravated the evil of his confinement. With this circumstance Wace ends his *Roman de Rou*, containing 16,547 riming lines.

³² Ord. Vit. 837, 838. W. Gemmet. 299. He died 1128, of a wound which he received at a siege, where he unnecessarily exposed himself. Alur. Beverl. p. 151.

beneficial, and they applauded and supported it. The cultivation of his mind did not suppress his ambition, but enlightened and converted it to the public benefit. Attachment and social tranquillity were the rewards of his efforts to promote the comforts and interests of his people; and the national civilization made an important progress under his firm and prudent government, until it was disturbed by resentments at his conduct towards his brother.

While Henry was reaping the fruits of his political sagacity, he was surprised by a visit, at his English court, from Louis, the heir to the king of France. The prince was rapidly followed by a messenger, with letters from his father to Henry. These contained a request, that he would seize the prince, and confine him in a dungeon for life. They were communicated to Louis, who declared, that they were his step-mother's contrivance for his destruction. Louis, returning to France, demanded justice and protection from his father, who denied his knowledge of the plot. The disappointed queen employed agents for his assassination. They were discovered and punished. She then had recourse to witchcraft, and secret poison was administered. Her object was, by his death, to make way for one of her own children to succeed to the throne. A Saracen physician cured him; and her own danger checked the prosecution of her wickedness. But the kindness of Henry created an attachment in the mind of Louis, which long continued.³³

Louis, succeeding his father, found his kingdom in that state from which Henry had emancipated his own people. The feuds and rapine of the great desolated every part: and the first measures of Louis were to imitate Henry, in the destruction of those habits of

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Visited by
Louis.

³³ Ord. Vit. 813. — Of this Louis, and his father Philip, their contemporary, Huntingdon, says, that they were such great eaters, that they died from excessive corpulence. De Contempt. p. 699.

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HENRY I.His danger
and dis-
quiet.

robbery and violence so afflicting to society, and yet then so habitual. He succeeded by the same system of activity, firmness, and perseverance³⁴; and the strength of France was multiplied by its increased subjection to government and law.

The desire of encroachment, which ill-counselled princes so frequently possess, or the mutual jealousies of neighbouring power, sundered the friendship of Louis and Henry, and brought them at various periods into hostilities with each other. Both exhibited the spirit of petty seizures, but each too much respected the other to attempt very formidable invasions. In one war, the indignation of Louis was roused to challenge Henry to a personal combat, which his calmer temper declined. Another succeeded, in which an actor appeared, whose name alarmed the conscience of Henry into all the cowardice of crime. This was William, the son of his brother Robert, whom he still kept his captive. The persecuted child had now become a youthful warrior, distinguished by his valour and accomplishments. His presence was an appeal to natural justice, at which Henry trembled. The prince sought his inheritance. His claims became popular in Normandy; and conspiracy began to pervade even the palace of Henry. So great was his alarm at the domestic treason which was spreading, that he frequently changed his bed; a sword and shield were always placed by his side as he slept; military guards watched all night near his chamber; and he never went unarmed. His wariness preserved his life; but all his policy was required to dissipate

³⁴ Ord. Vit. 836., &c. We see Henry, at various periods of his reign, pursuing the same object. Thus, after a visit to the monastery in Normandy, he went as in a progress round the borders of his state, to fortify its weaker parts *contra hostes et latrunculos*. Ord. 840. Suger details the progress of Louis against the powerful plunderers of France, 97—101. 107—109. His facts are valuable; his Latin execrable.

the storm that threatened to dispossess him.³⁵ So vain is the hope of building happiness on wrong.

If Henry had assumed the government of Normandy only till Robert's son had shown himself fit to possess it, he would have improved the morality of the age, by a splendid example of preferring right to power. But in seizing the province as his own, and persecuting the youth, he divested his own character of all the charms with which known probity surrounds an individual; he roused the sympathies and mistrust of his neighbours against himself; and he gave an example of making strength his rule of right, which counteracted the wisdom of his political life. Hence, as the prince grew up, Henry was made to feel the bitter effects of his own injustice. Not only his friend the king of France, but most of the barons of Normandy also, exerted themselves to restore the injured prince to his lost inheritance. Some of the king's best friends favored their cause. And the consequence was, that all the evil habits of bloodshed and rapine, from which the king had delivered Normandy, again pervaded it. Again the page of the chronicler becomes dark with civil misery; and a harassed life, without the comfort of an approving conscience, became Henry's allotment.³⁶

By a series of unremitting exertions, Henry at last surmounted his difficulties; and having detached the earl of Anjou from the confederacy, by a marriage between his son and the earl's daughter, the war lingered between himself and the French monarch. It was accidentally distinguished by one battle, which tho' of no great moment in itself, procured much celebrity to the English king and his subjects. Louis and Henry found themselves near to each

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Turbulence
of the
Barons.

His chival-
ric battle
with the
French.

1118.

³⁵ Suger Vit. Lud. p. 112. Huntingdon alludes to these terrors, in his letter de contemptu mundi, p. 699.

³⁶ Ord. Vit. 842. 845. 851.

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other at Audelay, and each accompanied by his principal knights. Both the kings were dissuaded, by some of their friends, from engaging; but the more chivalric spirits demanded the battle. With 500 knights, in complete armour, Henry took his station. Louis, rejoiced at the opportunity to prove his valour, which he had long desired, came down to the field with 400 of the best knights in France. The son of Robert, hopeful that day to end his father's captivity, eagerly accompanied him. Crispin, a Norman knight, who had joined the French, led the conflict, in a furious attack on Henry's center, with eighty knights. They were all unhorsed and taken, but not till Crispin had endangered the king's life. Animated with a great personal hatred, he struck the king twice on his helm with such strength and fury, that the blood gushed out. He was himself soon felled to the ground, and taken. The next charge of the French knights was as unsuccessful, and Louis was then advised to fly. The attack of the English became so fierce, that he was forced to make a precipitate escape, alone, into the woods. A rustic met him, whom by lavish promises of reward, he engaged to conduct him on the nearest road to Audelay. The peasant led him safe to his friends, ignorant of his quality, and vexed, on discovering it, to reflect on the splendid booty he had lost. This battle, from the rank and known individual prowess of the combatants, became much spoken of in Europe. It was a trial of the chivalry of both nations, and was fought as such on both sides with so much good temper, that they endeavoured to take, rather than to kill each other. The English knights having the glory of the victory, and having captured 140 of their opponents, the defeat of the French was commented on with much sarcastic criticism.³⁷

³⁷ Ord. Vit. 854, 855. Henry Hunt. 381. Suger, who slightly mentions the

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HENRY I.Pope visits
him.

The Pope visited Henry at Gisors, and negotiated a reconciliation between him and Louis. In this interview, the king sought to justify himself for his seizure of Normandy from his brother, by a strong and just picture of the miseries it was enduring, when it solicited his interference. He stated his repeated urgencies to his brother, to redress them himself, and his offer of assistance for that purpose, which had been disdainfully rejected. He denied any intention to injure Robert's son. He declared, that his object was to have educated him with his own son, in his palace, and to have taught him polity and knightly discipline; and that he had offered him the command of three English counties: but that his kindnesses had been rejected, and that the youth had been made the means of stirring up a general enmity against him. The Pope, pleased with accomplishing the pacification between him and France, declined intermeddling further on the delicate subject of Robert and Normandy.³⁸

Catastrophe
of his son.
1120.

The king, delighted that he had at last terminated the anxieties which had so long harassed and exhausted him; and having arranged Normandy again into peace and good order; prepared to return to England, surrounded with felicity. But at the very moment when he seemed to have emerged out of all adversity, his personal happiness was destroyed for ever by an irreparable evil—the sudden loss of an only son—a prince, censured by the religious for his pride, pomp and luxury, but popular among the nation, because born an Englishman, and descended by his mother from the revered Anglo-Saxon line of Alfred and Cerdic. His father had educated him with the fondest care, and, intending him for his

battle, takes some extenuating distinction between the *Franci in compositi*, and the *composita acies* of their opponents. P. 123.

³⁸ Ord, Vit. 866.

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successor, had already procured all the freemen of England and Normandy to swear fealty to him. His marriage with the earl of Anjou's daughter had brought him her dowry, the province of Maine; and the earl, having gone to Jerusalem, had left his states in the hand of Henry, in trust for his son.³⁹ With all the foresight and contrivance of worldly prudence, Henry had thus secured for the prince the largest quantity of greatness that lay within his immediate reach. But human providence is not invested with the sovereignty of life. The prince wanted nothing but the name of king, when at the age of 17, he sailed from Barfleur, to return to England with his father. Thomas Fitz-Stephens, whose ancestor had carried over William to the invasion of England, petitioned for the honor of conveying the king. Henry had chosen his ship, and would not change it; but, pleased with the little compliment of the request, he allowed the man to take his darling son, with the rest of his family, and a crowd of young nobility, their attendants and companions. At twilight the king sailed, and reached England the next day: at the same time the vessel with the prince left the shore, with fifty rowers. Unfortunately, the sailors solicited him for wine, and in the gaiety of youth, he distributed it profusely. The seamen, the captain, his friends, all, became intoxicated; and in this state, a giddy desire arose, to pass by every ship that was before them. The emulating whim was instantaneously adopted; every arm was exerted, every eye was intent, on this single object; and the ship was flying with all the velocity that unusually-exerted

³⁹ Sax. Chron. 340. Flor. Wig. 489. Malmsb. 165. Ord. Vit. 871. The Saxon Chronicle mentions a curious natural phenomenon, in the year 1114. The Thames ebbed so much, that persons could not only ride but walk through it, east of London Bridge, p. 334. Florence says, that the water scarcely reached the knees: that the Medway, on the same day, was similarly affected: and that the phenomenon was also observed at Yarmouth and elsewhere. P. 488.

strength could give her, in a fine calm moonlight, when, by the heedlessness of the inebriated helmsman, it struck suddenly on a rock near the shore, then covered with waves, but known, and visible at low water. The shock burst through two planks on the left side of the vessel, and the sea entered fast. The prince got into a little boat, and was escaping, when he heard the voice of his sister, shrieking to him, to help her. He put back to the ship, to take her in; but at the same time so many leaped into it, that it sank, and every one in it. The ship soon disappeared under the waves, with all its crew, three hundred in number, excepting two persons, a young nobleman and a butcher, who held clinging to the top of the mast. The captain rose from his first descent, and might have saved himself, but, finding that the prince was drowned, and having nothing but death or a dungeon to expect from the king, he plunged into the waves, and was lost. The severe cold of the night, for it was in December, occasioned the nobleman to lose his hold; and he fell, uttering a prayer for his companion's safety. The butcher, the poorest and the hardest of the whole crew, kept himself above the water in his garment of sheepskin, till morning, when some fishermen saw him, and carried him ashore, quite exhausted. Recovering, he related the catastrophe. It soon reached the palace; but no one dared to mention it to the anxious king, who continued all the following day to expect his son, sending to every port to inquire if he had arrived, and wondering at his absence. Even they who had lost their own beloved friends, restrained themselves in his presence.

When the truth could no longer be withheld, a little boy was sent in to communicate it. The king fell speechless to the ground. His friends raised

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him; he revived, and burst into bitter lamentations.⁴⁰ His courtiers were as deeply affected, for the flower of the young nobility, one hundred and forty in number, had perished with his children. The general lamentation lasted several days, and their only consolation was to converse on the virtues of their lost relations. The king never smiled again. The aged Robert now found his brother more wretched than himself; though he was still a captive, his son was alive, and high in honor and prosperity, acquired by his own merit.⁴¹

His second
marriage.

This awful calamity was such a personal admonition of the futility of that ambition to which Henry was sacrificing some of the best feelings of human nature, that we read with surprise that it did not dispose him to abridge the captivity of his brother, or to compensate for the irrevocable past, by adopting his son. Instead of this noble act of justice, he continued Robert in his confinement, and sought again male issue by a second marriage, with Adeliza, the daughter of the count of Louvain. His ungenerous and selfish views were disappointed; the nuptials were unfruitful, and the rest of his life was embittered by fresh vexations.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ord. Vital. 867—70; and Wace mentions it more briefly, 349. 351. He thus describes the king's emotions: "He sank down upon his bed. No man dared speak to him: he spoke to no one. I know not if he was in a swoon, but he lay motionless, and did not stir. His seneschal said to him, 'Sire! raise yourself. Take some refreshment. Do not delay it. Your enemies will be glad if you grieve longer. Women may wail and weep; women may be in despair: but you should comfort yourself. The dead or dying will not live again because we lament them. A son cannot recal a father, nor a parent a son, by grieving for them. Sorrowing recovers no one. Rise up — your loss is great — your grief strong — yet come to your repast.' As the chamberlain pressed him, he at last rose up." P. 352, 353.

⁴¹ The prince is described unfavorably by Malmsb. 165. Huntingdon, 218. Ap. Wharton, Ang.-Sax. v. 2. p. 696. and Gervas, 1339. If their intimations of his vices be correct, the interception of his reign may have been a benefit to his country. Among the letters of Hildebert, the bishop of Mans, is the epistle of condolence which he wrote to the king on this melancholy occasion. It is composed with some elegance. Its object is to lead the king's mind to a contempt of worldly gratifications, by depicting their insufficient and transitory nature. See it in Bib. Magna Patrum, vol. iii. p. 221.

⁴² Ord. Vit. mentions the desire of many nobles that Robert's son should be Henry's successor and their occasional conspiracies. P. 875—887.

His only legitimate issue was Matilda, a daughter by his first wife, whom he had married to the emperor of Germany whose sudden death was connected with mysterious circumstances, in the popular rumors of the day.⁴³ Matilda quitted Germany for England, bringing with her the imperial crown, and, what was to her no less precious, the reputed hand of Saint James.⁴⁴ Henry received her with an affection augmented by his disappointment of a son; he procured her to be appointed his successor, and married her again to the earl of Anjou, that this province, which he had always coveted, might be acquired by his family. But this marriage of policy served only to diminish his felicity: Matilda and her husband soon differed; the proud empress probably disdained the humble count: and the king's life was again harassed and shortened by their domestic dissensions.⁴⁵

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Matilda
named his
successor.

In the twenty-eighth year of his captivity, Robert died in Cardiff Castle, at the age of 70.⁴⁶ In the next year he was followed by his inexorable brother. At his favorite retreat in Normandy, after indulging in a repast of lampreys, to which he was greatly attached, though they always injured him, Henry was attacked with an acute fever, and, in a few days, expired.⁴⁷ He declared to his natural son, Robert count

His death;
1135.

⁴³ It was said that, unable to rest from his disturbed conscience, at the imputation that he had caused his father's death, he suddenly one night quitted the bed of the English princess, and walked away in the dark, as a voluntary penance, with naked feet, and in a woollen garment, and was never seen again. Hoveden, 478.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Hunt. 385. We have an amusing account, in Florence, of an eclipse of the sun in 1132. The author notes down a description of the phenomenon, without being certain of its cause: "In some places the day became so dark that candles were indispensable. Surprised, the king and his court, just going to embark, looked up at the sky, and saw the sun shining like a new moon, but not keeping one appearance. Sometimes it was broader—sometimes narrower—now bent—now more erect—at times firm as usual, at other times moving and tremulous, as if liquid, like quicksilver. At the same time many stars appeared. Some said that it was an eclipse of the sun." P. 510.—Malmsb. of the same event, says, "I saw the stars about the sun, and felt the wall of the house in which I was sitting, twice raised up and subsiding, as if a slight earthquake had accompanied the eclipse." P. 177.

⁴⁶ Flor. Wig. 510.

⁴⁷ Hunt. 385. Alured. Beverl. 152. Flor. Wig. His last words were, "Be my

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His cha-
racter.

of Gloucester, who was with him, that he left all his possessions to his daughter Matilda.⁴⁸ The next reign will show, that in this, his favorite hope, he was betrayed and defeated.

That Henry was a great statesman, and an intelligent, able, and useful sovereign, the history of his life attests. But the politician is often as cold and as abstract as the scholastic metaphysician. Morality, feeling, generosity, benevolence, are no necessary constituents of his character. The statesman is too apt to contemplate life as a game at chess, and to make his movements as if mankind were but pieces of mechanism; and the world but an arena subordinate to his contriving skill, a theatre to exhibit the triumphs of his sagacity. Henry's character was marked by the discernment, the profound thought, the impenetrability, the persevering prudence, the stern inflexibility, the capacious love of power, of the aspiring politician; but it had no sensibility, no magnanimity, nothing generous or beneficent. Henry of Huntingdon, who knew him, calls him a man of profound dissimulation, and inscrutable mind; and adds the expressive trait, that his Great Justiciary, being once told that the king had praised him, said with a sigh, "he praises no one whom he does not mean to destroy."⁴⁹ His conduct to Luke de Barre, proved that he had inherited somewhat of his father's ferocity in the severity of his revenge.⁵⁰

debts paid, and every obligation that I owe. Let the rest be distributed among the poor." Malmsh. 178.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ This deteriorating circumstance is thus told by Huntingdon: "This Justiciary of all England, dreaded once by every body, was in the last part of his life twice prosecuted, on the king's suggestion, by an ignoble magistrate; and twice severely fined and disgraced. This so wounded his mind, that one day as I, his archdeacon, was lying near him at dinner, I saw him shedding tears. I inquired the reason. He said, Formerly those about me were clothed in precious garments; now the fines of the king, whose favor I always studied to acquire, compel me to dress them in woollen."—When the high praises, which the king in his absence repeated of him, were related to him, he sighed, and uttered the poignant remark mentioned in the text. Hunt. de Mundi Cont. p. 695.

⁵⁰ "Luke de Barre," said the king, "has never done me homage, but he has

His private life was immoral. He had several natural children; and his self-indulgencies may have vitiated the son he lost, to whom Huntingdon imputes great corruption of manners.⁵¹ Yet with these faults, he was a great prince, and his reign was highly beneficial to his people.

His resolute attack on the popular system of rapine, then disgracing Europe, was a blessing to society, which no praise can exaggerate.⁵² Until that was made to cease, human improvement was hopeless. Happy would it have been for himself, if he had governed his own ambition with the same spirit of probity and firmness with which he corrected others!

In many of his personal qualities, he was interesting and amiable. His mind was cultivated; he cherished learning, and encouraged its growth in England. He loved pleasantries; and when he mixed in society, he did not suffer business to disturb his good humour. In his food, he was usually temperate, and displeased with excess in others; and yet he fell a victim to his appetite.⁵³

fought against me. He has composed facetiously indecent songs upon me; he has sung them openly to my prejudice, and often raised the horse-laughes of my malignant enemies against me."—Henry then ordered his eyes to be pulled out. The wretched minstrel rushed from his tormentors, and dashed his brains against the wall. Ord. Vit. 880, 881.

⁵¹ Hunt. 381.

⁵² Hence his surname, "The Lion of Justice."—Ioan Sarib. Polyc. The epithet was taken from the pretended prophecies of Merlin, which were then in great fashion and circulation: "After two dragons," said Merlin, "The Lion of Justice shall come, at whose roaring the Gallic towers and Island serpents shall tremble. In his days gold shall be extorted from the lily and the nettle; and silver shall flow from the hoofs of those that bellow." He continues his metaphors with unsparing profusion. Ord. 887. These vaticinia are in Jeffrey of Monmouth's History, and probably of his composition. The Welsh prophecies ascribed to Merlin are in a much ruder and shorter style, but on different incidents. They are probably those which suggested to Jeffrey his more elaborate composition. See them in the Welsh Archæology, vol. i. "Gwasgared Vyrddin yn y ved," or the Oracle of Merlin from his Grave, p. 132. The Kyvoesi myrdin, or his Dialogue with his Sister, p. 138., is full of history, sometimes anticipated: so is his Hoienua. All these are therefore either interpolated or surreptitious.

⁵³ Malmsh. 162. Robert of Gloucester says,

"And when he com hom he wyllede of an lamprey to ete,
Ac hys leches hym verbede, vor yt was feble mete.
Ac he wolde yt nogt byleve, vor he lovede yt wel ynou,
And ete as in leather cas, vor thulke lampreye hym slou,
Vor anon rygt thereafter in to anguyse he drou,
And dyede vor thys lampreye thoru his owe wou."—P. 442.

His person was of the middle size; his black hair curled luxuriantly over his forehead; his eye was mild and serene; his chest manly; his body plump.⁵⁴

Strong and clear judgment was the character of his mind, and his conduct was therefore consistent and impressive. In discerning that peace had its laurels, more fruitful and not less glorious than those of war, he rose far above the level of his age, and deserves the praises of his improved posterity.⁵⁵ His behaviour to the Pope was dignified and popular, when he refused to recognize his new character of ambassadors in his legates; and when he ordered the archbishop, who came with that title, to leave his dominions.⁵⁶ He was thwarted by Anselm, who held the see of Canterbury, and who chose to fight obstinately the battle of the papal authority and ecclesiastical independence.⁵⁷ Henry maintained the rights and dignity and just predominance of his crown, as long as the prejudices of the times would permit him; and he did not submit to compromise the controversy, till it became unsafe, and therefore unwise, to continue it.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Malmb. 102. Robert of Gloucester says he was — "Of fayrost fourme and maners, and most gentyl and free." P. 420.

⁵⁵ Hence he loved the saying of Scipio Africanus — "My mother brought me forth to be a sovereign, not a fighter." Malm. 162.

⁵⁶ Eadmer, p. 58.

⁵⁷ Eadmer has preserved a full detail of this dispute. Lord Lyttleton, in his valuable History of Henry II. vol. i. pp. 149—154., Rapin, and Hume, have copiously narrated it. We learn from the Saxon Chronicler, that the secular clergy at this time married; for he says, that the archbishop of Canterbury in 1129, with the king's leave, assembled a "mot," or counsel, about archdeacons' wives, and the wives of priests, to procure a regulation that they should forego their wives, or their churches and houses. "But the king gave them all leave to go home; and so they went home, and all these orders stood for nothing. They all held their wives by the king's leave as they had done before." P. 359.

⁵⁸ The Saxon Chronicler's character of him, as a contemporary, ought not to be omitted: "Good man he was, and much awe there was of him. No man durst misdo against another in his time. Peace he made to men, and deer. Whoso bore his burthen of gold and silver, no man durst say to him nought but good." P. 364. The laws which were established in England during his reign, and which are called in the Proemium, written during his life, the "beata pacis ac libertatis exoptata gaudia," are printed from the Textus Roffensis, and MSS. Scaccar. in Wilkins' Leges Sax. 233—283. They furnish a very detailed and comprehensive view of our internal polity and jurisprudence at that time. His Queen Adeliza,

after his death, married Geoffry of Mandeville, earl of Arundel. Cotton MSS. Julius D. p. 117.

In the year 1110 of his reign, the Saxon Chronicler describes a change in the moon as a prodigy which he saw, as if, like Florence, in 1132, he had no idea that it was an eclipse, nor of the cause. "On the fifth night of May the moon appeared brightly shining in the evening. Afterwards by little and little its light diminished, so that in the night it became so entirely extinguished, that neither light, nor the circle of its orb, nor any thing at all of it was seen, and so continued until near day, and then appeared shining full and bright. It was this same day a fortnight old. All the night the sky was very clear, and the stars over all the heavens shining very bright." Sax. Ch. p. 331. It was manifestly an eclipse of the moon at its full; but he adds, as its effect, "The fruit of the trees were this night sorely nipt by frost." Ib. This is now found to be an effect of bright moonshine: It has a gelid agency on vegetation.

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BY

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The Reign of STEPHEN.

1135—1154.

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THAT political evils are perpetually resulting from political errors, every reader of history is convinced. It is less generally admitted, but it is equally true, that a large proportion of each, originates from the moral misconduct of both sovereign and people. No reign more strongly illustrates this fact, than that of Stephen. It was a reign of almost continual disquiet to the king, who unjustly obtained the crown, from his having so acquired it; and of peculiar misery to the people, who, against their own affianced duty, sanctioned and supported his unjust usurpation.

Son of Adela, the sister of the late king, and of the earl of Blois, Stephen had been one of Henry's favorites. The royal partiality had given him large possessions, and encouraged his marriage with the heiress of Boulogne. He had approved of his sovereign's darling plan, that his daughter Matilda should be his successor; he had been one of the foremost to swear allegiance to her; and Henry, to omit no measure that was then believed to bind the consciences of men in support of his daughter, had thrice obtained for her the appointment, the homage, and the oaths, of his parliament, clergy, and people.¹ He committed her to the care of the earl of Gloucester, but he had relied upon Stephen to be among the chief protectors of her right.

¹ The first oath of allegiance to her was taken in 1127. Malsb. 175. Sax. Ch. 353.—The second in 1131. Malsb. 177.—And the third, on the birth of her son Henry, in 1133. Rad. Dic. p. 505. Matt. Paris, 72.

On the king's death, Stephen broke through all his moral obligations; and, sailing immediately to England, by the management of his brother the bishop of Winchester, of the archbishop of Canterbury, and of others of the clergy, and by his own popularity, he was chosen king. As all orders of the community had three times sworn allegiance to Matilda, all violated their oaths by this appointment. Some of the chiefs increased their guilt by new perjuries. The royal seneschal asserted, that the king in his last moments had disinherited his daughter, and nominated Stephen — an incredible falsehood.² The bishop of Salisbury pretended that he was absolved from his oath, because the king had broken his promise, of not marrying his daughter, without his consent and the approbation of the other nobles.³ Such a reason aggravated the perjury which it attempted to extenuate. The archbishop of Canterbury at first remembered his oath to Matilda, which he had been the first of the clergy to take; but being reminded that it was an oath imposed by power, and that it was not fit that so many thousands of men should obey a woman, his easy or mercenary conscience was tranquillized.⁴ And the bishop of Winchester increased the clerical degradation, by approving, as the papal legate, the coronation of Stephen. Unless he had thus sanctioned it, Malmsbury avows that Stephen would have been disappointed.⁵ It may be mentioned to the honor of the monastic writers, that they do not hesitate to censure the whole as a guilty transaction, and remark the miseries that followed, both to the chief authors and to the

² Rad. Dic. 505. Matt. Par. 74.

³ Malmsbury says he often heard him declare this, but that he never believed him. P. 175.

⁴ Gesta Stephani, p. 929. The author states, that this prelate was a greedy hunter after money; that he did not survive a year; and left an infinite quantity of money, very secretly hidden in his repositories. Ib.

⁵ Malms. p. 178.

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concurring nation. The Pope completed the disgusting scene of political perfidy, by sending to Stephen his letters of confirmation, in which he was not ashamed to affirm, that he knew that the wishes of the favoring prelates had been suggested by divine grace. He reveals the actual principle of his acquiescence, when he tells the king, that for the obedience and reverence which he had promised to St. Peter, he received him with paternal affection, as a special son of the Roman church: yet in the same document he does not hesitate to speak highly of Henry's virtues, whose most favorite purpose he was thus exerting himself to frustrate.⁶

His popularity.

Stephen held his courts, at the solemn festivals, with unexampled magnificence. He repressed the invasion of the king of Scotland⁷; subdued his enemies in Normandy; and pacified even Geoffry, the husband of Matilda, by a yearly pension of 5,000 marks. The king of France admitted his son to do homage for his French dominions⁸; and so popular had Stephen been at all times, for his conviviality, accessibility and condescending affability even to the meanest, that the friend of his rival says that the general affection for him can scarcely be conceived.⁹ Robert count of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry, and the great supporter of Matilda's rights, perceived hostility to be so vain, that he submitted to swear fealty, with the limitation, that it was to last only so long as his own possessions were not invaded.¹⁰ The king of Scotland acted more nobly; he would not do Stephen homage for his English demesnes, because he

⁶ R. Hagulstad de Gestis Steph. 313, 314.

⁷ An unknown writer of the age thus describes the people of Scotland: "Unclean and barbarous; neither hurt by excessive cold, nor by severe hunger; trusting to their swift feet and light armour; esteeming death as nothing among their own family; but exceeding every one in cruelty towards foreigners." Gest. Steph. p. 939.—Their acts of cruelty, as detailed by R. Hagulstad, p. 316., resemble those of the ancient Northmen.

⁸ Matt. Paris, 75.

⁹ Malmsh. 179.

¹⁰ Ib. 180.

had pledged it to Henry and his daughter: and to effectuate peace between the two countries, Stephen was content to take the fealty from his son.¹¹ But such was the unanimity in the king's favor, during the first three years of his reign, that no sovereign would have seemed more secure: yet no sovereign had afterwards to endure severer calamities, altho as a warrior, he was brave, indefatigable, and even fond of encountering difficulties; and as a man, he was generous, gentle, and merciful.¹²

The causes of this strange reverse appear to have arisen partly from the inevitable consequences of his usurpation, and partly from the defects of his mental character.

"They *chose* me king," he exclaimed, when he saw with astonishment the hostilities that were gathering around him, "why are they deserting me?"¹³ He might have answered himself, that the deceptions, the corruptions, and the violence, by which he obtained his election, having accomplished that temporary purpose, must, according to the established laws of our nature, proceed to work those mischievous effects on the morals of his subjects, to which such vices always tend. His example of successful injustice was too splendid, not to tempt imitation. The treasures which he lavished, corrupted moral principle and inflamed cupidity; the venality of the great clergy produced a contempt of their order; and the promises by which he influenced many, excited resentment and malignity, when they were found to be fallacious. All these consequences soon began to operate violently against him. But his courage was equal to his difficulties; and he swore that he would never be called a dethroned king.¹⁴

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Hostilities
against
him.

¹¹ Matt. Paris, 75.

¹² Malmsb. 178. The Prior of Hagulstad, his contemporary, notices his perpetual good humor, and unbounded clemency, p. 312.

¹³ Malmsb. 180.

¹⁴ "Nunquam rex dejectus appellabor." Malmsb. 180. The Saxon Chronicle

Henry had subdued, but not extinguished, that passion for depredation and conflict, which was then pervading European society. His knights and barons submitted to the regulations of his inflexible determination to maintain the sovereignty of law; but the moral feeling of society was yet too imperfect to make the change of habit, pleasing to those who possessed the power of violence. It was soon felt that Stephen, who had obtained a crown by violating the laws of right, had no pretensions to enforce them on others; and after his accession, the great and restless began to resume the ancient practice of plundering their weaker neighbours, and of warring among themselves.¹⁵ The imperfections of Stephen's character increased their boldness. The mildness of his temper, and perhaps the recollection of his own conduct, induced him at first to be forbearing and indulgent; but when it was understood, says the Saxon chronicler, that he "was mild and soft, and good, and did not enforce justice, then did they all wonder;" and their rapacity and feuds became more unsparing from impunity. Then every one built what castles he pleased, to maintain or extend his robberies; and filled his fortifications with "devils and evil men." They sallied out by day and night, to collect the plunder which their power could compel, and dragged to their dungeons persons of both sexes, from whom there

marks the change which ensued in the country on Henry's death: "There was soon tribulation in the land, for every man that could, soon plundered others." P. 364.

¹⁵ The knight of Batthenton began. He is described by Ordericus as a man of some birth and estate, and devoted to the table. Collecting knights and archers into his castle, "he harassed outrageously all his neighbours with fire and depredation." — Stephen was at last compelled to besiege his castle. Ord. Vit. 934. His example was soon followed by a baron at Exeter. He strove to force the citizens and their neighbours to yield themselves to him: he seized all the supplies he wanted, threatening fire and the sword to those who resisted. P. 934. — The description of the siege of Exeter shows a considerable knowledge of the arts of attacking and defending a town. It cost the king three months' time, and 15,000 marks, to take it. P. 935. Baldwin then went to the Isle of Wight, to commence piracy from his castle there. P. 937. — The *Gesta Stephani* abounds with instances of these violences.

was any hope of extorting ransom. The tortures, described by the contemporary chronicler, that were used to exact it, would seem the language of romance, but that his descriptions display genuine feeling and particular knowledge, amid great simplicity of style.¹⁶

The violations of his promises offended and alienated his friends. Even the seneschal, who had lied for him, became dissatisfied; seized the castle of Norwich, and, affecting to believe a rumour of the king's death, refused to surrender it. This rumour spread through England, and excited great commotion.¹⁷ Baron after baron maintained their castles against him; and he was compelled to undertake a succession of sieges, in addition to his marches to repress the king of Scotland.

Stephen now became alarmed, and increased the evil by violent and unprincipled conduct. He seized two bishops, and his own chancellor, and threw them into prison with great indignity and personal suffering, until they had given up the castles in their power.¹⁸ The arrests of these prelates not only revolted the feelings of the great body to which they belonged, but destroyed general confidence, by the new proof, that he made power, and not law, his guide. In attempting surreptitiously to seize the count of Gloucester, he released that respected noble-

¹⁶ Sax. Chron. 366. This venerable document, now approaching to its close, gives this picture of nineteen years of Stephen's reign: "They hanged up men by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs; others by the head; and burning things were hung on their feet. They put knotted strings about their head, and writhed them till they went into the brain. They put persons into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Some they put into a crucet-house; that is, a chest that was short and narrow, and not deep, and had sharp stones within, and forced men therein, so that they broke all their limbs. In many of the castles were hateful and grim things, called *Sachen-teges*, which two or three men had enough to do to carry. It was thus made: it was fastened to a beam, and had a sharp iron to go about a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but he bore all the iron. Many thousands they afflicted with hunger." *Ib.*

¹⁷ Matt. Paris, 75.

¹⁸ M. Paris, 77. Chron. Sax. 366. Malmesbury details the circumstances, 181. One of the chancellor's castles was *Devizes*; than which, says M. Paris, there was not a more splendid one in all Europe.

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man from his conditional fealty, and gave a new cause of disaffection to his nobility. The count, warned of the meditated snare, abstained from the court. The king, disappointed, sought to cajole him by an assumed grace of manner, and an expressed contrition for his intention: he even stooped to employ the archbishop of Rouen to be the bearer of a sacred assurance of his honor, while he was secretly planning the count's arrest. The count, with steady prudence, penetrated and eluded the deceit¹⁹; and the king's new perfidy, alienating for ever this high-minded nobleman, soon produced its own punishment.

Stephen's
difficulties.

In the fourth year of his reign, his popularity appears to have ceased; and a destructive invasion of the Scottish king²⁰ was the signal for general revolt. In every part the barons rose in insurrection, and defended their castles; and Stephen, resolute to maintain his sovereignty, exerted himself with that warlike activity in which he was best qualified to excel. But he still had recourse to measures which filled the country with calamity. He had found in Henry's treasury an hundred thousand pounds in money, besides gold and silver vessels, and jewels of all sorts. Possessed of this supply, he invited knights and adventurers from all the regions about, and especially from Flanders and Bretagne. They came in great numbers, but with no other object than to benefit themselves from his profusion and their own rapacity. They soon exhausted the royal bounty; and while they fought under his banners, they plundered indiscriminately his people.²¹

¹⁹ Malm. 180. So heartless were Stephen's courtesies, that, after speaking to Gloucester in a playful and complimentary manner, he would satirize him, when he retired, with malignant phrases, and pilfer his possessions whenever he could. *Ib.*

²⁰ The anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani* ascribes his hostilities to a desire to punish Stephen, for the breach of his oath of fealty to Matilda, p. 939. The incursions of the Scots at last led to the battle of the standard described by Ric. Hagulstad, p. 318—326., in which they experienced a ruinous defeat, and the loss of half of their army of 27,000 men.

²¹ A writer of the time gives us a strong picture of the calamity produced by

The friends of Matilda now thought the time was come for the recovery of her lost inheritance. In 1139, she sailed to England, and landed at Arundel, with a few attendants. Her brother, the earl of Gloucester, had only 150 knights; and with this small force began that warfare which nearly hurled Stephen from his throne.²² But their reliance was upon the disaffection of the country, and the result corresponded with their calculations.

Stephen, with the customary courtesy of the true knighthood of the day, gave his rival a safe conduct to her brother's castle at Bristol, although she came to wrestle for his crown.²³ Supporters of her claims started up every where, and a dismal year of intestine warfare ensued. The abilities of the earl of Gloucester, and the zeal of her friends, maintained the contest against all the power and activity of Stephen; and the country groaned under the evils which both parties inflicted.²⁴

These scenes of public ruin, the attendants and the punishment of that civil fury, which takes from man's evil passions, the curb that governments are

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Matilda
lands in
England.
1139.

Capture of
the king.
1141.

these knights. "The fierce multitude of barbarians who, 'gratia militandi,' came in crowds to England, had no compassion on the public suffering. Every where from their castles they confederated for every mischief. To plunder the weak, to provoke quarrels every where, and to rove about for destruction, were their employments. The barons who had called them to their aid, were often unable from their own estates to pay them the expected stipends; and the prey they were allowed to collect did not always satisfy their insatiable rapacity. They harassed the possessions of the church with the most unrelenting devastations, and the persons of the ecclesiastics with contumely and violence." *Gesta Stephani*, 962.

²² Matilda's name was, by the English popular pronunciation, abbreviated to Mald and Mold, and by the Norman euphony, to Maud. We have the former in Robert of Gloucester: "Mold the good queene," p. 435. And in Brunne's Langtoft, "Mald wist full wele," p. 121.

²³ Malmsbury has transmitted to us this pleasing trait, and has made it more interesting by adding, that it was the custom "of reputable knights, not to deny it to their most hated enemy." P. 184.

²⁴ Malmsbury's description, and he witnessed what he describes, corresponds with that already cited from the Saxon Chronicler. "Castles abounded in every part of England; each defending, or rather depopulating, its neighbourhood. The knights of the castle seized the sheep and cattle in the fields, sparing neither churches nor cemeteries. They stripped the cottages even of their straw, and imprisoned the miserable inhabitants. They exhausted the property of their captives, by their ransoms; and many perished in the torments that were applied to compel them to redeem themselves." P. 185.

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chiefly wanted to impose, continued with no other result than a succession of human misery²⁵, till 1141, when the king suddenly besieged Lincoln, hoping by the surprise to capture two of the chief nobles who opposed him. The earl of Gloucester, on his part, projected to surprise the king. It was manœuvre against manœuvre. The earl hastened with his military force to the Trent: he found it unfordable, from the late rains. He explained to his followers the exigency of their affairs, and the opportunity they now had of ending their calamities by one blow.²⁶ They boldly rushed into the river, and passed it swimming. The king, ever ready for knightly deeds, received their onset with undaunted courage. At first he attempted to convert the battle into the single combats of the joust, in which his friends were expert; but the assailants threw away their lances, and, unsheathing their swords, rushed on to a close and more deadly combat. Their attack was irresistible. They dispersed their antagonists, and surrounded the king, and a few barons who would not leave him, but whose intrepidity was unavailing. The king fought with all the fierceness of his native courage. Every knight pressed forward to take him. He felled them with his battle-axe, till it broke with the vehemence of his blows. Undismayed by this accident, he rushed on them with his sword, until that also shivered upon their bodies. He still disdained to yield, until a heavy stone struck him to the ground. A knight

²⁵ We have another contemporary picture of the public suffering at this period, in the *Gesta Stephani*. "England now began to be depopulated. Some emigrated to other countries: Some, raising hovels near religious places for safety, passed there an alarmed and miserable life: Some, in the dreadful famine that every where prevailed, after living on the flesh of dogs or horses, or on raw herbs and roots, perished by heaps in pestilential disorders. You might see towns of famous name, void of all their inhabitants. England presented every where a face of calamity and oppression." P. 961.

²⁶ Henry Huntingdon gives the speeches of the leaders at length, but he puts Stephen's into the mouth of one of his nobles, because the king wanted a *vox festiva*, p. 391. So that the festive voice was synonymous with a Stentorian one.

then sprang upon him, and seizing him by the helmet, exclaimed, "Hither! Hither! I have got the king."²⁷ As the earl had ordered him to be taken alive, no further violence was attempted. He was led away to Gloucester, and afterwards to Bristol, where, from their anxiety to secure him, they are stated to have fettered him.²⁸

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Matilda was now received by all as the rightful queen. She was crowned at Winchester; and the papal policy turning with the vane of fortune, the legate blessed her. She went through the country with much popular applause, and was at last received into London and Westminster.²⁹

Matilda
crowned;

The queen of Stephen made earnest supplication for the liberty of her husband. The nobles even offered to become hostages, that he should resign the crown. But Matilda was inexorable and contumelious.³⁰ It is difficult now to appreciate her policy. It seems to have been sacrificed to her resentment or her fears. She is accused of an arrogance and an austerity which displeased her new subjects. Too angry to feel the wisdom of forgetting the offence, when the offender had submitted; too proud to value the submission which followed unsuccessful resistance; too presumptuous to anticipate the possibility

²⁷ Malmesbury, 187., and Huntingdon, 352., who both lived at the time, furnish the circumstances of the battle; to which the *Gesta Stephani* adds some others, p. 952.

²⁸ The cause alleged for this ignominy was, that he was found at night beyond his allotted boundaries. Malmesb. 187.

²⁹ Flor. Wig. 540, 541. Orderic, as he closes his history, laments the king's misfortune, and characterizes him as "humble and courteous to the good and mild;" and adds, that if the "deceitful nobles would have suffered it, he would have been the liberal and benevolent guardian of his country." P. 922. This honest monk then proceeds to say of himself, that he finishes his work in his 67th year, worn out by age and infirmity. Born near the Severn, and educated for five years at a school in Shrewsbury, his father destined him to the church, and sent him weeping, at the age of 10, to Normandy. He arrived there "known to and knowing no one;" but was admitted to the monastery of St. Evreux, and continued in it 56 years. A pleasing effusion of grateful piety to his "Rex et Deus — Plas-mater et Vivificator," terminates his useful work. P. 924-5.

³⁰ *Gesta Steph.* 954. Florence adds, that they proposed that he should go abroad, or become a monk, p. 542.

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OF
STEPHEN.compelled
to fly.Gloucester
taken.

of reverses from the resentment of the insulted; she drove the friends of Stephen with contempt from her presence, when they came to do her homage.³¹ The affability and condescension of the king were recollected to her disadvantage; and she learnt with the astonishment of proud vanity, that the citizens of London were preparing to seize her. Suddenly she heard the alarm-bells every where ringing, as the summons to arms; the stormy tumult of a multitude rising to insurrection, clamoured all around: every moment the infuriated mob increased in numbers and evil feeling. Her friends, dismayed at the perilous crisis, hastily dispersed, forgetful of her, and eager only to escape. The deserted and mortified Matilda, equally enraged and alarmed, was compelled to sacrifice her dignity to her safety, and fled with precipitation to Oxford, and thence to Gloucester. In assisting to produce and spread this revolution, the queen of Stephen displayed the heroic virtues to which her sex can rise, on the noblest of all the female impulses. Connubial affection her inspirer, she endured every danger and fatigue, to procure her husband's liberation, and to humble the fair but haughty tyrant, who kept him imprisoned, and had insulted her. Many joined her from sympathy, others from disgust or policy; and the fortune of Stephen again predominated.

Amid the struggles which followed, the brother and champion of Matilda, the noble Gloucester, was in his turn taken prisoner. This important capture put the fortunes of the contending parties on a level. It is clear that neither greatly preponderated. The king and earl were exchanged for each other; and the conflict lasted, with increasing misery to the nation, till the death of the latter.³² Matilda was at

³¹ Gesta Steph. 954.³² Flor. Wig. 542. Gesta Steph. 954, 955. Malmsbury, in his intimation, 189., that the reverse which followed would not have happened if the earl's moderation

one time besieged in Oxford by Stephen, and with difficulty escaped.³³ On the death of her brother, she quitted England, and Stephen preserved his crown. But he was not able to persuade the nation to appoint his son Eustace his successor.

During this contention, Henry, the son of Matilda, was advancing to maturity. His mother retired with him to his father's territory of Anjou, and every effort was made to establish him in Normandy. Stephen could not counteract his influence in this restless province, and Henry became its duke. The divorce of Louis the French king, from his wife Eleanor³⁴, gave Henry an opportunity of making a splendid addition to his power, by marrying the lady whose dowry and inheritance embraced some of the most important provinces in the south of France. In the following year he attempted an invasion of England. He was joined by numerous partisans. The calamities of civil war were again renewing; but at length an accommodation was effected between Henry and Stephen, by which it was agreed, that Stephen should enjoy the crown peaceably while he lived, and that Henry should be his successor. The death of the king's eldest son facilitated the arrangement, and his own demise suddenly following, Henry succeeded quietly to the long-disputed throne, in October 1154.³⁵

and wisdom had been listened to, implies, that Matilda was so deficient in these essential qualities, that she could not even value them in others.

³³ Her provisions were exhausted; the castle surrounded by the king's army, his machines were destroying the defences; the lands near the city were laid under water; and its capture was inevitable. Matilda made a desperate attempt to escape. The ground was covered with snow, and the waters frozen over. While the royal army was sounding their trumpets for an assault, she silently went out of a postern gate, with only three chosen knights, clothed in white: amid the general bustle, their footsteps were unheard; their garments occasioned them to be undistinguished over the snow-clad ground. She crossed safely the ice of the inundations, and, after walking six miles unobserved, escaped to Wallingford. Gest. Steph. 959. Guil. Newb. l. 1. c. 10.

³⁴ Guil. Newb. l. 1. c. 31. The alleged cause of the divorce, was their uncanonical consanguinity. After the birth of two daughters, the king's conscience became uneasy on this point. A solemn inquiry, before the prelates and barons of France, was made into the relationship, and the marriage was dissolved. Gesta Ludov. p. 157.

³⁵ M. Paris, 86. Gervase, p. 1376. Guil. Newb. 30-32. In William of New-

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OF
STEPHEN.Effects of
Stephen's
reign.

The reign of Stephen was sufficiently disastrous to himself, and to his people. But the superintending Wisdom that is always seeking to convert our vices and follies to good and salutary issues, made even the calamities of this reign productive of important benefits to the country. By weakening the military power of England, they divested the succeeding sovereign of those abundant means of warlike aggression, which so often tempt youthful monarchs to disturb other nations with war, and which had excited the mind of Rufus to the extravagant projects which his death intercepted. By consuming the possessions and destroying the families of the great barons, and by introducing in their stead a numerous and motley host of knight-adventurers from all parts, who obtained ample divisions of the landed property of the country, England became filled with a multitude of less potent proprietors, whose existence prevented the mischiefs of an over-grown turbulent aristocracy, and whose independence protected the growing liberties of the nation.

The devastations of the contending partisans, who spared none, who despised the higher orders of the clergy for their political venality, and plundered the ecclesiastical possessions every where with eagerness, because the booty was always ample, shook the spell of superstition, which in other countries was slavishly subjecting the popular mind; and accustomed the people to view with less veneration those pastors, whose leaders were then projecting to acquire the sovereignty of Europe. The Pope was taught to

berry, we see a writer of this period emerging from the common legends of the cloister to tales as fabulous, but more fanciful. One of these is of some wolf-pits, near Bury St. Edmund's, whence a green-colored young man and woman appeared, who would eat at first nothing but beans, till, brought by degrees to take bread, their color changed to our own, *l. l. c. 27*. Some of his other prodigies are amusing. But he has the great merit of having vigorously attacked the romance of Jeffrey of Monmouth, at the very period of its highest celebrity. His proemium is a monument of his historical good sense on this subject, which deserves our liberal praise.

dread the fostering of a civil war in a country, which made the ecclesiastical property a favorite object of attack; and the clergy themselves, from the same reason, became interested to avert it.

At the same time the evils universally suffered from the general practice of rapine and violence, convinced all ranks of the folly of continuing the system. When Henry I. had struggled to abolish it, his wise measures were unpopular, because they anticipated the progress of his age; but the benefit of his success gave to the reflecting an experience of good, which the outrages of Stephen's reign so forcibly recommended, that all the orders of property in the country adopted the conviction of the more enlightened; and in the next reign, the sovereign was encouraged and assisted to extend the authority of law, and to maintain peace and order in every part of the community.

As the system of knightly rapine fell into discredit, a taste for better things arose. The active mind, weary of brutal violence, and disgusted with the fame of the bandit, turned with pleasure to more laudable employments; and soon found gratification in literature, in the courteous graces of society, in arts, in poetry, and in the intellectual professions. The reign of the next sovereign displayed the national mind in an emulous cultivation of these nobler subjects of human thought: and we may add, that the perils in which Stephen had been involved, taught future kings the necessity of being wary, popular, and moderate. The succession to the crown was henceforward allowed to assume the shape of hereditary right; and no more ambitious nobles, like Harold and Stephen, were suffered to possess themselves of the throne to the disadvantage of their people.

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STEPHEN.

CHAP. VIII.

The Reign of HENRY II.

1154—1189.

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VIII.Extent of
Henry's
dominions.

No king of England had possessed so much Continental territory at his accession, as Henry II. enjoyed: it comprised all the sea coast of France, from Picardy to the Pyrenees, with the exception of Bretagne, which his brother Geoffry was claiming. But even this state, which his possessions surrounded, had been subdued by the Norman sovereigns, and fell at length under his own influence. Of this extensive dominion, he had inherited Anjou and Maine from his father, and Normandy from his mother. The provinces between the Loire and the Pyrenees, comprising the largest share of the country which the Provençals call Occitanie¹, were the dowry of his wife Eleanor countess of Poitou, whom the king of France, not foreseeing the choice of her second marriage, had with an impolitic precipitancy divorced.²

This unprecedented mass of power comprised, with England, the most warlike part of Europe; and wielded as it now was, by a single hand in the vigor of youth, might have tempted its possessor to the most extravagant ambition. If we reason from the achievements of our princes in subsequent times, with far less means, we may assume, that if it had been directed by our Black Prince or fifth Harry,

¹ The ancient language of the South of France, was called, la langue d'oc, from the sound of its affirmative particle. From this circumstance, the country has been called Occitanie, and a specific portion of it, Languedoc. The French have now formed a new adjective, Occitanique, to comprise all the dialects derived from the ancient tongue.

² Louis was displeased at her nuptials with Henry, because he then saw that his two daughters by her would lose her rich inheritance. Chron. Norm. p. 985.

France, then weakened by her great feudatories, must have been subdued, and the rest of Europe endangered. But great military glory is as much the child of accident and surrounding circumstances, as of will and power. Personal humor, temporary events, sudden obstacles, political institutions, or unexpected combinations, frequently withhold it, when other contingencies present a favourable crisis for its acquisition; and sometimes, as at Agincourt, it flows in all its plenitude, when safety was the only success that reason could anticipate.

With his apparent means of conquest, Henry possessed a spirit that was nothing averse to power and aggrandizement. He preferred the violation of his oath, to the surrender of the earldom of Anjou and its vicinity to his younger brother.³ He struggled with that brother for Bretagne, and with a remote kinsman for Tholouse⁴; and he attempted to keep Flanders, which had been deposited with him only in trust.⁵ Thus inclined to seek the profit of ambition, without being critical as to its right, and possessed of the power to extort what he coveted, the state of France at that time rather invited his cupidity than deterred it. Its sovereign was neither formidable nor popular. The age was fond of warfare, and the daring hero was sure of having abundant followers and allies. Yet Henry abstained from pursuing the attainable laurels which were the passion of the times, and even submitted to be reviled for his forbearance, by the Provençal Troubadours, who were the popular distributors of the fame of their day. The truth

³ His father on his death-bed bequeathed Anjou to his son Geoffry, as soon as Henry should succeed to the crown of England, and desired that his body might remain unburied till Henry, then absent, should swear to fulfil this bequest. Henry with great reluctance took the oath; but as soon as he was king of England, applied to the Pope to dispense him from keeping it. Bromton Chron. p. 1048. Guil Newb. l. 2. c. 7.

⁴ Chron. Norm. 987. 991, 992. 995.

⁵ The count of Flanders and his wife committed their territory and heir to the care of Henry, when they went to Jerusalem. Chron. Norm. 993.

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seems to be, that he had a sufficiency of ambition and of its projects⁶, but that he wanted its spirit of daring enterprise; he cultivated better pursuits; and he was surrounded with occasional circumstances, that compelled him in some measure to be pacific, or to use war with his Continental neighbours rather as a show than a pursuit.

His love of literature.

The king's intellectual cultivation was a predominant cause of his indifference for military activity. He is described by his ecclesiastical admirer, as devoting to reading and conversation every interval that he could obtain from his royal duties and sports of exercise. Conferences with his most literary friends, and discussions on intellectual subjects, are stated to have been his daily occupations.⁷ His knowledge of history was great, and he encouraged and rewarded its popular composers.⁸ His education had been much directed by his uncle, called in his day the great earl of Gloucester, who implanted in

⁶ His customary remark, "That all the world was little enough for one powerful man," (Bromton Chron. 1044.) proves that his mind was sometimes occupied in ambitious meditation.

⁷ Pet. Bless. Ep. 66. — Giraldus, who was much with him, remarks, that what he once heard, which was worthy of being remembered, he never forgot. He gives a striking instance of the tenacity of the king's memory. Whenever he had once looked at any one attentively, he always knew him again, altho he was daily immersed in a crowd of new faces. Topog. Hibern. p. 784.

⁸ Thus Wace says, Henry assisted him to compose his Historical Romans, and gave him the prebend of Bayeux.

De Romans faire m'entremis
Mult en ecris, e mult en fis,
Par deu aie e *par le rei*
Altre fors deu servir ne dei.
M'en fu donée, Deus li rende
A Baieues une prebende.
Del rei Henri segout vos di;
Nevo Henri; Pere Henri.

Chron. Norm. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

So he mentions that the king had desired Beneit to compose his historical work:—

Oie eu avant que dire en deit
Jaidit por Maistre Beneit.
Qi cest oure a dire a emprise,
Com *li reis* la disor lui mise.
Quant le reis li a roue faire
Laisser la dei, si men del talre
Li reis jadis mairret bien me fist;
Mult me dona; plus me pramist.—MS. Ib.

him that love of literature and intellectual pleasures, which is the best antidote against heroic insanity, and the most noble accomplishment of a sovereign. This taste, after his marriage, was increased by the Troubadours, who pervaded his southern provinces, and eagerly visited his court. Trouveurs⁹, minstrels, and poets, abounded under his patronage: they spread the love of poetry and literature among his barons and people; and the consequences of the royal taste soon became visible, in the improved education of the great, in the increasing number of the studious, and in the multiplicity of authors who wrote during his reign and the next.

Both Eleanor and Henry liberally encouraged the Provençal poets. She was frequently the theme of their songs. Grand-daughter of the earliest Troubadour whose works have descended to us¹⁰, she loved their praises and patronized their genius; and they, in gallant return, celebrated her kindness with an enthusiasm which breathes all the spirit of romantic passion. One of them, Bernard de Vantadour, who sought an asylum in her court, exclaims, in a poem addressed to her, "I would rather die of the torments I endure, than relieve my heart by a rash avowal. She has indeed permitted me to ask a boon; but I have one to ask, of so high a price, that a king ought not to risk it. Yet she approves of my writing to her; and she can read."¹¹

In another piece, written after Eleanor had accompanied Henry to England, the sentimental Trouba-

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The Troubadours celebrate his queen.

⁹ The distinction taken between the Trouveur and the Troubadour, confines the latter term to the Provençal poets of the South of France, and the former to the minstrels and versifiers of the North. M. Le Grand, in his preface to his *Fabliaux*, has taken some pains to mark the difference.

¹⁰ This was William the 9th count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, born 1071, and died in 1122. St. Palaye's Collections, as published in an abridged selection by Milot, begins with him. Vol. I. p. 1.

¹¹ *Hist. Liter. des Troubad.* vol. I. p. 31. Bernard's life was romantic and unprincipled. See St. Palaye's *Troub.* p. 19-29. As this work is composed from St. Palaye's papers, I shall quote it under his name rather than that of Milot, who has abridged rather too penuriously his voluminous materials.

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dour cries out, "Why can I not cut the air like a swallow, and lay my heart every night at the feet of her, to whom, at such a distance, I offer my songs? Every morning the nightingale wakes me, singing his love: he recalls to me the remembrance of my own; and I prefer these sweet musings to the pleasures of sleep."¹² In another poem, he takes a flight so rapturous, as to soar from passion into conceit. Alluding to her being in England, he says, "The winds that come from it, waft to my senses all the perfumes of Paradise."¹³ With parents so fond of the Provençal poets, we shall not be surprised to find that their son Richard, the sturdy Cœur de Lion, was himself a Troubadour.

His peculiar
temper.

The indisposition to war, which the king's intellectual taste tended so much to nourish, was increased by his peculiar disposition. This presented two marking features apparently inconsistent — extreme caution, and incessant restlessness. Tho possessed of a power of aggression, which no existing prince could have withstood if it had been energetically exerted, yet he was always dreading the doubtful chance of war, and with the most anxious solicitude sought every other means of attaining his purpose, in preference to an appeal to arms.¹⁴ Hence he became distinguished for his love of peace, and for his care to preserve it.¹⁵ Admirable qualities! fortunate disposition! The more remarkable, because another characteristic of his mind was, its extreme restlessness. Such was his moveability, that he never sat down: if he was not on horseback, he was always standing.¹⁶ The superfluous activity of his never-resting spirit, which the ordinary duties of his

¹² St. Palaye, Troub., p. 32.

¹³ St. Palaye, p. 33. Bernard, after a life of poetry and some profligacy, became a monk in an abbey in the Limousin. P. 37.

¹⁴ Girald. Camb. Top. Hib. p. 783.

¹⁵ Both Giraldus and Blessensis, his particular friends, remark this trait.

¹⁶ Blessensis and Giraldus, ubi supra.

high station, and his literary studies and conversations, did not occupy, sought a channel for its own discharge in the perpetual fatigues of the chace. Actæon was not more indefatigable than Henry. At the first dawn he was on horseback, piercing the woods or flying over the lofty hills, and exhausting his attendants by his amazing power of continuous motion. In the evening, as if insensible of the possibility of being fatigued, he was in the habit of wearying all his court, by keeping continually on his feet.¹⁷ Great instability and caprice were necessarily the companions of a mind and body so unquiet; and from these qualities arose a dishonorable practice of faithlessness in his promises, and a teasing irritability in his temper, with occasional bursts of violent passion when his displeasure was excited.¹⁸ His attachments and his hatreds were equally violent and durable. Regretting the men he lost in battle to a degree that was thought unprincely, he was yet stern, impatient, and severe with his living soldiers. Thus his compassion for the dead, restrained him from attempting important conflicts; and his perverse harshness towards those who were serving him safely¹⁹, precluded that personal attachment which often kindles heroic enthusiasm by its animating sympathy.

It is obvious that a person of Henry's taste and feelings had no occasion to be a king, in order to be happy. But the same may be said of the sovereign who consumes his restlessness in war. As far as the trumpet, the drum, the roar of cannon, or the tumult of battle give delight, the commander of a battalion

¹⁷ Giraldus, 783. Blessensis also describes him as *vehemens amator nemorum*.

¹⁸ Giraldus. Blessensis calls him a "*leo aut leone truculentior*" when he was enraged, ep. 75.; and some instances of his occasional fury are noticed by him, ep. 66; and in the Ep. S. Thom. 44 and 45. His ecclesiastical friends and opponents have carefully commemorated his faults. His dispute with Becket has occasioned a competition of character between them, from which his own has suffered.

¹⁹ We owe these intimations of Henry's character to Giraldus's personal knowledge and acute observation.

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can enjoy them as intensely as an emperor; and dignity seems thrown away on such men as Charles XII. and Bonaparte, who make these things their gratification and their history. Compared with them, the unwarlike Henry at his hunting was a preferable character: society was never desolated for his amusement, nor his country exhausted that his vanity might be fed.

The state of England concurred with Henry's personal feelings and habits to urge him to a pacific reign. Slowly recovering from the ravages of a long and bitter civil war, it was neither prepared nor disposed to engage in those lengthened hostilities, expensive both in population and wealth, without which, the power of France, tho' scattered and disjointed, could not have been overthrown. The coincidence of these various circumstances kept Henry from adopting the projects of the aspiring Rufus, tho' repeated provocations occurred that might have roused him to a desperate warfare.

The value of his pacific character was not duly estimated by all his contemporaries. One of the more warlike Troubadours even satirized him for his inactivity: "I love archers," he exclaims, "when they launch stones and overturn walls. I love an army assembled upon a plain in battle-array. I wish the king of England were as fond of fighting, as I am, lady, of retracing to myself the images of your youth and beauty! Undervalued as he may be, he would acquire more glory if he would give 'Guienne' as his war-cry, and show himself the foremost in striking at the illustrious and valiant count."²⁰

One of the king's first measures was the exaltation

²⁰ St. Palaye, Troub. p. 100. This Troubadour was Bernard Arnaud de Montcuc. He has another sneer at Henry; "I value more a courser, saddled and armed, a shield, a lance, and an approaching war, than the haughty airs of a prince, who consents to peace by sacrificing part of his rights and of his lands." Ib. p. 99.

of Thomas à Becket to be the Chancellor of England. As this individual occupied so intensely the veneration of our ancestors, and his memory is still so much respected by those who believe him to have been both a saint and martyr, his history claims an attentive consideration in the present Work. It is too important to be passed slightly over; it is too ambiguous to be hastily characterized.

Becket was the son of a respectable citizen of London, and of a Saracen lady, whose adventures²¹ might be classed with the tales of romance, but that, after the crusades commenced, human life became a romance; and society was full of wild enterprise and improbable incident. That Becket's admirers should give a Christian saint a Mohamedan mother, unless the incident had some foundation, would seem strange. But whether the account be a legend or a history, it forms a part of his ancient biography²², and is amusing enough to be at least recollected as what our forefathers believed. His education commenced at Merton, and in the schools of the Metropolis; but his advance in learning was not great. He was afterwards sent to Paris to study, and on his return was placed in a civil office. His time was however chiefly devoted to hunting and falconry; and he was once

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Thomas à
Becket
made chan-
cellor.

²¹ The story is this: His father, Gilbert, went on the crusade to Jerusalem, and became the prisoner of an Emir. After a year and a half's captivity, the Emir treated him kindly, admitted him to his table, and discoursed with him on the manners of his country. The Emir's daughter also saw and loved him: she made opportunities of conversing with him, and heard that he came from London. He afterwards escaped, and reached England in safety. She determined to follow him. She left her father's house, found a ship sailing to England, and remembering the name of London, one of the only two English words she could pronounce, by repeating it incessantly she at last got to the Metropolis. Here she wandered from street to street, exclaiming "Gilbert!" She at last, by chance, reached the street he lived in; a mob usually accompanied her, which roused the attention of the family, and she was recognized by his servant. Gilbert consulted the bishop of London on the circumstances, who, finding she was desirous of becoming a Christian, advised him to marry her.

²² The preceding circumstances are in the account of his life, called *Quadrilogus*, because drawn up from his four contemporary biographers, l. 1. c. 2. They are also in an ancient parchment MS. in the Cotton Library, Julius, D. 6. and in *Bromton Chron.* p. 1052.—The *Life of Becket*, in old English rhyme, MS. Cleor; D. 9. contains them. The later editions of *Quadrilogus* omit them.

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nearly drowned when he jumped into the Thames to save a favorite hawk.²³ Introduced soon afterwards to the prelate of Canterbury, he visited at his palace, and was hospitably received. He found himself inferior to the informed clergy, who attended there; but he had graceful and interesting manners. Twice expelled from the archbishop's court, he as often reinstated himself, and at last rose to so much favor, that he was sent on ecclesiastical negotiations to Rome. His conduct there was popular; his embassies successful; and several preferments were presented to him.

Becket's
adminis-
tration;

Having thus secured the competencies of life, he proceeded to gratify his ambition. He felt his talents for business, and directed himself to the studies that would best qualify him to pursue it. With this view he obtained his patron's leave to learn the civil law from the celebrated teachers of it at Bologna²⁴, and afterwards at Auxerre. The richest parsonage in England was given to him, when he returned, and he was soon afterwards raised by the king to the dignity of chancellor, at the age of thirty-seven. His conduct as minister displayed great ability. He led the parliament to banish the Flemish mercenaries, who were occupying and plundering Kent.²⁵ Under his administration the king subdued the barons, who opposed the re-establishment of order and law; caused all the castles²⁶ and warlike fortifications to be destroyed,

²³ Stephan. p. 11. *Quadrilogus*—Bromton, p. 1056.

²⁴ Steph. 12. *Quadril.* Bologna at that time had the reputation of the best lectures on civil law. But it was also taught in England. From 1149, Roger Vacarius, abbot of Bec, had taught the Roman laws in England, and many pupils, both rich and poor, flocked to him to learn them. At the suggestion of the *poor students*, he composed nine books from the *Codex* and *Digest*, which, says my authority, "are sufficient to decide all the legal controversies that are accustomed to occur in the schools, if perfectly understood." *Rob. de Monte Chron.* 983.

²⁵ Steph. 13. This measure did not prevent the king, in 1163, entering, like his grandfather, into a treaty with the count of Flanders, for 1,000 knights, if he should want them. The subsidy for these was 400 pounds. See the *Treaty, Rym. Fœdera*, vol. 1.

²⁶ Almost every third town is said to have had a castle; which a contemporary

with which the country had been filled, and by many vigorous efforts terminated the reign of rapine and violence.²⁷ Proprietors again lived undisturbed; merchants once more travelled in safety to their fairs and markets: creditors obtained justice, and the church security; external commerce revived, and the general civilization increased.²⁸

To restore the country to the internal state in which Henry I. had left it, the king re-established that sovereign's laws²⁹; revoked the grants by which Stephen had impoverished the crown, and reduced even Stephen's son to the possessions which his father had held before his usurpation.³⁰ On Becket's suggestion, he wisely invited back to England all the Englishmen of merit who had fled to France to avoid the calamities and violences of the preceding reign; and he advanced them to employment as their abilities deserved.³¹ The administration of Becket is panegyricized as honorable to his sovereign, and beneficial to his country³²; and his public measures appear to justify the praise.

The king loaded his chancellor with honors and emoluments; he gave him the prebend of Hastings; the Tower of London, with the service of the knights attached to it; the Castle of Eye, and the hundred and forty knights, its appended honor; and the Castle of Berkhamstead. The education of the young

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styles, little else than the dens of depredators. Steph. p. 13.—In his last treaty with Stephen, the king had stipulated for the demolition of 126 castles. Rob. de Monte Chron. ap. Duchesne, p. 989. I quote this Work as Robert de Monte's, because the MS. Chronicle, Domitian, A. 8. which is the same work, is ascribed to this author.

²⁷ Robert de Monte mentions several of these conflicts, pp. 990, 991, 993; and Hov. says, *omnia ferè castalla quæ facta fuerant in Anglia tempore regis Stephani demoliri fecit.* 491.

²⁸ Steph. 13.

²⁹ Hoveden, 491.

³⁰ Rob. de Monte, p. 993. This was in conformity with Henry's agreement with Stephen, in 1154. See the Treaty in Rymer's *Fœdera*, v. 1. p. 13.

³¹ Steph. 16.

³² Steph. 13, 14. With political objects not now discernible, Henry caused himself to be three times crowned. Hoveden, 491.

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prince was intrusted to his care³³; and he was not required to account for the temporalities of the vacant prelacies, and the escheats of great baronies, which, falling to the crown, came under his custody. The royal confidence, as well as liberality, was unbounded; the king treated him with the familiarity and affection of a brother. Laying aside the pomp of sovereignty, he would come to him unexpected, as going to the chace, or returning from it, with his hunting-spear in his hand. Sometimes leaping over his table, he would sit and eat with him; at others drink a hasty salute and depart. They joked and played together with boyish gaiety, like equal and familiar friends. Becket conformed his manners to his master's humor, was gay when he was gay, and serious when he was grave. He hunted with him; he dined and slept at the same hours; and was so completely admitted to all his intimacies, that his acquaintance with the objects of his sovereign's immoral propensities raised suspicions of his own virtue; which, however, his biographer disavows.³⁴

his splendid
mode of
living;

It cannot be pretended that any features of the future saint were discernible in the chancellor. He is declared by an encomiast, to have been immeasurably fond of the popular praise; and all his conduct was directed to the gratification of this feeling. His horse was decorated with silver reins of such a price, that the animal is said to have carried a treasure in his bit.³⁵ His palace shone with gold and silver vessels, and every costly ornament. His table and expense exceeded those of earls. And as on the one hand, says his biographer, he remembered little of

³³ Steph. 14, 15.

³⁴ Steph. p. 17. and 14.; Quadril. p. 8. As an instance of the king's familiarity, he mentions, that Henry one day pulling off Becket's new scarlet cloak, as they were riding thro' London, to give it to a beggar, the chancellor publicly struggled with his sovereign for the possession of it, till the attendants thought, from the noise and commotion, that they were seriously quarrelling. P. 17.

³⁵ Quadril. p. 8.

the archdeacon, so on the other he seemed to use witchcraft for his supplies.³⁶ It is attributed to him as a peculiar luxury, that every day in winter his floors were spread with new hay or straw, and in summer with fresh boughs and twigs, so that if any, out of the multitude of knights who daily feasted with him, could find no seat, they might accommodate themselves on the ground, without injury to their clothes. He kept an open table for all persons who came to court; and never sat down without earls and barons his invited guests. Every rarity was to be seen at his repast, and his providers were ordered to let no price, however extravagant, deter them from purchasing it.³⁷

The person and manners of Becket were interesting. Tall in stature, with a placid, handsome and commanding countenance, his figure pleased the eye; while his subtle reasonings, his polished elocution, and facetious gaiety, won the heart. His loftiness of mind, that was proud and ceremonious with rank and power, softened into affability, gentleness and liberality towards his inferiors and the necessitous.³⁸ Popularity being his passion, he studied to be attractive; and he knew that the condescensions of greatness have equal influence with its power.

His princely splendor procured him an extensive reputation. One object of the king's casual visits was to ascertain if he lived as rumor narrated. Such were his liberalities, that scarcely a day passed in which he did not give away largely, horses, birds, vestments, or some gold and silver vessels, or money. This munificence occasioned him to be styled, The love and delight of the Western world. Nobles and knights crowded to do him homage; and the great barons, both of England and the adjoining kingdoms,

³⁶ Gervase, 1668. Steph. 14.³⁸ Gervase, 1668. Steph. 12.³⁷ Steph. 14, 15.

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thought it an honor and an advantage to send their sons to serve him. He had them honorably brought up and instructed, knighted them, returned some to their parents, and retained others in his family. He shared in the amusements of hawking, hunting, and chess.³⁹ Altho of his personal virtue we know nothing to contradict the assertions of his friend, yet it is the abuse of language to attach the Christian virtues of meekness and humility⁴⁰ to such ostentatious magnificence — a habit the most censurable in a subject, whose only property was his official income, and who therefore could not sustain his liberalities by his honorable revenues — a habit the most pernicious to the nation, as it engenders in society that spirit of emulous expense and luxurious imitation, which destroys the frugal virtues of life, and converts public probity into desperate ambition and unprincipled rapacity.⁴¹

his journey
to Paris.

Henry's intercourse with the French court was at first courteous and amicable. The civilities of the two sovereigns increased when Henry, by the advice of Becket, proposed a treaty of marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Louis. The French king accepted the proposal, and invited Henry to Paris.⁴² It was in these negotiations which Becket conducted, that his proud magnificence displayed itself in a pomp that only majesty could surpass, or ought to have attempted. His journey to Paris on this occasion is thus described: He took with him

³⁹ The phrase, in calculis bicoloribus insidorum ludebat bella latronum, Steph. p. 14., compared with the una dierum sedit ad ludum scaccorum, p. 17., seems to imply Chess.

⁴⁰ Becket's humility was probably only the proud courtesy by which power strives sometimes to be popular. The description of humilis humilibus, elatis ferus et violens, p. 15., suits this species of condescension.

⁴¹ Catalinam, luxuria primum, tum hinc conflata egestas rei familiaris—in nefaria concilia—compulere. Florus, l. 4. c. 1. To the opulentia, paritura mox egestatem—to the famem quam populus Romanus luxu fecerat—this author attributes the ambitious attempts of Cæsar and Pompey, as well as of Cataline, and the downfall of the Roman republic. l. 3. c. 12. et passim.

⁴² Robert de Monte, 991–994.

from his own household, two hundred knights, and others all on horses, and well armed. Both they and their followers were dressed in new and splendid garments. He had himself four and twenty changes of apparel, and every elegance of luxury and convenience that wealth could provide. He had all sorts of dogs and birds, which were used in princely sports; and a vast train of waggons, sumpter-horses and attendants, to carry the numerous articles of his state and intended liberality. When he entered the French towns, his retinue was displayed with the most solicitous ostentation. Two hundred and fifty lads went first, in bodies of six or ten, singing English ballads; at a little interval the hounds in couples, and the sporting dogs, with all their apparatus and assistants, followed. Then appeared his immense waggons, conveying his liquors, his chapel, his chamber, his kitchen, his furniture and his luxuries. His sumpter-horses paced next, with their guides. Behind these appeared the squires of the knights, carrying their masters' shields, and leading their steeds; then other armor-bearers, afterwards pages in due order. The falconers, with their birds, succeeded; and the cup-bearers, and other gentlemen of his household. Behind these, the knights and clergy were seen riding, two and two, in long and solemn state. And when the numerous train was exhausted, the procession was closed by the great magician, Becket himself, accompanied by a few familiar friends, and gratified to his heart's desire, by hearing the French rustics exclaim, What a wonderful personage the king of England must be, if his chancellor can travel in such state!⁴³ That the son of the plain citizen of London should astound the French peasantry with this elaborate pomp, may be referred by his advocates to some recondite policy; but in the eye of reason, it

⁴³ Steph. 20, 21.

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can wear no other aspect than that of an exorbitant vanity which no common gratification could satiate.

If he travelled in this state thro' the obscure towns and villages of the country, it may be conceived that at Paris his grandeur would be transcendently elaborate. It was so; and the accounts that are given of his luxury and expense in that city, are so enormous, that we are almost tempted, with lord Lyttleton, to characterize them as incredible.⁴⁴ Nor was this a transient fit of ostentation; it was his habitual character; for when he attended the king in one of his Norman expeditions, we see indications of the same splendor. Besides 700 knights of his own household, he had 1200 stipendiary knights, and 4000 men serving for forty days. To every knight he gave three shillings a day, and feasted them besides at his own table.⁴⁵ We are therefore compelled to infer, that ostentatious vanity, meditating extravagant ambition, was the leading feature of his mind.

Henry's
transactions with
France;

Henry himself went to Paris on the consummation of the marriage treaty, and was received with all the splendor and courtesies that the French court could exhibit. The princess was delivered to a Norman knight, the justiciary of Henry, to be educated, till the prince grew up to a proper age for the nuptials. At the end of the year, Louis visited Mount St. Michael, a promontory of Normandy, on a pilgrimage of devotion; and Henry gladly embraced the opportunity of displaying his own dignity, and of returning the civilities of his own reception, with princely hospitality.⁴⁶

The amicable intercourse of powerful states, whose contiguity creates rivalry⁴⁷, is rarely durable. Henry

⁴⁴ Lyttleton's History of Henry II. vol. 2., an elaborate and valuable work.

⁴⁵ Steph. 23.

⁴⁶ Rob. de Monte, 994.

⁴⁷ The national feelings of the French at this time, we learn from a contemporary letter of John of Salisbury, "The French equally fear and hate our king." Becket's Letters, p. 36.

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claimed, in right of his wife, the city of Tholouse, which a Provençal count had seized as a forfeited pledge; and he marched his summoned knights from Normandy and England, to obtain it by force. The king of France, jealous of Henry extending his already formidable power, chose to march an army in aid of the endangered count, and with an indiscreet precipitancy, threw himself into Tholouse. Becket saw the error, and advised his sovereign to besiege the town, and take the certain prize that was within his grasp, by the capture of the French king. Other counsellors suggested, that Henry had done homage to Louis for his Continental possessions, and that for a vassal to seize on the person of his liege lord would be a flagitious violation of his feudal loyalty. Becket urged in reply, that the French king having begun the hostility, had dissolved the allegiance. Henry remembered his friendly intercourse with Louis, and disdained to compromise the delicacy and the dignity of princely honor. He forebore the advantages of the siege, but he took his revenge by plundering the territories of Louis.⁴⁸ Their enmity at last ended in the marriage of their two children, while yet in their cradles.⁴⁹

Henry had the credit of being selected by Garcia, king of Navarre, and by Alfonso, king of Castile, who had married Henry's daughter Eleanor, to be the arbiter to adjust and reconcile their differences.⁵⁰

The depredations of the Welsh, to whom the disorders of the former reign had given boldness and power, now excited the attention of the king. But his first invasion was unsuccessful. Under Owen

and Spain.

Henry wars
in Wales.

⁴⁸ Rob. de Monte, 995—997. Stephan. p. 22. who, though a churchman, calls Henry's scruples *vana superstitione et reverentia*. Lord Lytton gives a copious statement of Henry's continental transactions, vol. ii. p. 393—429.

⁴⁹ *Cum adhuc essent pueruli in cunis vagientes*. Hoveden, 492.

⁵⁰ Rymer has printed the instrument of their compromise, vol. i. It mentions three castles as "*Castella Judæorum*;" an intimation of the importance of the Jews at that time in Spain.

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Gwynedd, whose panegyric has been sung by his contemporary bards, Gwalchmai and Cyndelu⁵¹, the Welsh assembled at the defiles of the wood of Eulo, and while the English were advancing without that military caution, which in warfare no fancied security should intermit, suddenly poured down upon their invaders. In the surprise, the first part of the English army was almost wholly cut off. A cry arose, that the king had perished; the royal standard was thrown down, and a general panic prevailed. The king, darting among the fugitives, at last recalled them to their courage and their duty, and they effected a retreat. Lessoned by this disaster, his next aggression was better conducted, and was assisted by the operations of his fleet. Owen felt his power in the calamities of his country, and submitted to a peace. Henry cut down their woods; made highways, and built castles, to coerce them. Wales was invaded twice afterwards. Its population was scarcely civilized. They cared little for commerce, and not much for agriculture; petty warfare was their habit and their delight; their cattle were their chief sustenance; and hunting and war their most grateful employments. They were always at war with each other, or with the English borderers; till the destructive victories of Edward I. broke their spirit and terminated their power.⁵²

We now approach that period of Becket's life, on which human judgment, ever fallible, and incapable of scrutinizing the secret movements of the heart, will always be at variance. In one view of the conduct of this extraordinary man, he was an artful and

⁵¹ These poets, for their barbaric genius, are among the most illustrious that Wales has produced. Their Works are printed in the first volume of the *Welsh Archaology*. Gwalchmai's poems on Owen, are in p. 196—198.; and Cyndelu's, 204—207.

⁵² The best account of Wales, at this period, is in Giraldus Cambrensis, who has written on it in his *De Descriptione Walliæ, Angliæ Sacra*, p. 447—455. The reader may consult with advantage, Lyttleton, vol. ii. p. 329—389; and, especially on their manners, the interesting part, from 371 to 378.

a daring hypocrite; in another he was a Christian hero, a sincere and suffering saint. Which of these opposite portraits ought impartial history now to exhibit, as the true and genuine character? The memory of the dead is as sacred as the reputation of the living; and no honorable mind would willingly detract, unjustly, from that fame which is now all their earthly property. We will calmly state the facts that seem authentic, with the fair inferences that immediately result from them; and leave the more recondite presumptions, and the ultimate decision, to the judgment of every reader.

In 1161, Theobald the archbishop of Canterbury died, and the king recommended Becket to be the successor.⁵³ That he would not have nominated Becket, if he had anticipated his hostilities; and yet that, in his familiarities and confidential consultations with his chancellor, he must have disclosed to him his plans for the future government of the church; we can hardly doubt. Becket's acquiescence in the king's appointment was on this supposition an implied, if not an expressed, coincidence with his sovereign's feelings and policy.⁵⁴

In his conduct as minister, towards the clergy, Becket had given the king no reason to expect an intractable archbishop. He had certainly treated the ecclesiastical order like a statesman, whose religion was not insubordinate to his policy. When the bishop of Chichester upheld the spiritual supremacy of the pope, the king in Becket's presence declared the papal authority to be a thing conceded *by men*, and rebuked him for putting it in opposition to the king's authority, conceded *by God*. The people applauded the king's speech; and Becket sanctioned, if he did

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Becket
made arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

⁵³ Hoveden, 492.

⁵⁴ Fitz Stephens, the friend of Becket, declares, probably from his master's information, that the king appointed him, trusting that the archbishop would be as obedient as the chancellor. P. 23.

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not prompt it, by reminding the bishop of his oath of fealty to his sovereign.⁵⁵ Becket imposed on the clergy the tax of scutage, for the war of Thoulouse; which his antagonist, the bishop of London, calls a sword that he had plunged into the bowels of his mother-church, and which the archbishop Theobald, expressly referring it to Becket, prohibited under pain of excommunication.⁵⁶ The king had therefore begun, under Becket's auspices, his measures for diminishing the ecclesiastical independence.⁵⁷

His ancient friends, however, declare that the dignity was suddenly and reluctantly imposed on him; and that he frankly told his sovereign, that it would occasion enmity between them, because he knew that the king would exact things in ecclesiastical affairs, which he as archbishop could not tranquilly endure. But it is also said, that he introduced this laughingly.⁵⁸ It is difficult to believe that he could have made a grave and sincere remonstrance on the subject, and that Henry, in despite of such solemn declarations of Becket's determination to adhere to his ecclesiastical duties, should have persisted in appointing him. The smile which accompanied the prophecy of his opposi-

⁵⁵ Wilkins' *Concilia*, l. p. 431.

⁵⁶ Lyttleton, vol. iii. p. 24. 1 Wilk. 431. P. Bless. ep. 49. Lord Lyttleton quotes from the Cotton Library, a MS. letter of Folcott, bishop of London, which Mr. Berrington rejects as spurious. *Hist. Henry II.* 663. But he admits that it is twice noticed in the Index of the Vatican MSS. of Becket's letters, tho' it is not among them. P. 652. This would imply that such a letter did exist, but was suppressed from that collection, where 32 other letters are also wanting. P. 655. But the Vatican Index contains the five beginning words of the Cotton MS. of the letter, which is fair evidence of its identity. Mr. B. calls it spurious, because it represents some facts differently from other authorities; an argument on which the most genuine works might be rejected. The truth is, that it contains some strong inculpations of Becket, which are inconvenient to those who believe him to have been a saint.

⁵⁷ Mr. Berrington, the ardent advocate of Becket, admits his warlike exploits while chancellor, altho in deacon's orders; as, his taking three castles by storm, which the king had deemed impregnable; and dismounting a French knight, in single combat, with his lance. *Hist. Henry II.* p. 12. The reasoning of his apology for Becket is, however, singular: "The ardor with which he sought his master's glory, shall reconcile to the fastidious casuist, such unsacred and indecorous scenes."

⁵⁸ *Quadril.* l. 1. c. 11.

tion, was calculated to excite a disbelief of its fulfilment. But that he was eager for this dignity, is declared by his opponent the bishop of London⁵⁹; and as his friend and biographer intimates, that before the vacancy occurred, it was a current rumor at court that he was to be the future archbishop⁶⁰, the opinion must have been founded on some disclosure, either of Becket's wishes or of the king's intentions. When the report was stated to Becket, he did not destroy the notion by an express denial; he merely answered, That he knew three poor priests, whom he would rather see advanced; but he added, "If by chance I should be promoted, I so thoroughly know the lord my king, that I am sure I must either lose his favor, or prefer him to the service of my God."⁶¹ So that even his friend confesses that he had speculated on the probability of attaining this dignity; that he knew his master's intended measures; was aware of their irreconcilability with the proper conduct of an archbishop, and was deliberately weighing the consequences.

If Henry appointed Becket because he thought his chancellor-archbishop would prove a ductile instrument of his will, it is clear that the clergy of England had formed the same opinion, for the king's nomination of his favorite was opposed and refused. His ecclesiastical electors declared it to be indecent, that a man who was rather a soldier than a priest, and had devoted himself to hunting and falconry, should be made an archbishop.⁶² Above a year

⁵⁹ This prelate, Gilbert Folcott, says in a letter to him, "You, *vigilant*, least of all shut the eyes of your heart on this event [the death of the preceding archbishop], and immediately hastened out of Normandy to England." Lytton, vol. iv. p. 422.

⁶⁰ Sicut rumor in curiâ frequens est. Steph. 17.

⁶¹ Steph. 17.

⁶² Herib. Quadril. c. 11. The bishops, in their letter to Becket, remind him, that the king strove to exalt him to the prelacy 'omnibus modis,' altho the empress his mother dissuaded, tho the nation cried out against it, tho the church, as far as it could, both sighed and groaned against it. Becket's Letters, l. 1. ep. 126.

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elapsed before he could secure his appointment; and it was the king's peremptory mandate, sent by one of his justiciaries, which at last obtained it.⁶³ It is important to remark, that during this interval, thirteen months and a half, he let nothing appear which discovered the peculiar path he meant afterwards to tread. He did not during that time resign his chancellorship, assume the saintly feelings, avow his resolution to make the archbishopric independent of the crown, or commence the peculiarities of his penitential life: It was not till his dignity was irrevocably secured by his actual consecration, and beyond all the king's power to annul, that he began that wonderful change of habit which astonished and shocked his sovereign, but made the people admire. His clerical friends refer it to a divine unction suddenly imparted, and flowing upon him as the metropolitan robes were put on.⁶⁴ All must admit that it was politically timed; unquestionably it was either a stupendous miracle, or a popular and crafty exhibition.

His total
change of
manners.

As if struck by a thunderbolt from heaven, he became wholly absorbed by the concerns of his soul. The stately and magnificent courtier, who had rivalled kings in their fastidious pomp, suddenly disappeared; and in his stead, in the vigor of manhood, the humble and squalid penitent was seen! The roughest sackcloth, overrun with vermin, was his chosen garment; his food, was the diet of mortification; his drink, was water in which fennel had been purposely boiled to make it nauseous.⁶⁵ He frequently exposed his naked back to stripes. Above his sackcloth, he wore a monastic habit, because he was abbot of the

⁶³ The see was vacant one year one month and fourteen days. Gervase, 1381. William of Newberry remarks, "It was said that he got the dignity, 'minus sincere et canonice quam per operam manumque regiam susceptam,' and therefore that he resigned it secretly to the pope, who restored it to him, and quieted the wounds of his conscience." L. 2. c. 16.

⁶⁴ In ordinatione sua unctione misericordiae Dei visibili perfusus, exiit secularem hominem. Steph. 24.

⁶⁵ Ib. 24.

monks of Canterbury; and over that appeared his canonical dress, that he might conform to the customs of the regular clergy. Thus both the great divisions of the ecclesiastical body were flattered by his policy — a studied management that ill accords with enthusiasm. In his retired cell, he washed, on his bended knees, the feet of thirteen poor persons daily, refreshed them with ample food, and gave to each four pieces of silver. He was seen frequently praying, and reading the Scriptures. He wandered alone in his cloister, suffused in tears. He was indefatigable in the rites of the altar. He visited the sick brethren, to know and relieve their wants. His munificence of temper continued, but its objects were different — hospitals, almshouses, and the needy. Yet he was still Becket; for while he was known to wear the most mortifying sackcloth within, his external apparel was splendidly gorgeous.⁶⁶

The surprise with which this change was beheld by all⁶⁷, and its popular effect, are the best comments on its political object. Can we refer it to one of those sudden conversions which human nature has sometimes experienced? If Becket's former life had not displayed the same ostentatious spirit, we might have hesitated how to characterize it; but this mortification was so visibly theatrical, was so analogous to his former love of personal distinction, that it must have been a delusion in his own mind, if he referred it wholly to piety. His subsequent conduct also creates insuppressible doubts. We see no traces of a humble Fenelon — the meek, abstracted, self-denying, world-

⁶⁶ Steph. 25. I respect the honest prejudices of every man; I honor the zeal of believed duty; I would wish to sympathize with the conscientious judgment of sincere tho mistaken piety. I will therefore make no comment on Mr. Berrington's warm censures on those who think unfavorably of Becket. P. 63. But tho it may "speak a want of discernment," I cannot perceive that Becket's sudden "transition was most natural, or agreeable to the ordinary phenomena of human nature." It may have been sincere, but it was extraordinary.

⁶⁷ Ut omnes mirarentur. Steph. p. 27.

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abandoning saint. On the contrary, the ambitious churchman, throwing off all dependence on his king — asserting the anti-national cause of papal supremacy — laboring incessantly to emancipate himself and his order from all secular government — and even struggling to subject his ecclesiastical brethren to his monarchical authority — was the character which his future actions display. Every thing seemed to be studied by him for important effect. When he was visited by any of the clergy, his biographer declares that he received them with such reverence, that he seemed to worship the Divine Presence, or angels, in their persons.⁶⁸

He begins
to differ
with the
king.

One of his first steps was to send back the seals to Henry, with a request, That he would provide himself with another chancellor, as he was hardly competent for the duties of one office, much less of two. This measure is confessed to have first excited the king's indignation.⁶⁹ He knew that one of the imperial chancellors was archbishop of Mentz, and the other of Cologne.⁷⁰ Becket had never before on this ground objected to the prelacy, and therefore Henry felt satisfied that the incompatibility of the two dignities was not Becket's motive. It seemed the act of a man who had determined to burst asunder the ties of gratitude and friendship, and to pursue the objects of his mysterious ambition, unaffected by the moral sympathies which former friendship might suggest.

Thus alarmed, and with the irritating sensation of having been overreached by a man in whom he had reposed an unbounded confidence, Henry returned to England, and received the new archbishop, at Southampton, with a coldness that he did not affect to

⁶⁸ Religiosos viros tanta reverentia excipiebat, ut credi posset se in eis Divinam Præsentiam aut Angelos venerari. Quad. c. 16.

⁶⁹ Quad. c. 22.

⁷⁰ Rad. Dic. p. 534.—Under most of our sovereigns before the Reformation, the chancellor was a bishop.

conceal. But as Becket had found the chancellor to be incompatible with the archbishop, the king on his part discovered that the archdeaconry of his own see was still more incongruous, and desired him to resign it. But this was the richest parsonage in England, and its emoluments were convenient to him; he therefore long resisted the resignation: but the king was immoveable.

The flattering honors with which Becket was in the same year received by the Pope at Tours⁷¹, and the general spirit of the papal court there, inflamed him with new resolution to pursue his objects; and upon his return he began that conflict, which the king, whatever may have been his intentions, had as yet done nothing to excite, and which the best feelings of our nature required that Becket should not have been the first to have provoked.

His first exertions were, to vindicate, as he said, the rights of his see; that is, to increase its wealth and power; and therefore he demanded, of the king, the castle and town of Rochester, with other possessions; and of the earl of Clare, the castle of Tunbridge; and of other noblemen, various properties, which he alleged had at one time or other belonged to the church of Canterbury.⁷² Undismayed by the alarm and indignation excited in the minds of the king and nobility by these claims, he inducted a priest into a parsonage in Kent, against the right of presentation of the lord of the manor; and when the owner expelled his priest, Becket without hesitation excommunicated him. The king in vain reminded him, that his immediate tenant could not be anathematized without his concurrence, and therefore required absolution from the sentence. The prelate haughtily replied, That it was not for the

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⁷¹ Quadril. c. 19.

⁷² Gervas. Chron. 1384. and Act. Pont. 1670. Rad. Dic. 536.

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king to command, who should be absolved, or who should be excommunicated. This contemptuous treatment excited the king's wrath. Becket then thought it prudent to withdraw his excommunication. But Henry, enraged at this precipitate display of his new spirit, exclaimed, "Never will I show any favor to him again."⁷³

No conduct could be more causeless or less excusable than Becket's, in these measures. It was flying to the assault, not temperately maintaining the defence. His predecessor Theobald had done none of these things, and yet he is spoken of with veneration. There was, then, no necessity of duty for Becket to have exerted this outrageous zeal, or rather this impatient avarice of power. It resembled the first salience of a violent ambition, which seems to a calm reflection as inconsistent with true wisdom, as it was irreconcilable with meek and sincere religion, and with his personal obligations. It seems explicable only as the commencement of a determined system of aggression and warfare.

King resolves to subject the clergy to his criminal tribunals.

Before the Norman Conquest, all complaints against the clergy had been decided, like others, before the hundred, with the addition of their metropolitan sitting as one of the judges. The Conqueror, unaware of the consequences, was persuaded to change this custom, and to direct that all ecclesiastics should be tried before their ordinary, in a separate court of their own.⁷⁴ From this period they claimed the right of being independent of all secular jurisdiction. And Becket determined to uphold this claim. Several atrocious crimes committed by the clergy, and allowed to pass unpunished by their order⁷⁵, determined the

⁷³ Steph. 28.

⁷⁴ Wilkins, in his *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 368., has printed the charter that made this important alteration, from a MS. at St. Paul's Cathedral, collated with another at Lincoln.

⁷⁵ William of Newberry's statement seems fair and unprejudiced. He says,

king, for the common good of his people, to insist that clergymen accused of crimes, should like others be tried before his criminal tribunals. One abominable instance brought the king and Becket into direct collision on this point. A clergyman in Worcester had debauched the daughter of a respectable man, and on her account had murdered the father. The king demanded, that the man should be brought before his tribunal, to answer for the horrible act. Becket resisted this, and gave him into the custody of the bishop⁷⁶, that he might not be delivered to the king's justice. Henry who had seen repeated instances that the clergy permitted their offending brethren to escape with impunity, and that their crimes, instead of being repressed, became daily more flagrant⁷⁷, was earnest to accomplish his important object. In a meeting of the bishops at Westminster, he said that his kingdom was disturbed by the disorders of ecclesiastics, who were committing frequent thefts and homicides; and he required that, whenever convicted of such crimes, they might be degraded, and delivered over to his officers for punishment. Becket exclaimed, "Saving my order." Others concurred with him; while one bishop expressed an

"The king being desirous to exterminate all malefactors without favor, it was intimated to him by his judges, that many things had been committed frequently by clergymen against the public discipline; as thefts, rapines, homicides; to whom the vigor of the law could not be extended. In his own hearing it was declared, that above an hundred homicides had been committed by the clergy in England, under his reign. Much disturbed at this, in a vehement spirit he instituted laws against church malefactors, in which he was actuated by the zeal for public justice, but immoderately. The bishops, being more vigilant to defend the liberties and dignity of their order, than to correct its faults, thought they did their duty to God and the church, if they protected the guilty clergy from public punishment. Hence the clergy having this impunity, neither feared God nor man." L. 2. c. 16.

⁷⁶ Stephan. 33. Let it be recollected, that this author was the personal and zealous friend of Becket.

⁷⁷ That the king was not complaining unjustly of the crimes of the clergy, is clear from the words of Becket's friends: "Some of the devil's workmen, clergymen but in name—among whom was one priest infamous for homicide." The same author, after mentioning their light punishment by their own order, adds, "The king hearing that by castigations of this sort the crimes of such clergymen, or more truly, *tonsured demons*, were not repressed, but daily grew worse," &c. Herib. c. 22.

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unqualified assent. The king, observing the conduct of the majority of the prelates, declared that he saw an army arrayed against him, and that venom lay in the exception. Becket replied that he had sworn his fealty with that exception, and would not vary it. The king persisted; but after struggling all day in vain, he suddenly left the hall without saluting them, and in violent wrath. Becket, unmoved, severely upbraided the assenting bishop, for his acquiescence; and the king on the next day deprived Becket of all the honors he had conferred upon him.⁷⁸

The struggle between the king and Becket.

Becket soon began to find that he had not taken a popular ground. The superstitious veneration for the clergy was fast departing, and he struggled in vain to re-establish it. The increasing intellect of the age was breaking the spell that ignorance had made awful; and men and things were beginning to be estimated according to desert and utility, not by names and ceremonies. As the king's requisitions were better known, and more impartially discussed, the reason of mankind co-operated with the royal influence to diminish the partisans of Becket. A few only of the bishops continued to adhere to him. Two distinguished ecclesiastics announced the pope's desire that he would obey the king's will; and the great barons reminding him of his former intimacy with Henry, of the honors he had received, of the gratitude he owed, of his duty to maintain peace, and of the mischiefs of a conflict, exhorted him to submit. Alarmed at this combination of opinion against him, his haughty spirit bent, and he went to Oxford, and promised to change the phrase so offensive to the king. Henry, conciliated by the acquiescence, assumed a serener air to-

⁷⁸ Quadril, Steph. 29—31. The empress Matilda's remark explains the cause of these clerical crimes. "The bishops," she said, "indiscreetly ordained persons to be clerici, who had no churches. Hence a multitude of those ordained was seduced by poverty and idleness to base actions." Ep. Beck. l. 1. ep. 53.

wards Becket; but the wound of ingratitude had pierced too deep to allow him to resume his former confidence. With a visible mistrust of Becket's private assurances, the king desired them to be given before parliament, that the controversy might be terminated for ever.⁷⁹

The parliament met at Clarendon soon afterwards. But a new conflict of mind agitated Becket. From the king's reception of him, he saw that he had irrecoverably lost his confidence, and that submission would not now restore it. It then remained that either with a complete mutation of character, he should sink quietly into the common and deferent archbishop, renouncing his inextinguishable love of power, the active energies of his excited mind, and his insatiable avarice of admiration and popularity.—or, that he should pursue these phantoms at the risk of his own peace, of the public tranquillity, and even of the interests of his own order. He felt himself unable to make the sacrifice of his darling wishes, and he appeared at Clarendon with the decided spirit of desperate inflexibility.

As soon as the public annunciation of his acquiescence was required, he gave a peremptory refusal. The king exclaimed against the tergiversation, threatened, and raved with indignation and disappointment. Becket heard unmoved. Two bishops entreated him, with tears, to pity the whole clergy, and to relax his pertinacity. Their efforts were vain. The royal commissioners then avowed intentions to compel compliance. He was immovable, both to their threats and flatteries. The master of the knight-templars, a man of high celebrity, and another, then fell on their knees before him, and with groans and

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⁷⁹ This account is taken from his own friendly and contemporary biographers. *Quadril.* l. 1. c. 25. The later editions of the *Quadrilogus* have been curtailed. I quote from an early one.

tears implored him to yield. The clash of arms now began to be heard, and armed men were seen in the adjoining chambers brandishing their battle-axes, and girding themselves for a conflict.⁸⁰ Becket at last, intimidated or overwhelmed, sullenly surrendered; he led the way, and pledged his sacred word, as was required, that he would observe what was then called the royal or ancient constitutions, suppressing the obnoxious exception *Salvo Ordine*. All the bishops gave their oaths to the same effect, and commissioners were then appointed to reduce these constitutions to writing.⁸¹

But soon the mind of Becket, stimulated by fresh emotions of his innate and yet unconquered passions, again attempted to renew the conflict: Careless even of his personal honor, which, having twice given its assent, could not now retract it without the disgrace not merely of faithlessness, but even of perjury. His new ground was, that he was not one of the sages of the kingdom, that he should know what the ancient constitutions were. An evasion too weak to impose on any. As chancellor, he had been so practically acquainted with juridical disputes, that he could not be supposed to have been incurious of the English laws; as the statesman, he had before well weighed the ecclesiastical privileges, for he had counselled his sovereign to oppose them; as the king's bosom friend and ministerial confidant he must have known the measures which his master intended to establish. The parliament civilly deferred to his complaint of ignorance, and the conclusion of the business was adjourned till the morrow.⁸²

In the meantime the ancient customs were reduced to writing, and on the next day produced to parliament. The prelates were required to affix their seals,

⁸⁰ Gervase Chron. p. 1386.

⁸¹ Quad. c. 26. Gervase Chr. 1386.

⁸² Quad. c. 26.

to authenticate the record. All complied but Becket: he declared that he had never promised to confirm them.⁸³ This conduct was too revolting to be beneficial. At last he took the middle path of not refusing, but of procrastinating his signature. Three transcripts were made of the important articles, of which, one was delivered to him, one to the archbishop of York, and the other deposited among the royal archives.⁸⁴ Vexed, ashamed, and disappointed, he quitted the court. He appointed to himself the easy penance of abstaining for forty days from the service of the altar⁸⁵, and dispatched his messengers to interest the pope in his cause; but the pope, in answer, counselled him to be moderate.

In justice to Becket, it must be admitted that these famous articles completely changed the legal and civil state of the clergy, and were an actual subversion, as far as they went, of the papal policy and system of hierarchy, so boldly introduced by Gregory VII. These new constitutions abolished that independence of the legal tribunals of the country, which William had unwarily permitted; and they again subjected the clergy, as in the Anglo-Saxon times, to the common law of the land. The eighth article vested the ultimate judgment, in ecclesiastical causes, in the king; by the fourth, no clergyman was to depart from the kingdom without the royal licence, and if required, was to give security that he would do nothing abroad to the prejudice of the king or the kingdom; by the twelfth, the revenues of all prelaties, abbeys, and priories, were to be paid into the Exchequer, during their vacancy, and when the successor should be appointed, he was to do homage to the king as his liege lord, before his consecration. These and other points in these celebrated consti-

⁸³ Gervase, 1388.⁸⁴ Quad. 27.

Gerv. 1388.

tutions⁸⁶, tho wise and just, and now substantially the law of the land, were yet so hostile to the great papal system of making the church independent of the secular power, if not superior to it, that an ecclesiastic of that day, according to the prevailing feelings of his order, might have fairly resisted them. The fault of Becket lay in taking the prelacy with a knowledge of the king's intention to have these new laws established, and in provoking the contest, and pursuing his opposition with all the pride and vehemence of fierce ambition and vindictive hostility.

Mortified at this complete discomfiture, Becket went to the king's private residence at Woodstock, to solicit an audience. His object in this measure is not stated, but it was an act of submission which a wise monarch might have improved into conciliation; Henry might still have found means to gratify Becket's love of distinction, without diminishing his own just prerogative. Unfortunately, the king, equally vehement in his dislikes as in his attachments, refused to see him⁸⁷; policy was sacrificed to feeling; and Becket was made desperate. The king's hatred ensured him a life of mortifications, if not personal danger or degradation; and what part of Becket's nature could submit to the chance of these evils? From this moment, it became certain that the king's ruin or his own was inevitable. Both parties now forgot, that it is as true of violence as of vaulting ambition, that it overleaps itself; and that passion can never be made the companion of security.

⁸⁶ They may be seen at length in Latin, in Matthew Paris, p. 100.; and in Gervase, 1386. They are printed in English in Dr. Coote's new edition of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 56.; in Mr. Berrington's History, p. 79.; and in Dr. Henry's History of England.

⁸⁷ We derive the knowlege of this little incident, so important in its consequences, from his secretary Stephanides, p. 35. From the bishop of Lisieux's letter we learn, that the king had been told that Becket had sneered at his levity and irritability, and had declared that the intemperance of youthful rashness in him must be steadily resisted. On this report Henry exclaimed, "We must then use all our strength and art, as we have now to contend for our dignity itself." Becket Epist. l. 1. c. 85.

Becket went immediately to Romney, to get out of the kingdom. Twice he ascended a vessel to depart; as often the mariners, dreading the king's displeasure, refused to sail. In the night he returned disappointed to Canterbury, and met in the morning the officers of justice, hastening to seize his possessions, if he had been found absent. This attempt completed the king's indignation, and a deadly warfare became inevitable.

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Henry summoned a parliament to Northampton, obviously to crush the now hated Becket. The prelate, startled at the approaching collision, here made his last appeal to the king's sympathy. He came on the first day to meet his sovereign, but Henry was engaged with his falcons, and was inaccessible till night. The next morning he entered the royal apartments, while the king was hearing mass, and sat patiently waiting his appearance. When he came, Becket rose with a reverential air, and, with a mild and placid countenance, advanced to give or receive the kiss — the salute of English friendship. That so proud a spirit, after beginning such a contest, should bend so meekly to his competitor, was a triumph which might have satisfied a temperate resentment, as it led the way to the satisfaction of all reasonable policy. But the king was now the copyist of his own inflexibility, and declined the salute.

When the parliament opened, the attacks on Becket began, and they exhibit a series of vindictive and determined persecution. He was accused of refusing justice to a suitor. His answer was decisive. The complainant, instead of swearing to his case on the Gospels, had made his oath upon a book of songs, which he had brought with him. This charge being found frivolous, he was arraigned for high treason, in not obeying the king's citation to appear before him on this subject. He answered, that he had sent four

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knights to explain the imperfection of the man's oath. This reason was not deemed sufficient to excuse the disobedience to the summons of his liege lord, and he was condemned to have all his personal property at the mercy of the king — a sentence most disproportionate to the offence!

He was next charged with having received three hundred pounds from the wardenship of the castles of Eye and Berkham: He pleaded, that he had expended the money in their repairs. The king descended to reply, that they were done without his orders, and demanded judgment. Becket, with his accustomed and superior greatness of soul as to money, disdained to let that be a cause of discord between him and his sovereign, and gave security for the payment. Another article was a loan of five hundred pounds, which he asserted to have been a gift. These were all petty accusations unworthy of the royal dignity, to prefer against a person so distinguished; and Becket's submitting to answer so readily to a lay tribunal was such a striking obedience to the Constitutions of Clarendon, that it ought to have terminated the discord.⁸⁸

The third day of his impeachment produced a demand which implied the spirit of determined revenge. This was a claim for his receipts of the revenues of the dignities of the church during their vacancies in his chancellorship. His answer to this charge was decisive, as between him and his sovereign. He had not been questioned for these monies before his consecration as archbishop, and therefore he entered his see exonerated from the responsibility. The fairness of this answer was irrefragable. If the king had meant to make him account for his receipts and expenditures as minister, he ought not to have ap-

⁸⁸ The circumstances attending this impeachment are taken from comparing Stephanides, 36-38; and Gervase, &c. With these may be read Quadrilogus, c. 25, 26

pointed him archbishop; if he had not intended to exact responsibility on this subject, when he raised him to the prelacy, it was dishonorable now to make the charge. Becket's expenditure, though extravagant, had been visible: the king tacitly sanctioned it, by continuing him in his office, and by his subsequent promotion. In the year that elapsed between his nomination and consecration, his pecuniary responsibility ought, if ever, to have been exacted; but it is obvious that his sovereign never meant to require such an account, and therefore the accusation now became the malice of the law, exerting its latent power to the sacrifice of its morality. The answer not ending the charge, which amounted to 44,000 marks of silver, Becket desired time to consult with his clergy.⁸⁹

His episcopal friends recommended him to tempt the king to peace by money. Two thousand marks were offered, but declined!⁹⁰ It was at last intimated to him that Henry had said, that it was impossible that he could remain king, and Becket archbishop in England!⁹¹

This declaration—the nature of the accusations—the unrelenting prosecution of them—and the menaces, even affecting his life, which were conveyed to Becket—left him but one alternative. His own intractability had been retorted on himself, and he found that his submission had but sharpened the king's animosity. He contemplated his dangerous situation, and he found it every hour increasing in peril: the barons discontinued their visits, when aware of the king's severe intentions⁹²; his bishops also sided with Henry; and none but the poor con-

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danger.

⁸⁹ Steph. 38. The amount of the sum claimed is expressed in the Letters l. 2. ep. 6. & 33.

⁹⁰ Steph. 38.

⁹¹ Steph. 39. Gervase gives a detail of the bishop's advice to him, p. 1390. So *Quadril. c. 27.*

⁹² Steph. 38. *Quad. p. 27.*

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tinued his friends. At this juncture, when an inferior spirit would have sunk into inefficient despair, the soul of Becket rose to all its former energy, and he resolved to depend only on himself. One means of safety, if not of triumph, still remained — it was to identify his cause with that of religion itself. This was not difficult, as Henry was commencing a personal attack. To threaten the life of an archbishop by violence, and to dispossess him of his dignity by secular power, was an aggression on ecclesiastical safety and rights, against which every part of Europe would revolt. Henry was now so eager to assault, that Becket had but the easy task of a steady, magnanimous and judicious defence. He shaped his future conduct on this plan. He clothed himself in his archiepiscopal robes: he took the silver cross from the hands of the officer who bore it, and carried it himself, as his safeguard and appeal. The bishops, aware that its appearance in his hand would irritate the king, solicited him to return it to the attendant. His answer was, “We leave this to God;” and unmoved by their alarms or entreaties he went fearlessly into the parliamentary chamber, and took his seat in calm and silent dignity with his cross before him, abandoned even by the bishops.⁹³

But Becket had adopted this simple, but effective, measure with the most intelligent discernment. The king felt its potent effect, and revealed his feelings in the wrath he expressed at Becket’s presuming to come, as he said, “armed” against him. The courtiers, from the vehemence of the royal anger, expected his immediate destruction. But the silent appeal of Becket was irresistible; his silver cross was an ægis which compelled the king to pause. In the midst of his fury, Henry saw the impossibility of gratifying his resentment, without drawing upon his head all

⁹³ Gervase, 1392. Quad. c. 30.

the prejudices, all the zeal, all the vengeance, of Christendom. Again and again he consulted what could be done to satisfy his passion, without exciting the danger. Various plans were agitated: at last one of the bishops suggested a procedure that was adopted. He went to Becket, and told him, "As an archbishop, we are bound to obey you; but you swore fealty to our lord the king, and you have been trying to break the laws that chiefly concern his dignity and secular rights. We arraign you, then, as guilty of perjury. We say we are not bound to obey a perjured archbishop. We place ourselves under the protection of the Pope against you, and we summon you to answer before him." Becket, more acute than they were, calmly answered, "I hear what you say⁹⁴;" and felt in silent exultation, that while they thought they had destroyed him, they had secured both his safety and his triumph.

He pursued their own suggestion; and while the king and the barons were proceeding to judgment against him, he forbid them, on the papal authority, from trying him on any secular complaint for matters before he became archbishop; and he appealed to the Pope against their sentence.⁹⁵ The lords came to him to pronounce their judgment. He then rose up, interrupting and anticipating their conclusion, and declared, that it was not for them to judge their archbishop; "Therefore, earl of Leicester, I command you, as a son of the church, not to presume to give judgment against your spiritual father." Expressing this with tempered firmness, he walked slowly away. A clamor arose, that such a perjurer and traitor ought not to be suffered to leave the court. A spark of his ancient pride here lightened in his soul; he turned round with a stern countenance, and exclaimed, "If my sacred order did not

⁹⁴ Gervase, 1392. Quad. c. 32.⁹⁵ Steph. 42. Quad. c. 33.

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forbid me, I would defend myself by arms against those who dare accuse me of perjury and treason!"⁹⁶ He departed amid the insults of the courtiers, and sent three bishops immediately from his mansion, to request the king's leave to quit the kingdom.

The royal answer was promised on the morrow. But Becket, suspecting only difficulties from the delay, resolved to withdraw secretly. By the appeals to the Pope, the legal proceedings had been paralyzed, and Becket's cause was transferred to that tribunal where he was most sure of a favorable hearing. It is clear that Henry had been surprised, by injudicious counsellors and his passions, into a disadvantageous measure. In the warmth of the moment, he had suffered himself to believe that the renunciation of Becket's supremacy by the bishops, and their appeal against him to the Pope, had so far suspended his sacerdotal dignity, as to leave him amenable to the parliamentary sentence. Becket dissipated this delusion, by his own appeal to the Pope against both their accusation and their judicial competency, and put the king into the situation of being led before a foreign tribunal which his own friends had previously recognized, and to which, by his own assent, they had already challenged Becket.

But it is obvious that, by remaining in England, Becket would have only mortifications, if not perils, to experience, and that he could conduct his cause abroad most prosperously by a continental residence. To escape was now his determination. In the first watch of the night he went secretly out of the city, and reached on the third day a hermit's hut, in the middle of the Lincolnshire waters, where he rested

⁹⁶ Gervase, 1393. That Becket might justly complain of the proceedings at Northampton, is clear: But what right mind can avoid recoiling at his presumption, when it reads, in his letter to the clergy of England, "Christ was principally judged in my person before the tribunal at Northampton." L. I. ep. 127. p. 194.

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three days. He travelled in disguise from one retired cell to others, till he got to Canterbury, where, to hear mass unobserved, he had an aperture made in the wall between his hiding-place and the church. From thence, in a small boat, with much difficulty he crossed in an autumnal sea to Gravelines; there landing, he travelled on foot, and in much distress, to the abbey of St. Bertin, where he found a temporary repose.⁹⁷

The king of France, from his rivalry to Henry, was induced to befriend Becket; but as the cause of the English sovereign was his own, his assistance was more complimentary than effective.⁹⁸ So the Pope's attentions to him were rather political than cordial. His messenger was suffered to be two days at Rome before he obtained an audience, and tho received at last with the public gesticulations of sighs and even tears, and with congratulations that the church had such a pastor, yet, when his friend mentioned Becket's petition to be invited to Rome, the immediate answer of the pontiff was a peremptory refusal.⁹⁹ The cause he supported was grateful to the Pope; but the Roman sagacity could not avoid perceiving that his previous character was not likely to make his contest popular, and that his personal temper, vehement and commanding, was unfitted to pursue it with success.¹⁰⁰ Hence the pontiff labored

⁹⁷ Gervase, 1393. Steph. 48. Quad. 1. 2. c. 2. & c. 6. — On hearing of Becket's flight, the king sent his mandates to the sheriffs, to seize all the possessions of the archbishop and his clerici — to put all the relations of the clerici, with him, under bail; and to arrest every one who should appeal to Rome. Becket's Lett. 1. 1. ep. 15. — By other writs he commanded the bishops to suspend the incomes of all the clerici who had been about Becket after his flight, or who detracted from the king's honor. Ib. ep. 13.

⁹⁸ The French king was a better politician than a father; for when the English prelate saluted him from his daughter, married to Henry's eldest son, he kindly said, "He wished she was with the Angels in Paradise." The bishop answering, "He hoped in time she would get there, but that she would rejoice many nations first" — the father replied, "All things are possible, but it is more probable she will be the cause of many evils. I scarcely hope that any thing good will come from her." Ep. 24. p. 37.

⁹⁹ Lib. 1. ep. 23.

¹⁰⁰ Hence the Pope exhorted him, in the beginning of the struggle, to act

to subdue his too aspiring spirit. When Becket resigned into the hands of his religious sovereign his archiepiscopal dignity, the pontiff, on restoring it to him, expressed that it was proper that he should now learn the lessons which poverty alone could teach. With this view, Becket was recommended to the abbot of Pontigny, to live in his convent in that simple manner which best became him. The prelate submitted to the unpalatable rebuke; put on the coarse habit of the Cistercian order, and began the discipline of the monastic life.¹⁰¹

Becket was indefatigable with his pen, during his exile. But his letters display more eloquence than judgment. If at one time he subdued his natural temper so far as to write respectfully to his sovereign¹⁰², he soon assumed a tone of dictatorial and exasperating reproach.¹⁰³ He stimulates an English bishop to activity on his side, with all the energy of martial phrase.¹⁰⁴ But all his exertions never removed

discreetly, to defer to the king as much as possible, and to strive to recover his favor. Ep. 4. p. 12. At a subsequent time, the pontiff exclaims emphatically, "We ask, we admonish, we advise, we persuade you to show yourself to be wary and circumspect—to do nothing harshly and precipitately, but maturely and gravely to recover the king's grace and favor." L. 1. ep. 43. In another letter, the Pope exhorts him to endure the king patiently, and not to establish any thing against any one which would be displeasing to him. Ep. 54. The Pope afterwards resumed the same theme, and earnestly recommended him to incline his mind to peace and amity with the king. He presses this so far as to add, that if things should not altogether please him, "ad præsens dissimules." L. 2. ep. 1.

¹⁰¹ Though I have endeavored to be impartial, yet as I may have erred in estimating Becket, I would recommend the reader, in justice to a man so distinguished, and so long revered as one of the chief Catholic saints, to read Mr. Berrington's zealous defence of him, whom, as a priest of the same papal church, he cannot but desire to think well of, in his History of Henry II.

¹⁰² Lib. 1. ep. 63. This letter is in a mild and measured phrase. But Henry must have smiled at his old festive companion now saying, "The daughter of Zion—the spouse of the great King—is held captive in your hand."—The mental metamorphosis implied by those metaphors, was too great to be duly appreciated by one who remembered him, like another Yorick, a fellow of mirth, courtesy and humor.

¹⁰³ As in ep. 65. p. 96.

¹⁰⁴ He says, "You ought to defend the patrimony of the crucifix; to repress the enemies of the church. *Arise! why do you sleep?* Unsheathe the sword of Peter. Avenge the blood of the servants of Christ, and the injuries of the church. Shall it fall from your memory, with what injuries I have been afflicted, since *in my person*, against all authority, all form of right, *Christ has been judged* again before the tribunal of the Prince. Cry out. Cease not. Exalt your voice," &c. Ep. 40. p. 63.

the prejudices against him, that pervaded England. It was not any one particular rival or antagonist only, who censured him; the public were not with him: they imputed his conduct to a proud and domineering ambition.¹⁰⁵ And even the clergy of England, in a collected body, probably in their parliamentary representation, addressed to him letters of admonition and inculcation.¹⁰⁶ Some of them certainly did not give him credit for the virtue to which he pretended; their language implies that he was not believed to be the heavenly-minded saint in his lifetime, with whatever veneration death, which ended his offensive personal peculiarities, may, for the sake of his cause, have afterwards enshrined him.¹⁰⁷

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Attempts were made to disquiet the conscience of the king's mother, the empress Matilda, who was yet living, by this struggle. But the spirit of her father, Henry I. still animated her bosom; she de-

¹⁰⁵ A part of the public feeling we learn from the bishop of Lisieux's letter to him: "Some think that your struggle does not proceed from virtue, but from pride. That, still the chancellor in spirit, you are striving that none should dare to resist your will. That you wish to raise a power independent of the king's will. That you so hang over the diadem itself, as to seek to make it subordinate to the church — and that you hope, if royalty should fail in the contest, none else will presume to resist you." L. I. ep. 85. p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ The letter from the clergy of England to Becket, is sufficiently satirical. "Fame has reported to us, that you make no machinations abroad against your lord and king, but meekly sustain the poverty which you willingly incurred! That, intent on sacred reading and prayer, you redeem the loss of times past with vigils, abstinence and tears! That, occupied now with spiritual studies, you are ascending to the apex of perfection, by increasing in every virtue! spare then your reputation — spare your glory — and strive to conquer your lord *by humility*; by charity. Add not trouble to trouble, and injury to injury, but, omitting menaces, by patience and meekness, and dependence on Heaven, now advance your cause." L. I. ep. 126. They add: "It is the petition of us all, that you do not go on, by rash precipitation, to kill and destroy; but that you study, with paternal care, to feed the sheep committed to your charge, that they may have life, peace and security." Ib.

¹⁰⁷ Thus John of Salisbury lectures him: "My advice is, that you should commit yourself to the Lord with your whole mind. Defer other occupations. Laws and canons are useful, but they are not wanted now. Who arises with compunction in his heart from reading them? I say more — Scholastic exercise sometimes swells knowledge into pride, but seldom or never excites devotion. I would rather see you ruminating the Psalms, and the moral Works of St. Gregory, than philosophizing like the schoolmen. Heaven knows the mind and devotion with which I suggest these things. Vos accipietis, ut placet." Ep. 31. pp. 46—48. Becket excommunicated this bishop.

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fended her son's conduct, and approved of many of the disputed laws.¹⁰⁸

Becket had calculated much on the embarrassments which his resistance would occasion to the king; and his friends at times flattered him with prospects that Henry's difficulties would drive him to submission.¹⁰⁹ But there was a natural sturdiness in Henry's character, whenever his mind was exasperated, which dared all chances, and disappointed Becket's hopes. A spirit of irreverence towards the Roman See, the produce of its own vices, which marked the next century, had already begun to affect the English mind¹¹⁰; and this supported the king. The Pope felt his ground with Henry too insecure to venture a vigorous hostility; and tho he remonstrated, he saw the danger of rushing to extremes, and long abstained from them.¹¹¹ He sent over two cardinals to examine the dispute; but the king was indignant when

¹⁰⁸ There was something clearly disingenuous in the address to her. She desired to hear the censured laws read: but Becket's friends, at first, said they had lost the *schedula* that contained them, and told her, in general terms, that some were contrary to the Christian faith, and some to the liberties of the church; and therefore both she and her son had to fear for their *eternal* as well as their temporal danger. Compelled at last to produce the laws, they found the empress acute in defending her son, and call her a *Mulier de gente tyrannorum*. L. 1. ep. 53.

¹⁰⁹ His friend, the bishop of Lisieux, reports to him, that Henry had begun to have some bitter presages of future consequences. "He is alarmed at the envy of the French; the claims of the Flemings; the depredations of the Welsh; the treachery of the Scotch; the rashness of the Bretons; the confederations in Poitou; the levity of the Gascons; and the expenses of Aquitaine. The state of the kingdom is confused by your absence; no one knows what belongs to ecclesiastical rights, nor what to the secular." L. 1. ep. 85. p. 133.

¹¹⁰ Rome must have begun to decline in the public estimation, when even an ecclesiastic could tell Becket,—"What we can do there for you, I do not clearly see. They do many things against you; few for you. Great men will come there, profuse in the expenditure of money, *Quam nunquam Roma contempsit*." Ep. 24. p. 37.

¹¹¹ The king's answer to the pope, conveyed thro the bishop of London, is temperate and dignified: "His mind is by no means averted from you, but while you regard him with a paternal mind, he will love you as his father, and obey your orders, saving to him his own dignity and the dignity of his kingdom. If he has not regarded you with his accustomed reverence, it was because, tho he assisted you in your necessity, you have not answered him, as you ought, in his. He denies that he expelled Becket; and as that prelate departed of his own accord, he may return in peace when his mind is tranquil. But he requires the royal dignities to be preserved." Ep. 38. p. 59. The king himself states his own case to the Pope, in the letter, l. 3. ep. 20.

he found that they had only come to temporize, not to determine it.¹¹² It is clear that at one time the clergy were apprehensive that Henry would, like his eighth namesake, have separated England from the papacy.¹¹³ Becket, if he could have infused his own soul into the hierarchy of Europe, would have embattled it against Henry. His energies were warlike; his pretensions unlimited.¹¹⁴ But he wielded the thunders of the church against his opponents, with a profusion¹¹⁵ which divested them of their terrors, and made even the cardinal legates interfere, and prohibit him from uttering them.¹¹⁶ Becket's measures, instead of conquering, only exasperated Henry.¹¹⁷ He succeeded, however, in making his name celebrated thro the Christian world, and in obtaining the countenance of all who had motives of quarrel or jealousy with the king of England. If he was proud, he was firm; if he was passionate, he was also persevering. If he was only acting a public part, he was at least so consistent and dignified¹¹⁸, that he has left it to this

¹¹² The report of these cardinals, William and Otto, to the Pope, on their proceedings, is in l. 2. ep. 28. — The letter, l. 2. ep. 6. contains an interesting account of Henry's behaviour to them, by some person about the court. The bishops, in ep. 33., state the king's anger at discovering their limited power.

¹¹³ This intention is frequently alluded to. The bishop of London told the cardinals, that the king would possibly have receded from the Roman church, if the prelates had obeyed Becket's interdict. L. 2. ep. 6. So the English clergy remind Becket, that this might follow from his intemperance. L. 1. ep. 126. The Pope himself hints an apprehension of this nature. L. 5. ep. 65.

¹¹⁴ In his letter to his suffragan bishops, after rousing them to stand up on his side, he adds, "For who doubts but that the priests of Christ are to be deemed the fathers and masters (patres et magistros) of kings, princes, and all the faithful." L. 1. ep. 96. It closes by excommunicating many persons.

¹¹⁵ Among the letters, p. 553, we have a list of the persons excommunicated: their number and rank astonish us at Becket's irascibility and violence.

¹¹⁶ See the letter, l. 2. ep. 29.

¹¹⁷ One of Becket's friends gives a strong picture of the king's fits of anger. "The king, bursting into one of his usual passions, threw his cap from his head; unfastened his belt, cloak and vest; hurled them away; tore off the silken covering on his bed, and sitting down in the dirt, began to gnaw pieces of straw." L. 1. ep. 44.

¹¹⁸ His letter, in answer to that of the clergy, is written with much ability and eloquence. On his first state of life, he says, "You mention, that he raised me from a poor man into glory — I am not indeed sprung from royal ancestors, and I would rather be the man in whom the nobility of his race does not degenerate. Was I born by chance in a humble cottage? Yet, thanks to the Divine mercy,

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tion takes
place.

hour a question of some ambiguity, whether the politician or enthusiast predominated in his heart.

Six years of ineffectual struggle, in which the king and the prelate severely punished each other for the errors which both had committed, disposed them to a pacification, or rather produced a temporary truce, which benefited neither, because their evil passions continuing unextinguished, their public reconciliation was but a heartless scene of reciprocal hypocrisy.¹¹⁹

At Freitville, the explanations and stipulated concessions took place. The archbishop declared himself satisfied, dismounted from his horse, and bowed himself to the feet of his sovereign. The king, on his part, sprung from his saddle, embraced Becket, raised him from the ground, and held his stirrup while he remounted. But one little circumstance announced that Henry's civilities were rather dramatic than cordial. He was asked to give Becket the kiss of friendship. The king declined it, with this remark: "In my own country, I will kiss his face, hands, and feet, a hundred times; but now, let it be postponed. I do not speak captiously; but my honor requires that he should seem to defer to me in something. To salute him in England will be thought an act of favor and affection; it will look like compulsion here."¹²⁰

The suspension of this friendly ceremony, like the

even in my poverty, before I entered his service, I was living with sufficient competency; with sufficient abundance; in sufficient honor, as you well know, indeed more than abundantly, among my neighbours and acquaintance, of whatever condition they were." L. 1. ep. 127.

¹¹⁹ Becket's own statement to the Pope, of his points of dispute with the king, enumerates these. He says the king required — That no bishop shall excommunicate any one for holding any possession from the king, without his licence; nor for perjury, or broken faith. — That clerici and religious men may be taken before secular tribunals. — That laymen may entertain causes concerning churches and tithes. — That there shall be no appeal to Rome. — That no archbishop or bishop shall obey a summons from the Pope, without the royal licence. These, Becket says, he specially condemned. L. 1. ep. 138. p. 228. They amount in substance to this, that the clergy should be as amenable to the legal tribunals of the land, as they are now; for almost all that Becket resisted, has become the law of the country — and, we may add, to the public benefit.

¹²⁰ Steph. 68.

omission of bread and salt among the Easterns, alarmed some of Becket's friends. The French king understood it to be an indication of unextinguished resentment, and counselled Becket not to leave France. "The king has not given you the kiss of peace; I advise you not to trust him."¹²¹ Becket seems himself to have felt its hostile import, for he is stated to have said that he was going to England to die.¹²² In his way to the sea, he met the king twice, but Henry still withheld the salutation, and is noticed to have taken some pains to avoid it. He took leave of the king with a foreboding mind, and emphatically told him, that he was apprehensive he should see him no more. Henry perceived the full meaning of his inquiring eye, and hastily answered, "Do you think me a traitor?" Becket respectfully withdrew: he had conveyed to the king's own heart the impressions of his fears; he had roused it to a declaration of his safety.¹²³ Henry promised to meet him at Rouen, discharge his debts, and either accompany him to England, or send the archbishop of Rouen with him. At this place, Becket neither found the king, nor the promised supplies, nor the prelate with any orders to attend him. This breach of word again disquieted him. The bishop hospitably lent him three hundred pounds; and Becket travelled on to the sea, pondering on this equivocal conduct.

But whether the king was sincere, tho with his excited antipathy unremoved, or whether he was meditating hostility, still the public reconciliation gave Becket the opportunity, which a wise man would have improved, of beginning that system of moderate and judicious conduct, which would have disarmed the royal enmity, or made it innocuous. Unfortunately, returning prosperity kindled into new life all the vices of Becket's disposition, and untaught by

¹²¹ Steph. 69.¹²² Ib. 69. Quad. 111.¹²³ Steph. 71.

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his painful experience, he rushed again into the same career of vindictive and dominating violence, which had ended before in suffering and disgrace.¹²⁴

In his absence, the archbishop of York had, with the other bishops of England, performed the coronation of Henry's eldest son, a privilege usually attached to the see of Canterbury. For this invasion of his right, he or his friends had obtained the Pope's order for their suspension from all their dignities. This papal mandate, with sentence of excommunication¹²⁵ against other prelates, reached Becket as he was about to embark. He had the weakness to send them before him into England, too happy at the opportunity of striking down his opponents.¹²⁶ They received their maledictions at Canterbury, and the country sympathized with their resentments. It was obvious that Becket was no angel of peace, and he was soon apprized that it would be dangerous to him to land at Dover.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ The error of renewed violence was strongly seen by some of Becket's friends. He writes to cardinal Hyacinth, as one of his steadiest, l. 5. ep. 51; and yet this cardinal is particularly earnest with him, to be careful to deal with Henry in spiritu lenitatis; and, as it were prophetically, reminds him, that if he will take the viam severitatis, he will make the last error worse than the first. Ep. 60. So cardinal Theodwin affectionately presses upon him, to pursue mercy, not judgment; to open the venia fontem non ultionis. Ep. 62. Yet Becket chose the very path they deprecated.

¹²⁵ The papal mandates are printed among Becket's letters, l. 5. — By ep. 66. he suspends seven bishops. By ep. 67. he suspends York and Durham. By ep. 69. he excommunicates London and Salisbury.

¹²⁶ His letter, l. 5. ep. 70. is peculiarly emphatic on this subject. He insists on the papal letters being delivered to York, in the presence of the bishops, and to be publicly read, that their contents may not be suppressed. He says, Fear must be expelled; and the *arduous* things that are necessary, must be done constantius et instantius. — So that it is strictly true that he went to England determined on vigorous hostilities. In his after letter to the Pope, he calls the prelates, his opponents — the priests of Baal — the sons of false prophets — the standard-bearers of the Balaamites, &c. Ep. 73.

¹²⁷ Steph. 71, 72. Becket, Lett. l. 5. ep. 73. I think it impossible to read Becket's letter to the Pope, on his setting off for England, l. 5. ep. 52. without perceiving that he went determined to punish the bishops, unless they threw themselves on his mercy, and submitted to obey him; and that, altho he thought it prudent to spare the king at first in words, he was determined to renew a severe contest with him. He asks from the Pope full powers, for this alleged reason, "Because inasmuch as he is more powerful and fierce, so much the stricter fetters and the harder staff are necessary to bind and to repress him." These are Becket's own words, p. 817.

He directed his ship to Sandwich, a port of his own, inhabited by his tenantry, with whom he was sure of a good reception. The sheriff of Kent, hearing of his landing, hastened to the place with a squadron of knights, armed under their tunics. They told him, that he was entering the land with fire and sword, to uncrown the king; that he had excommunicated the archbishop of York, and all the bishops, for having done their duty; and, unless he took better counsel, it would be safer for him to remain abroad. Becket denied the treasonable imputation, and asserted his right to punish the faults of the prelates.¹²⁸

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Becket re-
turns to
England.

He was received at Canterbury with lavish expressions of popular joy. The cathedral was hung with all its silks and precious vestments. Banquets were prepared; a solemn procession ushered him in, while the bells were merrily pealed. Trumpets announced his progress, amid the shouts of the multitude; and the organ was made to pour its loudest notes of gratulation.¹²⁹

1170.

The mitred clergy accused him of coming to set England in flames, in thus trampling down his fellow bishops, uncited, unheard, and even unjudged. He answered, that the peace of sinners was no peace; that the Pope had sent the mandate, that evil peace might be broken. Jerusalem, in her wealth and self-indulgence, might think she was at peace, but the divine vengeance was hanging over her.¹³⁰ This figurative language could only increase alarm and discontent. Becket proceeded to London, to meet the young king Henry, whom he had brought up; and also to begin his visitations on those whom he disapproved of. The clergy at Rochester received

His hostile
intentions.

¹²⁸ Steph. 73. Becket, in his letter, l. 5. ep. 73. gives his own account of these conferences. He refused to absolve the bishops. Being further urged, he added, unless they would swear to obey the papal mandate.

¹²⁹ Steph. 73. Quad. l. 3. c. 5.

¹³⁰ Steph. 74.

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him with the veneration he loved, and accompanied him to the metropolis.¹³¹ The populace here greeted him with the acclamations that novelty, pomp, and the belief of persecution by power, always excite. But his self-gratulation was disturbed by a message from the young king, declining to see him, and ordering him not to go through towns and castles, but to return to Canterbury, and remain in his see.¹³²

A few of his knights attended him back to Kent, armed with lances and shields to protect him from insults. This circumstance occasioned it to be reported to Henry in Normandy, that Becket was traversing England with an armed force. Becket every day experienced new indications of the enmity which his own hostile spirit had provoked. The priors of the churches, and the upper citizens of London, who had gone to meet him, were summoned by the king's officers to give bail, to answer a charge of seditious conduct for thus receiving the king's enemy. When he reached Canterbury, many indignities were offered, to provoke him or his servants to some intemperance that might justify hostility. Becket restrained his feelings, but now beheld his danger. He told his clergy, that the quarrel could not now end without effusion of blood; but that he was ready to perish for the church. He wrote to the Pope that the sword of death hung over him, and desired his prayers.¹³³ Yet, although thus alarmed, there is no intimation that he offered to withdraw any one of the offensive

¹³¹ His biographers declare that his visit to London was the beginning of a tour he projected all over his province, to pluck and root up (ut evelleret et eradicaret) what, during his absence, had grown up distorte et incomposite, in the Lord's garden. Quad. 1. 3. c. 9. So that he had determined on recommencing hostility.

¹³² Steph. 75. The messenger was the Queen's brother, who, seeing a rich citizen advancing to Becket, exclaimed, "Are you coming to the king's enemy?" Ib. 76. Becket was stout enough to answer, that he would not have obeyed the order, if a solemn festival (Christmas) had not been approaching. Quad. 1. 3. c. 9.

¹³³ Steph. 78.

measures, which, by attacking the safety of others, had brought his own into peril. He seems to have still resolved to rule the tempest, or to perish in it.

The suspended prelates proceeded to the king in Normandy, mentioned their degradation, and imputed it to Becket. Henry asked their counsel. They answered, "It is not for us to say what ought to be done."—At last one added, "While he is alive, neither you nor your kingdom will have peace."¹³⁴ This dreadful truth completed the king's wrath, perhaps the more strongly, because he had to blame himself for appointing to the sacred situation, for political convenience, a man who at the time of his nomination was of all others the most unfit, and who had only acted since, as a knowledge of mankind might have led his king to have anticipated. Becket had been no hypocrite before his consecration; lofty ambition had characterized all his conduct; and to give it the sovereign prelacy of England for its field of action, was an imprudence which a moderate share of wisdom would have forbidden. The king's anger and disquiet were so visible in his countenance and actions, that four barons of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urso, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Bryto, resolved to restore his tranquillity, by destroying his adversary. They suddenly left the court, took different roads to avoid suspicion, and met together about the same hour at Saltwood, near Canterbury. Ignorant of their absence, Henry held a council with his barons, and complained of Becket's treasonable intentions. The result was, that three of them were despatched to arrest the archbishop.¹³⁵ But the others arriving first, anticipated this purpose.

It was Christmas day. Becket performed high mass himself in the cathedral, and preached to the

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His new
excommu-
nications.

¹³⁴ Steph. 78.

¹³⁵ Ib. 79. These commissioners had no part in the catastrophe that followed.

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people. In this sermon, he took occasion to say, that one of their archbishops had been a martyr, and that it was possible they might have another. But yet unaltered in spirit, with this possibility distinctly in his recollection, he closed the service of this sacred day, the nativity of the Divine Teacher of peace, forgiveness, and brotherly love, with pronouncing three new excommunications¹³⁶, uttered with all the fierceness, animation and boldness, that indignant eloquence could express.¹³⁷ On the fifth day afterwards, the four barons entered Canterbury, with a large military force, which they had collected from the neighbouring castles. They sent to the mayor to bring the citizens armed, to the prelate's house on the king's service. Finding that the city officers hesitated, they then commanded that at least they should make no stir, whatever might happen.¹³⁸

His catastrophe.

With twelve of their knights, they proceeded to Becket's bed-chamber. It was about 10 o'clock. He had just finished his own repast: his family was still at table. He saluted the intruders, who made no intelligible answer, but sat down, facing him, among the monks. Reginald told him, that they came from the king, to have the excommunications withdrawn, the suspended restored, and satisfaction given to the government on his treasonable projects.

¹³⁶ Steph. 80. I feel authorized to put this fact thus strongly, because his friend the cardinal Theodwin exhorted him to a *mild* conduct, that he might be 'verbo et opere, imitator Christi.' Ep. 62. p. 828.

¹³⁷ After describing the first part of his discourse to have been a pathetic address to their feelings, the words of his biographers are, "*Post priores gemitus, tam ferus, tam indignabundus, tam ardens, tam audens, nominatim et expressim in cervicosos terræ et spurcos invehitur, et plerosque de aulicis regi patri magis familiaribus — in spiritu judicii et spiritu ardoris anathemate percussit.*" L. 3. c. 10. This was his first and last public discourse before his death. It appears to me to demand our fixed attention, because the man of violence will always excite and must always expect the stroke of repercussion.

¹³⁸ The following account is drawn up from the narrative of William Fitz Stephen, who was present at all the incidents, and who remained with the archbishop even when his other friends fled: I have therefore preferred his authority, pp. 81—88. The more copious accounts may be seen in *Quadrilogus*, l. 3. c. 13.

Becket said, the Pope had excommunicated, and must absolve the archbishop; but that he would restore the others, if they would with humble submission put themselves upon his mercy. "From whom had you the archbishopric?" demanded Reginald. "Its spirituals from God and the Pope," said Becket, "its temporals from the king." "Did not the king give you all?" "By no means." The barons murmured, and gnashed their teeth; they remembered the king's efforts to compel his election, and they thought his distinction a casuistry. Becket exclaimed, "In vain you menace me. If all the swords of England were brandishing over my head, your terrors could not move me. Foot to foot, you would find me fighting the battle of the Lord." He added, "Knowing what has passed between you and me" (three of them had been in his service as chancellor), "I wonder that you dare to threaten an archbishop in his house." "We will do more than threaten," cried Reginald fiercely, and rose to withdraw. His retainers now gathered round Becket. The barons seized some of his knights, and rushed thro the hall to their friends, who had possessed themselves of the gate, calling them to arms. Reginald put on his armor in the fore court, and took an axe from a man at work. As their blows, to force again their entrance, were heard, Becket was advised to take an asylum in the church. He refused. Some forcibly pressed him out; others remarked, that it was time for vespers. He then ordered his cross to be brought, and slowly followed his friends to the cloister. He went on to the upper altar, where he used to hear the family mass. He had scarcely ascended the fourth step, when Reginald appeared in complete armor, and with his sword drawn. "Hither! to me — ye servants of the king." The other three followed, covered with mail, and brand-

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ishing their swords. His friends wished to shut the door against them. He descended from the steps to forbid it: he saw that if they intended murder, escape was hardly possible, and he determined to die with dignity and courage. Yet as the evening shade was now spreading, and they were near the crypt, he might have retired into some of its dark corners, or thro another door have gained the staircase, and had at least an interval of safety. He declined both. He neither supplicated nor complained. A voice cried, "Where is the traitor?" He was silent. "Where is the archbishop?" "Here," answered Becket — "but not a traitor. Why do you enter the church in such a dress? What is your object?" "That you should die — it is impossible that you can be allowed to live longer." Becket's only reply was, "Then I go to death in the Lord's name. I commend my soul, and the cause of the church, to God and the Saints. I will never fly on account of your swords, but I forbid you to touch my friends." Some one at this moment struck him between the shoulders, with a sword flat, saying, "Fly, or you are dead!" He would not stir, but stretched out his neck to their blows. Others wished to drag him first out of the church, not choosing to destroy him there. He declared that he would not leave it; and that they might execute there, their intentions or their orders. As they dragged him, he resisted, and his friends struggled to hold him back. A blow from Tracy's sword, at one of the assistants, wounded Becket's head and arm. When he saw his blood, he recommended his soul to God. A second blow threw him on his face before an altar; yet he had strength to join his hands as in prayer, and to cover himself with his cloak, that he might die decently. In this procumbent posture, another struck him with such violence

on the head, that the sword broke in his skull, and on the pavement. A fourth blow, also on the head, destroyed him.¹³⁹

Thus perished by foul murder, this celebrated man, courageous in his death, extraordinary in his life — possessed of a spirit too great for a subject — vast in all his designs—never measuring his objects by their practicability, but pursuing them with a vehemence as imperious as his ambition, and with a perseverance which failure only stimulated, and which even personal danger could neither appal nor diminish.

But his murder justly excited a sentiment of indignation thro Europe. Henry's solemn asseveration, that it was perpetrated without his privity, and his promises to abandon his favorite measures, were at last admitted at Rome¹⁴⁰; but he was enjoined a humiliating penance at Becket's tomb, who was in time canonized as a saint, and venerated as a martyr. His death expiated the faults of his life. Assassination puts the sympathies of all men on the side of the victim. He died a martyr to the principles he chose to maintain; and as they were favorable to the papal pretensions, his memory was enshrined with every honor that the papal power could confer.

In our times, this political drama has ceased. We compassionate Becket for his flagitious murder; but we cannot avoid feeling, that if he had succeeded in his struggle, his success would have converted the clergy of England into a distinct Braminical caste, released from all legal responsibility, independent

¹³⁹ A strange delusion of mind has led his biographers to endeavour to find, and anxiously to describe, a similarity between some of the circumstances of Becket's death, and our Saviour's sufferings. See Quad. c. 18. In this, however, they only followed Becket's own tone, which we have already remarked.

¹⁴⁰ Hoveden details Henry's lavish promises to the Pope, p. 529. But tho apparently defeated, yet that he practically established his power over his clergy seems probable, from his conduct towards the bishop of Durham after Becket's death. Hoved. p. 615.

of both crown and parliament, and towering high above all in an awful sanctity flowing from their order, unconnected with their moral conduct, and which no personal vices would have been admitted to destroy. Some exhibition of this sort has appeared in Spain and Portugal; to the political misery, and intellectual (perhaps we may add even moral) degradation, of both those countries. Its establishment in England would have favored its introduction into France¹⁴¹; and Europe might have become a new Egypt, governed by an hierarchy, whose leader would have been the Pope.¹⁴² The great effect of Henry's struggle was to prevent this stupendous revolution, by subjecting the clergy to the legal tribunals, and to the constitution of the country. What sovereign has maintained a cause more momentous to his people or mankind?

Thomas à Becket was the last of that description of ambitious clergymen, who endeavored to rival the throne, and to raise the church above the crown; the ecclesiastical above the constitutional power of the state. But after him, the struggle was attempted no more. His fate was a lasting admonition of the personal danger of such conflicts; and the experience, that an archbishop of his talents and activity could be destroyed, without rebellion in the people, or deposition to the king, taught every future metropolitan to calculate the perils as well as the gratifications

¹⁴¹ How disposed some of the dignified clergy of France were to make the Pope the universal sovereign, we may perceive from the beginning of one of the letters of the archbishop of Sens to the Pontiff: "To your apostolate, O holy father, is given all power in heaven and in earth. A two-edged sword is in your hands. You are appointed *over all* nations and kingdoms, to bind their kings in fetters, and their nobles in iron shackles." L. 5. ep. 82. p. 861. He calls him *majestas vestra*, p. 863.; a phrase which Becket also sometimes addressed to the Pope. L. 1. ep. 129. p. 212.

¹⁴² Becket may have conceived that the sacerdotal government of the world was preferable to its government by uncivilized and illiterate warriors. He may have been half an enthusiast. But his personal aggrandizement was so intimately connected with his success, that we cannot now separate his conscience from his ambition.

of ambition. Becket had lived in honor and greatness, vying with the proudest, till he began the conflict. Mortifications, suspicion, a seven years' exile, and a violent death, were its bitter compensations. The hazards and the evils of such an enterprize, being thus proved to be greater than the good that could be attained, no more Odos, Dunstons, Anselms, or Becket, appear in our ecclesiastical history. If Becket failed, who could hope to succeed? and what had Becket gained? Of him, from the hour in which he began his sacerdotal combat, the prophetic metaphor may be justly repeated — "He sowed the wind, and he reaped the whirlwind."¹⁴³

¹⁴³ A passage in one of Becket's letters, makes me think that his expansive mind had framed some vast plan of aggrandizement for his king as well as for himself, if that king had consented to have been subservient to his authority; for he solemnly says — "They charge me with wishing to depose the king. God is my witness, that if he had assisted the church, I would rather that he would have possessed not one kingdom only, but *many, and the most extensive kingdoms of the earth.*" L. 5, ep. 73, p. 851. Who can tell from what desolations of ambition the discord between Henry and Becket preserved mankind?

CHAP. IX.

The History of HENRY II. from the Fall of Becket to his own Death. — The Antiquities, State, and Conquest of IRELAND.

CHAP.
IX.

THE REIGN
OF
HENRY II.

Henry's
acquisition
of Ireland.

ONE of the most important events of the reign of Henry II. was the annexation of Ireland to the crown of England.

Of this interesting country, so pregnant with genius and sensibility, and with taste and judgment fast maturing, it is impossible to speak without respect and affection. Her present improvements announce a brilliant futurity; but we have here to contemplate her rude infant form. She has now attained an eminence, from which she may look back with the pride of conscious progress on the state of her barbarous ancestors. The nations of the East began in civilization, and have degenerated into barbarism; but the nations of Europe peopled it in their savage state, and have gradually advanced to refinement and celebrity. Ireland has experienced this progress: and her humble cradle is interesting, from its striking contrast with her rising prosperity.

Ireland
known to
the Greeks.

Ireland was very early known to the Greeks. It is mentioned in works ascribed to Orpheus¹, and Aristotle.² In the first, it is called Iernis; in the latter, Ierne. These terms may be only mispronunciations of its old vernacular name, Eirin, or Erin, which indeed actually occurs in Diodorus Siculus, who calls the island Irin.³

¹ The Argonautica, v. 1179. It says, "We passed by the island Iernida," which is the accusative case of Iernis.

² De Mundo, c. 3. — "Two great islands, which they call Albion and Ierne."

³ Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 309. In the old Irish verse cited by Flaherty, Og. p. 1., it is called Eire —

It is well known that the Irish claim a very ancient and diversified ancestry. Their inventions or traditions—of colonies led by Cesæra the grandson of Noah, by Partholanus three hundred years after the deluge, by Nemedus the Scythian, by the sons of Dela—existed even in the twelfth century, and are commemorated by Giraldus Cambrensis.⁴ The fabulous history of Ireland has since been worked into an elaborate tissue by O'Flaherty⁵; and in our days, Vallancey has added suppositions with all the extravagance, without the ingenuity, of fiction.⁶ It would seem that their ancient poems and chronicles contain names and series of kings, but with inconsistent chronology and a barren nomenclature, from which subsequent chroniclers have, like Saxo Grammaticus, attempted to build up a national history.⁷

But Ireland yet wants an intelligent investigator of her antiquities, who, competent to decipher her decaying manuscripts, and uniting a cool discernment with adequate learning and impartiality, will collect the curious memorials that yet remain, and separate the spurious and unauthorized fable from the authentic

Eire ard inis na kioġ,
Maigean molbthac na moirġniom.
Eire, the eminent island of kings —
The celebrated place of the magnanimous.

So, in the poem written by Modud about 1143, beginning

Eire, og inis na naom —
Eire, virgin island of saints.

⁴ In his *Topographia Hibernica*, l. 3. c. 1—4. printed by Cambden in his *Anglica, Normanica, Hibern.* Franc. 1603.

⁵ In his *Ogygia*, London, 1685.

⁶ See his numerous *Essays*, dispersed in the *Collectanea Hibernica*; and especially the 4th vol.

⁷ O'Flaherty particularizes three ancient poems. One, beginning with the verse quoted in the preceding note (⁵) contained the first colonies brought into Ireland, and the names of the chief kings of Ireland, to St. Patrick; of whom, one distich stated 136.—The second poem was written, 1143, by G. Modud, an ecclesiastic of Ardbrecain, beginning with the verse quoted in the latter part of the above mentioned note, carrying on the Irish history from 428 to 1022.—The third poem, written by Conang O'Malconar, comprised the history from 428 to 1014. But he says that he could not take his stand on either of these poems, because he found that the separate numbers allotted to each king's reign, did not agree with the totals in the same author; and tho he tried three copies of the first poem on the heathen kings, he found them to differ, not only from each other, but with themselves, as he explains in p. 2.

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document and genuine tradition. That Ireland had anciently acquired great celebrity, we may infer from the intimation of Festus Avienus, that it was called, The Sacred Island.⁸ Many of its traditions imply that it has been much consecrated by superstition, but we cannot now discover the reason of its peculiar veneration.

Its connections with Spain ;

Of all their traditions, one of their most ancient and least irrational, is that which deduces some part of their population from Spain.⁹ That it was frequented, in ancient times, by navigators from Cadiz, is mentioned by a Greek writer¹⁰; and indeed, unless we suppose that it had been visited by Phenician or Carthaginian merchants, from their Spanish ports, we cannot satisfactorily account for its having become known by name to the Greeks, so long before they or the Romans personally explored the Irish Ocean.

Its language ;

Its vernacular language proves beyond all controversy that its inhabitants have sprung from the great Celtic race, which once pervaded the Western regions of Europe. The Irish tongue is of the same generic family with the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Armoric; but the differences in its declensions, conjugations, particles, and structure, prove that it early separated

⁸ He says, two days will bring you
- - - in sacram, sic insulam
Dixere prisci
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.—Fest. Av.

⁹ Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, mentions this tradition twice. He states, without any chronology, and with some of the usual drapery of tradition, that two attempts were made to colonize it from Spain; one under Bartholomeus, and another under Nimech, which failed. A third adventure, under the three sons of a Spanish chief, succeeded. A vessel of sixty men and women escaped the fate of the rest, who perished in the waters, and peopled Ireland. c. 6. & 7. — From some ‘peritissimi Scotorum’ he notices a wilder tradition, of a Spanish colony, whose chief had emigrated from Egypt to Spain, c. 9. — Gale Script. iii. pp. 100, 101. — The account of Nennius is valuable, for two reasons: It shows that in the ninth century the Irish derived themselves from Spain, when they had no motive but their own traditions to do so; and that their traditions, tho varying in other circumstances, centred in this idea. His first chapters also give us the original statement about Partholanus and Nimech in all its primitive simplicity, without the addition of the incredible chronology which was afterwards added to it.

¹⁰ Gesner, in his notes on the Argonautica, p. 431., says that Aristides, in his Egypt, calls it the Great Island, *την ἀντικέραν Ἰέθρων*, and says that in his age voyages were daily made to it from Cadiz.

from its parent stock, before the kindred languages attained the state in which they have become known to us. The Gaelic differs from the Welsh little more than the Latin from the Greek.

Much has been disputed about the Irish letters. The Bobeloth characters; the Beth-luisnon, Ogham, and Ogham-Croabh writing; have been eagerly dilated on. But altho it has been fancied that Fenius Farsadh, the pronepos of Japhet, first invented Irish letters¹¹; and that Ollam Fodlah took the trouble, eight centuries before our Saviour, to make a society to inspect the genealogies and chronicles of Ireland, who composed therefrom the invisible register called the Psalter of Taragh¹²; yet it is certain that no Irish MS. has been found more ancient than the tenth century. The oldest and most authentic of the Irish records, the Annals of Ulster, of Innisfallen, and Tigernach, and the Psalter of Cashel, were written between the tenth and twelfth centuries.¹³ The ancient historical poems are placed in the eleventh century, by Flaherty, who seems to have had more curiosity for the ancient literature of his country, than studious Irishmen have, at least publicly, exhibited.¹⁴

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and letters.

¹¹ Flah. Ogyg. p. 63.; who intimates that the Irish language was created anew at a school in the land of Shinar; and distinguished into the beurla feni, the lawyers' dialect; the beurla fele, the poetical dialect; the beurla tebide, the eclectic dialect; and the gnaít beurla, the vulgar dialect. Ib.

¹² Beauford's Druidism revived, in Vall. Collect. Hib. v. 2. p. 162.

¹³ The Psalter of Cashel, a chronicle in the Irish language, was written by Cormac, king and archbishop of Cashel, who died 908. Few have seen this MS., tho it was extant in Ware's time. Ant. Hib. c. 21. There are many extracts from it in an old but later work, containing both Latin and Irish, called Psalter Narran. Ware, ib. — The Annals of Innisfallen begin with the time of Ollol Olom, the heathen king of the two Munsters, who died 172 years before the arrival of St. Patrick. O'Connor's Dissert. Coll. Hib. iii. 237. — The Annals of Tigernach O'Broin, whose author died 1088 (Flah. 7.), begin with the building of Emania, six generations *before* the Christian æra. Connor, ib. — The Annals of Ulster have been printed by Johnstone, in his *Celto.-Normannicæ*: they are brief and imperfect, but useful.

¹⁴ Besides the three poems already noticed, Flaherty mentions the chronological poem written in Irish by Gilla-Coeman, in which, commencing 'ab initio rerum,' he carries it down to his own times, in 1072. Og. p. 6. It begins — Annalad a nall, &c. "The Annals of ages brought from the beginning." Mr. Connor

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OF
HENRY II.Its ancient
state.

The rational literary history of Ireland may be stated to begin with its conversion to Christianity by St. Patrick, in the fifth century.¹⁵ That they had their bards, or harpers, before that period, cannot be doubted.¹⁶ But there is no good evidence that Ireland had the use of letters anterior to St. Patrick.

The Irish were a people of some importance before Patrick visited them. Ptolemy, in the second century, states, that Ireland had remarkable cities; and among the topographical names of its rivers and towns, which he penned down, we find some existing appellations, as Shannon (Sonos;) the Boyne (Bououinda;) and Dublin (Eblana).¹⁷ Another ancient geographer describes it as containing 16 provinces, or tribes, and 15 distinguished towns.¹⁸ Ireland was, however, so little known to the ancients, or was so rude in its population, that the most extravagant accounts have been transmitted to us concerning it. Strabo remarks, that it was reported that the Irish were much wilder than the inhabitants of Britain, and eat human flesh, and even the dead bodies of their parents, and that they lived in promiscuous incest.¹⁹ Diodorus mentions them only to state, that they devoured men²⁰; which St. Jerom also notices.²¹ It is

admits that Gilla-Coeman, and many other of the old Irish antiquaries, have fallen into mistakes and anachronisms, p. 243.

¹⁵ St. Patrick was a North Briton, born at Nemthur, now Kirk-patrick, between Dumbarton and Glasgow, about 371. He went to Ireland about 432, and died there 493, at the age of 122. Tan. Bibl. Monast. p. 579. Giraldus places his death in 458, and 1800 years after the arrival of the Irish in their island. Gir. Top. Hib. p. 742. Dr. C. O'Connor has printed an ancient Irish poem in rhyme on St. Patrick's life, written in the sixth century, apparently by his disciple Fiecus Slubthiensis, from an ancient MS. at Dungal, with a Latin translation in his Scrip. Rer. Hibern. VI. p. xc.

¹⁶ Bede mentions an excellent poet, whom Patrick met in Themoria, named Dubtag, and a younger one, named Pheg. Op. v. 3. p. 320. These bards seem to have pretended to sorcery, for one is mentioned in an ancient life, as 'poeta et magus,' and as practising his magical art. Bolland. Feb. 119.

¹⁷ Ptol. Geogr.

¹⁸ Marcianus Heracleota.

¹⁹ Strabo, Geog. l. 4. p. 307.

²⁰ Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 309. ed. Rhod.

²¹ Jerom, in his treatise against Jovinus, says the Scoti in his time were *ἄνθρωποφαγί*, 'atque in deliciis maxime habebant virorum quidem nates, mulierum, ubera.'—He asserts that when he was in Gaul, he saw Scoti eat human flesh. — Mela,

not of much consequence to discuss how far these imputations were true, because we know of our own ancestors the Saxons, that they are described by the ancients to have been peculiarly ferocious; and all nations, in their barbarous state, have been sufficiently atrocious. But it is proper to add, that Strabo fairly owns that he does not give his picture from the information of persons whom he considered worthy of credit; we may therefore interpret these vague rumors to mean only, that the ancient Irish were, like all the Northern parts of Europe before the Christian era, wild and uncivilized, and very little known beyond their own coasts.

As the ancient Irish were distinguished into many tribes, whose chiefs may have borne the title of kings, Ireland may have once contained nineteen kingdoms.²² But these at last became absorbed into five greater sovereignties, that long continued; Munster, Meath, Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught. The kingdom of Meath, altho the smallest in extent, was distinguished among the rest for its venerated city Themoria, or Teagh-mor, the great mansion, the king of which is repeatedly declared, in the ancient authors, to have been supreme over the rest of the Island.²³

Its petty
kingdoms,

War was the passion and the habit of the Irish. All their kings seemed to have been perpetually engaged in murdering each other, and their subjects;

Their per-
petual
warfare.

praising their delicious pastures, speaks sourly of the inhabitants: "Cultores ejus inconditi sunt, et omnium virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes." L. 3. c. 6. p. 266. ed. Lug. Bat. 1722.

²² Vallancey, from the ancient book called *Leabhar na Geart*, enumerates these kings and their respective tributes. Collect. Hib. vol. i. p. 384—390.

²³ Bede, in his *Life of St. Patrick* (Op. vol. iii. p. 316.), calls Themoria the 'caput regni Scotorum'; and many old writers so mention it. It is now no more. The place where it stood is now called Taragh. Coll. Hib. vol. iii. p. 420. Giraldus mentions, that from their more ancient Herymon to St. Patrick, there had been 131 kings from the same race. "Lægirius, the son of NEIL THE GREAT, was the chief king in the Island when St. Patrick came. During this Neil's monarchy, six sons of Mured, king of Ulster, went with no small fleet, and occupied the NORTH parts of Britain." He adds, "The nation propagated from them, and specially called *Scotica*, inhabit that corner there to this day." Top. Hib. p. 744.

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and hence their personal supremacy was frequently varying. Thus Feighlim Reachtmhuir, king of Meath, who is described as a great legislator that governed all Ireland, was succeeded by his son Conn, who obtained the surname of Keud-Chathach, or of an hundred battles. And this incessant fighter fell himself in battle against Tybraide Tireach, king of Ulster.²⁴ One chief collecting an army of followers to plunder or conquer another, is the great feature of all the ancient Irish history; which must have made the country, with all its advantages, differ little from the present state of New Zealand.

St. Patrick.

The generous self-devotion of St. Patrick introduced Christianity and Christian literature into Ireland, in the fifth century. But it did not find a congenial soil there till the sixth, when a monastery, founded by St. Columba, occasioned the erection of many others by his disciples²⁵; and then Ireland became distinguished in the West, for the attainments of her scholars, who in the eighth and ninth centuries even benefited England, and instructed Italy and France.²⁶ But this was a partial sunshine, that neither extended far, nor lasted long. In the ninth and following centuries, the Northmen from the Baltic effected by force various settlements, and made greater depredations on the sea-coast of Ireland, where her improvements chiefly lay.²⁷ England had now and then a transient communication with some of its kings²⁸; but no permanent or beneficial

²⁴ See the Lives of St. Ida and Brigida, written in the sixth century, ap. Bolland. Acta Sanctorum, Jan. and Feb. — So Iolland Mac Dunling, who died 506, is stated to have won between thirty and forty battles. *Ib.* p. 161.

²⁵ Bede Hist. l. 4. c. 4. p. 107.

²⁶ It is a circumstance flattering to the literary reputation of the Irish, that one of the most ancient Franco Theotic poems, is a dialogue of moral aphorisms, between Tyrol a king of the Scoti, and his son (see it in Schilter's Thesaurus, vol. ii.); unless indeed Scotland might by the time of its composition rather claim the appellation. His title is Kunig von Schotten.

²⁷ See Snorre's History, Langebeck's Antiquitates Danicæ, and the Annals of Ister, for the details of these attacks.

²⁸ Thus Lanfranc wrote letters to two Irish kings. *Op.* 318, 319.

intercourse took place; and Ireland continued its internal habits of bloodshed and violence, until they were suddenly interrupted by the English expeditions in the reign of Henry II.

At this period, the Irish are described as unlike other nations, in the nurture of their children: they did not nurse them elaborately, as was then usual elsewhere, but they left them to nature.²⁹ The Irish may be proud of the remark, tho meant to be censorial, for their custom was wiser than the art they neglected.³⁰ Their state of society, and their manners, were barbarous. They were peculiarly treacherous and deceitful.³¹ Their usual dress was black woollens. They used neither saddles, boots, nor spurs; their bridle was their bit. They despised armor, as burthensome and cowardly. Their war-hatchet was their constant companion, always in their hand, and but too ready to strike.³² They were dexterous in the use of it, as well as of the stone.³³ Natural relationship was little cared for, but they honored their foster friends.³⁴ They spurned agriculture, social wealth, and laws. They preferred

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State of
Ireland, in
the twelfth
century.

²⁹ Non accurate, ut assolet, nutriuntur — fere cuncta naturæ relinquuntur. Giral. Top. Hib. l. 3. c. 10.

³⁰ Giraldus's notice of their omissions, will show the barbarous modes of nursing then practised: "They did not adapt them to cradles, nor swathe them with bands, nor cherish their tender limbs in baths, nor compose them by art. Their midwives did not erect their noses, nor depress their faces, nor pull out their legs; but they left nature to fashion the limbs as she pleased." The consequence was, that the Irish were remarkable for tall and handsome bodies, and pleasing countenances. Girald. *ib.*

³¹ "Above all other nations they practise treachery. They preserve their plighted faith to no one. You must therefore never trust them; but be always on your guard." Girald. p. 743.

³² "From ancient custom, they always walk with their axe in their hand, as their stick. Wherever they go, they carry this. It is always at hand. They have it ever ready in one hand, because it is sufficient to inflict death." "Other weapons require some little time to be used: the sword has to be drawn; the bow to be bent; the dart to be aimed; but this can be immediately raised, and strike a fatal blow. Hence you are never safe with them." Girald. *ib.*

³³ Giraldus says, they guided their war-axe with their thumb on the handle so dexterously, as to cut off a knight's thigh on horseback, tho it was fully covered with armor. *Ib.*

³⁴ "Woe to their brothers and kinsfolk; but they love their nurses and foster companions." *Ib.*

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the wild pastoral life of their woods and meadows; being companions of their cattle, and ranging rude and free as they did. Their hair and beards were left as nature chose to dilate them. They would neither use trade nor any mechanic art. They loved their life of savage indolence, and esteemed their barbarous freedom the summit of felicity.³⁵ But at all times full of genius, the Irish, even amidst this barbarism, excelled every other nation in the practice of music³⁶: their instruments were the harp and the drum; the former with metal wires.³⁷ A picturesque description of the natives of Connaught, written, from those who saw them, in the twelfth century, has survived to us.³⁸ Their women rode astride.³⁹ They sealed their compacts with mutual libations of blood.⁴⁰ But some parts had not then received Christianity.⁴¹

The Irish possess two historical poems in their native language, of undoubted antiquity, which deserve

³⁵ Giraldus, l. 2. c. 10.— Our Spenser's interesting little Dialogue on Ireland, shows that many of these features continued among the Irish in the time of queen Elizabeth.

³⁶ In quibus præ omni natione, quam vidimus, incomparabiliter est instructa. Gir. c. 11. It is a Welshman who gives them this superiority. "They always begin 'ab molli,' from the soft or plaintive, and return into it, so that the whole may be completed under the sweetness of a pleasing tone of sound." Gir. 742.

³⁷ "They use more brass wires than leathern strings. The Scots, besides the harp and drum, use the 'choro;' and the Welsh (omitting the drum) have the harp, pipes, and the 'choro.'" Ib.

³⁸ We owe this to Giraldus. "I have heard from some sailors, that once in Lent, they were driven among the North isles and into the inextricable wastes of the Connaught Sea, and anchoring there, a small boat was rowed to them. It was narrow and long, made of oziers without, and within of skins of animals sewed together. In this were two men with their bodies naked, except broad girdles of the raw skin of some animal. According to the Irish manner, they had very long yellow hair, falling backwards over their shoulders, and covering great part of their bodies. They spoke the Irish language, and said the coast was part of Connaught. Introduced into the ship, they wondered at every thing. They said that they had never seen such a great vessel before. They refused bread and cheese, as things that they were ignorant of, and mentioned that they fed on flesh, fishes, and milk. They never used clothing, except sometimes the skins of animals in great necessity. They took away with them some bread and cheese, to show their neighbours what food other nations eat." Ib. 765. What a difference have seven centuries made in the valuable province of Connaught!

³⁹ Ib.

⁴⁰ The authority makes the libation internal, not external. "For the greater confirmation of their friendship, and as it were the consummation of the affair, each *drinks* blood spontaneously poured out for this purpose '*ulterius*.'" Ib. 743.

⁴¹ Ib. 744.

the notice of the curious. They are in rhymed quatrains. One of them, made about 1057, by an anonymous author, and intituled, *Eolca Albain Uile*, in twenty-eight stanzas, briefly notices the events of Irish history to his own times; the other, a longer chronicle, with more information, written by *Gildas Modud*, an ecclesiastic of *Ardbreacain*, in the year 1143, being a versified chronology of the Christian Kings of Britain from *St. Patrick* to that time. Being so little known, and so ancient, they are translated in the notes below, as some of their allusions indicate the spirit and manners of the nation at that period.⁴²

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⁴² The earliest of these, which is dated 1057,

The *EOLCA*,

is so named from its commencement. We will give it entire, in a literal translation.

“YE learned men of all Albain (Albania) !
Ye yellow haired host of the skilful !
Who first of your countrymen learned knowlege !
These obtained the lands of Albain.

Alban possessed them with his army.
His son was the illustrious *Isiocom*.
His brother was *Britus* (*Brutus*), without a stain ;
From whom it was named the naval *Alba*.

Britus beyond the sea called *Iocht*
Expelled his brother *Bras* ;
Britus possessed illustrious Albain,
Up to the borders of the hunter *Fothudain*.

Long after the times of the mild and good *Britus*,
The sons of *Neimhidh* obtained it.
Shouting after they descended from their ships,
They quickly captured the tower of *Conaing*.

The *Cruithnigh* (the *Picts*) possessed it after these.
After they came into the fields of *Erin*,
Ten kings, and thrice twenty noble kings,
Obtained their distinguished *Cruithen-land*.

Cathlican was the first of their kings :
I will tell you but the truth.
The last of their kings
Was the celebrated hero *Cusantin* (*Constantine*)

The sons (*Clanna*) of *Eathach* after them
Obtained Albain by famous deeds.
The *clanna* of *Conaire* the Gentle :
The best of the bravest *Ghaoidhil* (the *Irish*).

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The conquest of Ireland in this reign reminds us
of the successes of Europe against the rude tribes of

Three sons of Erc, the son of Eathach the Just ;
Three who had the blessing of Patrick ;
Acquired Albain ; their actions were celebrated ;
Loarn, Fergus, and Aonghus.

Ten years, Loarn, bright in reputation,
Was in the government of famed Albain.
After Loarn, the history is notorious.
Seven and twenty years Fergus reigned.

To Domhangort, son of the illustrious Fergus,
Five years were the number of his fierce life ;
But twenty-four, without battles,
To Changhall, his son.

Two happy years, without disgrace,
Had Ghobhrain after Changhall.
For three times five years, without a partition,
Was Conall, the son of Changhall, king.

Four years and twenty more
Aodham reigned, of the golden sword :
Seventeen years in a brightened space
Eochard Buidhe was ruling.

Concald the Ferocious for the fourth part of a year was brilliant.
Sixteen years afterwards ensued to his son Ferchair.
After Ferchair, attend to the song,
Domhnal (Donald) swayed for fourteen more.

After Domhnal the Spotted, yet famed,
Conall and Dunghal for ten summers :
Thirteen, Domhnal the Tawny, enjoyed
After Dunghal and Conall.

Maolduin, the son of Conall the Plunderer,
For seventeen years was the lawful possessor.
Ferghair the Darter — read for yourself —
Passed thro a life of twenty more.

Two years, Eath, the friend of horses,
Was a strenuous king, reigning royally.
For one only after him, appeared
Aincheal the Good, the son of Forchair.

Seven, the swift Dungal ruled ;
And but four, Ailpein.
Three were those of Muiredh the Good.
For thirty, Aodh was the supreme monarch.

Four times twenty years, and not weak ones,
Domhnall enjoyed.
Only two, Conall of the pure nobility ;
And four, another Conall.

Nine came to Cusantin the Beloved ;
For nine was Aonghus over Albain.
But four, Aodh the Laudable ;
And thirteen, Eoghanain.

America; it was the triumph of art over nature, of discipline over multitude. Henry had once specu-

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Thirty summers Ciouath (Kenneth) patient of labor ;
And four, Donhnall of the ruddy face.
Then thirty, with full power,
The hero Cusantin enjoyed.

Two years, stern was his complexion,
His brother Aodh the Fhionnsgothach.
Donhnall, the son of the beloved Cusantin,
Passed thro one and five others.

Cusantin, intrepid was his rush in battle,
Ruled six and twice twenty years ;
Maolcoluim only four,
And Indolbh eight, in the supreme command.

Seven summers, Duboda the Tawny ;
And four Cuilen ;
But seven and twenty over all the clans
Chionath, the son of Maolcoluim (Kenneth the son of Malcolm).

Seven years, Cusantin the Bent ;
And four, the son of Duibh ;
But for thirty, variously divided,
Maolcoluim of the mountains was king.

Six only to Donncha the Splendid,
And seventeen to the son of Fionnlaioich.
After Mhec Beath (MACBETH) the famed,
Seven months Lughaidh was ruling (his son).

Maolcolm (MALCOLM) now is king,
The son of Donncha (DUNCAN) of the yellow countenance :
His duration no one can know,
Except the wisest of the wise.

Thus two kings more than fifty — hearken !
Up to the son of the yellow faced Donncha,
Of the race of illustrious Eirc, shining with gold,
Acquired Albain, O ye learned ! ”

Thus we learn that this rhymed chronicle was composed in the reign of Malcolm, after his defeat of the celebrated Macbeth, whom Shakspear has so immortalized.

From this we learn that the usurper left a son, Lughaid, who enjoyed a transitory reign.

The first stanza will be a sufficient specimen of the language, rhyme, and metre of the original :

A Eolcha Albain uile
A shluagh feta, folt buidhe,
Cia ceud ghabhail an eol duibh,
Ro ghabhustar Alban bhruigh.

O'Connor, Scrip. cxxiv—cxxx.

The next ancient poem, which dates itself 1143, is

The BALLAD CHRONICLE of GILDAS MODUD.

This is superior in composition to the preceding, and presents us with an epitome of Irish history, which is valuable in its epithets and allusions, as well as for being a genuine production of the middle of the twelfth century: we will add one-third of it in a literal version, as this may be enough for the reader's curiosity.

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IX.THE REIGN
OF
HENRY II.

lated on an expedition to Ireland, and the only English Pope that has sat in St. Peter's chair, gave

“ The youthful ERIN, the island of the Holy,
Highly noble for many institutions,
Fierce nations once possessed,
Men without morals, and producing little fruit.

Thirty kings and ten times ten more,
Besides six illustrious in giving judgment,
Before the faith, and without faith yet brave,
Obtain Erin of the reddened armor.

Many conflicts and battles,
Vigorous kings, worthy of memory,
Prosperously and yet mournfully waged,
From Slainge to Laeghaire.

From Laeghaire, the hero of generations,
Up to Maolsriagalach of the White Bridle,
Erin of banners was held
By eight and forty valiant kings.

Five times five and four kings
Went to a bad end ;
But nineteen of splendid munificence
Died upon their pillow.

The time of each lawful sovereign,
His name and fate, I will truly narrate,
As the assembly of the bards narrate it,
Who live with a rightly-accordant remembrance of kings.

For thirty prosperous years,
Laeghane held the empire ;
Struck by the resplendent Sun, he died,
According to the words of Train of the sacred race (of the Druids).

Oill Molt the Comely
Had forty years of victorious life ;
By a lamentable crime, he was slain
By Lucch the Brave, the son of Laeghane.

Lucch then, for five times five years ;
Evil in the battle of the lightnings struck him ;
The flashes burnt him ; the powerful fire
Of the King of the heavens and of the holy churches.

Muircertach, the first of heroes,
For four and twenty illustrious summers.
At the dire Cleitech his end :
Wine drowned him ; fire burnt him.

Tuathal the Bald, the grim, the strong in battle,
Ruled thirteen years without disgrace.
Maelmer wounded him with a dart ;
Hlm, the king who challenged to himself Teamair (Temoria) of the
white fortification.

Twice ten years Diarmaid,
The son of Cerball, the mild legislator.
Oedh the Black stabbed him and tortured him :
He killed, he burnt him, he reduced him to ashes.

his sanction to the enterprise. His aversion to war deferred its execution: and what the king did not

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For three years, heard of for their fame,
Were the excellent Dhomhnall and Fergus:
They died kings in the region of Kens,
The two sons of the beloved Muirchertaigh.

Eochaidh and Baedhain the Powerful
Reigned laudably for two years.
Cronan, the king, who possessed Ciandacht (Connaught?)
Slew them without religion or cause.

Ammire, the son of the illustrious Setna,
Of applauded mildness, was for three years;
Then fiercely, what the dear one never deserved,
Fergus, the son of Neillin, slew him.

For one year, Baedhain. This is not false:
The son of Ninnedha, the planter of a hundred saints,
Fell in an aggression, without mercy,
In the conflict of the two Cummaoin.

Oedh, the son of Ainmire, the most pious,
After three and twenty annual returns,
In the battle of the durable tower of the Bolce (Belgæ),
Was slain in his dignity, in January.

Aodh of Slaine, and Colmain the Proud,
Were just six years.
Colmain the Plunderer, received his wound
At home, from Locan the Mercenary.

Aodh of Slaine, the brave one, was wounded
By the sweet-voiced Conall, the illustrious and the meek;
But the parricide thereafter prospered not
At the stormy lake of Seimhdhi.

Aodh, shaking with ague-fever in his house,
The son of Demhnall, the son of Muirchertolgh,
The king who judged justly on compacts, and according to the laws,
Died after seven noble years.

Three summers, and hostile ones,
Passed Maolerodha the Vallant,
As he fell in battle: the priest of the O'Connors mourned for him
In the middle of the hill of Toadha.

For thirteen years was Suibhne the Slender
In the supreme government of Erin,
Till he was slain; learned without prudence,
By Congul the Bent, for the distich of a verse.

Ten years was Domhnall of the sciences,
Until the conflict of the contenders at Maighe Rath;
Then six more in succession,
To his death, after his penance.

The sons of bold Maioleobha reigned
For seventeen years, with happy victories.
Cenall the Slender, and Ceall the Active,
Were strong in their hands, but mild in making peace.

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IX.THE REIGN
OF
HENRY II.The invasion of Ire-
land from
England.

presume to attempt, a few adventurers achieved, to his astonishment and to their own.

Dermod the king of Leinster having tyrannized over his nobles, and carried away the wife of the king of Meath, a voluntary captive, the insulted husband called upon Roderic king of Connaught, the monarch of the whole island, to avenge him. The vindictive confederacy was formed, and Dermod fled before the storm.⁴³ He went to Henry, who was then in Aquitain, and besought his aid. The English sovereign received him graciously, and gave him letters under his sign manual, authorizing any of his various subjects who chose, to assist the Irish chieftain in his restoration. With these letters, Dermod sailed to Bristol, made their contents public, and promised liberally both lands and money to every one that would aid him. But his offers were long an-

Ceall died from too much anxiety, of a wasting disease,
From which he fell into a sudden shivering :
The death of Conail, the ravager of the treacherous,
By the beautiful Diarmait, of the ruddy countenance."

O'Connor, Script. CXLVII. & CLXVI.

The above comprise the first 100 lines of this curious poem. It is continued for 270 lines more, describing the subsequent sovereigns. Towards the end, the author thus mentions himself :

"To Ghiolla (Gildas) Modud, narrating the truth,
May God grant full remission,
Since he has promised benefits to austere works,
For enumerating the supreme kings of Erin."

P. LXIV.

He dates it, in a preceding stanza, in the year 1143. O'Connor, Script. p. CLXV. Its first four lines will give a specimen of the original :

Eire ogh Inis na Naomh,
Con iomat Rialgal ro choemh,
Ro ghabhsat geinti garbha,
Cen reilge cen ro tharbha.—P. CXLVII.

Dr. O'Connor's notes on these poems, and copious dissertations on the Irish Antiquities, are full of valuable matter, and of elaborate research into every author, document and topic, that relate to the ancient history of Ireland. But the intelligent student must cull, arrange and judge for himself, as he travels thro such an abundance of materials, which do credit to the doctor's patriotic perseverance, acute inquiry, indefatigable mind, and love of useful labor. I refer the reader with pleasure to his exuberant but valuable work, which is wholly in Latin.

⁴³ Giral. Hibern. expugu. c. 1. p. 760.

nounced in vain, till Richard, surnamed Strongbow, the earl of Strigul, was tempted to interfere. Dermod promised to the earl his daughter, and the succession to his kingdom; and Strongbow pledged himself in the ensuing spring to attempt the enterprise. To be near the scene of action in the meantime, Dermod went into Wales, and there found another adventurer, Robert Fitz Stephens, who was willing to engage with him. The city of Wexford, and two adjoining cantreds, were to be the reward of the Welshman's valor.⁴⁴ Fitz Stephens collected, from his relations and neighbors, 130 knights, 60 coats of mail, and 300 foot-archers, and in May sailed with these, in three ships, to a little island on the Wexford coast. They were joined the next day by another party, of ten knights, and several archers. Dermod added 500 Irish partisans, whom the news of his return had collected.

With this force, the invaders proceeded against Wexford. About 2,000 Irish came out of the city to oppose them; but, seeing their array of battle, their armed cavalry, and shining helms and shields, they were intimidated by these novelties, retired in a panic, set fire to their suburbs, and tried to defend their walls. The too eager and disorderly assault of the Welshmen, on the first day, was repulsed. But the citizens, dreading a second, yielded up the city; and Fitz Stephens and his friends had the stipulated remuneration of large tracts of land between Wexford and Waterford.⁴⁵ From this town they proceeded to a more important attempt against the king of Ossory, who had been particularly active against Dermod. Their woods and marshes at first protected the Irish; but being drawn into the plain, the English cavalry soon routed and destroyed them; and

Successes
of the ad-
venturers.

⁴⁴ Giral. Hibern. expugn. c. 2.

⁴⁵ Ib. c. 3. He settled here a colony from England; the first English settlers in Ireland.

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200 heads were laid before the feet of Dermod, we will presume by his Irish friends, as this Turkish custom does not seem to have prevailed in England. The wild Irishman leapt up three times into the air with excess of joy, and seizing hold of one of the heads, the head of a man who had been particularly offensive to him, by its ears and hair, he carried it eagerly to his mouth, and furiously bit off its nose and lips ⁴⁶! an expressive indication of the degree of civilization to which Ireland had attained.

The submission of the province was the consequence of this victory. But it spread an alarm over all the island, and the king of Connaught, as the supreme monarch, convoked all the other chieftains. Their deliberations were rapid, and their decision unanimous: they rose in arms, to expel the rash invaders and their friend.

This general movement deprived Dermod of all his partisans, and Fitz Stephens was alarmed at the mass of hostility that was approaching him. But his prudence was equal to his bravery. He retired immediately to a well chosen spot near Ferns, on a rugged hill, surrounded with bog and water, and covered with a thick wood. He increased its natural inaccessibility, by digging pits and ditches in every line of approach, and by obstructing the narrow and secret paths by trees cut down and strongly interlaced. The strength of his position baffled the Irish monarch: he was obliged to sue for peace; and, to obtain it, agreed that Dermod should be reinstated in Leinster, acknowledging himself to be the supreme insular sovereign, and leaving a natural son as the hostage of his subordination, who was in time to be wedded to Roderic's daughter.⁴⁷

Scarcely was Dermod thus re-established, when Maurice, a brother of Fitz Stephens, arrived with

⁴⁶ Giral. Hib. c. 4. p. 763.

⁴⁷ Ib. c. 5.—c. 10.

10 knights, 30 squires, and about 100 foot-archers. Dublin had not yet submitted to Dermod, and he requested the brothers to attack it. Their assault was successful.⁴⁸

As the Irish kings were never long at peace with each other, the king of Connaught was soon in warfare with the king of Limerick. Dermod seized the moment to beat down his supreme monarch, and persuaded Fitz Stephens to assist the king of Limerick. The Welshman acquiesced, and Roderic experienced a severe defeat.⁴⁹

The ambition of Dermod was now excited, and he avowed to Fitz Stephens and his brother, his wish to make himself the monarch of Ireland, the proud title which Roderic had so long enjoyed. Fitz Stephens told him the project was easy to be accomplished, if more English allies would join them. A pressing invitation was after this consultation sent to Strongbow, to hasten his intended expedition. The earl determined to go and partake the booty. He applied to Henry for permission, and received it with a sneer at his lofty expectations. But, satisfied from Fitz Stephens' experiment, with what certainty they might be realized, he began his preparations; and during the winter, sent off Raymond, a youth of his family, with only 10 knights and 70 archers.⁵⁰ Nothing can more forcibly imply the uncivilized state of the island, than the success of this little band, which reminds us of the battles between Cortes and the Mexicans. These last invaders landed on a rock four miles below Wexford, and strengthened their position, badly enough, by twigs and turf. The citizens of Waterford came out with 3000 men, to destroy them. Raymond advanced to meet them, but was soon driven into his feeble station, and there endured all the fury of the assault. Such, however,

⁴⁸ Giral. Hibern. c. 11.⁴⁹ Ibid. c. 11.⁵⁰ Ibid. c. 12.

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was the superiority of his followers in all the exercises of battle, that the 80 Englishmen defeated the 3000 assailants, slew above 800, and precipitated many into the sea. Giraldus says, such a victory was unheard of before.⁵¹ It can only be explained by the rude state of the natives. According to his former description, they were but naked savages, fighting with lances and hatchets and stones, and therefore were powerless before men armed at all points, and well practised in the manual exercises of the sword and shield.

Strongbow soon followed with 200 knights and 1000 others. This moderate force took Waterford and Dublin; and Dermod became king of Leinster. Their successes alarmed Henry into the publication of an edict, forbidding more adventurers to go, and commanding the victors to return.⁵²

1172.
It submits
to Henry.

Henry at last determined to visit Ireland himself. He went thither with a respectable army. Its remaining kings willingly submitted, and eagerly paid him their court.⁵³ He garrisoned the principal towns, and returned to England, well satisfied with his easy and important acquisition.⁵⁴

The last sixteen years of Henry's life were embittered by the hostilities of his children. His infidelity

⁵¹ Girald. Hibern. c. 13. Giraldus was in Ireland a few years after these battles.

⁵² Gir. Hib. c. 16. & 17. Strongbow married Dermod's daughter. The Norwegians afterwards assisted the Irish, but unavailingly. c. 22. Hoveden, 599.

⁵³ Ibid. c. 30.—c. 34.

⁵⁴ On the Irish Chronicles I may remark, that the *Annales Ultonienses*, in the British Museum, Harl. No. 4795., have this date and circumstance: "An. 438, the great Chronicle was written." That the clergy introduced by St. Patrick, would begin to compose annals, is not improbable. It is a pity that Ireland has not been carefully searched for her old chronicles and remains. The evil which has pursued her antiquities, is, that the writers who have known her language, have wanted critical knowledge; and those who have had the true spirit of criticism, have been ignorant of her language. I observe that Stanyhurst, who wrote a treatise *de Rebus in Hibernia gestis*, and whom Stephanus calls a most elegant writer (in Sax. p. 99.), remarks, that in his time, 1584, the Irish had, and read, ancient manuscripts, which they highly valued. "Lectitant — pervetustas, et fumosas membranulas, multis lituris interpunctas, Hibernice scriptas, quas in ore et amore mirifice habent." L. l. p. 44.

to his queen aroused in her bosom a spirit of revenge⁵⁵, and she stimulated them to conspire to dethrone their father. He punished her by a long imprisonment. But he lost the respect and affection of his three eldest sons, who espoused her resentments, and an unnatural warfare followed.

The characters and conduct of these princes show the merits and the defects of the chivalric spirit, with which they were fully animated. Henry, the eldest, was mild, affable, and courteous; more prone to pardon than to punish, and who thought he had lost a day, in which he had not gratified some one by his liberality. But in war, as soon as the helmet was closed upon his head, he was fiercer and more savage than the wildest beast. His single, supreme and perpetual wish, was to have opportunities and fit subjects on which to exercise and display his martial spirit and ability.⁵⁶ His brother Richard rivalled him in courage, generosity and magnanimity, but could not attain his courtly graces. Stern, severe, grave and immoveable, his word was as inflexible as his soul. Furious and unsparing in war, he was often characterized by his cruelty, and was dreaded, while Henry was loved. Both were large of stature; a little above the middle size, but with a commanding demeanor. Geoffrey had the warlike qualities of his brothers, but was more astute, contriving, eloquent and hypocritical. To his father he was always rebellious and ungrateful, and eagerly combined with Henry and Richard to throw down their parent from his throne.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The tale of the vindictive Eleanor presenting to the frail Rosamund the cup of poison and the dagger, is only a ballad tradition; yet Bromton mentions, that the king made her a labyrinthine residence at Woodstock, that the queen might not easily surprise her. He gives the punning epitaph on her tomb at Godstow, near Oxford, p. 1151. Henry imprisoned his queen, and kept her twelve years in confinement. Gervase, 1432. 1475.

⁵⁶ Giraldus Topog. Hib. p. 752. He was so completely chivalrous, that he travelled for three years in France an errant knight, engaging in many conflicts, merely to prove his prowess. Matt. Paris, p. 136.

⁵⁷ Girald. Topog. Hib. p. 753. — Gervase describes a partial eclipse of the sun

CHAP.
IX.THE REIGN
OF
HENRY II.They at-
tack the
king.

The old king having already admitted Henry to a participation of the royal dignity, was severely afflicted and endangered by his child's ingratitude. The king of France fed the discord. The young king formed an extensive confederacy, and Henry became surrounded with hostility. The French king, with some of his great feudatories, invaded Normandy; Richard raised the standard of revolt in Guienne: and Geoffrey in Bretagne. The king of Scotland advanced into the northern counties of England, destroying all he met. The earl of Leicester, with a great force of foreign mercenaries, landed in Suffolk; while the young Henry collected another army in France, to co-operate with Leicester. The king's lands and castles were every where plundered or taken. But he procured twenty thousand foreigners, and made a vigorous resistance. Gradually, all his enemies were driven from the field; and the Scotch suffered a loss of men that compelled their king to become a feudatory of the English sovereign, for Scotland itself.⁵⁸

Death of
his eldest
son.

Some years afterwards, the dissensions between Henry and his sons were renewed. He had indiscreetly raised them to honors and power, before they had ceased to be children; and they quarrelled with each other, as well as with their father.⁵⁹ The unnatural disputes were for a time suspended by the death of the eldest, Henry, who had been made king.⁶⁰

in 1178, which gave it sometimes the appearance of a crescent, as the shade passed over it. This is usual; but he adds, that a curious natural phenomenon accompanied it: the air in various places appeared differently tinged with the colors, red, saffron, green, &c. P. 1445.

⁵⁸ Hoveden, 531—539. Rad. Dic. 570—583. Hailes' Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 113—117.

⁵⁹ Hoveden, 618—620.

⁶⁰ Hence Wace says, he has seen three king Henrys —

Treis reis Henris ai coneuz,
En Normandie toz veuz;
D'Engleterre e de Normendie
Orent tout treis la seignorie.
Le segont Henri qi co di
Fu nics al primerian Henri,

Vexation at discovering his inability to dethrone his father, brought on a disease. On his death bed he solicited his parent's presence and forgiveness. His tears of penitence had so often proved to be new treacheries, that Henry dared not visit him. The dying prince, now alarmed into compunction for his filial ingratitude, sought by a momentary penance to assuage his own terrors, and to influence futurity. He had his elegant clothing changed for sackcloth, and was then by his own command dragged, by a rope round his neck, from his bed to a heap of ashes, on which he expired.⁶¹

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Of the surviving sons, Richard and Geoffrey still bickered with their father. But Geoffrey perishing under the horses' feet at a tournament at Paris⁶², the subjects of discord were diminished. Yet the natural impetuosity of Richard's temper, and the political jealousies and occasional hostilities of Philip the king of France, kept Henry in a state of constant irritation and disquiet. A more discreditable cause justly added new torments. Philip's sister, Alice, was betrothed to Richard; but his father chose to keep her from his son, perpetually delaying their nuptials, till Richard himself disdained them. The worst suspicions of sensual depravity intended, if not executed, were attached to the procrastination⁶³, and all love and reverence for the sovereign proportionably declined.

The discord continues.

The danger of the little Christian kingdom in Henry un-

Ne de Makelt l'emperiris :

E li tierz fu al segont filz.

Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

⁶¹ Hoveden, 620. That princes in these days did not want flatterers, appears from the Latin quatrain on this prince, making him at once Cæsar, Hector, Achilles, and Augustus. Bromton, 1143. — Henry contracted a marriage between his son John and the daughter of the count of Maurienne (Savoy), called also marquils of Italy, who was to leave all his dominions to them, if he had no son; if he had a son, they were to have only Roussillon, Turin, the Novalese, and some other places. Rymer, vol. i. p. 33.

⁶² Hoveden, 631.

⁶³ Bromton Chron. p. 1151.

CHAP.
IX.THE REIGN
OF
HENRY II.dertakes
the cru-
sade.

1187.

His death,
1189.

Palestine, from the victories of Saladin, had disposed Henry to undertake a crusade. The king of Jerusalem sent his patriarch to England to solicit him, and the Pope added his exhortations.⁶⁴ But Henry lingered till Europe was electrified with the news, that Saladin had taken the venerated city.⁶⁵ The Pope, already in years, died of grief on the intelligence⁶⁶, and kindred feelings of regret and indignation re-animated all Christendom. The veteran German emperor marched his bravest knights towards Asia.⁶⁷ Henry and Philip agreed to follow; but the English sovereign was first compelled, by the union and warfare of Philip and Richard, to submit to allow that all his subjects both in England and France should swear fealty to Richard.

This diminution of his personal dignity and power corroded his mind, and shook his health. But when he learnt that his darling son John had even leagued with his enemies against him, his fortitude forsook him. In a fit of disgraceful passion, he bitterly cursed his children with imprecations, which he could not be persuaded to retract. He did not long survive his maledictions. A fever attacked him at Chinon, of which he soon expired⁶⁸; and altho at one time so respected, that two Spanish sovereigns

⁶⁴ Hoveden, 628. Gervase, 1474.

⁶⁵ The Master of the Templars' letter to Henry, on this event, mentions that Saladin caused the cross to be taken from the temple at Jerusalem, and to be dragged and bastinadoed thro the city for two days: That he had all the temple, both within and without, bathed with rose-water, to purify it, and the Koran to be proclaimed in triumph upon it, on its four sides. Hoveden, 646.

⁶⁶ Gervase, 1510.

⁶⁷ He wrote first a letter of defiance to Saladin, preserved in Hoveden, 650. It is too vaunting and declamatory for a veteran soldier, who had fought in twenty Italian campaigns, and for the most part with success. Its most curious passage is that which contains his imperial majesty's character of the different nations of Europe, at that time: The tall Bavarian — The crafty Swede — Wary France — *Provident and ingenious* England — Saxony sporting with the sword — Agile Brabant — Lorraine unacquainted with peace — Unquiet Burgundy — Friesland excelling in the sling — Bohemia fiercer than its wild beasts — The Pilot Pisan.

⁶⁸ Hoved. 654. He was only 56 years old. He was surnamed Curtmantell, because he introduced short mantles from Anjou into England. Brompton, p. 1150.

had submitted their differences to his arbitration⁶⁹, that a Mahomedan prince had sought his friendship⁷⁰, and that the kingdom of Jerusalem had been offered him⁷¹, yet in his last moments he had not the consolation of experiencing even the attachment of his domestics. The breath of life had scarcely quitted his frame, before his body was stripped and left naked, and exposed in the church where he died. The greatest men are liable to this desertion; but it always proves, that the private manners or conduct of the prince have excited no personal regard. His differences with his children may have been more the fault of their ambitious and unruly tempers, than of his misconduct towards them.⁷² One of the great

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⁶⁹ The dispute between Alphonso king of Castile, who had married Henry's daughter, and Sancho king of Navarre; and the official papers concerning it; are in Hoveden, 561—565.

⁷⁰ It was the king of Valentia and Murcia who sent him great presents in gold and silk, horses and camels. Chron. Norman. 998.

⁷¹ Matt. Paris, 142.

⁷² In the *Sirventes* of Bertrand du Born, a viscount in Perigord, and a Troubadour, we have several allusions to the quarrels of Henry and his children. He was one of the lords who united with young Henry against Richard; and in a poem (*Hist. Lit. des Troub. i. 217.*) he describes the combination. On Richard's reconciliation with his brother, the disappointed Troubadour published another *Sirvente*, satirizing Henry as well as Richard, and wishing their brother Geoffrey had been the eldest. *Ib. p. 220.* Richard, in resentment, besieged his castle, and took it. The Troubadour imploring his conqueror's clemency, was forgiven. His muse now took another flight. He composed a warm panegyric on Richard. In this, he says, "If Richard will grant me his favor, I will devote myself to serve him, and my attachment shall be as pure as the finest silver. His dignity ought to make him resemble the sea, which seems desirous to retain every thing that is cast into its bosom, but which soon throws it back to the shore. So great a baron ought to restore what he has taken from a vassal who humbles himself." *P. 221.* Richard magnanimously listened to the advice, and gave him back his castle.—When the princes again warred with their father, this poetical seigneur joined them. The death of young Henry again disconcerted him, and he wrote an eulogy upon him; in which, after praising his personal accomplishments, he particularly extols the order and magnificence of his house: "We were always welcomed there, and always found good cheer, and great company; feasts and diversions were there without ceasing. Amiable prince! if you had lived longer, you would have been *le roi des courtois et l'empereur des preux.*" *Ib. p. 224.* — Henry, to punish the auxiliary of his seditious children, advanced against him. Bertrand was soon taken and led to the king, who sarcastically reproached him for boasting, that he had more wit than he wanted. "I had a right to say so once," exclaimed the Troubadour, "but in losing the young king, your son, I have lost all the understanding and talents that I possessed." Henry burst into tears at the name of his son: "Ah, Bertrand! unfortunate Bertrand!" cried he, "you may have well lost your understanding in losing my son, for he loved you tenderly. For his sake I restore you your liberty, your property, and your castle, and offer you my

errors of youth, is an impatience to possess the paternal power and property; and princes never want instigators to the unnatural craving. The character of Henry II. has been fully and fairly drawn by his friend Giraldus.⁷³

friendship." Bertrand fell at his feet, and vowed an inviolable attachment. Pp. 226, 227.

⁷³ "A reddish countenance, with grey hair; an ample and round head; blue eyes, blood shot, with an angry look. His face inflamed; his voice broken; a square chest; his neck falling a little on his shoulder; his arms powerful; his body fleshy and corpulent, but more from nature than from the indulgence of appetite, for he was moderate both in eating and drinking. To subdue his tendency to be fat, he was intemperate in his hunting.

"He was a most eloquent prince, and learned for those times; affable, flexible, facetious, and exceeded by none in the courtesy of his manner; his piety was respectable; strenuous in arms, but not provident in his civil police. No one was more kind when difficulties pressed, none more severe when his security was recovered. Fierce to the turbulent, he was clement to the subdued; stern to his domestics; obliging to strangers; expensive in public and sparing in his private economy; he seldom loved again those whom he once hated, yet was slow to dislike those to whom he was attached. Peace he observed and cultivated most diligently. He was pleased with the humble, but oppressive to his nobility, and fond of trampling on their pride. Few equalled him in his eleemosynary bounties, and he contributed largely to the Palestine expeditions; but he gave to the impious soldier what he ought to have given to the priest. He put the income of the vacant churches into his treasury. He was more than usually affectionate to his children in their infancy, but too much of the stepfather to them as they grew up. He always knew again the person whom he had once looked at steadily in the face, whatever might be his multiplicity of business; and what he once knew that was worth remembering, he never again forgot." Girald. p. 784.

CHAP. X.

Review of the Origin and History of the CRUSADES, to the End of the Reign of HENRY II.

As the history of the Crusades becomes interwoven with the history of England, in the reign of Richard I., whose celebrity was chiefly earned on the plains of Palestine, a review of their origin and leading incidents will properly precede his accession.

From the time that Mahomedanism¹ established itself in Asia, it was obvious that it would never cease to struggle for the empire of the world, while its spirit was upheld by its power. To propagate it by the sword, was a vital principle imposed upon its votaries², which became doubly hallowed and perpetuated by success. Within thirty years it subdued and appropriated Syria, Persia, and Egypt.³ The north of Africa, to its western extremity, soon yielded

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X.

Military spirit of Mahomedanism.

¹ The commencement of the Hegira, or Mahomedan æra, has been variously computed. I adopt the date inserted in the Annals of Abulfeda, edited by Reiske, — the year 622; which Mr. Gibbon has also followed.

² The ninth chapter of the Koran is urgent on this point: — “Fight against them who believe not in God, nor the last day — Unless ye go forth when ye are summoned to war, God will punish you with a grievous punishment — Go forth to battle, and employ your substance and your persons for the advancement of God’s religion. — O, prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be severe unto them — O, true believers, wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you.” — Sale’s Koran, pp. 152. 154. 155. 158. 166. Similar exhortations abound in the other chapters.

³ Syria was conquered by the year 638, Egypt in the same year, and Persia by 651. It is interesting to read the Oriental accounts of these surprising successes. Ockley has given the substance of the Arabian Alwakidi’s narrative of them, with additions from Abul-Pharagius and others, in the first volume of his History of the Saracens. — Major Price has detailed their Syrian and Persian conquests, from the Persian authorities of the Rouzut Ussuffa, the Kholauset ul Akhbaur, and the Habeib Usseyr, in his Mahomedan History, vol. i. p. 59—232. Collaterally with these, Mr. Gibbon’s fifty-first chapter may be profitably perused. — Of Major Price’s authorities, the first is the most esteemed history in the Persian language: its author, the celebrated Mahomed Mir Khavund (Mirkhond) who died in Khorasan, 1497. The two last were written by Khondemir, about 1498 and 1501.

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to its sway; and from that quarter it rushed over Spain, and repeatedly attempted France. Turning upon Italy, it entered the kingdom of Naples and Genoa, endangered Rome, and conquered Sicily. When Africa had marshalled her northern population under its banners, she frequently poured her myriads to spread and uphold the Islam faith in Spain and the Mediterranean isles. Constantinople, the eastern barrier against its progress in Germany, had been insulted and besieged by its enthusiastic hordes. Mahomedanism thus hung over Europe like its evil genius, ready to take advantage of every favoring circumstance to plant the Crescent and the Koran in the only regions of the world, beyond its own precincts, where knowlege and intellect were likely to germinate; but which were then too barbarous in some parts, to care what religion they adopted; and too feeble in others to have presented an effective resistance.

Its inter-
nal dissen-
sions.

But one great peculiarity pursued the Arabian conquerors thro all their successes, undermined their most established power, and finally deprived their faith of the empire of the world — this was a spirit of civil turbulence, of local independence, and party discord. Tho their caliphs were despotic while popular, yet these they frequently disobeyed, attacked and murdered, even while they acknowleged the sacredness of their office.⁴ Whenever they triumphed, they usually broke into factions, who rushed eagerly to mutual bloodshed. Two caliphates were established in Africa and Spain, independent of the ancient sovereignty in Asia; and the Spanish dignity was soon divided into many rival kingdoms⁵, warring with

⁴ The seditions began in the reign of Otham, the third caliph, who reigned after Mahomed. He was murdered in an insurrection; and from that time few caliphs had a tranquil reign or natural death.

⁵ Cardonne remarks, that there became as many kings as governors in Spain: — Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Jaen, Lisbon, Tortosa, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, and Denia, had each its own sovereign. Vol. i. p. 156.

each other, and with Africa, almost as unquiet. The same constitutional evil checked and weakened them in Sicily. And in the tenth century, the Saracen empire had become so debilitated by its divisions, that some of the Greek emperors recovered the command of Asia Minor, and pushed their legions to Antioch and Armenia.⁶ Christianity was now released from its dread and danger, and Islamism began to wane. These factions arose not from the spirit of national freedom, but from that individual turbulence which was inseparable from the Arab mind. Their armies were the associations of voluntary adventurers, and their caliphs were their Imaums.⁷ Zeal for the propagation of their faith, supplied in their expeditions all the military subordination that was necessary for their success ; but when the conquest was effected, the principle of submission ceased ; the warlike mass resolved into its independent elements ; their natural volatility returned ; and with that, the spirit of anarchy and contentious rivalry, which they had no ancient or established institutions to amuse or to coerce. Their population was not regimented under a baronial aristocracy, sharing the legislative power in parliaments coeval with their origin, and curbing the sovereign power ; they had no ancient laws controlling their monarch as well as his people ; they had no chain of descending rank and gradationary subordination, satisfying vanity by its distinctions, training the multitude to civil subjection, and preserving national strength by public cohesion and habitual submission. Among the Arabs, all below the caliph were equal, independent, restless, dissatisfied and insubordinate ; and their prosperity fluctuated, as their unanimity disappeared.

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⁶ Gibbon, vol. v. p. 658.

⁷ The Arabian Caliphate was not hereditary. Its first caliphs were chosen by the two sacred cities, or, more strictly, by the companions of Mahomed's flight, and his protectors in his exile. Price, vol. i. p. 205.

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Rise of the
Turks in
Siberia.

In this declining condition, a race of people arose to become the patrons of the Mahomedan faith, formidable for their exhaustless numbers, their barbarism, their activity, their valor, and their success—more formidable still, for their steady, social unity and obedience to their chief, and for that persevering gravity and inflexibility which have never abandoned their character. These were the Turks, a Tartarian nation, who, after acquiring the empire of Asia, emerged from their deserts and mountains, to become the antagonists of Christianity and Europe. In the sixth century, they were an obscure tribe, slaves to the Georgian nation, and forging for its khan, among the mountains of Imaus, or Kaf, in Siberia, his instruments of war. One of their aspiring spirits roused them to shake off their servitude. He was made their leader. Under him, they defeated their masters, established their independence, reduced the neighbouring tribes into subjection to his power, obtained the princess of China for his wife, and spread over Tartary the new empire of the Turks. So irresistible were their arms, that in less than a century all the tribes of Tartary, from Kamschatka and China to the Mæotis, became obedient to their sway.⁸ This extensive empire was too ample, and too new, to remain long under one head. Of their succeeding revolutions, we know little till the tenth century. By that time we find that one of their branches, the Hungarians, had entered Europe; and the desolations which these spread over its most cultivated regions, from 900 to 955, have been already noticed. The abilities of Henry, and his son Otho the Great, checked this portion on the Danube. But their main body soon rose to renewed celebrity and power in the eastern quarter of the globe.

Their king- At the close of the tenth century they had esta-

⁸ Mr. Gibbon has selected the principal facts of the early history of the Turks, in his 42nd, 55th, and 57th chapters.

blished a kingdom, that of Gazna, in the eastern provinces of Persia. A sovereign here acceded, Mahmud the Gaznevide, for whom the title of Sultan was first invented, who displayed the Turkish name in terror and victory to the inhabitants of the East. In twelve expeditions to Hindustan, he beat down the Indian powers, took Delhi, Lahore, and Moultan, and enlarged his kingdom from Transoxiana to Ispahan, from the Caspian to the Indus.⁹

The great body of the Turkish nation was then inhabiting both sides of the Caspian. The eastern division joined the enterprising Mahmud, and assisted in his exploits, but rebelled against his son. They defeated the Gaznevide dynasty, possessed themselves of its dominions, conquered Persia, and chose Togrul Bey their king. He completed the subjection of all the territory to the Indus, and added Media.¹⁰ But he produced or admitted a revolution still more momentous to the mind and fortunes of mankind. Under his reign, the great Turkish nation adopted the religion of Mahomed; and professing it with all the energy of their native character, and all the zeal of recent converts, they became its fierce champions at that precise æra when it was losing its hold on the human intellect, and but for the support of their simple, rude, uncriticizing, credulous, and vehement spirit, might have quietly expired.

On the death of Togrul Bey in 1063, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to his throne¹¹, and to the command of all the Turks from the Tigris to Hindustan.

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dom in
Persia and
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Alp Arslan's
empire.

⁹ Gibbon, c. 57. Price has given the history of Mahmud from Khondemir; and Dow, from Feristah's Persian History of India. Feristah published it in 1609. He was employed for twenty years in its composition. I wish the tenth book, on the history of Cashmire, were translated; as the Hindu religion has been supposed to have originated there: "every river, hill, and fountain being sacred to some deity." Stewart's Catal. of the Library of Tippoo Sultan, p. 12.

¹⁰ Gibbon, vol. v. c. 57. D'Herbelot has given a sketch of the life of Togrul Bey, from the Eastern writers, p. 1027, fol. ed.

¹¹ See D'Herbelot's copious Life of Alp Arslan, p. 122. Price has translated Khondemir's account, vol. ii. p. 348.

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His son
Malek
Shah, 1072
—1082.

To attack the Christian kingdoms was one of the first objects of his ambition. He overran their eastern territories, and 130,000 Christians fell the victims of his fury.¹² He not only defeated the Greek emperor, but took him prisoner. The conquest of Armenia and Georgia increased the solidity as well as the extent of his power; and at the period of his death, “the fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws. Twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne, and 200,000 soldiers marched under his banners.”¹³

Perishing under the attack of an assassin whom he dared and despised¹⁴, his son Malek Shah succeeded to his sceptre, and soon extended his power from China to Constantinople. The most important regions of Asia became subject to his sway¹⁵; his armies were swelled by their abundant population; and in 1076, one of his armies took Jerusalem from the Egyptian Soldan. On his death in 1082, this mighty empire, on the feuds of his descendants, became divided into the Supreme Turkish kingdom, whose immediate seat was in Persia; and three subordinate kingdoms acknowledging the superior dignity of the chief—Kerman on the Indian frontier—Syria on the Mediterranean—and Roum, that embraced all Asia Minor and the contiguous provinces, and spread into Syria.¹⁶ A Turkish Emir became the commander of Jerusalem, and endeavoured to make it an inde-

¹² Gibbon, vol. v. c. 57. p. 659.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 666.

¹⁴ The dying sentiments of Alp Arslan, as narrated by Elmacin, are remarkable: — “I never fought with any one before, till I had implored the Divine aid. But yesterday, when I ascended the hill to review my troops, and felt the earth tremble under me from the movement of their innumerable feet, I exclaimed in my pride, that it was I who was the King of the World, nor was there any one who dared to attack me. I forgot the power of the Most High, and I implore his pardon for my guilty arrogance.” Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.* 1. 3. p. 278.

¹⁵ “From the Chinese frontier he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the West and South, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix.” Gibbon, vol. v. p. 669.

¹⁶ Gibbon, vol. v. p. 672.

pendent government. Its immediate masters varied; but they continued to be Turks until two years before the European armies appeared to contend for it. The Egyptian Mahomedans had then regained its possession.

The operations of these two Turkish kingdoms of Syria and Roum, and especially of the latter, became the immediate causes of the Crusades.

One of the descendants of Seljuk, the venerated ancestor of this Turkish dynasty, had raised an army against Malek Shah. This powerful and prudent prince proposed an amicable arrangement: "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks — the enemies of God and his apostle."¹⁷ The Grecians had survived the storm of Arabian enthusiasm; they had now to endure the fiercer and ultimately fatal assaults of a Turkish crusade.

Turkish
holy war
against the
Christians.

The exhortations of Malek Shah were successful. Soliman, the eldest of the turbulent princes, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroun to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West.¹⁸ His conquests were as rapid as his enthusiasm was ardent. They soon absorbed Cœlosyria, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Pontus, Bithynia, and the rest of Asia Minor.¹⁹ All

Soliman's
conquests
from them.

¹⁷ Gibb. p. 673. From Azzedin's Arabic History of the Atabek princes of Syria, a MS. in the royal library at Paris, written in the thirteenth century, M. de Guignes narrates of Malek Shah — "His empire was of immense extent; the Khotbha, or public prayers, were made under his name from China to Greece. He was a prince of mild and generous disposition towards his enemies. He ordered cisterns to be made in the wildernesses on the way to Mecca, for the use of the pilgrims; he opened channels in different places; and constructed a college near the tomb of Imam Abachanifa, a sumptuous mosque at Bagdad, a minaret in the environs of Koufa, and another at Samarcand." Account of the MSS. in the Library of the King of France, vol. ii. p. 425. Engl. Transl.

¹⁸ Gibbon, vol. v. p. 673. I refer to Mr. Gibbon, as the most unsuspecting authority on this subject.

¹⁹ William of Tyre, p. 635. His valuable History of the Crusades is published

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these provinces, by the year 1084, he had consolidated into a Turkish kingdom, called the kingdom of Roum, which is described as extending from the Euphrates to the Hellespont, having Nice its capital.²⁰ Such perilous successes brought them to the full front of Constantinople itself, with an enthusiasm emboldened by success, and panting for new triumphs. The unknown regions of the West were indeed immediately before them; and the Grecian emperor was in such alarm, that he sent urgent letters to all the princes of Europe, even so low down as the count of Flanders, to assist him and their common Christianity, in this dangerous crisis.²¹

Danger
of Chris-
tianity.

If the princes of the West had not been stimulated to oppose their united forces to this aggression, the same valor and strength which had then conquered Asia Minor and led the Turks to the Hellespont, would have soon conducted them into the heart of Europe: and the fatal consequences of such success, to human happiness, may be easily anticipated by those who compare the degraded state of the Mahomedan empires with the national improvements of the great Christian kingdoms.

The Turks, tho' possessed of many hardy virtues which benefited depraved Asia, have had not only a hatred to Christianity, which the lapse of centuries has not lessened, but also an aversion to knowlege, which has always precluded their national improvement. The Eastern distich which characterized them in their own language some centuries ago, is still descriptive both of their public character and in-

in the *Gesta Dei, per Francos*, and is allowed to contain the most intelligent and authentic account of the first Crusades. He was born at Jerusalem.

²⁰ Gibbon, vol. v. p. 675. Will. Tyre says, that if the Turks had had ships, they must have taken Constantinople, p. 636.

²¹ Guibertus Abbas, who lived at the period, has inserted, in his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, the substance of the emperor's letter to the count of Flanders, p. 475. Before this application, about 1073, the Emperor Manuel VII. had solicited the assistance of Pope Gregory VII.

dividual spirit: "Tho a Turk should excel in every science, he will always be a barbarian in his nature."²² But science they have never valued; mental advancement they have never cultivated; social civilization they have never attempted; the barbarian has never disappeared; opium, smoking, indolence, and silent gravity, have been their chief enjoyments; and therefore, if they had overwhelmed Europe, they would have intercepted all its intellectual progress, and the hope of human progression would have expired in their triumphs.

The danger of this catastrophe was peculiarly great, from the political state of Europe in the twelfth century. Divided and subdivided among princes and inferior chieftains, who were alienated by mutual jealousies, ancient rivalry, and reciprocal injuries; ignorant of the principles of national welfare; and rarely coalescing, and never constant in their unions—the military strength of Europe was usually wasted in the private warfare of the great, and in their proud insubordination and frequent defiance to their sovereign. When their feudal obligation compelled them to the field under his banner, forty days' service, effective only for plunder and cursory devastation, was all the martial exertion that their liege lord could command; their longer stay was to be purchased by his bounty, and was precarious and irregular, both from their own humor and his necessities. Amid so many turbulent competitors for distinction and power, some were ready to unite with every invader. A dissatisfied prince invited the

²² D'Herbelot, p. 898., voc. Turk. gives this from a Turkish distich. The Persians have several satiric stanzas upon them, — "Tho a Turk should be a doctor of the Mussulman law, we may always kill him without a scruple." And their celebrated Hafiz exclaims, on a calamity which he is describing — "It takes patience from our hearts and repose from our minds, with as much violence as a Turk or a beggar snatches the victuals from a well-set table." D'Herbelot. — The Persian poets, however, pay the compliment to their persons, of using the word Turk to signify a well-made young man. Ib.

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Hungarians into Germany, as a vindictive noble had introduced the Arabs into Spain. Mutual jealousy and selfish speculations, in all ages, assist the progress of invaders against countries divided among many chiefs; and the natural increase of population was multiplying every where all the elements, fuel, wants, causes, and interested promoters and maintainers of intestine warfare. The force of Christian Europe being diminished by these dividing agencies, it will seem probable, when we contemplate the extent of the Turkish empire in the eleventh century, commanding the world, from the Hellespont to the Indus—its unity of principle, its fanatical energy, its physical resources, and its actual achievements,—that if its military population had not been engaged and consumed for above a century on the plains of Palestine, the dismayed world would have beheld the Turkish Crescent towering in the heart of Europe, in the twelfth century as it did in the sixteenth; but without meeting that augmented power of opposition which the national improvements of four centuries had by that time provided. Yet, notwithstanding these, it beleaguered Vienna, and might have taken it so recently as 1683, if the avarice of the Turkish vizier had not withheld his troops from storming it, when the exhausted debility of the besieged could not have resisted their attack.²³

Averted
by the
crusades.

By arresting the progress of the Turks; by stunning them with blows which a less hardy, fanatic, and profuse population could not have survived; and by protracting their entry into Europe, which at last they forced, until its various states had grown up into compacted kingdoms; until the feudal sys-

²³ Beregani, a noble Venetian, in his well-written *Historia delle Guerre d'Europa*, from 1683, describes ably this celebrated siege of Vienna in this year. He remarks, "Ed e infallibile, che se nel fervore del campo, il primo Visire ordinava l'assalto, in tempo che diminuito e costernato il presidio, era la citta sfasciata di mura; restava la piazza miserabile preda dell' Ottomana barbarice: ma l'avaritia del capitano la preservo a Cesare e a Christo." P. 54.

tem had been substantially overthrown; until firm government and humanizing law had blended and concentrated individual energy and self-will into national unity and co-operating strength; until polity had begun to be a science, and that order of men whom we both venerate and revile, statesmen and politicians, had every where arisen; the Crusades preserved Europe from Turkish desolation, if not from conquest. And when the Ottoman power, recovering from its alarms by their discontinuance, arose in renovated vigor to a new struggle for the sovereignty of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; tho it conquered Greece, overran Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, attempted Russia and Poland, and endangered Vienna; yet the rest of Europe had then become prepared to resist its further progress; and has hitherto successfully kept it at bay, notwithstanding its mighty population and desperate fanaticism, until its political inferiority has become decided, the period of its decrepitude arrived, and its political dissolution has commenced.

That a Turkish crusade was about to assault the eastern frontier of Europe, when the Christian crusade commenced, has not been sufficiently remarked.²⁴ But that, for its effective counteraction, so ardent and so immediate a union of mind among a body so disjointed and discordant as the kings of Europe, for an object so remote and difficult, and then so little affecting their personal interests, should yet arise at the precise period when it was most im-

²⁴ This observation was published in 1814; but the prejudice of considering the crusades merely as religious extravagancies is now lessening. I read with pleasure, in Mr. G. Mill's History of the Crusades, London, 1822, his remark, that in the eleventh century, "*political events, in the Grecian and Saracenic worlds, occasioned a renewal of the endeavor to arm Christendom against Islamism.*" P. 24. — Love of heroic fame may have led Henry V. to project a crusade in his day; but it was profound political reasoning which must have induced cardinal Richelieu also to have meditated such an enterprise.

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portant to Christianity, was a concurrence of an evil and its remedy, which must arrest the attention and excite the meditation of the impartial philosopher.

The motives which engaged Christian Europe in this momentous warfare were, as the motives always will be that actuate an immense body of men, multi-form and mixed. Love of novelty, love of plunder, love of warfare, a passion for the wonderful, stimulated many. But the four great principles on which the Pope, and Peter the Hermit, founded their appeal, and which appear to have been the main operating springs to the enterprise, were—The political necessity²⁵ of resisting the progressive conquests of the Mahomedans—the evil of their own warlike conflicts—the sufferings and insults which all the Asiatic Christians, as well as the unoffending pilgrims, were made to endure from Turkish brutality—and the shame and dishonor of leaving the tomb of their Saviour in the possession of his fierce and implacable enemies.²⁶ The two first topics were appeals to their reason; the two last, to their sensibility. The reflective and the foreseeing obeyed the impulse of their heads; the multitude surrendered themselves with an astonishing enthusiasm to the emotions of their hearts. Now that the dangers have passed with which they were menaced, and that the scenes have changed in which they were acting, we may with sarcastic complacency deride their credulity, or declaim against their zeal. But, when we recollect the certain privations, sickness, fatigue, dangers, suf-

²⁵ Urban in his speech, which Malmsbury details as he heard it from those present at its delivery, reminded the assembled people, That the Turks were occupying Syria, Armenia, and all Asia Minor, and were over-running Illyricum: that they and the Saracens also held Africa, Spain, and the Balearic Islands, and were devouring the rest of Europe in expectation. He exhorts his hearers to undertake the expedition, that at least in these regions the Christians might live at peace. Malm. pp. 131, 132.

²⁶ As political dangers, unless at our very threshold, rarely excite the multitude, and sometimes not even cabinets, to great exertions, the Pope wisely enlarged on the religious topics of his subject. These are fully reported by Robertus Monachus. p. 31., and Baldric, p. 86., who were both at the Council of Clermont.

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ferings, and death, to which they knowingly devoted themselves in a land-march, in that day, from Germany to Jerusalem; when we consider the sacrifice of wealth, luxury, domestic comfort, and established habits, which they voluntarily made for objects which they believed to be just and noble, and without any worldly benefit in prospect to the far greater number, especially of their dignified chiefs; we must ever rank the Crusades among the instances of the sublimer exertions and capabilities to which the human character can raise itself, especially in those periods when men feel rather than calculate—before knowledge has chilled the sensibility, or selfish indifference hardened the heart.

In calmly estimating the merit of the crusaders, we must recollect that they were not the disciplined Macedonians assaulting effeminate Persia: the crusaders marched to attack a people as courageous, as martial, as enthusiastic, but more united than themselves. The Turks were distinguished for their love of warfare, and the ability with which they waged it; they were inferior only in the use of the heavy armor of the European knights, and this deficiency they balanced by their overflowing numbers, their arrows, their dreaded sabres, and their ferocious intrepidity.

The arrival of the thousandth year of the Christian æra had created a belief among the Christian clergy, of its possible connexion with the Millennium of prophecy, and the termination of the present system of the world. The opinion was found to be fallacious, but the effect of its prevalence survived its destruction. It had fixed the attention of the public strongly on religious meditation. The conversion of the Hungarians increased the excitement; and a general ardor to visit the places distinguished in their Saviour's history, and especially the city consecrated

preceded
by a spirit
of pilgrim-
age.

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by his death, spread thro Europe.²⁷ In no age could that spot be visited without emotion, which was believed to be the scene of the last sufferings of the Christian Legislator. Abstracted from all consideration of his divine character, biography does not contain a narrative more interesting to the human sympathies than his history, from his last entrance into Jerusalem, to the hour when agitated nature announced that its Redeemer had expired. It was not the feeling of a rude age merely: if the tomb and country of the Messiah were as accessible as the Capitol and vicinity of Rome, the stream of concourse would have never ceased to flow while Christianity survived in Europe. In one age it might have been called a pilgrimage, in another a journey; at one time devotion might have actuated, at another curiosity. But the human heart must be unstrung, and the human reason unseated, before the desire of visiting the places, immortalized by the affecting writings of the Evangelists, could cease to interest a Christian population. Let us not, then, upbraid the weakness of our forefathers. They felt like ourselves; but they obeyed their generous impulses with a disinterestedness that we are not able, and, from the new chains of circumstances that environ us, have no equal motives, to imitate.

In the eleventh century, the inferior orders, on whom natural feelings always first operate, began the peregrination. Their return and conversation excited the middling ranks to imitate them; and at last, nobles, ladies, and kings, imbibed the passion, and traversed Europe and Asia to Jerusalem.²⁸ Our

²⁷ Vita Altmanni, 1 Austr. Script. p. 117. Abbo mentions, that he heard in a sermon at Paris, that antichrist would come in the year 1000. He says the opinion pervaded almost all the world, that in the Easter of that year the consummation of all things would take place. See his Apol. quoted by Mosheim, X Cent. vol. ii. p. 421. Eng. ed. 1811.

²⁸ Glaber Rodulph. Hist. l. 3. c. 1. p. 23.; and l. 4. c. 6. p. 46. ed. Frank. 1596.

venerable Ingulf has given a brief account of his visit to these scenes at this period.²⁹ The pilgrims were received by the patriarch, and with a solemn procession were led, amid the thunder of cymbals, and immense splendor of lights, to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In this place he could not suppress his secret prayers, his sighs, and even his tears. The awful recollections that were awakened excited his best sympathies. From thence he went to survey the sacred edifices which the Turks had thrown down. He wished to bathe in the Jordan, and to trace the places visited by the Messiah, but the prowling Arabs rendered it impossible to leave the city.³⁰

The sufferings with which the pilgrims soon after his visit were harassed, appal our tranquil minds, and induce us to regret that sensibility so pure was not better counselled by discretion. "There was scarcely," says William of Tyre, "one out of a thousand who came, who could support himself; their means of subsistence having been lost by the way, or consumed in the immensity of the undertaking."—But when they had reached the city, the object of all their hopes, its Mahomedan masters forbade all entrance, unless a pecuniary tribute was paid at the gate. From this exaction, nearly a thousand wretched

Sufferings

²⁹ He had joined at Mentz a body of 7000 German pilgrims, led by several bishops to the Holy Land.

³⁰ Ingulf Hist. p. 74. It may not be uninteresting to contrast the feelings of Ingulf, with those which the same scenes excited in a British soldier nearly 800 years afterwards. After Sir Sydney Smith's heroic defence of Acre against Bonaparte—the first repulse which after a magical career of victory this general had received—he went to Jerusalem, in January 1800. A gentleman in his suite thus described the visit, in a letter to his family, written warm from the spot:— "As we reached Jerusalem, the whole city came out to meet us. There seemed to be between twenty and thirty thousand of all sexes and ages, crying out, Vive le English Commandant! Bono English!—The clock had just struck ten, when we proceeded to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, in this procession—first the British colors—then Sir Sydney and the monks—myself and friend followed, and a crowd of half-starved pilgrims closed the rear. The Western gate introduced us to the church. The organ sounded awful melancholy notes, till we came to the venerated tomb. The monks paused—and Sir Sydney entering first, begged to be left alone. He was so for about a quarter of an hour, and came out in tears."

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pilgrims.

and almost naked pilgrims, worn with famine and fatigue, usually lay without the walls, unable to raise the sum required to be admitted into the city. The monasteries and people of Jerusalem compassionately supplied the fainting wanderers with all the assistance they could afford; but as the Turks were in possession of the country, the supplies of Christian charity could not be abundant. Within the city, the Turks were active to insult and injure all who came into it: they rushed into the churches, sat upon the altars, overturned and trod under foot the sacred vessels, scourged the pilgrims and the clergy, and insulted and imprisoned the patriarch. The citizens were never safe; death or slavery hung over them every day.³¹

The attention of Europe had been first called to the calamities of the Eastern Christians, by a short, pathetic, allegorical address from the scientific Pope Sylvester II.³² One of his successors, Gregory VII., had, from other political and papal objects, projected, in 1074, to lead an army of 50,000 voluntary soldiers to their assistance.³³ The troubles of his life made his project ineffective, and a succeeding Pope endeavored to arrest the progress of the Mahomedans in Africa³⁴; but it was reserved for a humble and obscure individual to begin the mighty conflict in the Plains of Palestine.

Among the pilgrims, towards the close of the eleventh century, was Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens. The calamities he beheld strongly interested his compassion, and his conversations with the

Peter the
Hermit
visits Je-
rusalem.

³¹ Will. of Tyre, p. 636.

³² See it among his letters in the *Bib. Mag. Patr.* vol. iii. p. 701.

³³ *Ep. Greg.* in *Concil.* vol. xii. p. 322. Mr. Mill's remarks on this deserve attention: "It is evident, from the letters of Gregory, that the extinction of heresy, the union of the two Churches, and the general triumph of the Christian over the Moslem cause, were the great objects of the Pope. Palestine does not seem to have been much thought of." *Hist. Crusades*, vol. i. p. 25.

³⁴ Victor III. who preceded Urban, and died 1087, had sent 100,000 men to withstand the Moors in Africa. Dupin, *Eccl. Hist.* 11 Cent.

Patriarch Symeon increased the impression. "We have no hope from Greece; it can scarcely support itself: it is so weak as to have lost half of its empire within a few years," said Symeon, who then intimated to the Hermit, that his countrymen were the only persons who had the power to relieve them. Peter had been a soldier in his youth.³⁵ A warrior's mind, accustomed to great impulses, is ever ready to receive them. His heart burnt with indignation at what he saw and heard. His own emotions were evidence that his countrymen would feel as he did; and the vast conception arose to his mind, of all Europe marching to relieve afflicted Asia. He determined to be the generous herald that should call them to the mighty task. "If the Roman church, and the princes of the West, knew of your sufferings," he exclaimed, "I am sure they would exert themselves for your benefit. Write to them the description, and authenticate it by your seal; I will deliver it, and endure every trouble to alleviate your sorrows." The patriarch made his statement, and Peter departed for Europe.³⁶

The time in which he attempted the execution of his purpose, was to all human appearance unpropitious to his success. The Pope, Urban II., was, as Gregory VII. had been, at variance with the emperor, who pursued him so vindictively, that he could only escape his power by secret flight; and he was actually hiding himself among his friends, while a rival Pope was seated in Rome, when the indefatigable Peter discovered him, delivered his credentials, described the

³⁵ "In his youth he performed feudal military service under Eustace de Bouillon, father of Godfrey VI. duke of Lorraine. He became the husband of a lady of the noble family of Roussy — old, poor and ugly. His next characters were those of a priest and an anchorite. In his subsequent life he was usually clad in the weeds of a solitary, and his contemporaries surnamed him the Hermit. To expiate some errors of his early days, he resolved to undergo the pains and perils of a journey to the Holy Land." Mills, i. 36.

³⁶ Will. Tyre, p. 637.; and see Alberti Acq. Hist. Hierosol. l. 1. p. 185. His work is also a respectable authority for the first crusade.

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evils which he proposed to remedy, and engaged the Pope to espouse his project.³⁷ Encouraged by the pontiff, Peter traversed Italy, passed the Alps, and visited the court of every prince in Europe to whom he could gain access. Tho small in stature and contemptible in appearance, his face thin, his feet naked; his dress but a long woollen tunic with a hood, and a rude cloak that left his arms bare; yet his eye was penetrating, his countenance animated, his oratory glowing and profuse. He spoke as he felt, and he had seen what he described. His own emotions roused consenting sympathies in all whom he addressed. From the palaces, he went to the villages and the towns: the people crowded to hear him: and an universal eagerness to undertake the daring adventure, was his triumph and his reward.³⁸

The coincidence of his exhortations, of the Grecian emperor's solicitations, and of the papal recommendation, produced a powerful effect. In March 1095, a general council was assembled at Placentia, to which an unprecedented number of the laity came. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor were introduced, who urged the assembled chieftains "to repel the barbarians on the confines of Asia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe."³⁹ At the description of the misery and perils of their Eastern brethren, the assembly shed many tears; and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succor. In November, another council was convened at Clermont, in France, attended by such multitudes, that no building could contain them. The Pope addressed them with animated eloquence, in the open air, in a speech that

³⁷ Will. Tyre, p. 638. Urban consulted Bohemund, the Norman prince of Tarentum, upon it, who intimated that such an expedition would establish him in the papacy; and who hoped to obtain from it, for himself, some part of the Grecian territories. Malmsh. 407.

³⁸ Will. Tyre, p. 639. & 637. & Guibert, l. ii.

³⁹ Gibbon Hist. vol. vi. p. 5.

enforced every topic of policy, feeling and religion.⁴⁰ An universal shout of approbation burst from the transported audience. The Pontiff hailed the enthusiastic unanimity as the Divine inspiration, and recommended that all who should undertake the expedition, should impress the sign of the Cross on their garments, and wear it on their shoulders.⁴¹

The defect of the first crusades was not in their conception, which was grand and politic; nor in the valor and fortitude with which they were executed, for these transcend encomium; nor in their justice, because the right of Europe to assist endangered Greece and oppressed Syria on their invitation, cannot be questioned, while the weak and injured are allowed to solicit alliances and aids against invasive violence⁴²; but it was in the want of wisely organized plans; and of a judicious overruling authority, by which the unfit might have been restrained, and all intemperate emotions have been discouraged; and by whose exertions the energies excited might be proportioned to the occasion, duly regulated in their movements, and applied to their best effect. There was a vast mass of voluntary enthusiasm put into action, but no Agamemnon to direct it. The excitement was indeed inevitably too great. The feelings became lawless, and the imagination extravagant. It was essential that the sensibility of all parts of Europe should be touched, or sufficient forces could not have been raised, nor when ready have been safely marched, from jealousy of those

⁴⁰ See it in W. Malmesbury, as composed by him from the accounts of those who were present, 410—15.

⁴¹ W. Tyre, 641. *Deus vult, Deus vult!* was the general exclamation. "Be these words," added the Pope, "your shout of battle, for they are prompted by the Deity." Robert Monachus, p. 219. ed. Reub.

⁴² Guibert mentions that the emperor of Greece sent his letters into France, to excite their minds ad defendendam periclitantem Greciam. Hist. Hieros. p. 475. "It is certain that Alexius implored the succor of the West; and it seems from Du Cange (note on p. 160. of the Alexiad), that Alexius entreated succor not later than the year 1092." Mills, Hist. Crus. i. 42.

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princes who might refuse to concur; for, in addition to the zeal to go, it was necessary to produce every where sacred feelings of veneration and sympathy for the cause, that might protect the lands and property of the crusaders while absent. This universal excitation produced an overflow of means. The minds of many were inebriated by an indiscriminating fanaticism. But it is easier to stimulate than to govern. The ardent enthusiasm propagated itself irresistibly on all sides, from its perfect congeniality with all the active sentiments of the day. The cause was so clearly just and urgent to the reasoning, the moral feelings, and the religious sympathies then prevailing; and so adapted, by the vague obscurity of the prospect and its possibilities, to rouse the inflammable ambition and mysterious impulses and dreams of self-love, and every better sensibility, that it was embraced, whenever mentioned, with a fervency, a resolution, a rapidity, and an universality, which has scarcely had a parallel in any of the moral or political epidemics that are known to have agitated mankind.⁴³

The talents of Gregory VII. might have given judgment to the promiscuous mass, by his foreseeing regulations. Urban was requested to head the enterprise, but he was unfit for it, and declined it. No other leader then existed known enough to all Europe, to pronounce the orders which all would obey. Some of the princes more immediately connected with the French power by their feudal ties, and thus more accustomed to associate, happily consented to unite their forces. But the rest of Europe was necessarily left to its own uncounselled energies

⁴³ W. Malmsbury's account is, "There was no nation so remote, and no people so retired, that did not respond to the papal wishes. This ardent love not only inspired the continental provinces, but the most distant islands and savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting, the Scot his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking party, and the Norwegian his raw fish." P. 416. Mills, i. p. 58. The truth perhaps also is, that there is at all times in society a numerous unprovided population, who would eagerly crowd to any enterprise that touched their feelings, flattered their vanity, promised high rewards, and that should be sanctioned by their ruling and venerated authorities.

and independent exertions. The four great bodies that moved first, were little else than so many impetuous and undisciplined mobs.

It was on the eighth of March 1096, that a body of pedestrian crusaders began the movement, under the command of Walter Sans-avoir, or the Pennyless, a noble and brave man. They marched thro Hungary, then full of morasses.⁴⁴ Permitted to purchase necessities they traversed the country peaceably to Belgrade, and passed into Bulgaria. Here their sufferings and their resentments began. The Bulgarians refused to sell them provisions. Pressed with famine, the crusaders seized their cattle. The Bulgarians collected to the amount of 140,000 men, attacked them, burnt some in the asylum which they surrounded, and dispersed the rest. Walter led the survivors cautiously thro the wide-spreading Bulgarian forests, out of the inhospitable country, to the vicinity of Greece, where they were allowed to supply their wants, and to wait the expected arrival of Peter and his company.⁴⁵

The next expedition was conducted by Peter himself, a promiscuous incoherent mass, of all languages and nations, in number forty thousand. They proceeded inoffensively from the Rhine thro Franconia, Bavaria and Austria, to the borders of Hungary. Peter's conduct seems to have been wise and upright. He sent a messenger to the king, requesting leave to pass. It was promised on their peaceable conduct. They paid for what they had, and passed on to Bulgaria. But there, hearing of the injuries which Walter's companions had sustained, and seeing their arms and spoils hung up as trophies on the walls of the city, they were transported with an evil rage, broke into the

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⁴⁴ It was accessible only in certain places, and the passes were there exceedingly narrow. W. Tyre, 643.

⁴⁵ W. Tyre, 643. Alb. Aq. 186. Albert writes from the accounts he received from the crusaders themselves. It is a valuable narrative.

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town, and destroyed the inhabitants.⁴⁶ Peter hearing that the king of Hungary was collecting his forces to attack them, hastened their passage of the river and their march to Nissa. Here, on giving hostages, they obtained provisions, paid for them, and were all going off peaceably, when a few Germans, remembering their quarrel with a Bulgarian on the preceding night, falling back from the body, set fire to his mills and some adjoining houses. These wretches, not a hundred in number, having accomplished their villany, joined the multitude, who were innocent of the outrage. But the chieftain of the district presuming it to be the deliberate act of all, armed his people to revenge it, and attacking their unguarded rear, seized all their waggons containing their provisions, and also their sick, women and children, whom they slew. The advanced crusaders returned in wrath to punish the assailants. In vain Peter exerted himself to keep them tranquil, till he had calmly negotiated for peace and the restoration of their baggage.⁴⁷ A thousand of the most impetuous determined on revenge. As they rushed forwards, Peter sent a herald commanding the rest not to aid the madmen, who were compromising the safety of all by their violence. They promised to obey; but when they saw their friends, some falling on the bridge, and others perishing in the waters, their feelings overcame their prudence, and all rushed wildly forward to participate in the conflict. The catastrophe was terrible. The Bulgarians conquered. Ten thousand of the crusaders were slaughtered; the

⁴⁶ Four thousand of the citizens were killed in this assault. W. Tyre, 644. This author, who is usually moderate and benevolent, certainly mentions this massacre as a just punishment for the conduct of the inhabitants to the companions of Walter. That fierce age did not comprehend, or were too impetuous to practise, the Christian precepts against revenge and cruelty.

⁴⁷ The conduct of Peter on this occasion seems to have been equally wise and just. But he had to govern, what wisdom and goodness can never govern, an undisciplined and excited multitude. The detail of his exertions is worth reading in W. Tyre, p. 645.

rest fled in panic to the woods; and all their money and supplies were captured. Peter was three days collecting them by trumpets and horns out of the forest, and about thirty thousand marched hastily from the country, enduring the greatest miseries, from the want of subsistence. A messenger from the Grecian emperor at last met them, and conducted them to the encampment of Walter the Pennyless.⁴⁸

Arrived at Constantinople, Peter stated the objects of their expedition, to the emperor, in a manly and impressive speech: it was favorably received. They were passed over the Hellespont in Grecian vessels, to the Asiatic side, where they waited for the arrival of the great princes who were to follow. The emperor frequently cautioned them to be wary, and not to advance into the country till their friends arrived.⁴⁹ Their patience and good conduct lasted two months. Their insubordinate spirit then broke out. They divided themselves into parties, to plunder the country, at first successfully. But Solyman, the Turkish sovereign of these parts, had been silently collecting forces from all the alarmed East. He advanced in strength. He destroyed the German division, which he surprised: he met the rest blindly rushing to revenge. In a decisive battle, Walter the Pennyless, and their best chiefs, fell. Out of 25,000 foot, and 400 horse, scarcely one escaped either death or captivity. The Turks then stormed the camp, took it, and put all to the sword; soldiers, sick, aged, matrons, and monks: the boys and girls only were saved, who were reserved for slavery. Peter escaped to Constantinople.⁵⁰

The third expedition consisted of 15,000 men, under Godescalcus, a German monk. They tracked Peter's steps, without difficulty, to Hungary. The

⁴⁸ W. Tyre, 644—646. Alb. Aq. 187—190.

⁴⁹ W. Tyre, 646. Alb. Aq. 190.

⁵⁰ W. Tyre, 647. Alb. Aq. 191—193.

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liberal supplies they received tempted them to intoxication, and that led them to enormities. The Hungarians armed, and pursued them to Belgrade: there they invited the Germans to deliver up their weapons, on the promise and as the pledge of peace. Alarmed and infatuated, the disgraced adventurers complied, and the faithless natives slaughtered them without mercy.⁵¹

The fourth body was a still more promiscuous, disorderly, and ungovernable rabble. They assembled together from all parts of the West, without a commander, without a guide. These appear to have been the wretches that committed the crimes and follies ascribed by some, indiscriminatingly, to the crusaders. "Instead," says the honest historian, "of going in the fear of God, and mindful of his commands and their own Christian duties, they turned themselves to madness," and attacked and murdered the Jews at Cologne, Mentz⁵², and elsewhere, who were living inoffensively and unsuspectingly, and proceeded in disorder thro Franconia and Bavaria, into Hungary, in numbers two hundred thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Refused a passage thro Hungary, they attempted to force it. They were conquered in the struggle, when a wild panic seized them. Several were destroyed; the largest portion of the rest, disheartened by the disaster, abandoned an enterprise which they

⁵¹ W. Tyre, 648. Alb. Aq. 194.

⁵² Mr. Gibbon says, with Italics, that the massacre of the Jews is *coolly* related. Vol. vi. p. 19. This is not fairly said; for W. Tyre calls it madness and cruelty—*insanias, crudeliter*—and arraigns the count, the leader of the perpetrators, as *maleficiorum particeps*, and *flagitiorum inceptor*: and afterwards ascribes their panic to a *divinely*-infused terror, *immissio divinitus terrore*—and to the wrath of Heaven punishing their impiety. P. 649. So Albertus Aquensis brands it as cruel, and describes their defeat as coming from the justice of God, punishing them for killing the Jews. He classes it as a *scelus detestabile*, and expressly says that God commands no one unwilling or compelled, *invitum aut coactum*, to assume the Catholic faith. P. 196. These violences benefited the Jewish nation afterwards, for the Emperor of Germany then took them under his protection as subjects of the imperial domain. Pfeffel Hist. Allem. i. p. 246. Mills, i. 78.

were both unworthy and unfit to carry on, and disgracefully returned home, while another part joined the princes in Italy.⁵³

These four bodies of adventurers, the ebullient froth and scum of the crusading zeal, either never reached their destination, or disappeared almost as soon as they arrived. They did nothing but mischief to the great cause they so unhappily espoused.⁵⁴ They excited the alarm and alienated the minds of the king of Hungary and the emperor of Greece, from such dangerous allies; and they conveyed to Solyman the full knowledge of his danger, and gave him time to prepare, from all the regions of the Turkish empire, that powerful military force with which he confronted the noble and virtuous princes, and their followers, whom the Muse of Tasso has deservedly celebrated, and whose valor and conduct gave dignity and triumph to the cause for which they bled.⁵⁵

The expedition of the French and Italian princes was carefully planned, sagaciously provided for, and deliberately executed. In the spring that followed the meeting at Clermont, they prepared their armor and baggage, procured their horses, and settled their points of meeting and most convenient roads.

⁵³ W. Tyre, 649, 650. Albert. Aq. 195, 196. It was some of these men who carried with them a goose and a goat, which they venerated — a curious fact, that assists us to comprehend the strange animal worship of the ancients.

⁵⁴ Mr. Gibbon states, that of these first crusaders, 300,000 men perished, vol. vi. pp. 21. & 39. This is a calculation that multiplies the real number. He mentions Walter to have led 15,000 foot and 8 horsemen, p. 18. Peter had 40,000 and Godescalcus 15,000. W. Tyre, 643. & 648. Making together 70,008. Almost all these perished. But of the body of 200,000, W. Tyre expressly says, That the count Ernico returned with the greatest part of the fugitives, cum maximâ parte; and that others went to Italy.

⁵⁵ Mr. Gibbon has not done justice to the character of Peter the Hermit, in his account of the crusades. He has so massed the first four expeditions together, altho they were completely distinct, as to confound in the reader's mind the atrocities of the last, with that headed by Peter. The conduct of Peter in the enterprise he led, as detailed by William of Tyre, must be felt by all who read it, to have been that of a wise, virtuous and benevolent man, always acting and counselling sagaciously, but disobeyed by impetuous numbers, who suffered their feelings and their passions to overpower their judgment and their religion, as well as his influence and express commands.

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As so many myriads could not expect to find sufficient sustenance in any one line of march, they agreed to advance in separate divisions, by different courses.

On the 15th August 1096, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine⁵⁶, a respected and experienced chieftain, began his progress into Germany. He was joined by his brother Baldwin, and several contiguous nobles. Traversing Austria, they reached the borders of Hungary, at Pragg, and heard of the catastrophe of Godescalcus. Godfrey negotiated with the king for an unmolested passage thro his territory, and to appease all suspicions, yielded his brother as hostage for the good conduct of his followers. The duke forbad rapine on the pain of death. The king ordered them supplies on a fair purchase. They reached Zemlin, and crossed the river that bounded Hungary on the South, on the rafts they had made; they received back their hostage; arrived at Belgrade, then a Bulgarian town, and entered the Bulgarian forests.⁵⁷

The Grecian empire, daily debilitating, had lost all command over the country north of its capital. The Bulgarians, a rude nation, had rushed upon it, and now overran all the regions from the Danube to Constantinople and the Adriatic. This desolated tract, once so fertile, was thirty days' journey in length, of which one-third had then received the appellation of Bulgaria. The other provinces were in an abandoned and uncultivated state, purposely made and left a desert, to prohibit hostile approaches by their forests, and utter destitution.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Which then comprehended Brabant, Hainault, Namur, Luxemburg, Liege and Limberg. His father was Eustace II., count of Boulogne, of some celebrity for his bravery. His mother was Ida, daughter of the duke of Lower Lorraine, from whom he inherited his possessions. Godfrey had assisted the emperor Henry against the Pope, and in the siege of Rome forced his way thro its wall, and opened the gates to his friends. Mills, i. 82—5. He died without issue.

⁵⁷ W. Tyre, 651—653. Alb. Aq. 197—200.

⁵⁸ W. Tyre, 653.

Godfrey proceeded from Belgrade nearly South to Nissa, and thence with an easterly declination to Philippoli, where he heard of the imprisonment of Hugh, the brother of the French king. This prince, eager to be foremost, had taken his course over the Alps into Italy, down towards Naples, crossed with a small company to Dyrachium (Durazzo), where he was quietly awaiting his fellow-crusaders, when he was seized by the Grecian governor, and sent a prisoner to Constantinople.⁵⁹

Alexis Comnenus, the Grecian emperor, is described to have been a bad and deceitful man, who had deposed his master, and usurped his throne; and the character receives confirmation from the dying declaration of his wife. But his conduct towards the crusaders may be accounted for by the effect on his mind of the tremendous spectacle of the excited population of all Europe, and half of it still semi-barbarized, marching into his dominions to pass to Asia. His conduct to the first body that came within his knowledge, was kind and hospitable. It was the fierce and disorderly behaviour of the ungoverned rabble, which began his alarms, and disclosed to him the possibility of a danger more immediately urgent, than even the presence of the Turks. Suspicion once aroused in a mind that has evil tendencies, never dies; its consciousness of its own defect of principle is applied to every one, because no one believes another to be better than himself. Hence Alexis, apprehensive of experiencing from the European chieftains that treachery which he had practised, acted towards them with a hostile mistrust that produced the mischiefs which it had unnecessarily foreboded.

Summoned by Godfrey to release his noble captive, he refused. The indignant crusaders, who had

⁵⁹ W. Tyre, 653, 654.

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then reached Adrianople, were allowed to plunder the imperial province. Alexis, feeling their power, liberated his prisoners, and invited Godfrey to his capital, with a small company. The wary duke declined the civility; and the emperor expressed his resentment at the refusal, by forbidding the usual market for the troops. Godfrey had no resource but to permit them to gather their subsistence by force. The market restored, the pillage ceased. Christmas approaching, the evils of a wintry atmosphere appeared. So heavy were the rains, that their tents could not keep out the wet, and their food and baggage were spoiling. The emperor, affecting to pity their state, invited them into barracks on the shores of the Bosphorus. His policy was to pen them within a narrow circuit, where they could not plunder. His offer was accepted; they marched over the bridge thro the city to their allotted stations, to wait till the other chiefs arrived.⁶⁰ The emperor repeated his invitations to Godfrey, who, mistrusting a snare, continued to decline them; yet, anxious not to offend against the laws of courtesy, he sent noble persons with his apologies. The disappointed Alexis again prohibited the market, and had the folly to reveal his base intentions, by sending archers secretly in ships towards the duke's encampments, who slew such as they found straggling, or could reach with their arrows. Roused by this exigency, Godfrey assembled a military council, and sent his brother in haste to occupy the bridge they had crossed, that they might not be surrounded and destroyed in the narrow spot they inhabited. Their rapid movement secured the bridge. All the city, now alarmed, flew to arms. The crusaders, equally disquieted at their increasing peril, set fire to the barracks where they had lodged, and a tract of six miles was soon enve-

⁶⁰ W. Tyre, 654.

loped in flames; then sounding their trumpets and collecting all their forces, they marched in battle-array to the bridge. Their anxiety was great, lest it should be destroyed at the farthest extremity. But Baldwin's vigorous celerity anticipated Alexis, and secured the command of the ulterior bank. All the army passed, and ranged themselves before the city in free and spacious places, favorable to their warlike evolutions. A battle ensued; but the Greeks were soon driven in to the interior of their metropolis, and their opponents encamped. The next day strong detachments were sent out to forage, who scoured the country for sixty miles, and collected abundance of supplies.⁶¹ At this juncture, a messenger arrived from Bohemund, the prince of Tarentum, announcing, that he had passed the Adriatic to Dyrachium, that he knew the malice of the Greeks against the Latins, and that if Godfrey would retire to the plains about Adrianople, he would join him in the spring, and punish the perfidious emperor. Godfrey, after a public council, declared in answer, that he could not turn upon a Christian people the weapons meant to be wielded against Infidels.⁶² The approach of Bohemund alarmed the emperor into a peaceful disposition. He again invited Godfrey to his palace, and sent his son as a hostage. The duke went without delay. The emperor received him with courteous affability, adopted him as his son, and put his empire under his care; clothed him with imperial garments, and for several months sent him every week as much gold money as two strong men could carry on their shoulders, besides ten bushels of copper coin. Godfrey distributed this liberality among the nobles and people, as their necessities required.⁶³

⁶¹ W. Tyre, 655, 656.⁶² Ibid, 657.⁶³ Ibid.

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Apprized in March that the other princes were approaching, Godfrey, on the suggestion of Alexis, passed the Hellespont, and landed his army on the Asiatic plains. As the other bodies arrived, they were passed over in the same manner, so that no two armies were suffered to remain before the city. The emperor had at last discerned the integrity and honor of Godfrey's mind, and found that a liberal confidence was his most advantageous policy.

The presence of Bohemund, whose banners the celebrated Tancred followed, revived the alarms of Alexis. Bohemund was the son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman chief who had settled in Apulia, and had assaulted Constantinople. The emperor watched his progress with a jealous eye, and attempted to surprise him; but the valor of Tancred repelled the Greeks.⁶⁴ Godfrey introduced Bohemund to Alexis in a friendly interview; and Tancred terminated all mistrust, by marching their forces to the Hellespont, and crossing into Asia.

The next body that arrived, was conducted by the earl of Flanders. He was introduced to the emperor, kindly received, and passed over, like the preceding.⁶⁵

Raymond, the count of Provence, with the Gascons and Spaniards, and the bishop of Adhemar, traversed Dalmatia amid much suffering.⁶⁶

Robert of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, proceeded with Stephen Earl of Blois, with Breton lords and others, to Lucca and Rome⁶⁷; and

⁶⁴ W. Tyre describes Tancred as a *vir fulmineus, expeditissimus*, p. 659.

⁶⁵ W. Tyre, 659, 660.

⁶⁶ W. Tyre describes Dalmatia as then occupied '*populo ferocissimo*,' accustomed to rapine and slaughter; chiefly subsisting on their flocks, and rarely using agriculture; a few on the sea coast using the Latin tongue, the rest the Sclavonian, p. 660. Raimond de Agiles accompanied this body, and has left us a narrative of his crusade. P. 139—183.

⁶⁷ Fülcherius Carnotensis, p. 385. He accompanied Robert. He gives a trait that shows the bitterness of religious disputes at that period. Robert received the benediction of Urban at Lucca: at Rome he met the supporters of the anti-pope,

passing to Dyrachium, traversed Illyricum, Macedonia and Thrace, to Constantinople, and sailed over the Hellespont to the Asiatic shore.

On a census of the whole collected crusaders, they were found to amount to 600,000 pedestrians, of both sexes, and 100,000 mailed knights⁶⁸; of whom Godfrey was appointed the leader.

The first object of his attack was Nice, the capital of the Turkish kingdom, which Solyman had extended from Syria to the Hellespont. When a portion of the crusaders advanced against it, Solyman rushed down from the mountains with fifty thousand horse, but was defeated and driven back.⁶⁹ Godfrey formed a regular siege round the city, and each chieftain had his allotted part to superintend. Perpetual attacks ensued for seven weeks. Machines of strong oak beams were raised close to the walls, within which manual labor might securely undermine them. Others were made to contain battering-rams, and to hurl immense stones to bruise the walls. One tower, thought to contain Solyman's wives, was particularly attacked. The Turks defended themselves with arrows ejected from their bows⁷⁰ and balistæ; and threw down oil, pitch, tallow, and lighted torches, to burn, often successfully, the machines that annoyed them. Frequently they caught up the besiegers with iron hooks, stripped the body, and projected it back

Guibert, who, with their swords in their hands, seized the oblations these crusaders had made on the altar of St. Peter, and getting upon the beams of the edifice, threw stones on them as they were praying, merely because they befriended Urban. Ful. Car. 385.

⁶⁸ W. Tyre, p. 664., gives this enumeration. The milites, or knights, were the real effective soldiery, of armies at that period. Fulcher says, that many of the lower sort, dreading future want, sold their bows, and with the pilgrim's staff returned home. P. 385. In another part he gives the same number as W. Tyre, but exclusive of monks, women and children. P. 387.

⁶⁹ W. Tyre, 667.

⁷⁰ The bow was the destructive weapon of all the Turkish tribes. In Hungary, Tartary, Persia, Syria, and Asia, they are always described with it. Fulcher says, that the crusaders, being new to the use of the bow, were at first destroyed in great numbers by the Turkish arrows. P. 387.

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into the camp. Breaches were made, and repaired by new masonry. But one large building was at last fabricated, and pushed to the walls, which neither the stones nor the fire hurled down could destroy. Within this the crusaders worked to undermine the tower selected for the chief attack, inserting wooden props to support it, as fast as they excavated. When a sufficient hollow was mined, they filled it with combustibles, to which they set fire.⁷¹ In the middle of the night, the supporters being all consumed, the tower fell down with tremendous noise. The crusaders flew to arms at the sound, rushed over the ruins, and became masters of the city, with Solyman's wives, on the 20th June 1097.⁷²

The capture of Nice was the conquest of Asia Minor. But the object of the crusaders was the deliverance of Jerusalem; and after a short repose, they began their march onwards to effect it.

On the third day of their progress, they divided into two bodies: Bohemund, with Robert of Normandy, Tancred and others, took a direction to the left; Godfrey proceeded on the right with the rest, and encamped at a few miles distance. Solyman had followed them unperceived, burning for revenge. He observed their separation, and at dawn rushed upon the weaker branch with 200,000 horse. The warriors at the out-posts sounded their horns; the trumpets and heralds summoned all impetuously to battle. The females, old, and sick, were hastily huddled together into a marsh, with the waggons drawn around them. The soldiers formed rapidly in array; the knights arranged themselves in cohorts of fifty on the wings of the foot, and, sending mes-

⁷¹ W. Tyre, 667—672. Fulcher, 387.

⁷² W. Tyre gives the most interesting account of the progress of this siege, which seems to have excited an emulation of military invention: For a German invented one undermining machine, which the Turks destroyed; the count of Provence tried others; and a Lombard at last devised that which was finally successful

Battle of
Dorylæum.

sengers to the other army of the attack, they awaited the Turkish charge.⁷³

With horrible howlings, and loud clangor of drums and trumpets, the Turks rushed on, sending before them such an immense shower of arrows, repeated almost before the others had fallen, that scarce one of the Christians was unwounded. The knights, seeing their horses perishing, made a furious charge with their swords and spears on the Turks, who, breaking into parts, wheeled off to elude the force of the assault; but soon returned to throw another flight of arrows, which drank deep of the blood of all the unmailed host. Tancred in the meantime flew into the centre of the enemy, prodigal of life, and intemperately brave. He was scarcely saved by Bohemund. The Turks finding their numbers prevailing, and that the crusaders began to hesitate, tossed back their bows on their shoulders, and attacked with their sabres. Their assault was intolerable. The Christians broke, but soon rallied round their baggage. The Turks pursued with new fury, when Godfrey suddenly appeared at the head of 40,000 knights, eager to partake the fray. The tide of victory then ebbed back: the Turks were in their turn discomfited, and chased beyond their own camp, and all their baggage became the spoil of their conquerors.⁷⁴

The crusaders refreshed themselves three days on the field of battle, and marched on to Pisidia. Here they crossed a dry desert, with no water, in the heats of July. Five hundred perished in one day from thirst. The cattle, overcome, refused to labor; the hawks and falcons died on their masters' hands; the

⁷³ W. Tyre, 673.

⁷⁴ *Ib.* 673, 674. Among the booty were many camels, which the Europeans had never seen before. Solyman had 180,000 horse engaged in the battle, the crusaders only 50,000. *Ib.* The prelate states that only 4000 of the Latins fell, of all ranks, but 3000 of the chiefs and great men of the Turks; whose entire loss was represented to be 30,000 in the public letter to Europe.

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hunting dogs wandered from the sides of their lords, and lay gasping on the sands; the horses perished in like distress: when they at last reached a river, on whose banks numbers, both men and animals, died from a too greedy indulgence.⁷⁵

Taught by suffering, they appointed a chosen body to precede the army, and explore the nature of the country. In one of their resting places, Godfrey, walking into a forest, met a large bear pursuing a poor husbandman who had been gathering dry wood. The animal flying on the duke's horse, he dismounted, combated him on foot, and at last killed the bear, but not till he was so severely wounded in the thigh, that he fell himself helpless to the ground.⁷⁶

Recovering, he marched into Lycaonia, and reached Iconium its capital. The Turks, lessoned by their experience, trusted no more to the field of battle, nor to fortified cities. They adopted a new plan of warfare. They evacuated their towns, stripping them of all supplies, and desolated the country, trusting that famine would destroy their invaders. This policy distressed the crusaders, but did not stop them: they proceeded into Cilicia, and, after some dissensions between Tancred and Baldwin, they advanced towards Antioch. Hitherto they had been conflicting with Solyman and his kingdom of Roum: they now entered the Turkish kingdom of Syria, whose capital was Antioch on the Orontes, and whose sovereign collected all the accessible force of his countrymen, to preserve his dominions from the fate of Solyman and Roum. At Antioch the Turks made a desperate stand. The Christians besieged it with determined bravery. For eight months it defied their power, and the length and difficulties of the

Capture of
Antioch,
June 3,
1098.

⁷⁵ W. Tyre, 674, 675.

⁷⁶ Ib. 675. The count of Provence died of sickness about this time.

siege afflicted them with severe distresses. The city was taken at last on the 3d of June 1098.⁷⁷

The crusaders had captured Antioch; but they were so exhausted by their efforts to obtain the success, that the Turkish prince and his emirs promised themselves a speedy revenge. On the 20th of the same month, with above 200,000 cavalry, they made a desperate attack on the Christian force. The fury and chief danger of the battle fell on Bohemund, and he had nearly perished. At this crisis, he collected his division into a small circle of despair, resolved to die fighting to the last man. From this perilous situation, Godfrey and his friends extricated him. The battle, long ominous to the crusaders, from their great numerical inferiority, became balanced, and, after new exertions of valor and skill, was decided in their favor. The Turks fled in complete dismay, and abandoned their rich camp to their conquerors.⁷⁸ This victory decided the safety and superiority of the crusaders in the Syrian territory; and Jerusalem now lay within their reach and accessible to their progress. But in attempting this, they had a new Mahomedan prince to encounter, the Sultan of Egypt, whose dominions extended from the Nile to the Turkish kingdom of Syria. He had beheld with satisfaction the crusaders struggling with the Turks, because the Turks had also endangered him. These fierce Tartarian Mussulmen, discouraged by their own defeats, and not averse to his ruin, learnt with sullen content the determination of the crusaders to wrest Jerusalem from his power; and Godfrey having now overthrown two Turkish kingdoms, Roum and

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⁷⁷ W. Tyre, 689—712. Albert Aquensis has noticed many interesting particulars of this siege, in his third and fourth books.—Sveno, a Danish prince, with 1500 men, passing from Nice to join the others, was surprised and slain by the Turks. W. Tyre, p. 690.

⁷⁸ W. Tyre, 725, 726. Among the spoils was a silken tent, gorgeously ornamented, and made to represent a fortified city, with walls and towers, and capable of holding 2000 men. *Ib.* On this battle, see also Alb. Aquen. pp. 255, 256.

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Syria, prepared to conflict with the power of the Egyptian Soldan, who held and was fortifying the city, the great object of the whole crusade.

The Christians had scarcely ceased their rejoicings for their last victory, when a destructive pestilence pervaded their army. It swept away nearly all the females who were with them; of whom fifty thousand perished. It was ascribed to the imprudent use of the plenty they obtained from the conquest of Antioch, after the severe privations they had endured in the siege. Impatient of delay, the people clamored to be led to Jerusalem at once. The chiefs met in council. The intolerable heats of the summer, the want of water, their scanty provisions, their few horses, and the general debility, so imperiously commanded an interval of refreshment, that the army agreed to wait till autumn.⁷⁹ But not to be wholly inactive, some of the princes made excursions around. Baldwin, reaching the Euphrates, conquered Edessa, in Mesopotamia, and founded there a little Christian principality, which lasted above half a century; Bohemund took Tarsus, in Cilicia, and other places: and the terror of the Christian arms became more widely diffused.

Jerusalem
invested
by the
crusaders,
June 7.
1099.

Almost a year elapsed before the crusaders advanced to Jerusalem. It was indeed a fearful attempt. Hitherto they had been supported with all the energies of young enthusiasm, and with all the force of mighty numbers. But they had now a fresh and untouched kingdom to encounter, with an army dwindled to the shadow of what it was. So many had fallen in their marches and battles, and by want and disease; so many had returned home; and so many had chosen either to join Baldwin at Edessa, or to stay with Bohemund at Antioch; that Godfrey

⁷⁹ W. Tyre, 729.

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made king
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reached Jerusalem with only forty thousand persons of all descriptions, of whom those fit for warlike duties were but twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. With these he had to attack a city defended by forty thousand combatants. On the 7th of June 1099, he encamped round Jerusalem, with Robert of Normandy, Tancred, the count of Flanders, and other distinguished leaders. The siege was severe. On the 15th of July in the same year, he stormed the city, and the catastrophe was horrible. Twenty thousand Mussulmen were put to the sword.

The cruelties of victory on taking a city by storm, were then, as they have been frequently since, exercised to the full.⁸⁰ The age was yet too warlike and too barbarous to recollect the benign precepts and example of Him, whose tomb they were now approaching, and whose sufferings they recollected with the tears and sighs of an excited sympathy. Humanity in war was not the quality of former ages: It was not the characteristic of Greece or Rome in their most cultivated day. That it was neither understood nor practised by the promiscuous warriors of the eleventh century, towards those by whose oppressions and insults all Europe had been inflamed, and who were waging in common with their opponents an exasperated war of mutual extermination, however lamentable, is not surprising. Let us rejoice that our own time, and especially our own country, has learnt to make its military humanity a portion of its national honor; and that its victories are as much distinguished by the generosity of its warriors, as by their fortitude and valor.

The virtues and exertions of Godfrey were rewarded, by his fellow-crusaders, electing him king

⁸⁰ Alb. Aqen. in his sixth book, and W. Tyre in his eighth, narrate the particulars of the capture of Jerusalem. Even Godfrey, who, Robertus says, desired no castle, palace, gold or plunder, was eager and active to avenge the blood of his followers who had fallen. P. 75.

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of Jerusalem.⁸¹ Two other Christian principalities were established, at Antioch in Syria, and Edessa in Mesopotamia. But they were all three rather the kingdoms of romance than of permanent power or effective force. The Christian army that remained in Palestine, to support them, could hardly muster 300 horse and 2000 foot. Few cities obeyed their authority, and these were surrounded by a hostile country. If one was attacked, it could only be defended by the knights of the others collecting for its succor. All the suburbs in their neighbourhood were inhabited by Mahomedans, who not only cut off every one that wandered on the highways, but refused to cultivate the fields, that famine might drive the Christians from their country. Even the cities held by the crusaders were unsafe to them, from the ruined state of the walls, and the great superiority of the adverse population. Bohemund was at one time taken prisoner by the Turks; and Godfrey became so distressed for want of necessaries, that he was compelled to risk an expedition into Arabia, to get supplies that might preserve his followers from famine.⁸²

Thus, altho the first crusaders under the guidance of Godfrey had trampled down the Turkish kingdoms of Roum and Syria, defeated the Soldan of Egypt, and captured the sacred city, yet with these exploits their substantial triumphs ceased. Their strength was consumed in their exertions; and the new adventurers who frequently arrived⁸³, only enabled the kings of Jerusalem to add a few maritime

⁸¹ He was soon called into the field by the Soldan of Egypt, but he defeated his unwieldy multitudes. W. Tyre, 769. Robert of Normandy, who had partaken of almost every laurel that had been gained in the crusades, after this success returned home, but found his brother Henry possessed of the crown of England.

⁸² W. Tyre, 773—775.

⁸³ W. Tyre says, that it was customary for new adventurers to arrive about autumn, p. 808.

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Crusades
of
Conrad III.
and
Louis VII.
1146.

towns to their puny dominion.⁸⁴ In the meantime, the Turks recovered from their first disasters and their panic. New Turkish kingdoms were planted at Iconium, Aleppo, and Damascus. The Islam population of Persia, Egypt, and Arabia, again assisted; and their fierce hostilities, tho occasionally suspended by their own feuds, yet sometimes defeated and always distressed the Christian princes.

At length, one of the little sovereignties, raised and long maintained by the crusaders—the principality of Edessa—fell a prey to its Turkish assailants. The news of its capture, as ominous of further disasters, alarmed and excited Europe.⁸⁵ The celebrated Bernard of Clairvaux, employed his eloquent pen⁸⁶ to rouse the princes of the West to new exertions. England, then occupied by the wars between Stephen and Matilda, could not obey his call. But the emperor of Germany, Conrad III. and Louis VII. of France, in separate expeditions, endeavoured to emulate the achievements of Godfrey. In November 1146, the emperor was surprised, and his army destroyed by the Sultan of Iconium.⁸⁷ The French taunted the Germans for their failure, and marched with Louis into Laodicea, confident of better fortune. They certainly advanced with superior skill. It was the custom of Louis, that the most efficient of his cavalry should precede, explore the country, and dictate the line of march to the foot; a wise measure of military caution. A mountain was one morning settled to be

⁸⁴ Tripolis was taken in 1109; Berytus 1111, and Sidon at the close of the same year, by help of a Norwegian fleet. In 1124, with the aid of a Doge of Venice, Tyre, after a long and arduous siege, was also conquered; and there the first archbishopric of the Latins in Palestine was founded in 1127. Will. Tyre, p. 801—805. & 833—847.

⁸⁵ W. Tyre, l. 16. p. 901.

⁸⁶ Bernard was the zealous antagonist of the scholastics. He was a man of great talents, energy and integrity. His spirited lecture to the Pope may be seen in Dupin's Eccles. Hist. Century XII.

⁸⁷ W. Tyre, 901—904. And see Otto Fris. Conrad's force was 70,000 coats of mail, besides infantry and light-armed horse. The emperor escaped, and joined Louis at Ephesus.

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the limit of that day's progress, and the advance was to encamp on its heights. But the leader of the cavalry, on attaining the summit, thought the march had been too short, broke his compact with the infantry, and rode farther on with the horse. The rest, presuming that the toil of the day was nearly finished, began to follow carelessly and irregularly, some on the mountain, some beyond it, and some at its base. The Turks had been secretly but vigilantly accompanying them. Rejoiced, they saw the French dividing and scattering; and as soon as the battalions were too far separated from each other to give mutual support, they rushed upon the hindmost body with all their native impetuosity and ferocious valor. The attack was as irresistible as unexpected, and the French army disappeared like the Germans, whom they had insulted.⁸⁸

From this period, the fortune of the crusaders declined, and their character and conduct lessened with it.⁸⁹ Great men, produced by the crisis, arose among the Turks; while degeneracy and discord completed the ruin of the Christians. Their Eastern sovereignty had been raised against probability by fortitude, unity, temperance, and energy. Their extorted throne, no longer upheld by these supports, fell as soon as the Mahomedan princes, whom we are about to commemorate, attacked it with the same virtues which had established it.

One of the most active of the Turkish chieftains, from 1120 to 1145, was Zenghi, called by the Christians, Sanguin⁹⁰, who obtained the government of

⁸⁸ W. Tyre, 904—906. The disaster of Louis occurred in January 1147. Both he and Conrad afterwards went to Jerusalem.

⁸⁹ Will. Tyre remarks this change, p. 914.

⁹⁰ W. Tyre gives very perspicuously the Christian history of Sanguin, and his son Neuradin, p. 914—974. The Arabian authority used for the following facts is Aboulhasan Aly, surnamed Azzeddin, of whose History of the Atabek princes in Syria, M. De Guignes has given a succinct abstract, which we shall quote from the Account of the MSS. of the Royal Library at Paris, vol. 2. p. 419—466.

Moussoul. The Arabians extol him as one of the greatest men of his age⁹¹, and his successes corresponded with his ability. Destroyed in his sleep by his mutinous slaves, his son Noureddin made himself king of Aleppo; while Seiffeddin, his other son, retained the sovereignty of Moussoul, near the site of the ancient Nineveh. These two of the minor kingdoms of the Turks were, from their locality, in immediate opposition to the establishment of the crusaders, and were assisted by Egypt and the declining Saracen caliphate. The death of Seiffeddin left Noureddin without a rival.⁹² The talents and achievements of Noureddin surpassed those of his father. Incessantly conflicting with the Christians, with alternating advantages, he sent his emir, Schirkouh, to attempt the conquest of Egypt. Twice the soldan of this country solicited and obtained the aid of the king of Jerusalem. Their united forces at first repelled the emir of Noureddin. But Schirkouh soon triumphed over both Egyptians and Crusaders, in a decisive battle. He overran Egypt, and placed his nephew, Saladin, at Alexandria, to defend it against the Christians and natives.⁹³

The policy of possessing Egypt had become obvious to the crusaders. They attempted to obtain an establishment there. The Egyptian soldan, now

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Noureddin,
king of
Aleppo;
1145—
1173.

Rise of
Saladin.

⁹¹ Azzeddin has preserved some of his remarks. He would permit none of his subjects to pass into a foreign service. "My states," said he, "resemble a garden encompassed with hedges: If any one goes out, he facilitates the entrance of the enemy." He dispensed, every Friday, among the poor, large sums of money, and took great care of the wives of his soldiers — "Since they follow me continually, and abandon their homes to attend me, should not I watch over the safety of their families?" P. 436.

⁹² Azzeddin, 441—446. W. Tyre describes the Greek emperor's negotiations with the Christian chiefs in Palestine, for the surrender of their fortresses to him, and intimates justly, that the plan of conceding them to the effeminate Greeks, emboldened Noureddin to make fresh attacks. P. 920.

⁹³ Azzeddin, 446—450. With this may be compared Will. Tyre's account of the Egyptian struggles, p. 958—974. He describes the sandy whirlwinds of the Desert, and their fatal effects, as every traveller has experienced them. He states the necessity of falling prostrate on the ground till they have passed, and of fixing the hands deeply in the soil, to escape being carried into the air, and hurled back on the ground. P. 964.

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jealous of their cupidity, requested the aid of Noureddin to expel them. His emir came. The Franks retired. The emir was made vizier, or soldan of Egypt, by the grateful caliph; but happening to die soon afterwards, his son Saladin was appointed to the high dignity in his stead.⁹⁴

The crusaders renewing their efforts on Egypt, besieged Damietta. Nouredin succored Saladin, whom he considered as his lieutenant, and the siege was raised. Nouredin now approached the fulfilment of his ambition. He felt himself strong enough to depose the caliph of Egypt, and announced the decision by the omission of public prayer for his preservation in the Egyptian mosques. The caliph dying from illness, as the revolution was completing, or violently destroyed, Saladin took possession of all the wealth and power of Egypt.⁹⁵

Saladin, hitherto the lieutenant of Nouredin, prepared to become his competitor. His friends were not cordial in supporting his ambition. His father rebuked him, as an inexperienced boy. Nouredin collected a formidable force, to chastise him, but died in 1173, as he was about to begin his march.⁹⁶ Nouredin had reigned twenty-eight years in Syria. His character, like his father's, and like that of all men who ascend to empire from a humble state, had many virtues and considerable abilities. He was

⁹⁴ Azzeddin, 453. William of Tyre describes the rich palace of Cairo; its cohorts of eunuchs, the marble porticos, the gilt ceilings, the carved reliefs, the mosaic pavements, the sparkling fountains, the splendid apartments, the aviaries of unknown birds, and the new animals that astonished and delighted the Frankish warriors in Egypt. P. 965.

⁹⁵ Azzeddin, 457. "No king in the world," says this author, "had collected so great a number of precious stones and pearls as were found among this treasure. Among other curiosities, were, a rod of emerald and a mountain of yacout; besides a hundred thousand chosen volumes, remarkable for the beauty of their writing." *Ib.* 458. The Maured Allatafat, published by Carlyle, mentions 120,000 rare books among the Egyptian treasure. P. 27.

⁹⁶ Azzeddin, p. 461. This author lived under the sultan who acceded in 1210. He says his father had been witness of most of the events which he narrates. He adds, that he did not think it proper to give his History too large a size, because people in his time preferred abridgments. P. 420.

religious, temperate, just and prudent. He consolidated the strength of the Mahomedans in those parts, civilized their manners, renewed their intellectual cultivation⁹⁷, and prepared them for those great successes by which Saladin was enabled to revive the Turkish power.

Created at first the soldan of Egypt, Saladin had become also its caliph.⁹⁸ The possession of the resources of Egypt inflamed him with the desire of succeeding to the power of Nouredin, and of expelling the Christians from Palestine. His great talents and superior character enabled him to accomplish both his projects. He possessed himself of the Syrian kingdom of Nouredin, and he directed his aggregated power with unceasing energy against the decaying and discordant crusaders.⁹⁹ A reign of progressive successes was consolidated by the decisive victory of Hittyn, or Tiberias. In this he defeated the Christians with irrecoverable slaughter.¹⁰⁰ He pursued his brilliant fortune to its full extent. Sidon, Acre, Berytus, and Ascalon, fell into his power: and in 1187 he became master of Jerusalem itself, less than ninety years after it had been conquered by Godfrey.¹⁰¹

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HENRY II.

Nouredin's
virtues.

Saladin
takes Je-
rusalem;
1187.

⁹⁷ Azzeddin thus portrays him — "He was simple and modest in his dress, never wearing either silk, gold or silver, which the law prohibited. He neither drank wine, nor would he permit it to be sold in his dominions. He was exact in the duty of prayer, and rose early to perform it. The rest of the day he employed in state affairs. He was not prodigal of his treasures to those who requested favors of him. 'What is in my hands,' said he, 'belongs not to me; I am but the treasurer of the Mussulmen.' At some places he founded colleges, in others mosques; in others hospitals for the poor; in others religious houses, where schools were established for orphans. He received men of learning with the greatest distinction; he arose and went to meet them, and made them sit down—favors which he did not grant to his emirs." Azzeddin, p. 462—464.

⁹⁸ William of Tyre informs us that the Vizier of Egypt was called the Soldan—the real effective sovereign — while the Caliph, his nominal master, was immersed in his pleasures. P. 366. Bohaheddin, p. 30., gives a similar intimation.

⁹⁹ Will. Tyre, in his two last books, has noted the earlier triumphs of Saladin. Vinesauf succinctly states his latter conquests, pp. 250, 251.

¹⁰⁰ Vinesauf, 251. Bohaheddin, 67. The king of Jerusalem was taken prisoner, and the venerated cross.

¹⁰¹ Bohaheddin, p. 73. Vinesauf, 253. Bohaheddin was the secretary of Saladin, and has left us the interesting account of his royal master, which Schultens published in Arabic and Latin, 1732.

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The Christian world had vainly hoped to have established a Christian empire in the East. The successes of the first adventurers made many sanguine dreamers, and suggested to the pious many benevolent hopes. But before the sword of Saladin the kingdom raised by the crusaders was found to vanish like the spectral visions of the mountain clouds, beautiful and splendid in their brief hour of light, but fading into mist and nothingness when the forming rays withdraw. Astonished, the Christian world beheld the mutation, and repined at the Providence which permitted it.¹⁰² They did not understand that the great events which agitate human affairs, are limited in their agency to the wants that created them, and that their operation ceases with the evil which they remove. The chief use of the crusades was to preserve Europe from the Turks, and from Mahomedanism, while the political state of the western hemisphere was too ineffective to have resisted them. This object having been accomplished by the persevering bravery of the enthusiastic adventurers, the necessity of their exertions, and with that, their triumphs, ended. It was not intended that they should form permanent empires in Palestine, for which they were unfit; and the moral and political misconduct, by which they tarnished their successes, proves that the disappointment, however severe, was wisely and graciously administered. No state or family is exalted for its own gratification. The good of mankind is the criterion and the measure of all national prosperity.

¹⁰² The popular dread of Europe on the loss of this city, may be seen in the effusions of the Troubadour Gavaudun the elder. "Lord! by our sins the power of the Saracens has increased. Saladin has taken Jerusalem, and we have not yet recovered it. Hence the king of Morocco has announced, that with all his infidels he will fight with all Christian kings. He has ordered all his Moors, Arabs, and Andalusians, to arm themselves against our faith, and they will all assemble more numerous and rapid than the rain. These hateful beasts, fit only to feed kites, destroy our plains, and leave neither stem nor root. So swelled are they with pride, that they think themselves masters of the world, and lance at us raileries the most provoking." Troub. vol. 1. p. 154.

The oriental domination of the crusaders would not have advanced the improvement of human nature, and therefore it was allowed to be dissolved by the vices which destroyed its utility.¹⁰³

The triumphs of Saladin spread alarm thro Europe. His talents, and those of his predecessors already noticed, Zenghi and Nouredin, were recombining the broken power of the Turks, and actuating it with its primitive momentum. To root out Christianity, became the darling passion of Saladin; and he had even threatened to plant the standard of the Crescent in the heart of Europe. His victories were leading him to effectuate his wish, or preparing the way for his successors to accomplish it. To prevent this evil without raising a Christian empire in Palestine, a man even more extraordinary than himself was led by the death of his elder brother to the possession of royalty, in one of the farther kingdoms of the West—our Richard Cœur de Lion—who, tho caring little for religion, priests, or pope, was yet actuated to undertake a crusade. His passion for war and warlike celebrity was made the instrument to excite him to this object. The fame of Saladin, whom no one could withstand, inflamed his bosom with heroic envy. Saladin, every where dreaded and execrated, but every where talked of with wonder, was an idol of the popular tongue, that he burnt to pull down and to replace. For this great purpose, all the tempting objects of ambition that lay near him were abandoned. France, Scotland, Wales,

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¹⁰³ The crusades have been considered with different feelings, and therefore very dissimilar opinions have been formed as to their merit and utility. We may admit that the meritorious motive, and the beneficial result, neither necessarily nor always coincide; but the religious thinker cannot avoid feeling that such a mighty movement of mankind as the crusades exhibited, could neither have occurred, nor been permitted, without the concurring agency or assent of the Supreme Government of human affairs. The warrantable inference will also be, what an enlarged knowledge of all their consequences would prove, that they tended to promote, and actually advanced, the happiness, improvements and prosperity of the nations of Europe in no ordinary degree. This effect manifestly followed their occurrence, whatever was the causing agency of its production.

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Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, all permeable to his military activity, were disregarded. Saladin was the exaggerated giant of the public garrulity; and Richard, tho some thousand miles distant from the renowned Saracen, yet resolved upon a personal competition, and proceeded with all the powers of his kingdom to the encounter. His romantic valor was thus used to paralyse Islamism again, when under Saladin it was becoming too formidable for Europe. But as soon as this effect was produced, even Richard's extraordinary successes were made to be as temporary as the danger which they averted; and the remarkable prediction of our Saviour, that Jerusalem should remain in subjection to the Gentile nations, until the appointed period of their subsistence and predominance should be accomplished¹⁰⁴, and which the crusaders, for two centuries, were unintentionally laboring to defeat, was again signally verified. It still remains like a perpetuated miracle for our admiration and instruction, which the profound and candid intellect will often contemplate. The Turks have since prolonged and maintained its accomplishment; and from their triumphs after Richard's death, and the brief campaign of Edward I., having no Christian competitor competent to repel or withstand them, would have again assumed an attitude dangerous to Christian Europe: but other means were employed to counteract them. Zenghis Khan, and Timour, were at that period raised up, whose meteor empires, darting over half the globe, dismayed and repressed the reviving vigor of the Ottomans, till the great states of Christianity arose and became consolidated on the Continent into a strength, which could protect their own national independence and punish its aggressors.

¹⁰⁴ "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Luke, xxi. 24.

As the Turkish power became enfeebled, the crusading expeditions began to linger, and to be unimportant; and when Europe, from its interior improvements, had acquired sufficient means and ability to resist the Mahomedan powers on its own plains, the spirit of crusading, no longer necessary, utterly ceased, and no excitement could revive it. The most valuable parts of Europe being then secured, the Turks, for purposes beneficial to those nations, were allowed to obtain Greece and its contiguous provinces, which had become unworthy of its misused civilization; and for three centuries and a half have possessed them. The Mahomedan successes at that period scattered the Grecian literature round the West, and increased the improvement of all countries but their own. The Turks have since found the rest of Europe impregnable to their attacks; and have now sunk to an inferiority so decided, that the Morea has been emancipated; and their continuance even at Constantinople depends upon the permission, is protracted by the policy, and will only last with the forbearance, of the great Christian states.

The power and dominion of the Turks would have fallen into ruins in the summer of 1829, under the extraordinary campaign of the Russian General DIEBITSCH, who by operating first in the rear of the Grand Vizier, to intercept and defeat him; and then by boldly passing the Balkan with all the skill and spirit of an original genius of high military tact, became master of Adrianople; if the great powers of Europe had not felt it necessary for their peace and welfare to arrest the progress of the conqueror. Their interposition has, as yet, preserved the Turkish empire in its feebleness, that Russia may not, by disproportionate aggrandisement, become the subjigator and oppressor of the world. But the advance of Diebitsch disclosed to us that the spirit and

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fanaticism of the Mussulmen are departing; and that their declining state is now without interior cohesion or public enthusiasm. The peaceful surrender to him of the ancient capital and second city of their nation; the voluntary self-dispersion of its numerous garrison; his welcomed entrance; the factions and conspiracies of the decimated and yet not extinguished Janizaries, interfering to paralyse their Sultan's arm at the moment when the union of all parties and ranks could alone save the country;—these facts announce to us that the mind of the Mahomedan has undergone an unexpected change; that the religious influence of his prophet and ancient faith has diminished; and that an indifference to their long-revered Ottoman government is neutralizing its population. This state will dispose the Asiatic pashas to become insubordinate and independent, facilitate the separation of Egypt, and compel their enfeebled Padishah to be content with nominal submission and scanty tributes. From these causes, this once formidable empire is now likely to moulder away by interior dissolution, unless a new Mahomet can arise, to excite a new bigotry, and to combine the barbaric and diversified and discontented East into a fierce confederacy and antichristian crusade. Some such event seems to be darkly alluded to by the Jewish prophets, in their vaticinations as to the last ages of the world; but if it should occur, its success, altho calamitous, would be but temporary, as the same intimations appear also to imply.

CHAP. XI.

The Reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, or, RICHARD I.

1089—1099.

THE character of Richard the First bears the nearest resemblance to the Homeric portrait of Achilles¹, that modern Europe has exhibited.—Haughty, irascible, and vindictive, a towering and barbaric grandeur, verging sometimes into barbarian cruelty, distinguished his actions. Valiant beyond the common measure of human daring; unparalleled in his feats of prowess; inferior to no man in hardihood, strength and agility; stern and inflexible in his temper; rapacious and selfish, yet frequently liberal to profusion—gorgeous to ostentation—yet often gay, familiar, satirical and jocular—unshaken by adversity, resolute to obstinacy, furious in warfare, fond of battle, and always irresistibly victorious—his life seems rather the fiction of a poet's imagination, than the sober portrait, which it is, of authentic history.

So early were his heroic energies displayed and noticed, that he had obtained the epithet of The British Lion, before he began his reign.² It was in Poitou that his military talents were first exerted. Before he was sixteen, his earldom, a part of his

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His character.

¹ We must except from the similarity, the girlish weeping and complaints to his mother, of the Myrmidonian, so little accordant with the rest of his character, and which Richard would have disdained.

² We learn this from Giraldus, who in his work addressed to Richard, as count of Poitou and "rex mox future," and therefore written between his elder brother Henry's and his father's death, calls him "our Lion and more than Lion." On the circumstance that he was afflicted with a quartan ague, which Giraldus fancied to be a lion's complaint, this conceit is founded, "From this malady he is continually trembling, tho not from fear. But he makes all the world tremble when he does." Top. Hib. 752.

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mother's jointure, was given to him by his father. A large portion of it was then unsubdued, uncivilized, and, from its mountainous districts, had been deemed inaccessible. To reduce his province to complete subordination, became his earliest passion; and before his incessant activity, his unreceding constancy, his watchful skill and romantic bravery, every difficulty gave way. Their mountain fortifications, so lofty, and till then so impregnable, as to be called aërial towers; their secret and subterranean caverns, that had baffled all preceding hostilities; were unavailing against his vigor and perseverance. But the glory of his successes was tarnished by his severity against the refractory, which his friends admit to have been rigorous, and which his enemies loudly branded for its cruelty.³

His character was the result of great natural powers, moulded into their peculiar form by the circumstances of his age and education. He lived at a period when society still admired the bodily prowess of the warlike and fierce barbarian; and he eagerly practised those laborious exercises, which created a muscular strength unexperienced among us; which gave to that strength an agility that multiplied its power of destruction⁴, and which made the most dangerous warfare a pastime keenly relished and ambitiously pursued. But literature had now begun to spread, to give reputation, and to kindle the desire to obtain it. Richard, with all his martial fierceness, was subdued by her spells, and aspired to be her votary. The attachment of his parents and brothers to the Provençal poetry, extended to his own mind. He favored the Troubadours⁵: he

³ Giraldus, p. 752. Hoveden cursorily mentions his wars in Poitou. Pp. 550. 560. 582. 642.

⁴ Richard is extolled by Vinesauf, his companion, for his flexible limbs, his strength, and length of arm, which was excelled by none in its power of wielding a sword and of striking with effect. Iter. Hierosol. Gale Script. ii. p. 382.

⁵ St. Palaye's Hist. Troub. i. p. 55. The king patronized the Troubadours

became a poet himself. This happy taste awakened in his genius that spirit of romance, that insatiable love of praise, that heroism disdainful of competition and insensible of danger, which raised his actions so much above the level of his contemporaries.⁶

To these sources of romantic character afterwards accrued the excitation, which was produced by the news that Jerusalem had been retaken by the celebrated Saladin. This event determined him to attempt a crusade.⁷ To rescue the venerated Tomb from Mahomedan outrage, was an object sacred to the reputable feelings of his day, and at last became his own. But to pluck the victorious laurel from the head of the Turkish Sultan, with whose exploits all Europe was resounding, was a daring project still nearer to his heart; and from the hour of his accession he became impatient to achieve it.

He was on the continent at his father's death; and such was the contrariety of his character, that, altho he had rebelliously withstood him, he wept bitterly over his corpse.⁸ His first conduct as king, was magnanimous. He retained and rewarded the ministers who had been faithful to his father, tho against himself; and he discountenanced those who had abandoned their sovereign to favor him.⁹ There was great political wisdom, as well as a rare self-command, in thus respecting the duty and integrity from which he had suffered; and the neglect of those who had violated their fidelity as subjects, rather to promote their own purposes than to benefit him, was a judicious discouragement to future disaffection.

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His first
measures.

Faidit, Folquet, Vidal, Bertrand du Born, and Guillaume de Toulouse. All these authors praise him in their poems. Vidal, who displays the richest genius of the Provençal poets, followed him into Palestine. 2 Palaye, p. 271.

⁶ Of Richard's poetry, only a few fragments remain. — See the end of this chapter.

⁷ Chron. Wal. Hemingford, 2 Gale Script. p. 511. Hoveden, 637. He was the first to assume the cross on this intelligence. Vines, 257.

⁸ Hoveden, 654.

⁹ Bromton Chron. 1154, 1155.

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To his brother John he was liberal without mistrust, and as the event proved, with a precipitate confidence. He released his mother Eleanor from the long imprisonment which she had endured from her husband's resentment, and he entrusted her during his absence with the use of his power. She distinguished her liberation, and gratified his affection, by commencing a circuit round the country, and in her progress releasing all the prisoners and pardoning all the outlaws in his name, that her son's entrance into his royal dignity might be a day of general hilarity.¹⁰

Massacre
of the Jews
at his co-
ronation ;
1189,
Sept. 3.

His splendid coronation¹¹ was disgraced by the people, by a massacre of the Jews during his state dinner. It was one of those tumultuary movements accidentally excited, to which a collected rabble is always liable. Some leading men of the Jews, desirous to conciliate their new sovereign by a prompt expression of their attachment, approached him with rich presents. Other Jews mingled with the crowd, to hail the king and to behold the ceremony. One of them, struggling at the hall door too eagerly for entrance, was pushed back, and struck. Others, either too foremost or too clamorous, excited the angry attention of the mob. A scuffle ensued. The Jews resisted the ill treatment. The passions of the multitude inflamed, and clubs and stones were used, till the unfortunate strangers were driven away or destroyed.

As no absurdity is too great for a mob to believe, a rumour of unknown origin rapidly spread, that the king had ordered all the Jews to be killed. As plunder was in prospect, the wicked report was as

¹⁰ Bromton Chron. 1155. Matthew Paris mentions that she had been sixteen years separated from her husband, the late king, and kept *arctâ custodiâ*, p. 152.

¹¹ Hoveden, 657., and Matthew Paris, 153., detail the ceremony of his coronation. The great crown of state was so heavy, that two earls supported it after it was placed upon his head. He exchanged both that and his ponderous garments of dignity, for a lighter crown and dress, in which he dined.

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eagerly credited as circulated: and the whole populace, comprising not merely the Londoners, but the countrymen who had been attracted by the coronation, flew, with every weapon they could snatch up, to the house of the Jews, forced them, set them in flames, plundering and murdering the proprietors. In vain the astonished king sent from his table his chief justiciary and his nobles, to stem the popular madness: their exhortations were disregarded, and their persons menaced. Richard himself, with all the decision and energy of his character, was unable to restrain the sanguinary multitude, until they were exhausted and satiated with their own ferocity.¹²

The Metropolis had to plead the impetuous frenzy of the moment in palliation of their cruelty; the deliberate imitation of the country, was atrocity without excuse. At Lynn, Stamford, Lincoln, and Norwich, this persecuted nation were doomed to experience another fulfilment of their prophetic denunciations in all its terrors. When Richard had left the country for his crusade, an attack of more deliberate wickedness was made on them at York. The family of one who had perished in London, was destroyed, and his house and property burnt. Others, perceiving their danger, took refuge, with their goods, in the castle of the city. The rest were plundered by the immediate conspirators, but when they retired, the promiscuous mob arose and destroyed what had been left at that time. The governor of the castle suddenly quitted it in such a manner as to alarm the Jews within for their safety, and when he returned, from their dread of his treachery, they refused to readmit him. The first authors of the sanguinary conspiracy inflamed him to revenge it, and he ordered the people to attack

and after-
wards in the
country.

¹² The fullest account of this massacre, is in Walter Hemingford, Gale Script. vol. ii. p. 514—518. It is also mentioned by most of the Chroniclers.

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the fortress. Their fury recalled him to better recollections, and he commanded them to desist. His voice now was disregarded. Many clergy joined the rioters, and a hermit clothed in white distinguished himself among them. The siege lasted several days, and the hermit, one of the Premostratensian canons, exhorted them to persevere. He was indefatigable, both in his addresses and example, till he suddenly, but deservedly, perished from a descending stone. The defence became at last hopeless, and on one night while the popular fury was pausing from the darkness, the despairing Jews assembled to consult. A venerated rabbi, who had come from abroad to instruct them, was heard with awful respect. He pointed out the inevitable death that awaited them from the madness of the assailants, and exhorted them to disappoint the avarice of their enemies, by voluntarily destroying both themselves and their property. The majority applauded his dreadful advice, and adopted it: they put their wives and families to death, then collecting all their valuables, set them on fire, and slew themselves on the burning piles. The few who dared not follow this terrible example, disclosed the circumstance, and besought the pity of the besiegers. They were seduced by a pretended compassion to open the gates, and they were murdered without mercy by their treacherous persecutors.¹³

His preparations for the crusade.

From the hour of his coronation, Richard prepared for his crusade. His great armament required ample treasure, and the king, always impatient to attain his object, and never scrupulous about his means, enforced every method, even the most disgraceful, to raise the money he wanted. He exposed to public sale the honors and possessions which his prerogative could bestow¹⁴: even the ecclesiastical prefer-

¹³ Heming, 516, 517.

¹⁴ Hoveden, 658—660.

ments were made venal.¹⁵ For ten thousand marcs, he absolved the king of Scotland from that fealty and allegiance for his crown¹⁶, which Henry had extorted, and which Scotland had never yielded before. Such a sovereign was not likely to have upright ministers. It was therefore not discordant with his own conduct, that the person to whom he committed the actual regency of England, under the title of its chief justiciary, was, tho an ecclesiastic, distinguished for his rapacity, corruption, pride, and voluptuousness: he first tyrannized over his associates in the government, and then afflicted every order of the people with an unblushing system of insatiable violence and contumelious oppression.¹⁷

Richard, intent on his expedition, received the wallet and staff of his pilgrimage from the archbishop of Tours¹⁸, joined Philip king of France, who also had assumed the cross, at Vezelay, and marched in harmonious amity to Lyons. The number of their hosts made it expedient to separate: Philip chose the road to Genoa, and Richard inclined to Marseilles.¹⁹ Disappointed of meeting his fleet at this port, which a storm had retarded, the impetuous king, intolerant of delay, hired some vessels, and sailed without it. He coasted from port to port, amid considerable dangers, to Naples, and paused at Salernum, till he heard that his fleet had arrived at Messina.²⁰

He proceeds to Sicily.

¹⁵ Hoveden, 659. 663. He made his brother Geoffry archbishop of York, tho he had not even been admitted before to priest's orders, and compelled him to give 3000 marcs. Geoffry was son of Rosamund.

¹⁶ Hoveden, 662. This author has inserted the charta that passed on this transaction, in his History.

¹⁷ This was the bishop of Ely. See Hoveden's description, p. 665.

¹⁸ Hoveden, 666.

¹⁹ At Chinon, in Anjou, Richard promulgated his laws of discipline: — Whoever killed a man at sea illegally, was to be tied to the dead body, and thrown into the waves: If on land, the homicide was to be buried with the corse. To draw a knife on another, incurred the loss of the hand. Abuse was punished by the mulct of an ounce of silver. And a thief was to be shaved, tarred and feathered. Hoveden, 666.

²⁰ Hoveden, 667. At Naples he went to the abbey of St. Januarius, to see the sons of Naimund, who stood there in skin and bones. At Rome he abused the

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RICHARD I.His fleet
assists the
Portuguese.

The voyage of his fleet was attended with some circumstances interesting to the attention of Englishmen, who have rescued Portugal from the unprincipled invasion of Napoleon's troops. Collected at Dartmouth, it sailed to Lisbon, but a fearful tempest scattered it. One ship doubled Cape St. Vincent, and reached Silves, then the last of the Christian cities in that part. The Mahomedans from Spain and Africa were invading Portugal, and the inhabitants of Silves imploring its crew to defend them, broke up the ship, and made barriers of its timbers. Nine other vessels reached Lisbon. The Emir-al-Moumenin, the Moorish emperor of Africa and Spain, was then besieging Torres-novas. The king of Portugal implored the aid of the English crusaders. Five hundred of the bravest warriors of the fleet marched from Lisbon to Santarem, joined the king, and gave the Mussulmen defiance. Their appearance awed the invaders, and their emperor soon afterwards dying, Portugal was saved.²¹ From Lisbon they passed thro the Straits of Gibraltar²², and coasted round Mahomedan Spain to Arragon, where the Christian boundaries began. With timid navigation they ascended to Narbonne, and thence to Marseilles, which was at that time subject to the king of Arragon.²³ After a short stay, they proceeded to Messina.

He enters
Messina.

Richard hastened from Salernum, and after a journey of some danger from an act of violence for his personal gratification²⁴, arrived at the faro di Mes-

cardinal of Ostia, for the simony of the Holy See. Hoved. 668. He was complimented by the dedication of the medical verses composed at Salernum, and which became so famous in the middle ages.

²¹ Hoveden, 668, 669.

²² This famous rock is called by Hoveden, Jubalataria Mons, having at its base two noble cities, Alentia and Jubalar. It is principally composed of limestone, and is celebrated for the fossil bones, or osseous breccia, which it contains.

²³ Hoveden, 671. He says, that from Marseilles to Acre is a voyage of fifteen days and nights direct sailing with a good wind, but then you must traverse the great sea. P. 672.

²⁴ He travelled from Milete with only one knight. Passing a village, he heard that in one of the cottages there was a hawk. He entered, and seized it. Refusing

sina, where he passed the night in a tent near the Straits of Scylla.²⁵ Assembling his fleet, he set sail for Messina, and entered the port with such a triumphant flourish of trumpets and clarions, that all the city was alarmed, and came out with Philip who had arrived there, to contemplate and admire the gallant array and splendid pomp of the king of England, and his power. The two kings conferred; and immediately after the interview, Philip, as if envying or dreading the rival glory, embarked in his ships to sail to the Holy Land. But the wind was adverse, and confined him to Messina.²⁶

It was impossible for the active, we may add the turbulent, king to remain tranquil, cooped within a limited space. His will he never hesitated to make his law: to wish, was with him to resolve. At first he was lodged without the city, but on his sister's arrival, he wanted a strong place for her habitation. He took by force a Sicilian fortress, garrisoned, and lodged her in it. He desired a repository for his provisions. He observed a strong monastery on the Straits, stormed it, turned out the monks, and deposited there his supplies.²⁷ These aggressions alarmed Tancred, the king of Sicily, and impressed the people with a belief that he meant to seize the island. This suspicion soon produced a quarrel between them and his army. The indignant citizens shut their gates, and manned their walls: his troops rushed down with violence to an attack. Richard, now apprehensive of the consequences, rode along the ranks with his truncheon, striking those

to release it, the enraged rustics attacked him with stones and clubs; one of them drew his knife on the king. With true chivalric feeling, Richard disdained to bathe his sword with ignoble blood, and struck him with its flat side. The sword broke. He then took up stones himself against them, and at last with much difficulty, on account of their numbers, escaped to a neighbouring priory. *Hov.* 673.

²⁵ Hoveden calls these straits a great river, *qui dicitur Le far de Mescines*, p. 673. the faro of Messina.

²⁶ Hoveden, 673.

²⁷ *Ib.*

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who were unruly. He then passed into a boat, and sailed to Tancred's palace, to consult with the king of France on the emergency. All their nobles assembled; but during their discussions, the people of Messina got on the hills, and prepared to rush insidiously on the English forces, and some began the attack. Richard, hearing of the movement, sprang out from the council, and commanded all his knights to arm. Heading then a division, he ascended a steep part of the mountains which every one thought inaccessible, and gaining after great toil the summit, he drove down the citizens, pursued them to their citadel, and menaced the walls. Stones and missile weapons flew around. The king of France looked on unconcerned, and gave Richard no assistance. At last the English broke down the gates, climbed over the walls, took the city, and planted the royal banner of England on the castle. Philip was enraged at this spectacle, and ordered it to be taken down, and his standard hoisted instead. The king of England was too sturdy to quail to Philip; but to preserve peace with his ally, he dismounted his own flag, and committed the care of the city to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, till the king of Sicily should comply with his requests.²⁸ The claims of Richard on Tancred were principally on account of his sister, wife of that king of Sicily whom Tancred had succeeded. While these were negotiating, Richard agreed on several judicious regulations with Philip, for the peace and good government of their respective armies.²⁹ He

²⁸ Hoved. 674.²⁹ Their followers were allowed to dispose, at their death, of their arms, horses, and clothes, and of half of the property they had with them; the other half was to be applicable to the expenses of the crusade. The clergy might order as they pleased about their chapels, utensils, and books. None in the armies were to play for money, but knights and the clergy; and they were not to lose above twenty shillings in a day and night. Those serving, might play in the king's mansion, to that amount; but if elsewhere, they were to be whipped naked thro the army for three days. Mariners who gamed, were to be dipped for three days in the sea. Hoved. 675.

employed the interval in careening his ships, which the worms were injuring, and in making his projectile machines to impel stones and darts.³⁰

As it was in vain for Tancred to resist the peremptory will and experienced power of Richard, he submitted to the necessity; for the dowry and splendid presents³¹ which Richard claimed, a pecuniary compensation was arranged³²: and Tancred, now reconciled with his dreaded relation, received him as his guest, exchanged friendly gifts³³, and discovered to the English king, the insidious politics of the French monarch. Richard, enraged at the disclosure, met Philip no more with his usual countenance of hilarity and peace. Philip remarking on the motive of his altered demeanor, imputed it to his wish of evading his promised marriage with the French Princess Alesia. A convention at last appeased the jealous and mutually dissatisfied sovereigns. This nuptial contract was annulled, and Philip left Messina on his voyage to Palestine.³⁴

On the day of his departure, Richard's mother reached Messina, with the Spanish princess Berengaria, daughter of Sancho king of Navarre. The

³⁰ Hoved. 680. Richard's liberality was unbounded, in Sicily. Hoveden says that he gave many ships to Philip; and to his own knights, and to the esquires of the whole army, he bestowed so much treasure, that it was said he gave more away in a month, than his predecessors had done in a year. 687.

³¹ Among these were a golden table, twelve feet long and one and a half broad; a tent of silk, so large that two hundred knights might dine under it; and two golden tripods to support the table. Hoved. 675.

³² Tancred gave twenty thousand ounces of gold in lieu of her dower, and twenty thousand more ounces of gold for all her other claims. Hoved. 676.

³³ Tancred sent Richard a great present in gold, silver, and precious silks; but Richard would accept of nothing but a small ring, as a pledge of friendship. He sent in return to Tancred, a sword that was believed to be the celebrated Caliburno, the weapon of the famous Arthur. Tancred, pleased with this relic, gave Richard four great ships, called Ursers, and fifteen galleys. Hoveden, 688.

³⁴ Hoved 688. The large Mahomedan population of Sicily at this period, may be inferred from the account, that during the dispute with Tancred, above an hundred thousand Mussulmen retired into the mountains, with their wives, children, and cattle, and began their incursions on the Christian inhabitants. On the pacification they came back, gave hostages to Tancred for their good conduct, and cultivated their fields. Hov. 679.

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RICHARD I.His actions
in Cyprus.

queen dowager soon departed for England, leaving her lovely charge, and her daughter the queen of Sicily, to the care of her son.

In April, Richard quitted Messina with a fleet of 150 great ships and 53 well-armed galleys. A furious storm soon assailed and dispersed them. Richard, with a part, was driven on the island of Crete, and afterwards to Rhodes. The ship with Berengaria and his sister, got safe to Cyprus, where others foundered; but the king of Cyprus forbade the ladies to land, and seized the wrecks. Richard sailed to the island, and finding the princesses still kept outside the port, exposed to the violence of the sea, he swore revenge; but at first subdued himself so far as to send three several messengers, to remonstrate with the king of Cyprus, and to request a restitution of the shipwrecked goods and persons he had taken. The Cypriot prince refusing, Richard stormed, called his knights to arms, and exhorted them to punish the inhospitable king. The Cypriots formed on the shore, an undisciplined host, some with swords and lances, others with clubs and tiles, and placing planks, benches and chests, for their fortification. Richard approached with his galleys and bowmen. A shower of arrows cleared the shore, and an impetuous charge drove the king and his unwarlike array to flight. The Cypriots rallied in the night, and encamped within five miles of the English. Richard, learning their position from his spies, suddenly attacked them before dawn, surprised them sleeping, and slaughtered them without defence. Their king escaped naked, with the loss of all his treasure and baggage, and soon afterwards humbly supplicated for pardon and peace.³⁵

An illustrious band of exiles arrived at this crisis in Cyprus; Guy the dethroned king of Jerusalem,

³⁵ Hoved. 690, 691.

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the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and others. Before these the king of Cyprus came and swore fealty to Richard, and signed a treaty of peace. But on the same day, after dinner, his fickle humor changed, and while the knights who guarded him were taking their noon-tide sleep, he furtively withdrew, and sent an insolent message to the king of England, retracting all his concessions. Richard disposed his troops for a vigorous pursuit. All the cities of the island soon fell into his power. The weak and faithless king took shelter in an abbey. Pursued to this last asylum, he came suddenly out, and fell at Richard's feet, imploring safety for his life and limbs. The English monarch committed him to the care of his chamberlain, with an order that his fetters should be of gold and silver. In this island, thus subjected to his power, he married Berengaria, and caused her on the same day to be crowned queen of England.³⁶ Having received the submission of all the island, he sailed towards the shores of the venerated land, to begin his long-retarded crusade.

When the fall of Jerusalem had again electrified Europe, the ardor to encounter the victorious Saladin was not so much the feeling of the populace, whom the sufferings of preceding expeditions had dismayed, as of the dignified chieftains, in whom religious enthusiasm assumed the shape of emulous ambition. While our Henry II. and Philip of France, obeying the patriarchal and papal hortatives³⁷, prepared for the expedition, the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, grown old in his German and Italian wars, after addressing to Saladin a letter of pompous defiance³⁸,

Crusade of
Frederick
Barbarossa.

³⁶ Hoved. 692. This capture of Cyprus is declared to have been very opportune for the supply of the crusaders at Acre. Vines. 332.

³⁷ See the Letters of Pope Gregory, of Terricus the Master of the Templars, and the Patriarch of Antioch. Hoved. p. 636—646.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 650. The more moderate and better written answers of Saladin may be seen in Vinesauf, 259.

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advanced from his Hungarian frontier, thro Greece, to execute his threats. A life of military activity and frequent victory, promised a renewal of the triumphs of Godfrey. He entered Asia Minor; he traversed the inhospitable deserts, where his predecessors had suffered; clouds of Turks hovering about him, to whose vigilant enmity his veteran experience afforded no advantage. He defeated one of their armies. He began to approach the plains of Syria, the anticipated theatre of his grandest exploits, when he was drowned accidentally in a petty river of Cilicia³⁹ — another monument of the vanity of ambition. His mighty host, long attenuated by want and sickness, was further lessened by dispirited desertion: a feeble remnant, with his son, survived, to assist in the defence of Tyre and the siege of Acre.

The first check which the conqueror of Jerusalem received was at Tyre, from which Conrad of Montserrat, with the pilgrims whom he had collected, after a severe conflict, expelled him.⁴⁰ Animated by this advantage, they advanced to besiege Acre⁴¹, the place in our times so celebrated as the spot where Bonaparte first experienced a defeat; and in the year 1189⁴², distinguished for its enthusiastic defence by the inflexible Turks. No siege in the middle ages was more remarkable than this, for its duration, the resolution and sufferings of the defenders, and the persevering valor of the assailants. It was raging in all its fury when Richard arrived in Palestine.⁴³

³⁹ See Vinesauf, 260. Mr. Gibbon doubts whether this river was the Cydnus, in which Alexander imprudently bathed, or the Calycadnus, a less notorious stream. Vol. 6. p. 82. But see Hoveden, 708.

⁴⁰ Vinesauf, 254. Bohad. 75. Conrad undertook to defend Tyre, on condition of being made its sovereign if he rescued it. Jac. Vitriac. Hist. p. 1119.

⁴¹ Vitriac. 1120.

⁴² In this meanly fortified city, Sir Sydney Smith, and Djezzar Pacha, in 1799, repulsed eleven assaults of Bonaparte, who at last was compelled, by the clamor of his troops, to abandon the attack. If he had taken this city, Napoleon was, according to Las Casas, meditating the establishment of a new eastern empire.

⁴³ Vinesauf has described the incidents of this siege in ample detail, 267—299. So Bohadin, p. 93—179.

Saladin had now reigned above twenty years. In him the Mussulman character appears to have reached its highest perfection. The successful protector, he was also the most accomplished example, of Islamism. His piety, his liberality, his love of justice, his fortitude, and his religious patriotism, alike employed and displayed the energies of his soul. Constant and fervent in his prayers, even in his journeys, when the hours of devotion came, he descended from his carriage and adored his Maker. So strict in his fasts, that if disease compelled intermissions, his cadhi was ordered to note down the offending days that they might be afterwards supplied. Fond of theological discussions, he attracted the best Mahomedan doctors to his court. To hear his Koran read was a favorite occupation, and he was often observed to shed tears at its more affecting passages.⁴⁴ His liberalities were unceasing and unbounded: he often gave away whole provinces. His christian contemporary remarks, that his gifts were extreme.⁴⁵ The property he left attests the truth of the encomium — the sovereign of all Syria and Egypt had no inheritance for his heirs. Forty-eight pieces of money composed the whole of his property at his death.⁴⁶ Assiduous in administering justice to his people, he sat every Monday and Thursday on his judicial tribunal: he received all petitions, patiently continued till night in answering them, and suffered none to appeal to him unheard.⁴⁷ His fortitude was more Roman than Oriental, "I saw him," says his secretary, "in the fields of Acre, af-

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Character
of Saladin.

⁴⁴ Bohadin, p. 4—6. The Koran has no pathetic incidents, but, amid much puerility, there is in some parts a wild solemnity, which cannot be read by a disciple with insensibility. It speaks of the deity, at times, in phrases of awful veneration. That it is adapted to kindle devotional feelings, seems to be proved by the profound reverence with which all Mussulmen, however else uninformed, have been observed to repeat their prayers.

⁴⁵ *Supra modum liberalis.* W. Tyre, 981.

⁴⁶ Bohadin, p. 5. He once said, evidently alluding to himself, That it was very possible for a man to look on gold and earth with an eye of equal contempt.

⁴⁷ Bohadin, p. 10—12.

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flicted with a cruel disease, with boils from the middle of his body to his knees, so that he could not sit down, but only recline; he yet went to the station nearest the enemy, arranged his troops for battle, and rode about from dawn till eve, enduring patiently all the severity of his pain."⁴⁸ So at Chernuba, pain and sickness compelled him to withdraw: the Franks, informed of his retreat, advanced to attack: but Saladin, tho in the most acute agony, mounted his horse, and formed his troops to battle. Forced to repose, he would have no tent erected for him, that his adversaries might not suspect his indisposition, but he lay awhile in the shade, with a linen covering over his head. His army maintained their post, and were all night under arms. This interval was passed with his physician, attempting to alleviate his disease, and in broken slumbers. But the moment dawn appeared, again he sprung upon his horse, rode round his troops, and prepared his plans to surround his enemy.⁴⁹

His hatred
of Chris-
tianity.

But the pervading feature of his character was his unextinguishable ardor for warfare against the Christians. The texts of the Koran, commanding or commending holy wars for the Islam faith, were always in his mind. The desire for these expeditions became the absorbing passion of his soul: all his discourse, all his meditations, all his anxiety, centered in this one object: he loved no one who did not urge it on⁵⁰; and he threatened the emperor of Germany that he would in time pass the seas, and possess himself of the European continent.⁵¹ No fatigue deterred him. When besieging Saphada, he told his secretary, "We will take no sleep to-night, till five catapultas are erected." He appointed the soldiers

⁴⁸ Bohadin, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 19.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 16.

⁵¹ Sed transibimus per voluntatem Dei et obtinebimus terras vestras universas. Vinesauf, 259.

to construct them; and all this night, the messengers coming in every now and then to narrate the progress of the work, he passed in cheerful conversation, tho the darkness was very long, and the weather, adds his friend, announcing his own feelings, severely cold and wet.⁵²

But altho interesting to his friends, Saladin was intolerant in his faith, to his own subjects⁵³, and terrible to his enemies. His Turkish nature, tho civilized, was not subdued. With a club, he felled the Egyptian caliph, his master, to the ground⁵⁴; he dispossessed the children of Nouredin, his first benefactor, of their royal inheritance; and his conduct towards the Christians was ferocious and implacable.⁵⁵

Three cities⁵⁶ were all that the Christians held on the sacred land, when they resolved on the siege of Acre. Saladin flew to its rescue. A timely arrival of 12,000 new adventurers from the Northern part of Europe, saved the besiegers from annihilation. New accessions of crusaders enabled them to environ the city more strictly. Its provisions failing, Saladin sent fifty galleys with every useful supply, which reached the harbor. Naval combats succeeded between other fleets of the contending powers, which became more terrible from the use of the Greek fire, an inflammable composition, which water aggravated,

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His cruelty.

He assists
the gar-
rison of
Acre.

⁵² Bohadin, 20. Saladin is also praised by his friend, for his clemency, his command of his own irritability, and his condescending good nature, an instance of which Bohadin mentions, when he splashed his Sultan with mud in Jerusalem, a very muddy city. His secretary was withdrawing in confusion at the accident, but Saladin, with a friendly laugh, commanded him to remain. P. 23.

⁵³ He persecuted the philosophers and the Moattalites, and ordered his son to slay a young man who was said to be impugning some of the dogmas of his creed. Bohadin, 7. Besides its imposture, it is the great reproach of Mahomedanism, that its legends and its Koran are incompatible with knowlege and history.

⁵⁴ Will. Tyre, p. 981.

⁵⁵ Yet Vinesauf says, he sought and received the honor of knighthood from Enfridus de Turo, a Frankish chieftain of Palestine. P. 249.—The ancient poem, the Ordene de Chevalrie, is built on this incident, but ascribes it to a different knight.

⁵⁶ Tyre, Tripolis, and Antioch, as Saladin states in his Letter. Vinesauf, 260.

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and which sand and vinegar only could subdue. Vast towers of wood were erected, to command the city. The besieged were as active in the invention of machines to withstand them. Repeatedly were the military contrivances on both sides consumed by flames. Saladin omitted no exertion of talent or bravery to relieve his friends. Often on the point of yielding from want, he still found the means to throw in supplies. At times, with immense armies, he bore down on the Christian lines: at times his fleets swept the sea. Ever on the watch, his attacks were sometimes almost fatal to the besiegers; when new arrivals of succors restored the Christian strength. On both sides, the projectile weapons incessantly hurled destruction on the combatants or their military engines. The Greek fire became lavishly used, especially from the city: individuals, machines, towns, and ships, were destroyed by it. All the powers of both parties concentrated in the attack and defence of this place. The war in Palestine raged only here. Famine distressed the besieged. It was still more dreadful to the unyielding besiegers.⁵⁷ Their persevering valor had been baffled by equal constancy, equal bravery, and superior means: and it was at this dismal and discouraging crisis, that Philip and Richard arrived at the Holy Land.

Richard
approaches
the city.

The presence of the king of France⁵⁸ gave new spirits to the besiegers; but it was the arrival of Richard that filled them with transport and hope. In his course from Cyprus, he met a Saracen ship of uncommon size, well furnished with arms, provisions, abundant phials of the Greek fire, and two

⁵⁷ Vinesauf circumstantially describes the shocking effect of the famine, p. 293—299. Bohadin mentions that it occasioned a great number of the Franks to desert to Saladin, one of whom betrayed the sailing of a Christian fleet, which he captured. A silver table, with a perforated *silver sphere*, were part of the booty. P. 156.

⁵⁸ Bohadin mentions Philip with great distinction: he says he was "great among the Franks, eminent in majesty as well as virtue." P. 159.

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hundred combustible serpents, for the use of the besieged. Seven Turkish emirs were with it. Its magnitude and powerful engines deterred the English vessels: but Richard exclaimed, "Will you let it get away undamaged? Shame! shame! after so many triumphs, now become cowardly! No one shall have safety while an enemy remains. Take her, or you shall all be crucified if she escapes." This vehemence compelled them to make a virtue of necessity, and the English sprang to board her. But the Turks, contending from a higher station, lopped off the arms and heads of those who took hold. Rage at this sight added new energies to the assailants; they rushed on with mingling fury and despair, and, after a bloody conflict, remained master of the prize, which soon sank. It is stated to have been of that importance, that if it had reached Acre, the city could never have been taken.⁵⁹

As Richard approached Acre, he beheld a spectacle of great military magnificence. Around the city spread the camps of the besiegers, a collection of warriors from every country in Europe, with their separate and appropriate standards. The walls of the place were manned by its resolute defenders, urging their active engines of warlike defence. Beyond, at a visible distance, the powerful army of Saladin appeared, covering the hills and plains; their tents radiating with the gorgeous colors so precious to Turkish taste, and their leader watching to seize every favoring moment for a successful attack. The king of France, and all the nobles of the Christian army, advanced to meet Richard as he entered; and the acclamations of exulting thousands, anticipating

His entrance into
the port.

⁵⁹ Vinesauf, 329, 330.—Bohadin relates that this vessel contained 650 strenuous warriors. Its captain, finding escape impossible, declared that the English should not profit by their victory: "Let us covet a glorious death," he exclaimed, and ordered the sides to be hewn with axes, till the waters rushed in. P. 166.

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He joins
the be-
siegiers.

relief and victory from his experienced prowess, completed the animating scene.⁶⁰

One of his first actions was to surpass Philip in liberality.⁶¹ His next care was to plant his mangonels and stone-projecting machines and tower against the gate of the city, which he resolved to force. A severe malady stopping his personal exertions, the king of France determined on an assault in the interval. The Turks within, by shouts, trumpets, and drums, gave the alarm to Saladin without; he hastened with his forces to attack the trenches; and the double conflict ended in the burning of the French engines by the Greek fire, and the failure of their attempt.⁶² New machines were invented⁶³, and again consumed; while Richard, confined to his bed by his fever, moaned heavily his restraint. His stone artillery was particularly distinguished for its activity and power, both in shaking the walls and destroying their defenders.⁶⁴ Still disabled by his disease, yet impatient to partake the fray, having caused a strong walled edifice to be made and pushed to the trenches, within which his engineers might operate with some protection, Richard was carried thither upon a silken mattress, and from that pointed and discharged him-

⁶⁰ Vinesauf, 331. Bohadin, p. 165. The Arab says of him, "He was renowned for his valor, his greatness of mind and firm constancy, which many battles had made illustrious, and for his daring intrepidity. In point of dignity and dominion he was esteemed by them inferior to the king of France, but more abundant in wealth, and far more celebrated for his warlike virtues."

⁶¹ Philip had distributed to his knights three pieces of gold a month, which filled the army with his commendations: Richard, hearing of it, sent heralds to proclaim that he would give four, and became immediately the most popular prince at the siege. Vins. 332.

⁶² Vines. 333. Bohadin, 167.

⁶³ They are called Belfreys — cats, because they cling to the walls like cats — and Cercleys. Vin. 335. Bohadin describes the cats as large instruments, made of four compartments, of wood, lead, iron and brass, which would support many men on the walls. P. 167.

⁶⁴ One of the stones it threw was taken to Saladin, for his observation: it had killed twelve men. Vin. 335. Richard requesting a friendly interview with Saladin, the sultan answered, "Kings should not meet but to treat of peace. It is indecorous that they should feast and converse, and then go out to fight." Bohad. 169. Saladin never committed enmity against the man to whom he had given bread and salt.

self his own balista, killing many Turks by the darts and arrows he sent among them. His sappers were also at work under his eye. He stimulated the desperate exertions of his followers, by promising four pieces of gold for every stone which they could pull from the walls. Still the foremost himself, observing one of the Turks parading on the fortifications in the armor of a celebrated Christian knight, who had fallen, he aimed his own weapon with that strength and certainty, that the javelin it projected, buried itself in his bosom.⁶⁵

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The fury of his assaults, seconded by the general ardor of all the besiegers, at last compelled the surrender of the city; and Saladin, who had consented to it, made a truce with the Christian kings, and indignantly retired from its vicinity, meditating his future revenge.⁶⁶

Acre taken.

In the summer, the king of France astonished and afflicted the army, by declaring his intention to return to Europe. His plea of diminished health was not deemed an adequate excuse; but no solicitations, even of his own people, availed. He swore friendship and peace to Richard, and, leaving a division of Frenchmen under his command, sailed away to Tyre, and thence to his own ports.⁶⁷

King of
France
leaves Pa-
lestine.

Saladin, re-animated by this subtraction from the Christian force, refused to fulfil the conditions of the late armistice. Richard allowed his rage, at the violation of the compact, to become ferocious cruelty:

⁶⁵ Vines. 338. Richard's sister had two Mussulmen servants, who had lived with her in Sicily: they now escaped to Saladin, and were well received. Bohad. 170.

⁶⁶ Vines. 341, 342. Bohad. 173—179. The siege had lasted nine months. Bohadin declares, that 500,000 or 600,000 of the Christian forces perished during the siege. Vinesauf asserts, that he knew that above 300,000 were destroyed by famine and sickness. It is a remark of Michaelis, that the city of Acre is so decisive of the fate of Palestine, that whoever possesses that, may easily make himself master of the whole country. Mos. Law, i. p. 56.

⁶⁷ Vin. 343, 344. Rigordus ascribes his retreat to his jealousy, that Richard was exchanging presents with Saladin. De Gest. Phil. p. 192.

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he ordered the 2700 Turks, who had been left as hostages for Saladin's fulfilment of his treaty, to be brought out and deliberately killed.⁶⁸ Pledged by this action to an implacable warfare with the Turkish sultan, he prepared to wage it with effect. He drew out all his forces from the city, and encamped on the surrounding plains, that they might be all alert to attack or repel the enemy, who now began to hover round. It was his custom to be always out first on these incursions, and his presence was never ineffective.⁶⁹

Richard
marches
into Pa-
lestine.

These movements were but prelude to a decisive struggle. His army, above 30,000 men, seduced by the enervating luxuries of the city, were averse to obey his energetic orders to proceed to a sterner duty. Roused at last from their lethargy, they began their march to Ascalon, the next goal of Richard's ambition. As they wound thro the narrow passes of

⁶⁸ Vines. 346. Bohadin, 183. The Arab admits the sultan's tergiversations. He describes the slaughtered Turks as so many martyrs; and mentions one rumored cause of the massacre to be a dread of leaving so many enemies behind. It was an action like Bonaparte's massacre at Jaffa — equally horrible and indefensible.

⁶⁹ Vines. 347. Saladin, in retaliation for the scene at Acre, beheaded all the prisoners that fell into his hands. Bohad. 187, 188. His conference with one of them displays the picture of the exigency: Bohadin seems to have been present. "A knight was taken, whose demeanor announced the nobleman. He was asked by Saladin as to the state of their provisions — 'Since the first day of our leaving Acre, their scarcity has increased their price one-third.' 'Why do you move so slow?' 'Because we wait for our fleet, which carries our supplies.' 'How many of yours have been killed or wounded to-day?' 'A great many.' 'How many horses have perished to-day?' 'Four hundred.' The sultan then directed his head to be struck off, but to omit the mutilation of his body. He asked of his interpreter, what Saladin had ordered — 'Your death.' — Greatly affected, he cried out, 'But I saved one of your countrymen at Acre.' 'Was it an emir?' said Saladin — 'I was not rich enough to redeem an emir.' — They interceded for him. His desire of life, and beautiful person (for I never, adds Bohadin, saw any man more handsome, and with eyes breathing such softness and delicacy) interested the Sultan, and he was permitted to remain in his presence, but in fetters. Presently Saladin upbraided him with the perfidy of his friends, and the massacre at Acre. He owned it to be abominable, but that it was perpetrated by the king's own will and express command. Saladin having finished his afternoon prayers, mounted his horse and rode out as usual. He came back — and ordered the knight to be killed with two others." Bohad. 188. This cool and deliberate cruelty to an individual who had interested him, and because the Turk he had saved was of inferior rank to himself, displays a narrowness of heart not less offensive than Richard's political murder.

their way, the Turkish army rushed on their rear-guard, hoping to cut it off. It became endangered: but Richard, advertised of the crisis, flew with all the rapidity of his courser's speed to the point of danger, prostrating all who withstood him. The army was extricated by his personal exertions, and Saladin thought fit to decline a general engagement.⁷⁰

Saladin confined himself to harassing Richard in the strong positions which the country afforded. Richard advanced cautiously along the sea-shore, towards Cesarea. His final object was Jerusalem; and every night that he encamped, before his army went to sleep, a herald with a strong voice was sent thro the lines, to exclaim, "Help the Holy Sepulchre!" Three times was the supplication uttered, and every warrior, each time holding up his hands to heaven, repeated the petition with impassioned tones and tears, in universal chorus.⁷¹

His plan of
march.

His march was vigilantly tracked by the never-wearyed Saladin, with destructive activity. Assailed at every practicable point, not even Richard's skill and valor could prevent perpetual losses. To make his army more disposable for rapid services, he divided it into twelve great divisions, and these again into five battalions, and appointed his best warriors to the commands of the several portions, that an adequate force might be readily applicable to every exigency. The pressure of the enemy compelled them to march in columns so close, that an apple thrown above them, says Vinesauf, must have fallen upon a soldier or a horse. In this denseness the main body and the baggage proceeded; while Richard, to whom fighting was a delight, took his

⁷⁰ Vines. 349, 350.

⁷¹ Vines. 351. The crusading historian complains much of the tarantulas that infested them in these parts. They thought noises drove them away, and that theriaca cured their wounds.

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station with the more able troops, in the rear, ready to dart on every enemy that appeared.⁷²

The talents of Richard as the general, equalled his prowess as the soldier. Tho' closely followed by Saladin, a commander of unquestioned ability and enterprise, and whom twenty active campaigns had taught all the arts of warfare, with an immense superiority of force, and with the population of the region in his favor; yet such were Richard's dispositions and vigilance, that, even when moving thro' a difficult country, his enemy could gain no other advantages than cutting off a few stragglers occasionally in his rear. His best panegyric is the description of his march by the Arab enemy, who witnessed and applauds it.⁷³

Great battle near Jaffa.

A conference between Richard and Aladil, the Turkish prince deputed by Saladin to meet him, having failed, upon the stern refusal of the Mussulman to surrender the countries conquered from the

⁷² Vines. 354. Bohadin has inserted in his History, an interesting journal of Saladin's watchful, active, and wary accompaniment of Richard's progress, 184—199.

⁷³ "The sixth day, the sultan rose at dawn, as usual, and heard from his brother that the enemy was in motion. They had slept that night in suitable places about Cesarea. They were now dressing, and taking their food. A second messenger announced, that they had begun their march. Our brazen drum was sounded; all were alert. The sultan came out, and I accompanied him to their army. He surrounded them with chosen troops, and gave the signal for attack. The archers were drawn out, and a heavy shower of arrows on both sides descended. The enemy advanced, but hedged round with his infantry, like a wall. These were covered with thick-strung pieces of cloth, fastened together with rings, so as to resemble dense coats of mail. Hence, tho' they were overwhelmed with our arrows, yet their progress was not impeded. I saw with my own eyes several, who had not one or two, but ten darts sticking in their backs, and yet marched on with a calm and cheerful step, without any trepidation. On their parts, they darted a heavier species of weapon, which wounded both our men and horses. They had besides a division of infantry in reserve, to relieve and aid those who should be weary, and which, marching close to the sea-shore, could not be molested. When the fighters were exhausted by fatigue or wounds, this body advanced, and combated till the others were refreshed. Their cavalry in the meantime kept in the middle, and never moved beyond the infantry, unless when they rushed out to charge. In vain we tempted them to spread into the array of battle: they steadily restrained themselves, and kept their close order, slowly cutting their way, and protecting their baggage with wonderful perseverance." Bohad. p. 190. Could a Wellington have safely conducted an inferior army with all its baggage, on a continuous march thro' a hostile country, and surrounded by a powerful enemy, with more judgment and success?

Christians, which Richard required⁷⁴; and the Turks having now been joined by the forces they had expected; Saladin prepared to prostrate his martial competitor by one decisive blow. Richard had now entered the land of Zuph, near Jaffa⁷⁵, when the attack began. The assault of the Turks was terrific. The Bedouin Arabs, distinguished by their round shields and darker countenances, were equally destructive. The Turks rushed on in separate divisions. Their trumpets, drums, horns and cymbals, preceded their emirs, inciting the courage of the men by their tremendous vociferation; and the men, by the most frightful howlings, striving to intimidate the Christian army. Richard received the attack with his infantry in close and dense array. The Turks covered the plain around them like enveloping clouds; their arrows and missiles darkened the air, like wintry hail. The English perished on all sides; and the Knights Hospitallers, falling in great numbers, implored the king to let them sally out, and charge. Richard commanded them to be firm and patient. The Turks, emboldened by their passiveness, and having exhausted their quivers, rushed on with clubs and swords to closer slaughter. Again the Christians murmur at being restrained; but Richard calmly waited till the impetuosity and confidence of the Turks had urged them into disorder. His appointed signal was the sounding of six trumpets, two in the front, two in the rear, two in the middle, of his army. When the critical moment, in his judgment, came, the trumpets echoed; his infantry on all sides opened their ranks; and his cavalry of knights, in determinate squadrons, darted like lightning out on every

⁷⁴ Bohadin relates this conference, p. 193.

⁷⁵ Vinesauf calls it Arsus; and Bohadin, Arsoph. It is clear, from what the Arab afterwards mentions of Richard's retiring to Jaffa, and Saladin to Ramla, after the battle, that the struggle took place between these towns, and in the district marked in the map as the Terra Zuph; which is the meaning of Arsoph — the land of Zuph.

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flank, and rushed upon the dismayed Turks with an effect that could neither be foreseen nor resisted. In a moment the victory was torn from their grasp. In every part they were overthrown and destroyed; in every part a withering panic spread; in vain the brazen drum was sounded without intermission, to rally and invigorate; in vain Saladin, braving every danger, flew from point to point, entreating, upbraiding, commanding. Richard, still more alert, still more terrible, having discharged the duty of the general, now displayed his unequalled valor as the soldier, and mowed down the bravest warriors of the Turks, wherever he turned his steed. Nothing could resist his blows; no one whom he approached, could escape his sword; if in parts they rallied, it was to perish when he came. His knights emulated, tho they could not parallel his peculiar prowess, and the Sultan at last was compelled to seek his safety in flight.⁷⁶ His emirs ascribed his defeat principally to a dreadful knight, whom no one could resist, and who was called by his own people Melech Ric, or King Ric.⁷⁷ Saladin collected the broken remains of his army at Ramla, and ordered all his inferior fortresses to be destroyed. Richard proceeded triumphantly to Jaffa, and thence to Ascalon, which had, he found, been hastily dismantled.

Richard's
further
exploits.

This victory gave Richard the command of the sea coast. He built or restored several fortresses near it, and some minor skirmishes ensued with the Turks. Once going out with his falcons, to course, he fell into an ambush, from which he was only

⁷⁶ Vinesauf, 354—361, and Bohadin, in 194—198, harmonize very well in their descriptions of this battle. See Richard's official account of it, Hoveden, p. 698.

⁷⁷ Vinesauf, 362. Melech is the Arabic for king. Richard was at that time pronounced Rickard, as the old ballad on Richard, brother of Henry III. shows —

Richard! thah thou be ever trichard,
Trichten shalt thou never more.

Percy's Ancient Reliques, vol. ii. p. 3.

rescued by one of his knights calling out, that he was the Melech or King, and suffering himself to be taken while Richard escaped.⁷⁸ At another time, when a party of the Templars were foraging, 4000 Turkish cavalry surrounded them. The king being at hand with a few knights, sent them to assist, promising to follow, while he armed himself. The vast superiority of the enemy put every one into the greatest personal peril. They fled, pursued by the Turks; and Richard was advised to escape. His countenance paled with anger at the counsel; "If I do not assist the dear friends I sent forward with an assurance that I would join them, and they should perish, I will never usurp the name of a king again." He rushed on the Turks with that intrepidity and power that always distinguished him — now here, now there, wherever danger most pressed, his sword was seen descending with unexampled rapidity. Heads, hands, and arms are described to have flown off as he struck. At length one of the most renowned emirs appeared before him, but perished like the rest. His astonishing bravery, or, what his secretary calls his incredible victory, preserved both himself and his friends.⁷⁹

After some delays and negotiations, he advanced towards Jerusalem. But the atmosphere now fought against him. The rains descended with unmitigated severity. Showers of hail, and tempestuous winds, raged with such fury, that his soldiers' tents were torn from their stakes, and carried away. Their horses perished, from cold and wet. Their twice-baked bread, and bacon, were spoilt; their weapons and armor covered with rust; their clothes injured; and disease began to attenuate their force. His wisest warriors, observing their diminution of

He stops in
his march
to Jerusa-
lem.

⁷⁸ Vines, 364. William de Pratelles was the name of this loyal hero.

⁷⁹ Ib. 367.

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strength, recommended the attack on Jerusalem to be deferred, and Ascalon, as an intermediate point, to be first rebuilt. It was obvious that if Richard should take Jerusalem, he had not men enough to garrison it. The greatest part of the French here left him. He yielded to the necessity, and paused at Ascalon; where the weather still continued adverse, and famine began to appear.⁸⁰

Conrad, the Defender of Tyre, contended with the dethroned Guy, for the Christian kingdom of Palestine. This dissension weakened Richard's strength. Suddenly, Conrad was assassinated in the streets of Tyre. This catastrophe inflamed every evil feeling in the country: the French accused Richard of the murder⁸¹; and the imputation, tho unjust, was accredited by his enemies.

⁸⁰ Vinesauf, 363—375.

⁸¹ Ib. 386, 387. He was killed by two emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountains. Bohadin says, that being asked who suborned them, they answered, "The king of England." P. 225. But to make this charge might have been a part of their employment. The daring temper of Richard was too frank and gallant to use assassination. Hoveden, a contemporary, declares their answer to have been, That the king of the Assassins had employed them. P. 716. A very copious account of this singular people is in Falconet's Essays, in the Memoires Acad. Inscris. vol. xxvi. p. 202—276. They were a species of Mahomedan dissenters, existing both in Persia and Syria, obeying their Sheikh, or Old Man, whose orders they implicitly executed.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE ASSASSINS.

Von Hanmer's German history of the Assassins has, from its elaborate researches, thrown new light on these singular fanatics. They formed an order at once military and religious, like the Templars and Teutonic Knights; and like them were subject to a grand master, named the Sheikh el Jebel; literally, the Sheikh of the Mountain. His seat was at Alamoot, in the north of Persia, and from thence, like the general of the Jesuits, he directed the motions of his numerous and devoted subjects, and spread terror from his name. This most complete view of the subject Von Hanmer derives from the Arabic and Persian authorities of Ibn Khaledoon and Macrisi; from Khondemir, Lary, Jelalee of Kaim, and others; and it is so interesting, that the reader will perhaps thank me for a long note on the subject.

A secret doctrine undermining Mahomedanism, and, according to Hanmer's construction of his authorities, inculcating atheism and the indifference of moral actions, began with a man at Ahras, in Persia, named ABDALLAH, the son of Maimoon, in the stormy period when the followers of Mokannah, or the Veiled Prophet, and Babek, filled Persia with blood and devastation. During his life and his son's, their principles were spread far and wide by the activity of their *Dais*, or missionaries. Ahmed of Cufa afterwards boldly proclaimed their secret doctrine of Indifference, defied the caliph, took Mecca after a slaughter of 30,000 Moslems, and carried off the sacred *black stone* to Hajah. The struggle of a century nearly extinguished the anti-religious sect, but it revived, and placed one of its adherents,

Richard continued his war in Palestine, always repressing the Turks, and enlarging the Christian

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Obeld-alla-Mehdee, on the throne of Egypt, who founded then the dynasty of the Fatemite Caliphs. Macrisi describes the votaries of the secret doctrine holding private meetings at Cairo every Wednesday and Friday, both men and women, in separate lodges, in the presence of their Dai-el-doat, or chief missionary. These assemblies were named Mejalis-al-hicmet, or the Societies of Wisdom, and the members attended in white dresses.

In the reign of the sixth Fatemite Caliph, the notorious Hakem-biemrillah, a large lodge or mansion, called Dar-al-hicmet, or the House of Wisdom, was erected for them, and provided with books, mathematical instruments and professors. Disputations were frequently held in the presence of the caliph, in which the professors, divided into logic, mathematics, law, and medicine, appeared in their robes of ceremony, exactly in the same form as those now worn by the doctors in Oxford and Cambridge, and a yearly sum of 275,000 ducats was appropriated to the support of this Institution. Amid the various branches of human science, the secret doctrines of the Ismailites were taught, in nine ascending degrees. The first pointed out the absurdity and contradiction to reason in the text of the Koran. The sixth taught, that all positive religion was subordinate to philosophy. The seventh advanced to the mystic doctrine, that all is one, now held by the Sufees. In the eighth, the doctrines of positive religion were attacked, and the pupil was fully instructed in the superfluosness of all prophets and divine teachers; in the non-existence of heaven and hell, and the indifference of actions. He was thus prepared for the ninth and last degree, and to become the ready instrument of every project of ambition. *To believe nothing, and to dare every thing*, was the sum and substance of this wisdom.

The claims of the Fatemite Caliph against the caliph of Bagdad, and these secret doctrines of the Lodge at Cairo, were actively disseminated throughout Asia by the zeal of the Dais, and of their Refeek, or companions, who were persons initiated in one or more degrees of the secret doctrine, and attached to the Dais as assistants. Among their converts then gained, was that person who founded, some years after, the society which for a century and an half filled Asia with terror and dismay. This was the celebrated HASSAN Ben Labah, the founder of the ASSASSINS, or Eastern Ismailites, as writers name them, to distinguish them from their Egyptian or Western brethren.

Hassan's disappointed ambition led him to meditate vengeance against the Turkish sultan Melek Shah, and his grand and distinguished vizier Nizam ul Mulk. He declared of them, that if he had but two devoted friends, he would overthrow the Turk and the peasant. He went down to Egypt, to the grand lodge of the Ismailites, of which he was a member. Mirkhoud has preserved Hassan's account of his first connection with these people, in his own words.

Hassan says, "From my childhood, from the age of seven years, my only object was to attain to knowledge and capacity. I was, like my father, brought up in the doctrine of the twelve Imaams: and I formed an acquaintance with an *Ismailite* Refeek, named Emire-ed-Dharab. My opinion was, that the doctrine of the Ismailites was like that of the philosophers, and that the sovereign of Egypt was a man who was initiated into it. As often as Emire spoke in support of his doctrine, I fell into a controversy with him; and many an argument on points of faith arose between us. I never gave way to the charges which Emire brought against my sect, but, secretly, they made a strong impression on my mind. Emire departed from me, and I fell into a severe sickness. Recovering from that I met with another Ismailite, named Aboo Nejm Zaraj, of whom I inquired concerning the truth of his doctrine. He explained it to me in the most circumstantial manner, until I saw fully into the depths of it. When the Sheikh Abd-al-Melek, the director of the missions of Irak, came to Rei, my deportment was pleasing to him, and he conferred on me the office of a *Dai*. When he went from Rei to Isfahan, I departed for Egypt."

Hassan was received in Egypt with honors. The Dai-el-doat, or chief missionary

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territory; when he was alarmed by tidings that his brother John, supported by the king of France, was

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of the Ismailites, went out to meet him, and the caliph loaded him with favors. But a dispute arising concerning the succession, he was thrown into prison; and when forced into a vessel for Africa, was driven by a storm on Syria. He landed, and finding himself to be connected with numerous disciples, he conceived that, as the champion of the rights of the descendants of Ismail, he might take his rank with princes, and obtain dominion and power. To realize this prospect, he saw that a strong position was requisite, from which, as from a centre, he might extend his possessions. He fixed his eye upon the hill-fort of Alamoot, or Vulture's Nest, so named from its lofty and impregnable site. He gained it by force and stratagem; and when he had secured it, he turned his mind to the organization of that band of followers, whose daggers spread the dread of his name, and the terror of his power throughout Asia. Experience and reflection had taught him, that tho a system of impiety might overturn a throne, it would not support one; and therefore, tho as an adept initiated in the highest degree of the lodge at Cairo, he had rejected all religion, yet he determined to maintain, among his adherents, that of Islam in all its rigor. The claims of Ismail to the caliphate, and the purity of religion, were what he ostensibly advanced; but his own greatness and the downfall of all religion, were the real objects of himself, and of those who, secretly with him, directed the machinery.

“Heretofore, the Ismailite doctrine had been disseminated by missionaries and companions only: but a third class was now necessary, which, ignorant of the secret doctrine, would be the blind and willing instruments of the designs of their superiors. This class was named the Feidavee, or Devoted. They were clothed in white, with red bonnets or girdles, and armed with daggers; and these were the men, who, reckless of their lives, executed the bloody mandates of the Sheikh-el-Jebel, the title assumed by Hassan.

“By force or by treachery, the castles or hill-forts of Persia fell one after another into the hands of these men. The doctors of the law excommunicated them, and Melek Shaw ordered his generals to reduce their fortresses. But soon the great and good Nizam-ul-Mulk fell by the dagger of a Feidavee; and the Sultan soon followed him to the grave, with a strong suspicion of poison. They appeared in Syria simultaneously with the Crusaders, and acquired fortresses in that country. In Syria as in Persia, they were persecuted and massacred; but their daggers amply avenged those who fell by the sword.

“After a reign of thirty-five years, Hassan saw his power extended over a great portion of the Mahomedan world. Three grand missionaries, Dai-el-Kebir, presided over the three provinces of Jebal, Cuhistan and Syria; while from his chamber at Alamoot, which apartment he left but twice during his long reign, Hassan directed the operations of his followers, and drew up rules and regulations for the order.”

The first connection between the Assassins and some of the Crusaders, took place when Aboul Wefa, the Ismailite Dai-el-Kebir, was also the Hakem, or chief judge of Damascus; and he entered into a treaty with Baldwin, second king of Jerusalem, to deliver Damascus into his hands. Baldwin's chief adviser in this compact was Hugo de Payens, the first Grand Master of the Templars, whose order had been established about ten years. The enterprise failed, and 6000 of the criminal fanatics were put to death.

The Syrian branch became afterwards involved in friendship and enmity with the great SALADIN, and with the Christian sovereigns of Jerusalem. The life of Saladin was more than once assailed by their daggers; and but for the intercession of the prince of Hamar, he would have completely extirpated them. Their grand ruler engaged that no more attempts should be made on the life of this great Sultan, and faithfully kept his engagement; for, during the remaining fifteen years of Saladin's reign, he was never approached by an Assassin.

They once indicated a desire to adopt Christianity, but the treacherous attack of the Knights Templars occasioned a revulsion of the feeling: and their dagger,

conspiring to seize his Norman duchy or his English throne.⁸² He resolved to return home, but yielded to the solicitations of the crusaders, to conduct them first to Jerusalem. His name and presence spread terror as he advanced; but, before he reached it, the more novel idea of invading Babylonia, diverted him from the sacred city. He captured a caravan, of unusual multitudes, and with an immense booty.⁸³ The people clamored for Jerusalem. But it was said that the Turks had destroyed the aqueducts, and that Siloa's Brook, which flowed round the Mount of Olives, would not suffice so large an army. For reasons not clearly expressed, but probably from his desire to revisit England, Richard was not intent on the conquest of Jerusalem. He stopped at Bethany, within four miles of the city, and chose afterwards to retrograde. The duke of Burgundy wrote a satire on Richard's conduct, and Richard retaliated by a poetical invective.⁸⁴

Saladin profited by the king's recession, to attack Jaffa. This movement roused him to one more exertion. With his usual energy, he flew to the endangered city, and chased Saladin away.⁸⁵ The Sultan attempted a night surprise. He had nearly succeeded.

His last
great
battle.

after a truce of forty-two years, was again brandished against the Crusaders. It was at this period that CONRAD was attacked and murdered in the market-place at Tyre, by two of the Assassins.

One Arabian history, in the national hatred of Richard, declares, that on the rack they charged him as their employer. But the Mussulman continuator of Tabari says, that the murderers, when about to be executed, refused to confess by whom they had been employed. There is no substantial reason to implicate the Cœur de Lion in the crime.

Such is the substance of Von Hanmer's curious history on this subject. It has been ably abridged in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 2., p. 449—472; from which this note is taken, and in which a fuller account of these people may be seen.

⁸² Vines. 395.—He gave Cyprus to the deposed Guy of Lusignan, the rex sine regno. Ib. 392. Thus ending the competition between him and Conrad.

⁸³ Ib. 405—407. Bohadin, p. 231. It was conducted by 11,000 Saracens. Richard attacked it with 5000. Hoved. 716.

⁸⁴ Vines. 409. See on Richard's retrogression, Bohadin, 235—237.

⁸⁵ Vines. 411—415. Bohadin, 244—251. The Arabian author says he saw Richard's approach: "The first ship was the king's; it was all red, and was distinguished by its red sail." P. 251.

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Richard was scarcely waked in time to escape being taken; but he soon armed himself, and collected enough about him to second his own extraordinary prowess, and check the panic that was spreading. The most perilous conflict took place that he had yet endured — a conflict remarkable for one trait of Saracen chivalry. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, had sought and received knighthood from Richard, for his son.⁸⁶ In the night-attack, meeting the king unhorsed, he gave him two fine coursers for his immediate service.⁸⁷ Richard gratefully received the important generosity, used them to rally his scattering troops, and restored the battle. So severe was the conflict, that he is described as appearing with his armor stuck full of lances, and his horse's trappings with darts. His unexampled exertions at last repulsed the Turks, and saved his army.⁸⁸ But the extraordinary fatigue he underwent, brought on a slow fever, which compelled a suspension of all military movements. He proposed to Saladin a truce for three years. The Sultan agreed to it, declaring such an esteem for Richard's magnanimity and virtues, that he would rather see the contested country under his dominion than of any other power.⁸⁹ The armistice completed, and every royal civility exchanged, the king sailed to Europe, leaving a reputation among the Mussulmen which long survived himself.⁹⁰ His

⁸⁶ Vines, 380. This was a strong proof of the Turkish estimation of Richard.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 419.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 417—420.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 423. For Bohadin's account of the peace, see him, p. 620. This author gives a pleasing trait of the courteous intercourse between Saladin and Richard. The king was fond of pears and peaches, and, during his illness, he often sent to ask Saladin for them, and for snow. The Sultan always supplied them liberally. P. 257.

⁹⁰ The proof of this appears in the anecdote told by Joinville. He mentions that Richard was so dreaded by the Saracens, that when their children cried, their mothers would quiet them by crying, "Hush! hush! king Richard's coming for you." So if any of their horses startled, the riders would exclaim, "Do you think you see king Richard?" *Mém. de Joinville, seconde partie, p. 35. ed. Lond. 1875.* That a Frenchman, whose sovereign was an unfortunate crusader, should relate this tradition of an English prince, is at least an indication that he believed it.

departure was soon succeeded by the death of Saladin.⁹¹

The hour approached in which Richard was to drink the cup of adversity and disgrace to the very dregs. Philip had sailed in a state sufficient to command every where respect and safety, and his voyage was prosperous.⁹² Richard made the same preparations, and on the 25th October 1192, embarked on the Mediterranean Sea, with his queen, sister, and nobles, in an adequate fleet. But unusual tempests soon arose. Some were shipwrecked; some cast naked on shore, with the loss of all their treasure; a few only weathered the continual storms.⁹³ Tossed

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He leaves
Palestine.

⁹¹ Bohadin's account of his sultan's last moments is very interesting, and concludes his work. "The fatal attack began by a great lassitude with bilious fever — a violent pain in the head succeeded. He was bled on the fourth day, which increased his complaint. His debility became extreme, and death seemed to be advancing on him. He asked for some warm drink; when it came, he said it was too hot. Water was then offered; that he found too cold, and exclaimed, 'Good heavens! can no one temper it properly for me?' We burst into tears. 'See,' he added, 'how the Mussulmen have lost their good qualities. If this had happened to any private person, he would have broken the cup on the heads of those that brought it.' On the sixth, seventh and eighth days, he became delirious. On the ninth, he swooned away, and no liquid could be administered. Then all the city was in consternation; the taverns were closed; the goods were taken out of the bazaars; all were in grief and sorrow. We waited on him every night, and went occasionally to the door of his chamber, and, if proper, entered it, to observe how he was; numbers afterwards crowding towards us as we came out, to judge of the tidings from our countenance. On the tenth day he revived after a clyster, with a lucid interval. He took a little broth, and all became happy. At night, a copious perspiration from his legs gave us cheering hopes; on the eleventh, this so much increased as to moisten all the bed. This becoming alarming, an oath of allegiance was exacted from all the Egyptian chiefs to his son and successor, Alaphdal. One of these exclaimed, 'I have no bread; why should I swear?' Being urged, he took the oath at last, with the condition, if a competent maintenance should be supplied to him. The next day, Saladin's mind wandered greatly, and he seemed dying. The chief Imaum of the Temple was then called in, who began reading to him the Koran, and suggested to him the recollection of his Creator. At nine o'clock, the delirium was so strong, that he had scarcely any gleam of mind; but when Abusjaphar came to the passage, 'He is God, and there is no other beside Him, embracing all things by his knowlege, both the hidden and the known;' the sultan heard it, and suddenly exclaimed, 'MOSI TRUE.' His face glowed, while he uttered this, and he then quietly expired." Boh Salad. p. 272—276.

⁹² Hoveden gives a curious journal of his voyage, which contains the wild traditions of the natives to account for the stormy state of the Asiatic Gulf, near which Philip sailed. P. 709.

⁹³ The most detailed and interesting narrative of Richard's captivity is in the MS. Chronicle of Joannes de Oxenedes, monachus St. Benedicti de Hulmo, in the Cotton Library, Nero D 2. It differs in some points from the common accounts, and adds several new circumstances. I have stated it in the text, from its apparent

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for six weeks continually on the waves, Richard, separated from his queen and fleet, found himself within three days' sail of Marseilles. He learnt that plans were forming on the French coast to seize him; and with a desperate stake of courage against contingency, he resolved to attempt to cross Germany in disguise.⁹⁴

His dan-
gerous
journey
by land;
1192.

He turned back his sails to Corfu. His ship was boarded by pirates ineffectually. The king admired their courage, and hired their vessels to take him to Zara⁹⁵, with Baldwin of Betun and his companions. He concealed his own dignity under the name of Hugh the Merchant. Their beards and hair had grown neglectedly, and they wore pilgrims' garments.⁹⁶ Arrived at a town, which seems to have been Goritz, it was necessary to solicit peace and a passport from the chieftain of the province. He happened to be the nephew of Conrad, who had been stabbed in the streets of Tyre. The king had purchased three precious rubies from a merchant of Pisa, for nine hundred besances: one of these he fixed in a gold ring, and consulting only his native liberality, he sent it to the chieftain as a present, when he asked his protection. The chieftain was startled at the value of the gift, and asked who the persons were that sought his passport. He was answered, "Pilgrims returning from Jerusalem." He inquired their names: "Baldwin of Betun," was the answer; "but the man who sent the ring, was Hugh, a merchant."⁹⁷ "These are not the gifts of

authenticity. The author of the Chronicle says, that one of the king's companions was the chaplain Anselm, "*who related all these things to us, as he saw and heard.*" Matthew Paris has some of the particulars.

⁹⁴ Oxenedes MS.

⁹⁵ Oxenedes says Gazara. I presume this to be Zara. Hoveden has Gazere apud Raguse, p. 717. Zara is to the north of Ragusa.

⁹⁶ His companions were, besides Baldwin, Philip, his clericus (perhaps secretary); Anselm, his chaplain; and some Knights Templars. Oxenedes MS.

⁹⁷ Oxenedes MS. The emperor's letter states the chieftain's name to be Marnardus de Gortze. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 71. This authorizes a conjecture,

merchants," was the idea that crossed his mind, as he contemplated the jewel, which he did for a long time. "This must be King Richard." His celebrity was too great not to have diffused every where the news of his unfortunate voyage. The chieftain sent back a courteous message. But Richard felt that the suspicion was in fact discovery, and that his safety was compromised: in the middle of the night he mounted his horse, and with his attendants set off to Friesach in Styria. The chief despatched a messenger to his brother, who was lord of this country, informing him that Richard was in his domains. The brother sent a confidential knight, who had married his niece, a Norman by birth, to scrutinize every part where pilgrims were entertained, and to discover the king by his language or manners, promising him half the town if he succeeded.⁹⁸ The knight went from inn to inn, and at last met a person he suspected to be the king. By ingenious questions he satisfied himself of the fact, and with earnest prayers and even tears avowed his knowledge, and entreated Richard to reveal himself. The king threw off his disguise, and the old Norman knight, sacrificing his interest to his patriotic sympathy, acquainted Richard with his danger, compelled his immediate departure, and gave him a valuable steed. Returning to his lord, he ridiculed the supposition of the king passing that way, and told him it was only Baldwin and his companions. The chief, in rage at his disappointment, ordered them to be all apprehended.⁹⁹ The king travelled on with speed and

that Goritz, a little above Trieste, was the scene of this incident, as the emperor places his first appearance on the Continent between Venice and Aquileia. The situation of Goritz corresponds with this account. — Eight of the king's knights were taken here.

⁹⁸ Oxenedes MS. This place must have been Friesach, a town in Styria, on the confines of Saltzburg. The emperor says it was a town of the archbishop of Saltzburgh qui vocatur Frisorum.

⁹⁹ Oxenedes MS. The emperor, says Frederick of Botesowe, took here six of the king's knights, the king himself escaping at night. Rymer, p. 71.

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RICHARD I.He arrives
near
Vienna.

secrecy, accompanied by only one knight, and a lad who understood German. Three days and nights he travelled without food, not daring to stop or ask for it, and intent only on his escape.

Pressed at last by hunger, he paused at a town near Vienna, on the Danube.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately the duke of Austria was there. The lad was sent to the market for provisions. He showed too many pieces of gold, and talked with an importance which roused the curiosity of the townsmen. They inquired who he was. He answered, the servant of a rich merchant who had arrived there. The interrogation alarmed the boy: he returned secretly to his master, related what had passed, and advised him not to stay. But the king had now become so exhausted by his fatigues and vexations, that he resolved to remain some time in the place, to refresh himself, at every hazard. He chose an obscure cottage for his dwelling. The want of necessaries compelled him to send the lad frequently to the market to buy them. Safety induced carelessness; and one day, the 21st December, he went incautiously out with the king's gloves in his girdle. Their appearance was not mercantile: they caught the eye of the magistrates of the place. The boy was seized, and put to torture; he was whipped; his tongue was drawn from his mouth, with a menace of dividing it. Other sufferings were applied till the truth was extorted from him.¹⁰¹ The Duke of Austria immediately surrounded the dwelling with a band of armed men, who called out to Richard to surrender. Their clamors roused the unsuspecting king. He looked at their numbers; he perceived defence to

¹⁰⁰ The Austrian Chronicle calls this place Erpurch, near Vienna. Chron. Zwetl. ap. Austr. Script. i. p. 532.

¹⁰¹ Oxenedes MS.

be useless; but he sternly declared that he would surrender to no one but the duke.

On this intimation, the duke presented himself. The king advanced a little to meet him, and then delivered up his sword, hoping to experience the right of courteous hospitality. The duke received it with respect, and conducted the king with honor to his habitation. With this theatrical ceremony his civilities ceased. The bravest knights of Austria were appointed to be the king's keepers, who, with their drawn swords, watched him day and night.¹⁰² The duke apprised the emperor of this important capture, but kept him concealed till the Passion week following, when he sold him to the German sovereign for sixty thousand pounds of silver. The emperor determined to extort an immoderate ransom; but to secure it had him conveyed to a castle in the Tyrol, from which escape was hopeless.¹⁰³

The first suspicion in England of the disaster was excited by the arrival of his companions, whom the storm had separated from him, inquiring after his safety.¹⁰⁴ The emperor communicated it to Philip.¹⁰⁵ But it was an information not likely to be immediately imparted to the English government, which Philip projected to disturb. The truth gradually became known, and the disinterested part of Europe was indignant, that a crusader returning from his sacred enterprise, should by any Christian prince be arrested and imprisoned. His mother wrote three earnest letters to the Pope, soliciting his interference, as the father of Christendom, to obtain her son's release.¹⁰⁶ The German clergy were also appealed to.¹⁰⁷

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REIGN OF
RICHARD I.

His cap-
tivity;
1192.

1193.

¹⁰² Oxenedes MS. The Austrian Chronicle says he was delivered to the lord Hadmar, of Chunring, to be kept in Tyernsteign. Chron. Zwetl. p. 532.

¹⁰³ In Tirualli. Oxened. MS.

¹⁰⁴ Hoveden.

¹⁰⁵ See his letter in Rymer, i. p. 71. in December, 1192.

¹⁰⁶ See them in Rymer, i. p. 72—78. They are written with a considerable attempt at eloquence, but they exhibit more rhetoric than feeling. They complain that John was ravaging his brother's dominions.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Blessensis' letter to his school-fellow, the archbishop of Mentz, on this

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RICHARD I.

1193 ;
April.

The emperor felt the disgrace which he had incurred, and endeavoured to justify himself, by charging Richard with crimes; these were, his behaviour in Sicily, his conquest of Cyprus, and the alleged murder of Conrad. Every effort was made to vindicate him from the last, the most degrading charge; and a letter purporting to be from the Old Man of the Mountains, the chief of the Assassins, was produced, exonerating Richard from the imputation.¹⁰⁸ The English ministry exerted themselves. The most able prelates, and among these the regent bishop, went to the Continent, and bargained for his ransom. He was removed, after their exertions, from the dungeon in the Tyrol, to the emperor's residence at Hagenau¹⁰⁹, and thence to Worms, guarded with the greatest jealousy. No friend was suffered to stay with him after daylight, and a strong military power always environed him. During the whole of his captivity, he preserved his usual hilarity: he joked with his keepers, sported with their occasional inebriety, and sometimes condescended to exert his uncommon strength of body for their amusement.¹¹⁰

His brother John endeavoured to profit by his captivity. He made his feudal submission to Philip; and by circulating false assertions of Richard's death,

subject, in 1193, contains a pun which may illustrate the doctrine of an ingenious lecturer, That passion does not exclude punning: "nobis in germana Germania hæc mala germinant universis." Rymer, i. p. 79.

¹⁰⁸ Rymer has preserved this. — M. de la Ravalière, whom Mr. Gibbon follows, decries it as spurious. Hist. Acad. Inscript. viii. p. 268. The suspicious date from the papal æra may have been added by the translator of the Arabic original, we cannot now decide the question.

¹⁰⁹ See Richard's letter to his mother, dated 13 Cal. May, 1193. Rymer, I. p. 80.; and Hoveden, 726. He says he was received at Hagenau by the emperor and empress with great honour, and presented with many gifts; but was detained till 70,000 silver marcs should be paid.

¹¹⁰ Oxenedes MS. The pretty tale, of Blondel the minstrel travelling over Europe to find out Richard's place of captivity; and of his singing, near a castle, part of a lay they had often sung together, which Richard by finishing, discovered to the minstrel where he was; rests only on the authority of an old chronique François; perhaps a prose romance, which Fauchet saw, and from which he narrates it in his Recueil, p. 92.

attempted, but ineffectually, to seize his English crown.¹¹¹

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The negotiations for Richard's ransom ended in the agreement, that one hundred thousand marks of silver should be paid for his liberation. The sum was raised by a general taxation, that included the clergy. The base intrigues of John and Philip protracted awhile the king's emancipation. The emperor at last, in September 1193, fixed the day for his liberation to be three weeks after the ensuing Christmas, and promised to raise Provence into a kingdom by crowning him its king. Richard announced this assurance to his chief prelate¹¹², and three months afterwards the imperial sovereign pledged himself to the English parliament to these deeds by his official letter.¹¹³ Released at length, at Mentz, he passed with speed to Cologne, and thence to Antwerp, where he embarked in an English ship, and arrived at Sandwich 20th March 1195, after an imprisonment of a year, six weeks, and three days.¹¹⁴ He thought it necessary to be crowned again.

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RICHARD I.

His release.

The remainder of his reign is of small importance: bickerings and wars with his brother John and with Philip, disquieted and consumed it.¹¹⁵ Philip was not

His subsequent reign and death.

¹¹¹ Hoveden, 724.

¹¹² It was from Spiers, on 22 Sept. 1194, that Richard wrote to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, that the emperor had appointed his liberation to be on Monday, after the 20th day from Christmas-day: "and on the following Sunday We shall be crowned for the kingdom of Provence, which he has given us." Rym. i. p. 83.

¹¹³ Henry's letter to the Magnates Angliæ is dated the eve of St. Thomas (20 Dec.): "We have fixed the day of his liberation in three weeks from the second saint's day after Christmas, at Spiers or Worms: and we have appointed the seventh day afterwards for the day of his coronation for the kingdom of Provence, which we have promised to him. Be certain of this." Rym. p. 84.

¹¹⁴ Hoveden, 728—735. For his ransom, every knight's fee paid twenty shillings; all laymen paid the fourth of their rents; all the churches gave up their plate and treasures: some of the clergy paid a fourth, and some a tenth of their incomes. Ib. 731. Out of this money, the walls of Vienna were built. Leob. Chron. ap. Austr. Script. p. 798, and Arenp. Chron. ib. p. 1204.

¹¹⁵ One of the most remarkable events of this struggle was the battle of Gisors, in September, 1197, in which Richard says, that with *one* lance he prostrated and took three knights and made the king of France drink of the river. — In his letter to the bishop of Durham, Richard details his victory. He states, that on Sunday

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equal to Richard in personal prowess, but he was a monarch of great talents and policy: he kept Richard at bay, and consolidated the power of France.¹¹⁶

With power to disturb the world, from his vast possessions, Henry II. had not the warlike capacity. Richard possessed, in a pre-eminent degree, all the military requisites; but in the first part of his reign they were diverted into the plains of Palestine; their operation was afterwards arrested by his captivity; and England was so exhausted of her bullion, by his ransom and attendant expenditure, that the royal ambition was fettered by pecuniary necessities. If he had lived, the growing prosperity of the country would have replenished his treasury. But in the tenth year of his reign, he was wounded in the shoulder by an arrow from a cross-bow, in an inglorious siege of an inconsiderable castle, defended against him by a Limosin baron. It was not immediately mortal; but the wound gangrened, and he died a few days afterwards, having displayed the magnanimity of pardoning the soldier who had shot him, tho' glorying in the deed.¹¹⁷ His generous in-

1199.

before Michaelmas, he had entered the dominions of the king of France from Dangu; attacked Circeles, and taken its castle, towers, and lord; and on the same day had assaulted and captured the strong house of De Burris, with all in it, and returned to Dangu. "The next day the king of France came from Mantes, with 300 knights, and their squires, and commonalty, to relieve Circeles. We went out with only a few, and left our people on the Ethe, because we thought he would come upon us at Dangu; but he went towards Gizors. We made him fly, and so pressed him at the gates of Gizors, that the bridge broke under him, and we have heard that he drank of the river, and that twenty knights were drowned. With *one lance we prostrated* Mathew de Montmorenci, Alan de Rusci, and Fulco de Gilecoal, and took them prisoners. One hundred of his knights were taken, and squires; horse and foot unnumbered: and 200 warsteeds, of whom 140 were covered with iron." Rym. Fœd. i. p. 96.

¹¹⁶ See his Life in the Gesta of Rigordus, his historiographer, and in the long hexameter panegyric of Guillermus Brito, both contemporaries. In 1199, the dowager queen Eleanor, as duchess of Normandy and Aquitain, granted to the commonalty of Oleron all their privileges. Three of these were, that they may marry their children as they please, without our contradiction; may sell their wine and salt and other vendible things; and may bequeath their property by will.—All the bad customs imposed on Oleron since Henry married us, *we abolish.*" Rym. i. p. 111, 112.

¹¹⁷ Richard, on the capture of the castle, had meant to have dealt severely by the man; but his reply, when asked by the king, why he had shot him, "With

tentions were frustrated by the execrable cruelty of the commander of his Flemish mercenaries, who violated his master's dying forgiveness, by ordering the offender to be flayed alive.

Thus perished a sovereign who, with a mind naturally acute¹¹⁸, and with powers of body rarely equalled, yet became little else than a wild romantic warrior. His personal exploits resembled those of the fabled Amadis. His life was useful in arresting the Turkish power, when it was becoming again dangerous to the liberties of Europe; but, that end accomplished, this renowned and redoubted prince became comparatively insignificant, affording to the world another example—how little military ambition benefits a nation, or blesses its possessor. Richard, the dread of the Mahomedan and Christian world, only drained and impoverished his own country, and alarmed his neighbors. He added nothing to our civilization or prosperity. His best intellectual feature was his poetical tendency, of which he has left some memorials, not uninteresting.¹¹⁹ He may be

your hand you killed my father and my two brothers: I am willing to suffer the greatest torment you can inflict, so that you die, who have caused so many evils to mankind," startled Richard into a recollection of his own violent life, and that his fate was but a just retribution. Hoveden, 791.

¹¹⁸ Camden, in his Remains, p. 200, has collected some of Richard's smart sayings, which the chroniclers have recorded. When he sold the earldom of Northumberland to the bishop of Durham, he said, with a laugh, "Am I not cunning to make a young earl out of an old bishop?"—To a Frenchman, who told him he had three daughters, whom he must part with, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness—he answered, "Then I give to the Knights Templars my pride; to the Carmelites my avarice; and to the Clergy my voluptuousness."—Having taken a bishop prisoner in a skirmish, and put him into fetters, the prelates complained to the Pope, who desired Richard not to detain in prison his dear son in the faith: The king sent the Pope the armor in which the bishop had been taken, with this message, "We found him in this dress: see whether it be your son's coat, or not." The Pontiff jocosely replied, "No, not my son's, but some imp of Mars, who may deliver him if he can. I will not interfere."—When his brother John besought his pardon, for revolting from him, he exclaimed, "May I as easily forget your offence, as you will that you have offended."

¹¹⁹ One of his poetical productions was this Sirvente, which he made in Germany:

"No prisoner can speak justly of his misfortune without grief; yet, for his solace, he may make a song. He may have friends, but how poor are their gifts! They should feel shame, that two winters have passed without my ransom.

"My English, Norman, Gascon, Poitou barons! I have had no companion so

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RICHARD I.

truly called one of those thunderbolts of war, which astonish by their blaze, but soon disappear; and

miserable, whose deliverance I would not have purchased. I will not reproach you, but I am still a prisoner.

"It is indeed true, that a dead man has neither relations nor friends: since to save some gold and silver I am abandoned. I am suffering from my misfortunes; but I suffer more from the want of feeling in my subjects. How reproachful to them, if I should die in captivity!

"I am not surprised that I should grieve. My feudal sovereign is ravaging my lands, altho we swore to respect each other's possessions. But one thing consoles me, I will not be slow in taking my revenge.

"Chall and Pensavin! my minstrels! my friends! I have loved you; I love you now. Sing, that my enemies will have little glory in attacking me; that I have not shown to them a heart false and perfidious. That they will act like real villains if they war against me while I am in prison.

"Lady Soir! Heaven guard your sovereign merit; and hers whom I claim, and to whom I am a captive."

The other poem of his that has been preserved is a *Sirvente* against the Dauphin of Auvergne, and his cousin, whose alliance against the French king, Richard had solicited in vain.

"Dauphin! and Count Gul! answer me. Where is the martial ardor you displayed in our league against our common enemy? You gave me your faith, and you keep it as the wolf did to the fox, whom you resemble in your red locks. You have ceased to aid me, because you fear your services will not be paid. You know there is no money at Chinon.

"You seek the alliance of a rich and valliant king, faithful to his word. You dread my cowardice and parsimony, and you fall to the other side. Remember the adventure of Isoire. Are you satisfied with losing that place? Will you raise soldiers to avenge the usurpation? Whatever you do, Richard with his banner in his hand will show you that he is no contemptible foe.

"I have seen you formerly in love with magnificence: But now the desire of building strong castles makes you abandon the ladies and your gallantry. You frequent no more courts and tournaments. Beware of the French: They are Lombards in their dealings.

"Go, *Sirvente*, go to Auvergne, whither I send thee. Say to the two counts, from me, that if they will keep in peace, may God bless them. Who cares if a low man fails in his word? Can we reckon on the faith of a squire? The future will teach them, that they have chosen wrong." *Hist. Troub.* v. i. pp. 58—65.

The Provençal original of the first *Sirvente* begins thus:

Ja nus hom pris non dira sa raison
Adreitament se com hom dolent nom;
Ma per conort, pot il faire chanson.
Pro a d'amis, mas poure son li dont,
Onta i auron se por ma reezon
Soi fait dos yver pris. P. 59.

It is but justice to the memory of Richard, to insert the *Elegy* upon him by the Troubadour, Gaucelm Faidit, whom he had patronized.

"Cruel event! Never have I had so great a loss; never have I suffered an affliction so severe. I ought to weep and groan for ever. The chief and father of valor is my theme; the gallant Richard is dead!

"A thousand years may pass away, before a man so knightly will appear. Never will there be his equal in bravery, in magnificence, in generosity: No, not even Alexander, the conqueror of Darius, exhibited a liberality so noble. Charles and Arthur could not compete with him. He was the dread of one part of the world, and the admiration of the other.

whose destructive effects are the chief token by which we know that they have existed. His queen, Berengaria, survived him¹²⁰, and John made an alliance with her brother.¹²¹

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"I wonder how, in an age so false and perfidious as this, a man so wise and courteous could arise. Since glorious actions serve for nothing, why make such great exertions? Death has shown its malice. In striking Richard, it has robbed the world of all its honor, all its joy, all its wealth. If nothing can protect us from it, why should we fear the grave?"

"Ah, Sire! valorous Sovereign! Where now will be our arms, our tournaments, the splendid court, and the magnificent gift, since you are now no more, who were the chief in all. What now will become of the servants whom your bounty fed? of those whom you raised to fortune and to glory? There is nothing left for them but the tomb." Hist. Troub. i. pp. 367—369.

The popular tales on Richard, which are sufficiently grotesque and amusing, may be seen in the old English Romance on him printed by Mr. Weber; and in the substance of it, neatly stated by Mr. Ellis in his Specimen of our old Romances.

¹²⁰ In 1201, John made a grant to her for her dower, of 1000 marcs of silver annually, at 13s. 4d. a marc: 150*l.* of Anjou money from rents which he had assigned to her, and the rest from the Exchequer. Rym. v. i. p. 124.

¹²¹ In the same year, 1201, is John's charter of alliance with Sancho, king of Navarre, brother of Berengaria, to give the king's help "for us; our men and money against all men, *except the king of Morocco.*" Rym. p. 126. In 1202 was a similar one, with the addition, not to make a truce with Castile. Ib. 127.

CHAP. XII.

The Reign of JOHN, surnamed Lack-land.

1199—1216.

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XII.
His early
dissipation.

THE reign of John was a series of disgraces, originating from the vices and imbecility of the sovereign. The defects of his character appeared so early in his father's life, that his clerical friend then describes him, as a prey to the follies of youth, impressible as wax to vice; rude to his better advisers; more addicted to luxury than to war, to effeminacy than to hardships; remarkable rather for juvenile levity than for the promise of that manly maturity towards which he was hastening. He is not distinguished to us by Giraldus with any of those positive excellencies which characterized his brothers. His tutor visibly looked to his future day with faint hope; he cannot say that he was equalling his elder brethren; he merely assumes, that it is impossible he should degenerate.¹ His conduct to Richard was ungrateful and perfidious. He displayed all the treachery of a crooked ambition, without any of the talents that have sometimes emblazoned it.² On the unexpected death of his brother, he acquired the throne to the prejudice of his nephew; and he made his reign one continued exhibition of his moral deficiencies.³

¹ Giraldus, Top. Hib. p. 753. John was then twenty years of age. Giraldus had accompanied him to Ireland; for he says in his dedication to Henry II. "It pleased you to send me from your side, with your beloved son John, to Ireland." P. 700.

² The sarcastic remark of Richard, on pardoning him, proved his unfavorable opinion of John. See before, p. 361.

³ He had been his father's favorite. William of Newbury says, that Henry loved him "tenerrime."

Richard had at one time destined Arthur, the son of John's elder brother Geoffry, to succeed him.⁴ On the king's death, the barons of Mans, Tours, and Anjou, appointed Arthur, then earl of Bretagne, their lord; but John asserting, however improbably, a nomination of Richard in his own favor, and Hubert the prelate of Canterbury urging the Parliament to exert their right of election in preferring John, this prince was at last chosen duke of Normandy, and king of England; but with a conditional fealty, that he would restore their rights.⁵ Arthur, then but twelve years old, was committed by his mother, Constance, to the care of the king of France, who claimed for him the continental possessions of the English crown. The battle of Mirebel threw the prince into the hands of John; and in his custody, Arthur soon disappeared.⁶ That he was murdered by

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His con-
duct to
Arthur.

⁴ In his treaty with Tancred, in Sicily, Richard contracted for a marriage between his daughter and Arthur, and styles the prince "our nephew and heir if we should happen to die without issue." Hoved. p. 676. This charta is in Rymer: It states, that the princess was to be sent to the place agreed on when she came to the fit age; and adds, "We confess that we have received for this marriage, for the use of our nephew, 20,000 ounces of gold." Rym. p. 67. A vast sum for that age, and a decisive proof that Richard meant him to be his successor. He also mentions Arthur as his heir, if he should die childless, in his letter to the Pope. Ib. p. 68.

⁵ Hoveden, 792. The speech of Hubert in his behalf, strenuously urging the crown of England to be elective, and that the worthiest person of the royal race ought to be chosen (Matt. Paris, 197.), implies that the nomination of John was not generally felt to be right. — Honest Speed calls this harangue, a disloyal speech, a second seed-plot of treasons. Hist. p. 494. — Hubert's principle was then theoretically true; its application a profligate act of injustice to Arthur. The temptation to elect John seems to have been, the recovery of their liberties from a king who had no right but from the choice of Parliament. "Altho Richard I. died on 6th April, the reign of John did not commence till 27th May, as appears by all the rolls in the Tower; consequently, there was an interregnum of seven weeks." Hardy's Itiner. in Archæol. v. 22, p. 125. His inauguration having taken place on a movable feast, Ascension-day, his reign was reckoned from one Ascension-day to another, and therefore differs in the ending day of each year. Ib. This interregnum shows that John did not accede by right of inheritance, which would have commenced on the day of Richard's demise; but became king, to the supercession of the legal heir, by a special appointment of Parliament, six weeks afterwards.

⁶ Matt. Paris says, that John, by kind words and large promises, endeavoured to detach Arthur from Philip; but the prince answering him haughtily, and claiming his crown, John was greatly disturbed, and sent him to Rheims, to be kept in close confinement, in which he suddenly vanished. He adds, "The manner of his death was unknown to all. I wish it may not be as envious fame

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the commands, if not by the hands of his uncle, was the belief of his contemporaries; and the probable imputation excited an indignation against John, which pursued him to his grave. At this distant period, the sudden death of Arthur in the king's custody, is all that history can avouch; we may repeat the accredited rumors of the day, but we cannot now detect their falsehood, or establish their truth.⁷ The future conduct and known character of the king gave the suspicion its sharpest point.

He loses
Normandy.

It suited Philip's interest and passions to believe the charge, and to diffuse it around him; for his policy had discerned the possibility of wresting Normandy from such a master, pusillanimous and indolent at least, and now unpopular and suspected. As the French armies moved on from conquest to conquest, John amused himself in wasting his nights in debauch, his days in sleep. As the messengers arrived successively with the tidings of the surrender of his castles, he merely exclaimed with a horse-laugh, "Let him take them, I will one day recover them." His chief Norman barons disdained a sovereign so degenerate, and voluntarily submitted themselves to Philip. To those who sent urgent solicitations for his assistance, he answered with indifference, that they might act as they pleased. Further disasters only drew from him absurd threats and

reports." P. 208. Constance died the year before Arthur. Ann. Mon. Burton, 1 Gale Script. 262.

⁷ The account given by Guillelmus Brito, in his Philippidos addressed to Philip's son, may be taken to be the popular tale: — It is, that John sailed in a vessel to Rouen, caused Arthur to be brought into his ship — stabbed him — severed his head — and threw his body into the sea. L. vi. p. 303. — Matthew of Westminster says, "Throughout France and the Continent, John was suspected by all to have killed him with his own hand. Hence many, averting their minds from the king, pursued him till his death with an inexorable hate. The king of France charged him with the crime." P. 79. The king of France accused him of the murder, and had a sort of trial at Paris for it, where John was condemned. Matt. Paris, 283. Among the rolls in the Tower there is a summons to ARTHUR, dated 27th March, 1202, at Andely, in the third year of John's reign, to be with the king at Argenteum, in eight days of Easter, to do what he ought to his liege lord. Cal. Rot. So that Arthur was alive up to that time.

oaths, that the English sterlings would restore all things.⁸ When he roused himself to imperfect exertions, they effected little under so weak a leader; and the termination of this disgraceful scene exhibited England and its sovereign despoiled of all the splendid inheritance and acquisitions of his father, with the single exception of the remote duchy of Guienne.⁹ This deprivation induced his contemporaries to brand him with the contumelious name of Lack-land.¹⁰

By this important revolution, produced in a few years from the circumstance of a bad weak man obtaining the English crown against the right of the legal heir, the political situation of France and England completely changed; it was not only the subtraction of so much territory, and the consequent diminution of political strength, which England suffered; but it was also the aggrandizement of her great national rival, and the consolidation of his power by the addition of the provinces she lost. The moral retribution of the event is also not the least

⁸ Matt. Paris, 208. Matt. Westm. 79—81. At one time he sailed with an armament from Portsmouth, and on the third day returned without any reason. M. Paris, p. 212.

⁹ The Troubadours treated him with the contempt he deserved. The son of Bertrand de Born composed this poem upon him:

“I will make a sharp-edged Sirvente, which I will send to the king of England, to cover him with shame. Much indeed he ought to have, if he remembers the deeds of his forefathers; if he compares them with his indolence, in thus leaving Poitou and Touraine in the possession of Philip.

“All Gulenne regrets Richard, who spared no treasure to defend it. But this man has no feeling. He loves jousts and hunting; to have hounds and hawks; to draw on a life without honor, and to see himself plundered without resistance. I speak but to correct a king, who loses his subjects because he will not assist them.

“Yes, Sire! you suffer your honor to fall into the mire; and such is your infatuation, that, far from being sensible to reproach, you seem to take pleasure in the invectives with which you are loaded.” Hist. Troub. 2. p. 116.

¹⁰ This was even his foreign appellative; for Guil. Brito says of him, *Fies et vives sine terra pluribus annis*. P. 303. In the year 1200, I observe one AMERICUS, a vicecomes of Thourçay, acknowledging himself a liege man of John; and describing the sickness of queen Eleanor, his domina. Rym. pp. 117. 121. So that the personal name from which America has derived its chief appellation was then in Normandy, as it was afterwards in Florence, from whence the navigator Vesputius issued, who has obtained an unexpected immortality, by giving to the new world his baptismal denomination.

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remarkable feature. While the barons of Mans, Anjou and Tours, chose Arthur for their liege lord, because his right stood upon the known and customary rules of territorial inheritance¹¹; the English barons, notwithstanding the severe lesson of Stephen's usurpation, abandoned Arthur, and supported John, in contradiction to the legal custom of their landed succession, and of their Cœur de Lion's nomination. Their unjustly chosen king suffered their continental dominions to be torn from them without a struggle, and afterwards degraded both the country and himself to a degree scarcely credible, and almost unparalleled.

- 1209. But, tho he lost his continental dominions, he contributed to extend the power of England over its contiguous and then separate and independent kingdoms of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The Scotch king agreed to pay him a fine of 15,000 marcs on his advancing against him in arms. He landed in Ireland with a powerful force, and twenty of its princes came to Dublin to pay him homage. His residence here advanced the civilization of the country. He divided the part which had become the English province into counties, and established the laws of England among those who had conquered and colonized it.
- 1210. He invaded Wales as far as Snowdon, and received from Llewellyn twenty-eight noble youths as the hostages for his submission.¹²
- 1211. Another great event of John's reign was his contest with the Pope; a contest which had this pecu-

His contest
with the
Pope.

¹¹ Hoveden, 792.
¹² M. Paris, 191—194. Ann. Marg. 14. Hemingf. 556. Camden Ann. Hib. and Rym. Fœd. 115. The Welsh hostages were hung the next year, because their countrymen broke their faith by an incursion. The Itinerarium of his reign, from the Tower rolls, printed in the Archæologia, v. 22. from Mr. Hardy's communication to the Antiquarian Society, gives his positions and movements in every month of most of the years of his reign. P. 121—160.—In 1212, Reginald, king of the Isles, became John's liege man. Rym. p. 159.

liar consequence, that, while it seemed to establish the papal sovereignty in England, it commenced and ensured its annihilation. The Pope procured the crown of the island to be ceded to him in the person of his legate; but his triumph was the ruin of his power. The national disgust at the cession, and at the ambition which had exacted it, produced a change of mind among the great and enlightened public, which never ceased to spread till his commanding influence was destroyed. It is one of those memorable instances often exhibited in history, in which injustice is defeated by its success.

The election of an archbishop of Canterbury on Hubert's death, began the struggle. Some of the younger monks, of the cathedral in that city, chose secretly their superior without the king's knowledge, who recommended and procured the election of another by the convent, without the privity of the suffragan bishops of the see, who claimed also the right of choice. They appealed to the Pope against both the elections; and his confirmation was sought by the two individuals appointed.¹³

The Pope at this juncture was Innocent III., a man of great ability, zealous for the exertion of the papal authority, active with all the habits of incessant business, and conscientiously ambitious. He heard in person the appeals that were made to Rome; he gave his judgments with so much equity and celerity, he explained the reasons of his decisions with such force and clearness, and it was felt to be so useful to Europe at that time to have a tribunal where the controversies of its ecclesiastics might be finally determined with impartiality and knowledge, that disputes were referred to him from all parts of the world.¹⁴ It was impossible for him to be inattentive

¹³ M. Paris, 212—215.

¹⁴ His intellectual activity may be inferred from his vast correspondence. There

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to the great advantages which these appeals gave to the power of the Roman see; he felt that he enjoyed from them an universal influence; and the use of his power became more bold and aspiring, from his belief of its utility, the respect with which it was submitted to, and his habit of exerting it. In the contest about the see of Canterbury, he annulled the two elections. So far he was not censurable; but he is stated to have privately urged the monks of Canterbury, who attended the appeal at Rome, to choose another archbishop on his recommendation.¹⁵ The individual selected, Stephen Langton, was most unexceptionable; but by such an election, the asserted rights of two of the contending parties, the king and the suffragan bishops, were arbitrarily invaded. The monks complied with his wishes, and Innocent sent letters to the king, announcing Langton as the new archbishop, and enjoining him to receive him.¹⁶

The king received the information with all the fury, and acted with all the violence of a weak mind. In his opposition to the papal encroachment, he had only to oppose the calm measures of dignified prudence; and he must have triumphed, for he had prescription, reason, authority, and an important part of the clergy, on his side. But wisdom was as great a stranger to the royal intellect as virtue. He consulted only his passions. He sent immediately two ferocious knights with their armed fol-

are above twelve hundred of his letters still extant: of which Dupin has given a short table of contents. *Eccl. Hist. 13th Century*. In 1208, the Pope granted an indulgence to those who every year should visit St. Edward's tomb at Westminster, of a relaxation of one year and forty days of the penance enjoined them. *Rym. i. p. 149.*

¹⁵ *Matt. Paris*, 222.

¹⁶ *Matt. Par.* 223. — If this author's judgment of the Pope be the true one (and he was both a churchman and a contemporary) nothing can be more severe: "The Pope was, above all mortals, ambitious and proud; insatiably thirsting after money, and yielding like wax to every wickedness, for reward given or promised." *P. 245.* — The Troubadours were not more favorable to the Pope. See *Hist. Troub. vol. i. p. 397.*

lowers, to drive all the monks of Canterbury, as traitors, out of his dominions. The ministers of his wrath entered the monastery with drawn swords, and threatened to set fire to the consecrated edifice, unless they departed immediately. The prior and all the monks, except those who were too ill to move, forcibly left it, and were transported to Flanders.¹⁷ He followed this precipitation by a letter to the Pope, too violent to be popular; and then, without any hold on his people's affection, indeed with every prejudice against him, he rushed into that warfare with the religious head of Europe, which his ablest predecessors had always found dangerous, and which he had neither character, talents, nor influence to support.

The Pope, aware of his advantages in contending against a prince of John's personal odium and imbecility, fearlessly proceeded to extremes with him, hoping that he should rather gratify than provoke the nation, by humbling or punishing a person whom no one respected. He threatened an interdict. John swore that if it came, he would banish all the clergy to Rome, confiscate their property, and mutilate every Roman priest of his eyes and nose.¹⁸ The interdict was published; and conformably to its orders, divine service ceased in the churches, the bells were taken down, all ecclesiastical functions were suspended, and no one was interred in consecrated cemeteries or with religious rites. John directed his sheriffs to mark the clergy who obeyed the interdict, and to drive them from the kingdom. The incomes of the great dignitaries were confiscated. The barns of the clergy were locked up or seized; and those who were met on the highways,

¹⁷ Matt. Paris, 223, 224. — In the year of this conflict, 1208, his son Henry III. was born. Ib. 225.

¹⁸ Matt. Paris, 226.

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were plundered and ill treated. After two years' contest, the Pope, finding the king still unsubdued, but unpopular, ventured to the extremest step of his assumed authority: he excommunicated John, absolved the people from their oath of allegiance, and soon afterwards deposed him. He commissioned the king of France to take his crown, and even called on the warriors of all countries to make a crusade against him.¹⁹ By these measures, the pontiff, consulting his pride and his passions, instead of his judgment or his Bible, displayed a spirit of violence so much the counterpart of his adversary's, that his hostilities would have been unavailing if a sovereign of common decorum had been his opponent. But, no doubt, with a king of that description, no such case would have occurred. It is the nature of violence to kindle violence. Injustice begets injustice with emulous retaliation, whenever worldly feelings have the governance of our conduct. In this contest, the king and the Pope were equally actuated by selfish ambition and personal irritability, and their conduct was not dissimilar.²⁰

He resigns
his crown
to Pandulf.

Philip made powerful preparations to invade, and John to resist.²¹ But the man whose conduct was always an outrage on common sense, closed the contest as disgracefully as he had conducted it absurdly. Tho at the head of an army, of which the historian truly says, that if loyal, and their assembling proved a disposition to be so, there was no

¹⁹ Matt. Par. 226—232. In this interval, John, by imprisonment and personal sufferings, extorted large sums of money from the Jews. He demanded ten thousand marcs of one at Bristol, and ordered one of his teeth to be forced out every day, till it was paid: the Jew lost seven before he yielded. M. Paris, 229. Many Jews fled the kingdom, 230. There was then a justiciary of the Jews. Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 8.

²⁰ The papal excommunications were becoming too familiar to excite their ancient intimidation. In 1199, the Pope laid France under an interdict; and in 1210, while struggling with John, he excommunicated the Emperor Otho. Matt. Paris, 198 & 229.

²¹ His summonses to arms collected on Barham Downs 60,000 knights, from the dread of the menaced punishment of Culvertage. Matt. Paris, 234.

power under heaven against which England might not have been defended²², yet he surrendered himself to the will of the Pope, and acceded to all the terms which Pandulf, his legate, exacted. At the house of the Templars, near Dover, he took off his crown, laid it at Pandulf's feet, and signed an instrument by which he resigned to the Pope the kingdom of England and Ireland, and swore liege homage to him and his successors. He signed another act, by which he promised fealty to the Pope as his lord. He even endeavoured to bind posterity to an imitation of his baseness, by agreeing that if any of his successors should attempt to contravene it, they should forfeit their right to the throne; and as a token of his vassalage, he agreed to pay a thousand marcs yearly to the holy see.²³ No act of hierarchal arrogance or royal degradation could be more complete, and Pandulf conducted himself with all the insolence which such meanness had a tendency to excite. He trampled under his feet, as in imperial disdain, the money which the king gave him as the pledge of his submission, and then sailed to France, to order Philip to desist from invading a kingdom now become St. Peter's patrimony. The king of France, with reason, remonstrated that he had spent 60,000 pounds to fulfil the Pope's military wishes, and he turned his arms on Flanders, for an indemnity, swearing that France should be Flanders, or Flanders France. A fleet sent by John defeated Philip's ambition, and the independence of Flanders was preserved.²⁴ Langton, the opposed

²² Matt. Paris, 234.

²³ Matt. Paris inserts in his history these singular instruments, dated the 15th May, 1213, pp. 236, 237. He gives four reasons for John's conduct; his despair of his salvation; his dread of the king of France; his doubts of his own nobles; and his alarm at a hermit's prophecy, that by the next Ascension day he would lose his crown. P. 235. The last circumstance may have affected a mind so feeble. According to the *Itinerarium*, in the *Archæologia*, John was at Dover Castle on 28th and 29th May, 1213. P. 151.

²⁴ Matt. Paris, 238. In 1213, John issued a revocation of his own edict against

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July 27.Acquisi-
tion of
Magna
Charta.

archbishop, was welcomed by the king, but with an humiliation more adapted to excite contempt than to conciliate attachment. John attempted an invasion of France. He landed in Poitou, and advanced to Angers, and into Bretagne.²⁵ But the imperial forces, and their Flemish and English allies, being defeated by Philip in the great battle of Bovines, in Flanders, John returned to England disappointed and disgraced.

The third great event of this reign was as felicitous to the country, as the preceding incidents were disastrous — the acquisition by the people of that great charter of their liberties, which every Englishman learns, almost from his cradle, to revere as one of the main pillars of his constitution, and which has been the great support of his national prosperity.

The more the king alienated his people by his misconduct, the more violent were his measures to enforce their obedience. As he spurned all laws in the pursuit of his revenge, he drove his barons to illegal measures for their own protection and defence.

The line had not yet been distinctly drawn between the prerogatives of the crown and the rights of the people; both remained in the undefined state of prescription and tradition. In all the Northern nations, great councils had been attached to their monarchies. From their first emerging from the woods of Germany, the ruling chief and the council appear to us together, in their wildest state. The destruction of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, in their revolts against

the church, "Know ye, that the interdict vulgarly called *utlegatio* (outlawry), which we caused to be made against ecclesiastical persons, we publicly recall." Dated Bellem, 13th June. Rym. p. 173.

²⁵ Before he sailed, he wrote a letter, stating that he was going to Poitou, and had committed his kingdom to the care of the Pope and his legate, and had made the bishop of Winchester the guardian of the peace of his kingdom. Dated Portsmouth, 1st Feb. 1214. Rym. 181. His first exertions had some success; for in his account to the earl mareschall of his actions in Poitou, he states, that immediately twenty-six castles et '*fortalicia*' had been given up to him. Rym. p. 181.

William, and the confiscation of their property among his Norman barons, had annihilated the members of their ancient witenagemots, but did not terminate the institution. The Norman barons were as independent as the Saxon witeana, and they surrounded the sovereign in a national council, as well after the conquest as before.

But the royal privileges being still undefined, were often extended with unlimited use, varying in their exertion according to the personal character of the prince. Wise sovereigns never push their prerogatives to extremes that incite their people to question the right, or to criticise their extent; weaker princes love to make their power felt, and perpetually hazard it by the violence with which they exert it, and by the abuses to which they carry it. John was a sovereign of this description; and his arbitrary attempts to rule by his fractious will, instead of law, brought the crown, and the nobility, then the most efficient part of the nation, into immediate collision.

The new archbishop led the storm. At a meeting of the prelates and "barons of the kingdom," which seems to have been a parliament, he reminded them, that the king had sworn to destroy all bad laws, and to re-establish the good ones. "I have found," he added, "the charter of Henry I. by which, if you choose, you may recall the lost liberties to their former state." He produced it, and it was read. The barons heard it with great joy, and swore at a fit season to contend for these liberties even to death. Langton promised them his help, and the assembly broke up.²⁶

²⁶ Matt. Paris, 240, 241. He copies the charter: It is the same which is entered in the *Textus Roffensis* at Rochester Cathedral, and in the Red Book at Westminster. It is the first charter printed by the Commissioners of Public Records, in the important publication of "The Statutes of the Realm." It proves that the Norman kings had their parliament, for Henry I. says in it, "*Sciatis me Dei misericordia et communi consilio Baronum totius regni Angliæ ejusdem regem coronatum esse.*" P. 1.

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The death of the great justiciary of the kingdom, whose abilities had hitherto kept the government safe, released the king from a prudential monitor, whom he hated. Weakly exclaiming, "Now am I for the first time king and lord of England," he proceeded to obey only the dictates of his own erring mind, and to reap the bitter consequences of its follies.²⁷

He solicited the Pope's help against Langton and the barons; and when the new legate came, resigned to him, for the Pope, at St. Paul's, his crown and kingdom again. The legate, under his master's sanction, proceeded to fill up the vacancies which had occurred in the church, independently of the bishops, who appealed in vain against this invasion of their rights.

The king then attempted a campaign in Poitou and Bretagne. The native bravery of his subjects obtained advantages, which soon vanished in disaster under a leader so incompetent.²⁸

The barons met in a secret conference at Bury St. Edmund's: the charter of Henry I. was there produced, with the additional liberties which the country had enjoyed under the Confessor; and they swore on the great altar, that if the king refused to sanction them, they would assemble in arms to compel his assent.²⁹ This was sufficiently treasonable. But the king had begun the days of violence, and may be said to have dissolved the allegiance of his subjects, by surrendering his kingdom to the Pope. At least this resignation of his crown was so like an act of abdication, that it seemed a reasonable question, whether his baronial parliament had not

²⁷ On hearing of his minister's death, he is stated to have said, "When he gets to Hell, let him salute Hubert my archbishop of Canterbury, whom no doubt he will find there." Matt. Paris, 243. Hubert had been his first prime minister.

²⁸ Matt. Paris, 245—252.

²⁹ Ib. 252, 253.

a right to take peculiar measures for the ascertainment of the national rights, and the preservation of the national welfare.³⁰

At London, on the following Christmas, their petition was presented, supported by a military array. The king at first solicited a delay, but at length pledged himself to give a satisfactory answer at Easter. The barons dispersed. John employed the interval in exacting new oaths of fealty and homage; and for his greater protection, undertook to join the crusaders.³¹

The barons assembled at Easter, in great power, at Stamford; the king at Oxford. By his ambassadors, he demanded their object; they presented to him the charter, with peremptory request. He answered, that they might as well require his kingdom as these unjust exactions. Appointing Robert Fitzwalter their leader and marshal, the barons began hostilities. Repulsed at Northampton, they were welcomed into Bedford, and soon invited to London. The concurrence of the metropolis was decisive of the contest. The king sent to desire a place of friendly conference to be appointed; they named Runnymede, a meadow between Staines and Windsor. On the 15th June 1215, both parties met there; the barons in such numbers, that all the nobility of England seem present. They took their separate stations, and a long discussion was terminated by the signature of Magna Charta, that great charter of the liberties of England, which has become sacred in the memory of Englishmen.³²

³⁰ John, in his letter to the Pope, states that "the earls and barons of England had been devoted to him before he had surrendered his kingdom to the pontiff, but that since that time they had violently risen against him, and specially on that account, sicut publicè dicunt." Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 7.

³¹ Matt. Paris.

³² Matt. Paris, 254, 255. — Of this celebrated charter, an *original* is still preserved in Lincoln cathedral in a perfect state. This is printed in the "Statutes of the Realm." The elaborate preface to that publication remarks, "This charter appears to be of superior authority to either of the two charters of the same date

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The more we contemplate this important charter, the more we shall perceive it to have been pregnant with benefits to every order of the community, except that unfortunate class, who, being in a servile state, were considered to be the property of their happier masters, and are therefore not noticed in this palladium of the rights and privileges of the free. We will attempt such an analysis of it, and in such an arrangement, as will give a reader of the present day a just idea of its most important contents.

ANALYSIS

OF

MAGNA CHARTA.

Parlia-
ments.

No taxation was to be imposed but by parliament, except in the three cases, of redeeming the sovereign from captivity, making his son a knight, or marrying his eldest daughter; and for these the subsidy was to be reasonable.

In order to have a parliament to impose taxation in other cases, the king was to summons severally the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and greater barons, by his own letters; and he was to cause to be summoned by his sheriffs and bailiffs, all those who held of the crown 'in capite,' for an appointed day, not less than forty days distant, and for a fixed place; and in the summons, the cause of the summoning was to be expressed. The business was to be transacted by those who attended, tho every one should not arrive.

Trial by
Jury.

No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispos-

preserved in the British Museum. From the contemporary indorsements of the word *Lincolnia* on two folds of the charter, this may be presumed to be the charter transmitted by the hands of Hugh, the then Bishop of Lincoln, who is one of the bishops named in the introductory clause; and it is observable, that several words and sentences are inserted in the body of this charter, which in both the charters preserved in the British Museum are added by way of notes, for amendment, at the bottom of the instrument." P. xxix. The dates of John's being at Runnime, in the *Itinerarium*, in June, 1215, are, "18, 19, Runnime; 21, 22, Windsor Castle; 22, 23, Runnime; 24, 25, Windsor." P. 156.

sessed of his land, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed; nor shall the crown press upon him, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

Common pleas were not to follow the king's court, but to be held in some certain place.

A fixed legal tribunal.

King shall not sell, deny or delay, right or justice to any one.

Impartial judgments, and Fair trials.

No bailiff shall place any one under the law by a mere complaint, without faithful witnesses brought to prove it.

Nothing shall be given or taken for the writ of inquisition of life and limbs, but it shall be freely given, and not denied.

No sheriff, constable, coroner or bailiff, shall hold pleas of the crown.

Two justices shall be sent thro every county, four times a year; who, with four knights, to be elected by the county out of it, shall hold the assizes; and the disputes about land, mentioned in the Charter, are to be there tried.

County assizes.

The city of London should have all its ancient liberties and its free customs, as well by land as water.

Ancient privileges maintained.

All other cities, burghs, towns and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.

No one shall be distrained to do more service for his military fee, nor for any other free tenement, than he owes from it.

Limitation of feudal services, and crown exactions.

No town or man shall be distrained to make bridges, unless they who anciently and of right ought to make them.

All counties, hundreds, tithings and wapentakes, shall continue at their ancient payments, without any increase, except on demesne manors.

No constable shall distrain any knight to give money for the ward of a castle, if he will do that duty in his own person; or by a proper substitute, if he be absent from a reasonable cause.

No sheriff, bailiff, or any other, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman to do carriage duty, unless at the will of that freeman; nor take away any wood but with the consent of the owner.

No constable or bailiff shall take the corn or goods of any one, unless he pays for them, or gives a responsibility for them, at the will of the seller.

Crown not to hold the lands of those convicted of felony above a year and a day, after which the lands shall be surrendered to the lord of the fee.

Wills and administrations of personal property allowed.

After payment of the debt to the crown, if any, the residue to be left to the executors to perform the will of the deceased.

If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his near relations and friends, under the superintendence of the church, saving to every creditor his debt.

Fines to be moderate and just.

A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence, but in proportion to its nature.

If the offence be great, he shall be fined accordingly, but saving his 'contentment;' to a merchant, his merchandize; and to a villanus, his waggons.

Lords to be judged by their peers.

Earls and barons shall be fined only by their peers, and according to the nature of their offence.

Protection of heirs.

The heir of every earl, baron or tenant in capite, to have his inheritance on payment of the ancient fine, which is fixed at one hundred pounds for an earldom, one hundred marks for a barony, and one hundred shillings for a knight.

The guardian appointed to any heir under age, shall take from the land only reasonable payments and services, and without destruction and waste. If he committed waste, he was to forfeit his guardianship. While he held it, he was to keep up the houses, parks, ponds, mills, &c. out of the profits; and to give the land up to the heir when of age, stored with its carts and waggons.

Heirs were to be married without disparagement, and the marriage was to be previously announced to the relations.

Protection of widows.

Every widow to have her jointure and dower.

She might remain in her husband's house forty days after his death, within which time her dower was to be assigned to her.

No widow was to be compelled to marry, as long as she wished to live without a husband, provided she gave surety that she would not marry without the king's consent, if she held her lands of him, or the consent of the lords, if she held under any.

Lands.

Lands were not to be seized for debts, if there were goods sufficient.

No sureties were to be distrained while the debtor was able to pay; if on his failure they were called upon, they were to have his lands and rents till they were indemnified.

Protection
of sureties.

On money borrowed, the crown to take only the chattel specified in the security.

Debts of
deceased,
how to be
paid.

Widow to have her dower without contributing to the payment of the debts; and the children under age to be provided with necessaries: from the residue the debts were to be paid, saving to the lord his service.

One measure and one weight throughout the kingdom.

Measures,
weights.
Merchants.

All merchants might safely come to England, and go from it, and remain in it, and travel thro it to buy or sell, and on the ancient and right customs. Foreign merchants, if their country was hostile, might be arrested till it was known how our merchants were treated in the alien country.

Every one might leave the realm, and return, saving his allegiance; except in the time of war, and excepting prisoners and outlaws, and merchants of a country at war with us.

Quitting
the realm.

These provisions, with the Forest Laws (that are not necessary to be inserted here) constitute MAGNA CHARTA. Their general equity, their national utility, and their perfect compatibility with every dignified and useful prerogative of the sovereign, would make us surprised that John should have conceived that in agreeing to them he was giving up his kingdom, if any opinion of a mind so disturbed could astonish us. It was enough that they restricted his capricious humors and arbitrary will, to excite his displeasure. He was ignorant of the great political truth, that the royal power, and indeed all power, is then most securely established when it is fairly limited to a conformity with the national welfare, and when the just demarcations are known both to the sovereign and his people.

An universal joy was spread thro the kingdom, on the publication of this great charter. "England,"

The king'
wild con-
duct.

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THE REIGN
OF JOHN.

says the patriotic monk, "seemed delivered from an Egyptian yoke, and the people believed that the king's stony heart was softened."³³ But John soon discovered that it was not made of penetrable matter. His actions after the signature betrayed what best explains his life, that his mind was partially deranged. He began to execrate his mother and his birth; he would gnash his teeth, stare wild and grimly about him, seize clubs and sticks, gnaw them, break them in pieces, and perform many extravagant gestures which resembled the acts of a maniac. On the very night of the settlement, he sent secret letters to all the governors of his castles, who were foreigners, ordering them to provision their fortresses, make arrows, and prepare their warlike machines, but privately and cautiously, that the barons might not discover it. The rumor of these measures reaching them, they inquired of the king the truth: with a serene air, he swore he meant no hostility; and his rude horse-laughes seemed more like folly than malice. Half appeased, half mistrusting, they withdrew; and the king suddenly, at the next dawn of day, after a sleepless night, set off from Windsor, for the Isle of Wight.³⁴ He hid himself, on some part of the channel, brooding on plans of malicious revenge, and is stated to have passed some months among the fishermen and seamen, even practising piracy; his subjects in the meantime wholly ignorant what had become of him, and debating whether he had turned fisherman or pirate: even they who had business to transact, could not find him out. Insanity cannot give clearer indications of its existence.³⁵

³³ Matt. Paris, 263.

³⁴ Matt. Paris, 263—265. One of John's prior Patents, preserved in the Tower of London, is dated "apud subterraneam," as if he sometimes affected or required a secret seclusion. Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 4.

³⁵ Matthew Paris stations him for three months at the Isle of Wight; but tho

One part of his employment in this concealment, was to invite needy adventurers from the Continent to come over to him. He also sent his ambassadors to Rome, to solicit the papal condemnation of the charter. The Pope without difficulty annulled it; and in his pontifical letter on the subject, declares that John had ceded his kingdom to the Roman see, and taken it again in feudal tenure, under an annual tribute of a thousand marcs, and had pledged his oath of fealty to the Pope: he adds, that the king had declared, that since the dominion of his realm belonged to the Roman church, he had not the power to make any change to the prejudice of the holy see, without its special command: the pontiff therefore pronounces the Magna Charta to be void.³⁶

The king emerged from his seclusion to Dover, to meet his auxiliaries. The hope of great donatives or confiscations brought over many from Poitou, Gascony, Louvain, Brabant, and Flanders; many came with their wives and children, as if certain of settling in the island. One of these fleets was wrecked in the English channel, and some thousands perished in the tempest.³⁷ The Pope suspended the archbishop of Canterbury, and excommunicated the barons, who on their part prepared to assert their claims by arms. John advanced with his foreign mercenaries to Nottingham, plundering on his way the baronial possessions, and detaching military bodies to other counties, with licence to ravage them. The barons, now driven to extremities, execrating both the king and the Pope, agreed to choose

He attacks
the barons.

eight days after the charter he was near it at Winchester, yet he was at Oxford in less than a month afterwards. He was at various places in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire in August; at the end of that month he removed to Sandwich, and was at Dover from the 1st to 19th, and at Canterbury from the 20th to 28th; supposing that the places from which his official acts are dated, express his actual residences. *Itiner.* p. 157.

³⁶ *Matt.* Paris, 266, 267.

³⁷ *Ib.* 269.

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Louis, son of the king of France, for their sovereign, that they might be enabled, with his assistance, to maintain themselves in a contest, on the issue of which their lives and fortunes hung. The legate forbade Louis to enter England. But the promised crown was too tempting to be refused: he sailed from Calais with 600 ships, and 80 small vessels, all well furnished with troops and necessaries. He landed in the Isle of Thanet, took Rochester, and proceeded to London, where the barons received him with great acclamations. Their united forces secured Kent and Sussex and Hampshire, and all the southern counties, excepting the castles of Dover and Windsor. Essex and Suffolk were soon added; and they advanced successfully into Norfolk, spreading around all the devastations of civil warfare. John's forces maintained themselves in the northern districts, where the king of Scotland distressed him by an invasion of Northumberland. The united armies of Louis and the barons laid siege to Dover and Windsor; and the country was suffering all the desolations of war, when it was happily released by the death of the king. An intemperate meal of peaches and new ale threw him into a dysentery, of which he died, at Newark, the 19th October, 1216, naming his son Henry, a child of nine years old, his successor.³⁸

His death,
1216.

His cha-
racter.

In the depraved character of John, there seems less than the usual mixture of qualities on which, even in bad men, some panegyric may be founded. Gross in his appetites, obstinate in self-will, furious in his anger, slothful, debauched, tyrannical, and pusillanimous; his defects were not relieved by any mental capacity or social attainments. They were

³⁸ Matt. Paris, 278—288. His movements in this last month of his life, according to the official dates of his grants, were, 1, 2, Lincoln; 3, 4, Grimsby; 4, Louth; 7, 8, Spalding; 9—11, Lynn; 12, Wisbeach; 12, 13, Swinshead; 15, Sleaford; 16—18, Newark. Itiner. p. 160.

aggravated by the display of a disposition both cruel and unprincipled. His torturing the Jews was the suggestion and gratification of a merciless mind. His confining the wife and children of a noble, who had affronted him, in Windsor Castle, to die of famine as they did; his ordering, one day before his dinner, twenty-eight Welsh lads to be hanged, whom he had received the year before as hostages, because their countrymen made depredations on his borders; his torturing to death one of his clergy, who is described as a faithful, prudent, and accomplished man; his hanging the poor hermit and his son, who had ventured a prediction that he would not be king on the next Ascension day, which he verified by his resignation to Pandulf³⁹; these instances show that he had a malignity of disposition which no human sympathies softened. His religious opinions may be inferred from his exclamation over a fat stag, taken in hunting, as he saw him flayed: "How happily has this fellow lived! yet he never heard mass!"⁴⁰

The actions of John are best accounted for on the supposition that he was deranged⁴¹; and this idea gives some probability to a circumstance, which of other English kings would be thought impossible. It is stated by Matthew Paris, on the authority of one of the persons who formed the embassy to the Miramoulin. He related the account in the hearing of the historian, and showed the presents he had received from the Moorish prince. On such direct testimony we insert it below.⁴² If this embassy had

³⁹ Matt. Paris, 229, 230, 231. 233. 237.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 245.

⁴¹ His grand-daughter Mathilda became actually mad, and killed two of her sons. Calend. Rotul. p. 27.

⁴² The king, during the first discussions with his nobles, and after his submission to Pandulf, sent secretly but in great haste two knights, and Robert, a clergyman of London, to the Mahomedan emperor of Spain and Africa, offering to yield his kingdom to be tributary to him, and to change his religion for that of the Koran. Admitted to the presence of the Saracen monarch, they delivered their

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merely been to have asked the assistance of the Mussulman against his barons, it would have been credible, for the emperor of Germany in this age employed Saracens in his army against Milan⁴³, and the Grecian emperor more than once sought aid from the Turks; but that John should have offered to embrace Mahomedanism, and to make his kingdom tributary, was either an exaggeration of the dark-visaged ambassador, or must be referred to a paroxysm of insanity. Such however was his real history, that he lived without respect and died unlamented. Yet from his disgraceful reign one inestimable benefit was extracted to his people — a definite ascertainment and legal record of their constitutional rights. It was consistent with such a character of mind as he possessed, and with his self-debasing conduct to the Pope, that John should become a persecutor. The friend of Mahometans, and the assailant, when he liked, of the ecclesiastics whom he could oppress, was not unnaturally employed in extirpating those who desired a religious reformation, from their more enlightened reason or more earnest piety. With neither of these qualities had this strange king any congeniality, and he became the papal instrument to destroy all those whose improved ideas were beginning to be dangerous

credentials and message. After expressing his dislike of a renegade, he inquired about England and its sovereign. When he heard a prosperous account of the country, he asked the king's age and person. On receiving the explanation, he exclaimed, that he was nothing but a delirious dotard, and indignantly ordered the messengers to retire from his presence. As they withdrew, the little black countenance and misshapen figure of the monk, Robert, who had hitherto been silent, arrested his notice. He had him called back. He conversed familiarly with him, and questioned him particularly about John. The monk drew the king's picture with a severe hand. The Moor was pleased with his conversation, repeated his contempt for his master, but loaded him with presents. On his return, John, to reward him for his journey, forced him on the abbey of St. Alban's, where to his familiar friends he disclosed the circumstance. M. Paris, 245. *Hic tamen quosdam abbatis ministros precipuos — dilexit et habuit familiares quibus gemmas suas et alia secreta revelavit sibi a dicto admirallo collata et dicta, audiente Mattheo qui et hæc scripsit et narravit.* Paris mentions the story again in his *Hist. Abb. St. Alb.* p. 109.

⁴³ M. Paris, 444.

to the papal despotism and its debilitating superstitions.⁴⁴

CHAP. XII.

THE REIGN OF JOHN.

" In 1214, John issued his mandate, to the Seneschal of Gascony, for the extirpation of heretics in that province. " We have heard, that in our territory the detestable perfidy of some heretics has begun to shoot up anew in several parts of Gascony. It remains that it should be peculiarly extirpated from the dominions of ourselves and our friends; we command you, by your faith and love, that you take care that we do not, by any fault of yours, incur the injury of seeming to be followers and partakers of the iniquity of these heretics; therefore order you to take care, by utterly confounding them, to extirpate them entirely," funditus confundendo *penitus extirpare*. Rymer, vol. i. p. 135. The next year the Pope Innocent condescended to order the magnates of England to pay John the ancient scutage. Ib. 199.

1214

1214

CHAP. XIII.

Reign of HENRY III.

1216—1272.

CHAP.
XIII.

THE death of John left England in a peculiar state of political embarrassment. With a legal native sovereign in Henry, then an infant, it had also a foreign prince, who had been invited into the country with the promise of the crown ; whose assistance had preserved the nobles from destruction, and who had at that time the military occupation of several of the counties. Gratitude would have sanctioned the coronation of Louis ; national interest required the accession of Henry.

Henry
crowned.

All political reasons for the invitation of Louis had ceased with the death of the late king. The state of the country was changed by his demise : and to have given to Louis the crown, would have made the British islands an appendage to a continental power already fast expanding into greatness ; a competitor, from locality, in every channel of British prosperity ; and dissimilar in laws, customs, and popular feeling. The union of the French and English kingdoms would be the yoking together of two proud and powerful states, whom no national sympathies have hitherto united ; who would each undervalue and struggle to keep down the other, and whose ill-sorted marriage would quickly end in fierce and emulous conflict. Many of the barons therefore wisely resolved to crown their native prince, while others assisted Louis to attack the castles that withstood him. His avidity to appropriate to himself whatever

places he took, and to garrison them with foreign soldiers, gradually alienated his English friends.¹ Many depredations were committed by rapacious partisans.² But the contest was at last terminated unfavorably to the French interest; Louis was defeated at Lincoln³, and the succors which his father sent him were unsuccessful at sea.

This was the first important maritime engagement between the fleets of the two nations. The French consisted of eighty great ships, besides many smaller ones and armed galleys. The English, including their galleys and other vessels, did not exceed forty. In the battle, the English fleet got the wind, planted their ballistæ, and made great havoc by their projectile weapons: some of their galleys had iron prows, and with these they ran down several of the French ships: they also discharged great quantities of quicklime, which the wind wafted into the eyes of their adversaries. They pursued their advantages by closing where they thought fit, and they carried destruction wherever they attacked. The French, less expert in naval battle, were almost all sunk or taken.⁴ After this disaster, Louis thought only of retreat. He made conditions honorable to himself, for he provided for the safety of his adherents, and he returned to France.⁵ Henry then entered London, was crowned at Westminster, and received the homage of the king of Scotland for his possessions in England.

CHAP.
XIII.

REIGN OF
HENRY III.

French
fleet de-
feated.

¹ Matt. Paris, 289—292. Robert of Gloucester expresses the national feeling in one line:

Vor men loved bet hor kunde louerd than Louis of France.

p. 514.

² Of these, Falcasius (or, as he is named in the Annals of Waverly, Faukes) was distinguished. M. Paris, 292. 321.—He is called Fulco, in Chron. Th. Wikes, p. 38.

³ M. Paris, 296. London had sent out 600 knights and 20,000 coats of mail to the support of Louis. Ib. p. 293.

⁴ M. Paris, 298. The Annals of Waverly say that only fifteen of the French ships escaped. P. 183.—A few years after this battle, we find an admiral of England named in the rolls of the Tower, Admirallus Angliæ. Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 13.

⁵ See the Treaty between Louis and Henry, in Rymer's Act. Fœd. p. 221.

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HENRY III.Magna
Charta con-
firmed.General
incidents
of the
reign.

Henry owed his crown, and the English their emancipation from a foreign sovereign, to the wisdom and exertions of William Mareschall, earl of Pembroke, who had been appointed the regent of the kingdom.⁶ The great charters of liberty, obtained in the preceding reign, were again confirmed⁷, and the discussions between the crown and the parliament ceased for some years.⁸

The general history of this reign is neither interesting nor splendid. Its first periods exhibited some of the common evils of a minority, and of unpopular and injudicious administrations. Petty revolts of individual nobles; occasional seditious in London; and justiciaries or prime ministers becoming odious to the nation by violent and despotic measures, afterwards appear. Intrigues, violence, arrogant pretensions and exactions of the Pope, that even offended his own order, excited the criticism, affected the faith, and alienated the attachment of the nation from its spiritual head, were not unfrequent. Favoritism, and its attendant pliability to those who pleased; instability in public measures at one time, and at others a

⁶ He died in 1219, and was buried in the Temple church. Matt. Paris, 304.— In this year the *trial by ordeal* was abolished in England. Rymer's *Fœd.* p. 228. — I observe from the Rabbi Hirschel's Sermon on the Thanksgiving for the victory off Trafalgar, that even the Jews had the trial by battle: "Our rabbins directed a dispute about property between two parties, neither of which could produce evidence to substantiate his claim, to be settled by single combat (*Baba Bathra*) from the conviction that a consciousness of truth and right gave additional confidence and strength to its possessor." Sermon, p. 12. He calls himself presiding Rabbi, erroneously styled the High Priest.

⁷ In 1223, at the court held in Oxford, Langton and the barons asked the king to confirm the liberties for which the war had been made against his father. One of the king's counsellors objected. The archbishop desired him, if he loved the king, not to disturb the kingdom. Henry assented, and sent letters to the sheriffs, ordering them to inquire, by the oaths of twelve knights of every county, what were the liberties of England in the time of Henry his grandfather. Matt. Paris, 317. The king was ill-advised to dispute these charters.

⁸ These national charters granted by Henry are now printed in the Statutes of the Realm, from the archives of Durham cathedral and the Bodleian library. Robert of Gloucester says of them —

"Then this land thoru God's grace to good pays was ibrought,
Vor to abbe the old lawes the heie men turnde hor thought —
Vor to abbe, as we sede er, *the gode olde lawe*,
The king made is chartre and granted it wel sawe." p. 517.

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perseverance like obstinacy in obnoxious or unpopular plans ; diminished the personal influence of the sovereign. Pecuniary exactions independent of the legislature, attempts to enforce arbitrary government, and imputed faithlessness, roused his parliament occasionally to resist, and produced disaffection in the nation, and ruin to the weak ministers who advised them.

This discouraging picture of imprudence and mischief, continued in various shapes and with diversified consequences for nearly fifty years⁹, revolts us as we read, and cannot please by its detail. The agitations and disasters which followed, shew that if the sovereign be so indolent or incapable as to be ruled by favorites unworthy or ill-judging ; if he be so indiscriminating as not to perceive their insufficiency, and so tenacious of his own preferences as not to yield to better counsels ; his government will inevitably produce an unpopular reign, disquieted times, and an irritated people. Faction will arise deserving punishment, yet multiplying disaffection by experiencing it, and sometimes sanctified by the vices it opposes. The voice of law and the lessons of history will be lost in the heated turbulence of the day, until the evil has worked its own cure, from the general experience of the mischiefs it has occasioned.

Yet Henry was neither an undeserving nor ill-intentioned prince ; if he erred, it was from the defects of his education, and the want of a strong judgment and consistent will : his heart was usually right.¹⁰ He was one of those mild, unambitious, and

Henry's
virtues.

⁹ The History of Matthew Paris, p. 289. to 988., which was continued by W. Rishanger to p. 1009., details all these occurrences with the minuteness of an annalist, but with the spirit and feeling of an independent man. Matthew rejoices in the acquired liberties of the nation ; he notices, without acrimony, the faults of the royal administration ; and states, with a fair censorial impartiality, the avarice and tyranny of the popedom. I think I have never read a more honest historian. The papal advocates depreciate him for his inconvenient integrity.

¹⁰ The old chronicle extracted by Hearne, thus fairly speaks of him : " This

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tranquil princes, who can find happiness in their domestic circle; and whose reign, tho distinguished by no military glories, is yet perhaps from that circumstance above all others abundant in public prosperity and comforts. In no part of our history do more striking indications of improvement appear, in every department of national excellence, than under this depreciated king. The progress of political society is indeed always tending to advance; it only asks in general from its government the absence of all imposed impediments. Let its own energies act unrestricted and unspoiled, and the general laws of Providence will impel it perpetually forward in its meliorating career. This circumstance will perhaps explain the national improvement under the reign of Henry, notwithstanding its occasional turbulence. Foreign warfare never exhausted the country; and the internal feuds being usually rightly aimed, and checked in their evil tendencies when they were not, rather agitated than injured it; they broke the fetters which unwise administrations would have imposed; they kept the national liberties undiminished, and the national spirit undecayed; and when faction began to usurp the place of patriotism, the just prerogatives of the crown were preserved by its disappointment.

Abused by
the Trou-
badours,

If we estimate Henry from the Troubadours of his continental dominions, we shall indeed despise him: they were fertile in their abuse. At one time a poetical satirist taunted him without disguise: "The king of England should eat a piece of my heart: he has a very small one: he would then have plenty, and would retake the territory which he has let the French monarch shamefully usurp, who profits by

kyng in worldeliche doying was nat hokde full wyse, but more devoute to spirituelle things. — He was but of mene stature. His other eyelede hangyd so myche adoun, that hit heled half the blake of his eye. Strong of strengthe, but fallyng and un wys in his doynge, in whiche, nevertheless, he hadde selby and faire endes." Notes to Rob. Glouc. p. 522.

his negligence and cowardice."¹¹ In a strain as vituperative, another attacks him: "I believe the king of England is on his death-bed, for, without saying a word, he sees his inheritances torn away from him, instead of uniting with those who are ill-treated like himself, and of making a courageous war."¹² The Troubadour Giorgi more ingeniously addresses him, with complimentary irony: "Reproach not the king of England for his delay; he only wants power. He will keep his promise, and cover himself with glory in executing it. No; altho he is tardy now, there will not be an action at which he will not be present. He will equal the most valiant, and lead succors as powerful as any other prince."¹³

It was happy for the repose of Europe that Henry had no military qualities in his composition. He promised to undertake a crusade, but never began it.¹⁴ He attempted some campaigns in Poitou and Gascony, but, from his personal dislike to war, or from his timidity, they were unfruitful and disreputable.¹⁵ He had to endure the reproaches of a war-

¹¹ This is the Troubadour Blacas, a noble baron. St. Palays has preserved his tençon, containing his dispute with Pierre Vidal, another Troubadour. Hist. Troub. i. p. 449 to 451. — The extract in the text is from his funeral eulogy on Sordel, his contemporary, p. 454. He attacks other princes in it.

¹² Hist. Troub. ii. p. 38. Boniface de Castellane is this Troubadour, also of noble birth. When Marseilles revolted, he put himself at the head of the insurrection, and was beheaded on its being taken by Charles d'Anjou.

¹³ Troub. ii. p. 356. Giorgi was a gentleman of Venice, embarking in commerce like the other noble Venetians. He was taken by a Genoese corsair and imprisoned. P. 345.

¹⁴ Matt. Paris. — By his will he left all his treasure (excepting his jewels) to aid the Holy Land, and to be taken thither, with his cross, by brave and trustworthy men to be selected by his executors. Royal and noble Wills, p. 15.

¹⁵ Matt. Paris, 366, 367. Such was the conduct of his administration, that when the army, which he had summoned to invade France, reached Portsmouth, they did not find ships provided to transport them. P. 363. The king's writ to the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1223, on Llewelyn's hostilities, is a specimen how an army was in those times created on sudden exigencies. "We command you, that immediately after having seen these letters, you cause to be summoned without delay, thro all your balliwick, the archbishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, and all others who hold of us in chief by military service; and that, with all speed, the archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, send their knights to us, with horses and arms, towards those parts of Gloucestershire to which we are moving in person; and that the earls, barons and knights, and others, may in like manner join us in all haste, duly prepared with horses and arms." Rymer, i. p. 261.

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ring world for his peaceable temper. He might have converted them to lasting panegyric, by exhibiting the increasing prosperity of his nation, which his tranquillity produced, if the injudicious measures of his domestic administration had not irritated the people whom he was benefiting, and deprived him of that solid reputation, which by better ministers he would have attained.

Wealth of
England.

The augmented wealth of the nation during his reign is very striking. The affluent pomp of the metropolis on all the public ceremonies, is remarkable.¹⁶ The richness of its ecclesiastical dresses and ornaments astonished the Pope. On beholding the gold brocades, he exclaimed, "Truly, England is our garden of delight! It is an unexhausted well; and where so much abounds, much may be acquired."¹⁷ The exactions which the Roman see, during all this reign, imposed on the clergy, were enormous in their amount, and incessant in the requisitions.¹⁸ The supplies obtained from parliament were great, altho always accompanied with remonstrances as to their misapplication, with petitions for redress of grievances, and with invectives against the foreigners who were supposed to be abusing the king's confidence, and fattening on his spoils.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Matt. Paris, 414. 420. &c. In 1254, the king visited Paris. The splendid convivialities on that occasion, and Henry's royal donations, are noticed with admiration by Matthew, who extols them as exceeding those of Ahasuerus, Arthur, or Charlemagne. 899.

¹⁷ Matt. Paris, 705. Yet notwithstanding its increase of wealth, the country was still distressed with occasional famines. Taxter mentions one after the year 1250, in which the poor were reduced to eat horseflesh and the bark of trees, and even worse. MS. Cott. Julius A i. p. 40.

¹⁸ Matt. Paris is perpetually describing and perpetually censuring them; 297. 328. 331. 371. 400. 402. 438. He even talks of the Pope's stony heart, 527. and the *detestable* papal exaction, p. 533. He says that the income taken from England by the foreign clergy, whom Innocent IV. appointed, was above 70,000 marcs a year. The king's did not amount to a third of that sum, p. 859. Among the rolls of the Tower is one, *contra abusus Papales*. Cal. Rot. 23.

¹⁹ See Matt. Paris, 435. 445. 695. and in other places. — Taxter also mentions these differences, and that they were charged upon the queen, and the Provençals and Savoyards, her relations, who were at length expelled from the country by the

But this evil, the encouragement of foreigners, against which the nation most loudly declaimed, tho actually unwise in the manner and to the extent with which it was conferred, yet contributed to the progress of the country. All nations are benefited by intercourse with each other. Wealthy states are improved by the mixture of a poorer and hardier population, as well as by the residence of the more enlightened. Civilization becomes more varied, industry excited, and knowlege enlarged, by the settlement of new families with new habits and pursuits. The reign of Henry connected England with Armenia, whose friars came for a refuge from the Tartars²⁰; with Germany, whose emperor married his sister²¹; with Provence and Savoy, from which both he and his brother had their wives²²; with Spain, where his son was knighted and wedded²³; with France, which he visited in much pomp²⁴; with its southern regions, Guienne and Poitou, which he retained; with the countries upon the Rhine, where his brother went to obtain the empire²⁵; with the north of Italy, where he sent knights to assist the emperor against Milan²⁶; with the south of it, by the intercourse of himself and his clergy with the Pope, and by the crowds of Italians whom the pontiff poured into England²⁷; with Savoy, whose count he pensioned²⁸; with Constan-

parliament. MS. Chron. Julius A i. p. 40.—On the grants to Pet. Rivall. see Cal. Rot. Pat. 15, 16.; and afterwards, those to Peter of Savoy.

²⁰ Matt. Paris, 779.

²¹ Matt. Paris, 414. Rymer, p. 355.

²² Ib. 420. 606. — On other projects of marriage he had correspondence with the duke of Austria, Rymer, p. 275.; with Bretagne, ib. p. 283.; and on the king of Bohemia's daughter, ib. p. 293.

²³ Ib. 890.; Rymer, p. 491.

²⁴ Ib. 899, 900.

²⁵ Ib. 948—983.

²⁶ Ib. 470. 472. The emperor spoke highly of their exertions in repelling a sally of the besieged.

²⁷ See Rymer, 242. 301. 337. 441. 451. 471. 581, &c.

²⁸ Henry gave him one thousand pounds a year for some fiefs he claimed. Rymer, p. 441. The count did homage to Henry for other fees. Matt. Paris, 706.

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tinople, whose exiled emperor sought his support²⁹; with Jerusalem, whither the English still crusaded³⁰; and even with the Saracens, who implored his aid against the Tartars.³¹ In this reign, the English traded with Norway, Lübeck, Brabant, Lorraine, France, Lucca, Placentia, Florence, Flanders, Portugal, Germany, and Spain³², as well as to Gascony and Sicily. This extensive range of political and commercial intercourse, imparted and excited great improvements thro all the classes of English society. The knowlege of natural history was increased by the new animals that were imported into England, the presents of merchants or foreign potentates³³; and the arts began now to receive an attention which makes this reign the first epoch of their appearance in England.³⁴ The composition and transcription of romances the king particularly cul-

²⁹ Matt. Paris, p. 469.

³⁰ In 1250, many English sold their property and lands, to go. Matt. Paris, 773. 785. Henry assumed the cross, ib. 774., but never went. His brother sailed thither, p. 536. and wrote an account of his crusade, p. 566—568.

³¹ Matt. Paris, 471. Taxter, MS. Chron. 36—42. This author wrote his Chronicle after the year 1267, as he mentions, p. 37., that he then assumed the habit of a monk. Taxter uses Arabic numerals intermixed with Roman letters, and refers sometimes to an æra which he calls *Annus Arabum*. P. 42. Henry corresponded with the sultan of Damascus. Rymer Act. Fœd. i. 289.

³² See Cal. Rot. Pat. 12, 13, 17, 20, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 44. — One of these rolls mentions a *Domus Teutonicorum* in London, p. 32. The merchants of Florence once paid the king a fine of a thousand pounds for false weights. p. 43. In 1241, tin was first found in Germany, more pure than in England: it had never been met with before, from the beginning of the world, says Matt. Paris, but in Cornwall. This discovery, and the quantity which Germany sent into England, depreciated the English tin. p. 570.

³³ Thus there was a bear from Norway; also buffaloes. Mad. Exch. Three leopards and a camel were sent by the emperor, and an elephant from the king of France. Matt. Paris, 416. 419. 832. 903. The elephant seems to have excited great curiosity, and is very carefully described, and even delineated, in some of our ancient MSS.

³⁴ Henry and his nobles had a taste for architecture. One of his courtiers, who began his career with two carucates of land, which he soon increased to fifty, is called an incomparable builder. At Tedington he built a palace, with its appendages, covered with stone and lead, and adorned with orchards and parks, which excited the admiration of the beholders. His workmen, for many years, received every week from 100 to 130 shillings for wages. Matt. Paris, 821. Many churches are mentioned as built and consecrated in England at this time. Ib. 481. 526. 538. The king made a gold shrine for St. Edward, p. 572.: and began Westminster Abbey, ib. Add. p. 1009. By his will, he leaves this to his son to finish. Royal Wills, p. 15.

tivated, from his personal taste.³⁵ The increased intercourse of the nation with Spain and its Mahomedan population, occasioned the Arabic sciences to flow freely into England during this period. English poetry and literature now began to emerge from its embryo state into visible shape and definite features. Internal trade multiplied as foreign commerce enlarged. The increase of luxury diminished the fierce warlike spirit of the great; and their courtly splendor, and even effeminacy, introduced a love of peace, habits of courtesy, and a polish of manners highly auxiliary to human happiness. The clergy were raised, by the papal avarice, to a salutary resistance, which preserved the liberties of the English church.³⁶ And by the weak facility and injudicious conduct of the king and his favorites, compelling his parliament to formidable exertions in defence of the national rights, an importance was given to the great council of the nation, which it has never since lost: it became, from the events of this reign, so identified with the public feeling, and so firmly incorporated in the government of the country, that the next sovereign, the vigorous and determined Edward I., allowed to it a due authority, applied to it for all his subsidies, listened respectfully to its petitions, deferred to its opinions, and sought to govern by its aid.³⁷ From all these causes, England, during this long reign of fifty-six years, made a great and steady advance in all the paths of national prosperity; and acquired a solid accumulation of national strength,

³⁵ In several of the prose Romans, it is mentioned that they were written at the request or by the encouragement of Henry III.

³⁶ Robert Grosseteste, the patriotic bishop of Lincoln, was indefatigable in this object. He attacked the Pope without fear, and even ventured to argue that he was both a heretic and antichrist. *Matt. Paris*, pp. 874, 875. The Pope, on his death, resolved to have his bones thrown out of the church: a vision, perhaps the arrangement of wiser politicians, deterred him from the vindictive measure. *Ib.* 883.

³⁷ This will appear to those who read attentively the parliamentary records of Edward I.

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HENRY III.Crusade
against the
Albigenses.

whose effects were powerfully felt and brilliantly displayed in succeeding times.³⁸

The great reproach of England and France, in this and the preceding reign, and more especially of the religious head of Europe, who counselled, planned, and commanded the execrable measure, was the expedition against the Albigenses, and the unsparing cruelty with which it was pursued. From causes which in a subsequent part of this History will be stated, opinions hostile to the system of the papal hierarchy had for some time spread about the Alps and Pyrenees.³⁹ They had attracted the attention and the animosity of the restless Pope Innocent III.⁴⁰; and the murder of his legate, who had begun the execution of his antichristian persecution, furnished a plausible pretext for pouring on these districts the vindictive fanaticism of all whom his bulls, indulgencies, and exhortations, could influence. Our countryman, Simon de Montfort, with a band of Englishmen zealous in their bigotry and hopeful of plunder, headed the crusade of inhumanity, which differed in nothing but in name from the ferocious expeditions of the Northman votaries of Thor and Odin.⁴¹ The French princes emulously assisted. The less defensible towns of the miserable

³⁸ In 1258, the summer was so unusually wet, that in many parts the harvest was not got in till the beginning of November. Fifteen thousand persons are stated to have perished in London of famine in this year. Pestilential disorders followed, filling the streets and roads with dead bodies. Matt. Paris, 969. 973. He says, if foreign corn had not been imported, even the rich would have scarce escaped. p. 973. This experience of the advantage of foreign commerce might have checked his ill-expressed dislike to foreigners, as 816. 911., &c.

³⁹ Matt. Paris places them in Gascony, Alby, Thoulouse and Arragon, p. 241. They spread thro Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné.

⁴⁰ The English reader will find an interesting detail of the measures adopted against the Albigenses, in Jones's History of the Waldenses, c. 5. I commend this book with pleasure, tho not always agreeing with its historical theories, as one of the most intelligent sketches of the history of the Christian Church that I have met with.

⁴¹ The spirit of plunder which accompanied this crusade, may be inferred from the circumstance, that the Pope, king of Arragon, and Simon de Montfort, each demanded for himself the country conquered from the heretics. Matt. Paris, 245. & 329.

dissenters from the papal church, were speedily taken; above a hundred of their castles around Beziers and Carcassonne were evacuated in consternation⁴²; the latter city fell; and at last Avignon was besieged. In vain the count of Thoulouse labored to divert the storm; his submissions, his supplications, were rejected with disdain.⁴³ The Pope had a crusade preached thro all France against him and his people, and fear and interest filled the hierarchal legions with multitudes of prelates and laity.⁴⁴ Nothing would satisfy the papal legates but the deposition of the count, and the surrender of his territory, which Simon Montfort claimed as the reward, perhaps as the price, of his exertions; hoping to make it a kingdom, and to add the honors of royalty to his name.⁴⁵ With 50,000 knights, and foot innumerable, the king of France advanced to Avignon, resolved to take the city and desolate the country. A masterly defence kept the besiegers at bay, till the king of France perished as he deserved,

⁴² Matt. Paris, 242. They utterly destroyed Beziers, and put above 10,000 men to the sword there. Rigord. de Gest. Phil. 214. Can it be true, that when the assailants were about to storm the city, and inquired how they should act towards the true catholics within the walls — the answer of the abbot of Citeaux was, "Kill all — God will know those who are his." Hist. Troub. i. p. 193.

⁴³ Matt. Paris reveals to us the effect of this conduct in enlightening and alienating the mind of Europe: "It seemed to many a shameful thing to infest a faithful Christian man, who had offered, at the late council, and earnestly intreated the legate to come to each of his cities, and to inquire into the articles of their faith; and if he found any contrary to the Catholic creed, that he would then exact full justice from them, and satisfaction, if they rebelled. For himself he offered to give full satisfaction, and to be examined as to his faith. The legate treated all this with contempt; and the Catholic count could find no grace, unless he renounced his dominions both from himself and his heirs." Matt. Paris, 331.

⁴⁴ Plus metu regis Francorum. Vel favore legati, quam zelo justitiæ inducti. Matt. Paris, 331. Rigordus describes the letters of the Pope as calling on them to destroy (delere) the heretics and their country, and giving absolution from all their sins, to those who fell on the expedition. De Gest. Ph. 207.

⁴⁵ Matt. Paris, 329. It is the ancient historian of the Vaudois, who thus intimates the ambition of this nobleman. "The king of Arragon wrote to the king of France, that the Conte de Montfort had his soul swollen with great conceptions, exceeding both his own capacity and his means, and that his intentions were only to express pretexts and professions of religion, while his real purpose was to make himself a king, and to give that distinction and celebrity to his name Simon." J. P. Perrin's Hist. des Vaudois.

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during the continuance of the siege. Treachery devised by the legate, and executed by him and his clergy, at last obtained possession of the city; but not till 22,000 of the assailants had fallen the victims of their own rapacious bigotry.⁴⁶ St. Louis, the conscientious but misled king, who paid at last the penalties of a blind and narrow-minded zeal, by his capture at Damietta, and his death off Tunis, sent another army against the count, which his activity defeated.⁴⁷ Montfort, the original leader, fell in the siege of Thoulouse, shot by a projectile stone, and his brother about the same time perished.⁴⁸ The war was protracted till the celebrity of the attacked was diffused thro Europe; and their dispersion made beneficial to mankind, by spreading the light of reformation over the dark hemisphere of Germany and Switzerland.⁴⁹

Its conse-
quences.

To see popes, prelates, knights, and kings, thus emulously engaged in disgracing the benign spirit of Christianity, by connecting it with massacre and misery; and to observe, that even men "smit with

⁴⁶ Matt. Paris, pp. 333, 334. We see how injurious this persecution was to the interests of the papal see, by this honest monk declaring, after mentioning the calamities of the besiegers; "Whence it was perspicuously evident that the war had been unjustly undertaken, and that rapacity, rather than the extermination of heresy, was the great object." p. 334.

⁴⁷ Matt. Paris, 349. The errors and misfortunes of St. Louis prove that even religion requires the governance of wisdom as much as any other principle of human action; perhaps more, as its alarms, hopes and energies, are greater. Joinville describes him to have thought, that to doubt any article of belief imposed by the papal church, was a temptation of the devil; to die with any doubt would be the loss of his soul; and that it was his duty to exterminate heretics!!!

⁴⁸ Matt. Paris, 309. It is beneficial to mankind that history should remark the end of the sanguinary. Their stock seldom roots. The son of this Montfort was slain in the battle of Evesham.

⁴⁹ It was an origin worthy of the child, that the Inquisition began in these scenes. Mosh. Eccl. Hist. 13 Cent. c. 5. St. Domingo, a Spaniard, was its author or principal abettor. How the Spaniards were estimated at that day we may see in Matt. Paris's description of them: *Vultu deformes; cultu despicabiles; moribus detestabiles*. P. 890. It corresponds with the origin of the inquisition, that after it had been fully abolished in Spain and in all Europe, a Spanish king should in 1814 be the first to restore it. If Spain continues it, she will present the anomaly of sinking to a level with her African neighbors, while all the rest of Europe is rising in knowlege, intellect, and in national greatness, their invariable product.

the love of sacred song," and practising it in one of its most courtly and cultivated languages⁵⁰ at that period, could debase their popular talents by panegyricising the guilty transactions;—scenes like these, tend so much to afflict the mind with a contempt of its own nature, and with a painful dread of its pervertibility, that the candid thinker cannot be surprised that they have kindled in some bosoms a cynical misanthropy, and in others that vindictive antipathy which has even shaken the sacred pillars of Christianity itself. This result will always take place, where governments and hierarchies are intolerant; and this evil will always exist, where knowledge is not diffused among the people. Intolerance will expire only with the ignorance which perpetuates it. But all its actions, like those above noticed, however glossed by rhetoric or sophistry, are repugnant to the precepts and genius of that beneficent religion, whose name they assume, whose dominion they undermine. The offspring of superstitious bigotry, temporary politics, or passionate selfishness, they are as degrading in their principle, as hateful in their execution.

But the triumph of the papal tyranny was in this instance signally instrumental to its own over-

⁵⁰ The two most active Troubadours who thus disgraced their muse, were Folquet and Izarn. The first, after leading the life of a Troubadour, and singing on love and beauty, became a monk and bishop of Thoulouse. 1 St. Palaye, 179—204. The most furious was Izarn; a true dominican and inquisitor. From St. Palaye's collection we have his dispute with an Albigensian teacher, 2. p. 43. The fury of his soul is abundantly expressed in his prosaic verse — "See now, heretic! if thou dost not commit an infamous perfidy — Thou ftest like a robber, and thou art in truth the thief of souls. Thou believest not, &c. Thou liest. If thou refusest to believe them, behold the fire which is burning thy companions, ready to consume thee. — What still indocile — thou wilt not yield! But the flames and the tortures await thee, and thou art going to experience them. God ought to punish thee in hell worse than the demons. Before thou art delivered up to the flames, as thou wilt be if thou do not retract, I wish to ask thee — Whoever does not believe these things ought not to complain if he is seized and burnt? Every country where thy perfidious doctrine has been spread, ought to be swallowed up. — Unless thou confessest instantly, the fire is already lighted; thou shalt be proclaimed by trumpet thro the city, and the people will assemble to see thee burnt." Hist. Troub. ii. pp. 48, 49. 52. 57. 59, 60. 69.

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throw. The attack on the Albigenses was the birthday of the Reformation. The absurdities of some of their opinions were forgotten in the atrocities of their opposers, and perhaps corrected by their own suffering.⁵¹ From the expressions of our monkish historian, it is clear that some Englishmen sympathized with the persecuted; and we see the spirit of irreverence, towards the chief of the catholic hierarchy, rising high in the nation after these catastrophes. From this period, the opposition to the papal see took deep and lasting root in England; the minds of the great became visibly alienated, not only from the Pope, but also from his most effective institutions; parliament frequently expressed the new sentiment, and called for the diminution of the clerical power in the subtraction of its affluence; the lettered mind became critical on the opinions of the church; and when Wickliffe, in the next century arose, it was because he concentrated and reflected the feelings and reasonings of the most intelligent and prevailing Englishmen of his day, that his doctrines became so popular, and his exertions so successful.

Tartar in-
vasions.

One of the events that most alarmed Europe, in the thirteenth century, was the invasion of the Mongols and Tartars, under the celebrated Zenghis Khan. The Christian world had been interested by

⁵¹ It is just to the memory of the Troubadours to state, that some among them lashed the intolerance of the day. Guillaume Figueira quitted Thoulouse after the crusade, and went to Lombardy, where he became a Troubadour. But his invectives against Rome are as bitter as Izarn's against heresy. "I know they wish me ill, because I have made a sirvente against the false tribe of Rome, the source of all decline. I am not astonished that the world is full of error. It is you, deceitful Rome! who sow it with trouble and war. Your covetousness blinds you. You shear the wool of your sheep too close. If my prayers could be heard, I would bruise your beak. Rome! in whom all the perfidy of the Greeks is united; Rome! of evil manners and evil faith! who have made so great a carnage; who have established your seat at the bottom of the abyss of perdition; may God never pardon you your pilgrimage to Avignon. Without a cause you have put innumerable people to death. May the demons carry you to the fire of hell!" Hist. Troub. ii. 449, 450, 451. It is clear from these passages, that implacability and intolerance on one side generated the same feelings on the other.

the intelligence that a Tartar chief, denominated Prester John, the Khan of the Keraites, had adopted Christianity⁵²; and his letter to the Pope and princes of Europe excited a hope that the hour was come for the conversion of the barbarous world. The continental states were roused from this flattering dream, by the victories of Zenghis and his ferocious successors, who, after invading China, Carizme, and Persia, turned to the Volga, the Don, and the Borysthenes. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea.⁵³ Moscow and Kiow were reduced to ashes, as they advanced. They penetrated to the Vistula, and from thence to the Danube. Their conquests and desolations stretched from the Baltic to Hungary. They passed the Danube on the ice. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three only survived the Tartar invasion; and they prepared to enter into the bosom of Germany, when Frederic II., an emperor worthy of the crisis, called on England and France, as well as on his German princes, to unite and resist the ruinous aggression.⁵⁴ The Tartars were awed by his exertions; and after wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, they slowly retreated to the Volga, and Europe began to respire from the ravages with which these savage hordes had afflicted its Eastern frontier.⁵⁵ This empire rather prepared the way for

⁵² One of the most original notices of this Prester, or Presbyter John, is that of Otto Frising, which he had from the bishop of Gabala. Chron. l. vii. c. 32. He had made himself the Khan of the Keraites. His daughter married Zengis Khan. Univ. Mod. Hist. l. iv. c. 1. This work contains a copious and satisfactory account of the Mogul, or Mongol Empire.

⁵³ Mr. Gibbon has described with force and spirit this new empire and invasion, in his sixty-fourth chapter, vol. vi. p. 288—310. See it in larger detail in the Mod. Univ. Hist. l. 4—8.

⁵⁴ Zenghis Khan reigned from 1206 to 1227. His successors conquered the north of China in 1234—the southern 1279—Persia, and the empire of the Caliphs, 1258—Anatolia 1242—1272—Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c. 1235—1245.

⁵⁵ The alarm excited in Europe by the Tartar successes may be seen in the original letters from persons in Hungary, Poland, &c., describing them, in Matt. Paris Additam. 211—214. Antichrist was thought to be coming. Ib. p. 213.

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new changes than effected any, for it decayed after a short period of terrible celebrity. As they were originally pure Theists, hopes arose that they might be converted; and their Khan had some communications with Europe⁵⁶, but the impression was neither permanent nor extensive.

The other events of this long reign; the petty wars with France, the discussions with Scotland⁵⁷, the bickerings with Wales⁵⁸, the papal offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard the brother of Henry, and the subsequent grant of it to his younger son Edmund, a dignity which Henry was as eager to renounce as the Pope to impose⁵⁹,—and which was indeed so nominal that the Sicilian historians do not condescend to notice it,—it will be of no advantage now to detail: the incidents were of small importance, and their consequences transient.

The disputes between the king and his parliament increased in bitterness, as the faithlessness of the sovereign provoked the turbulence of his barons.⁶⁰ Absolved from his oath by the Pope, Henry seized their castles, and attempted to be arbitrary.⁶¹ The

⁵⁶ Matt. Paris, 770. He gives the Khan's Letter to St. Louis, translated from Arabic into French. It announces a liberal toleration of the Christians, but was not very consonant with the papal politics, in saying, "Il comande quen la loi de Crist ne soit nule difference entre les Latins e les Grius, e les Hermins e les Nestorins, e les Jacobins e tuz les autres ki aurent la croiz; kar cil sunt tuit une chose entre vus." The Khan's liberality must have startled the mind of St. Louis, for it was almost satire for him, after the crusade against the Albigenses, to read from a Tartarian emperor such language as this: "Thus we require that the high king put no divisions between them; but let his compassion and his kindness be upon ALL Christians." "Ensi requerens nus ki li haut rois ne mette divisium entre aus; mais sa pit e e sa debonairete soit sor tuz les Crestiens." Matt Paris, Additam, 179.

⁵⁷ See the treaty with this country, Rymer, i. p. 374.

⁵⁸ M. Paris, 570. 624—626. 647. 938. They compelled prince Edward to retreat in 1257. Ib. p. 943. Their borders became a desert. P. 958.

⁵⁹ In 1252, the Pope offered Henry the crown. Rymer, 476. In 1256, the Pope ordered him to send an army there on pain of excommunication. Ib. p. 611. In 1257, Henry appointed his commissioners to renounce the crown. Ib. p. 630.

⁶⁰ Henry, after his first grant of it, repeatedly swore to keep Magna Charta—M. Paris, 861. 867. 971.; as often he violated his oath. Ib. 862. 867. His parliament several times refused him supplies. Ib. 852. 882. 887. 905.

⁶¹ M. Paris, 991. The papers in Rymer's *Fœdera* give many particulars on these transactions.

barons armed; the award of the French king was unproductive of peace; and both parties taking the field, the contest was at first determined favorably to the barons, by the battle of Lewes, in 1264, where Edward lost the victory by pursuing too far the London troops, whom he had defeated with his right wing. His father and uncle were taken prisoners in the other part of the field. His own retreat was prevented by the movement of Leicester, the baronial general; and he was compelled to accede to the propositions that were submitted to him.⁶² The barons now became possessed of the government of the country, and they attempted to establish a new constitution.⁶³ Four officers in every county were appointed, with the title of conservators, who were ordered each to choose four knights, to meet in parliament. The parliament, when it met, named three high commissioners, who were invested with the power of choosing nine counsellors, to be intrusted with the administration; when two thirds of the counsellors did not unite in their opinions, the high commissioners were to decide; the king might dismiss the counsellors, with the consent of the commissioners; and the commissioners themselves, with the approbation of the barons.

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This singular system, of whose necessity and utility we can now judge but imperfectly, but whose tendency if it had lasted would have been to have converted the English government into an aristocracy, was not permanent; the ambition of Leicester

Battle of
Evesham.
1265.

⁶² M. Paris, 995.—Robert of Gloucester, a contemporary, says that before the battle, the barons sent to request the king —

“That he sholde vor Godes love, him bet understand,
And graunte him the gode lawes, and habbe pite of is lond;
And hii him wolde serve wel, to vote and to hond.”—P. 546.

According to Langtoft, in Brunne's translation, in answer —

“The kyng said on hie, Syman, jeo vous defie.”—P. 271.

⁶³ See Rymer, p. 792.

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was suspected, from his retaining the prince Edward in confinement; and to appease the rising clamors, and avert the necessary opposition to his power, he summoned a parliament, composed of two knights from every county, and two burgesses from every borough.⁶⁴ The first measure of this parliament was the release of Edward, who, soon escaping from the authority of Leicester, collected forces to overthrow it. Near Evesham, the prince surprised and defeated in separate attacks the armies of both Leicester and his son, that were intending to unite. Leicester was killed, and the king recovered.⁶⁵ The royal authority was now re-established. The rest of the country submitted to it. The good sense of Edward concurred with the experience of past evils, to infuse a wiser and more popular spirit into the conduct of government; and its prudence was rewarded by the internal tranquillity which it produced.⁶⁶

Edward
sails to
Palestine.

St. Louis, desirous to begin his second crusade, invited Edward to join him. The prince, accompanied by his wife Eleanora⁶⁷, sailed to the coast of Africa, and endeavoured to persuade Louis to proceed to Palestine; but the French king resolving to accomplish the subjection of Tunis, Edward retired to Sicily, to winter. Louis died in the autumn of 1271, of the plague; and his brother Charles of Anjou, who had destroyed the noble Conradin in Sicily, perished soon afterwards at sea.⁶⁸ Edward was struck by his catastrophe, and went to the Holy Land, resolved to take Acre. He succeeded.⁶⁹ His

⁶⁴ Rymer, p. 802.

⁶⁵ W. Rishanger's Continuation of Matt. Paris, p. 998. All Leicester's property was confiscated, and given to Edward's brother. Rymer, p. 830.

⁶⁶ The parliament summoned in 1267, were still free enough, when asked for money, to refuse it. Rishanger, p. 1002.

⁶⁷ Rishanger, 1006.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 1007.

⁶⁹ Rishanger says, that he struck his breast, and fervently exclaimed, "Tho all my compatriots should desert me, yet I will go with Fowen, the keeper of my palfray, and enter Acre, tho my soul should be separated from my body in attempting it." All the English volunteered to accompany him. P. 1007.

force was insufficient for greater exploits; but the fame of Richard had impressed a dread of English valour on the Mahomedan mind, and the prince by his own conduct so increased its alarm, that his assassination was attempted.⁷⁰ It was clear to his judgment that he had not the means of conquest, and therefore, making a truce of ten years with the Saracens, he returned to England, where he found that his father had just expired⁷¹; leaving England, notwithstanding her late troubles, in a state of increasing prosperity, power, and population.⁷²

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⁷⁰ Rishanger, p. 1007.

⁷¹ He had reigned 56 years. In 1238, his life was endangered by a maniac, who is called an armiger literatus. This man went to the palace at Woodstock, and demanded of Henry his kingdom. The king seeing his state of mind, forbade any one to hurt him, and he was dismissed. He found means in the night to climb in at the king's window with an unsheathed knife, and ran to the king's bed, who happened to be in another chamber. One of the queen's ladies, who was up, saw him, and shrieked violently. The attendants were alarmed. The maniac fastened the door. This was at last broken, and the delirious assassin secured. *Matt. Paris*, 474.—Reader! mark the difference between the spirit of those times and ours. After George the Third had been actually fired at by Hatfield, in the theatre, His Majesty magnanimously forbade any one to hurt the intending murderer; and when he was found to be a lunatic, he was only imprisoned for life. But Henry the Third, after his escape, tho' he saw this poor wretch to be deranged, ordered him to be drawn and quartered, and his mangled limbs to be exposed upon a robber's cross! *Matt. Paris*, 474.

⁷² *M. Paris* has left a short description of him:—"Of middle stature and compact body; the eye-brow of one of his eyes so fell down over it as to conceal part of the pupil; robust in bodily strength; very hasty in his actions, and yet always with such fortunate and happy results from them, that he was thought by many to be the Lynx in the prophecy of Merlin, whose glance penetrated every thing." P. 1009.

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*On CHIVALRY and KNIGHT-ERRANTRY in England and Normandy.*CHAP.
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IT will assist us to comprehend more fully the history of the reigns which immediately succeeded the Norman Conquest, if we make a short pause, to consider the state of that class of the upper ranks of society, which was then denominated knights. The internal state of England, and Europe, at the close of the eleventh century, presented the political anomaly, of countries with governments that were nominally monarchical, infested with a host of petty sovereigns, in every part, who were despotic in the territories they occupied, and who acknowledged in the king little else than a titular superiority, and the right of receiving, for a few weeks in the year, their military attendance. These petty sovereigns were the lords or barons, who shared the landed property of the kingdoms. As they had originally acquired their property by the sword, especially in Normandy and England, by the sword they were obliged to preserve it. They were perpetually striving to dispossess each other by violence; and this singular state of their aristocratical society, made chivalry and knight-errantry both popular and necessary.

Estates are now held on written muniments; and their peaceable possession is guarded and guaranteed by law, easily enforced with the whole executive power of the country. But in those times, when they were often conferred by the gift of a horn, or an arrow, and the monarch had but feeble means to enforce right or to punish wrong, it is obvious that

possession was the great evidence of title: and he that had strength sufficient to wrest lands from another, usually kept his acquisition till superior violence forced it from him. In this state of society, the services of knights were every where wanted by the great proprietors of estates, as well to defend their ancient occupations, as to enable the more ambitious to obtain others. Knights, therefore, were perpetually errant, or travelling about in quest of adventures or employment; some from the pleasure of the expedition, and some for its expected profits. They often met the oppressed or the unsuccessful; and they cheerfully engaged themselves to redress those wrongs which laws were too feeble to remedy, and for redressing which, honor, plunder, or rich donations, became usually their compensation.

In the first century after the Norman conquest, this state of things pervaded Normandy and England; as a few instances will shew. William Rufus permitted his young knights and squires to amuse themselves by plundering the estates of the country nobility with impunity.¹ Rapine was so usually the employment of the young nobles, that it is mentioned as a mark of the persuasive talents of an abbot of Tewksbury, that he drew many from it to a peaceful life.² It is noticed of several, that in their youth they exercised themselves in rapine and robbery.³ Thus, a young nobleman met a monk travelling with a servant, both on horseback; he dismounted them without ceremony, and took their horses: nor could the monk get any redress, by applying to his father.⁴ Here was precisely a case, in which, if he had met another knight-errant, or travelling knight, he might

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The an-
cient
knights-
errant.

¹ Ord. Vit. 680. As soon as the Conqueror had died, the Norman nobles turned his officers out of their territories, got possession of the castles on their estates, and then began attacking and plundering each other as their means of oppression permitted. Ord. Vit. 664.

² Ib. 600.

³ As in Ord. Vit. 627.

⁴ Ib. 603.

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have found an immediate protector. We find the nobles in Normandy described as augmenting their possessions by violence, and compelling the peasantry to build them castles, for the maintenance of their extorted acquisitions.⁵ The consequence of such things was perpetual retaliation. Thus one young lord was led, by the persuasions of others like himself, to pursue this rapacious system; and the neighboring adventurers plundered in their turn on his territory.⁶ In the same manner a great baron is described, as excelling his countrymen in these achievements; building a strong castle, filling it with adventurers; seizing other castles by craft or force, sometimes imprisoning the lords, and sometimes extorting money for their ransoms.⁷ The same character is given of another powerful baron, enriched by his depredations. His castle, which was called a den of thieves, he fortified with ditches and thick hedges, from which, all his life, he was darting out to exercise rapine and bloodshed. He had seven sons, and he trained them up to the same employment.⁸ From these instances, it will be easily conceived, how greatly the exertions of knights were every where wanted; and that knight-errantry, or the system of knights travelling about in quest of adventure or employment, was a popular and lucrative

⁵ Ord. Vit. 673. William of Tyre marks the depredating habits of the eleventh century: "The superior chiefs, who ought to have directed their subjects to peace, contending with each other for petty causes, filled the country with burnings, exercised plunder every where, and exposed the goods of the weaker to rapine, by their impious satellites. The property of no one was safe." P. 634.

⁶ Ib. 593.

⁷ Ib. 596.

⁸ Ib. 685. The dying conversation of a powerful baron, repeated by Huntingdon, shows how the great strove to enlarge their possessions by depredation. "As the archbishop and ministers were receiving his confession, they urged him to restore the lands which he had taken by force or guile. He answered, 'If I separate the estates I have amassed, what shall I leave to my children?' They replied, 'Let your ancient inheritances suffice them, which you justly acquired; restore the rest, or you will devote your soul to hell.' The baron paused, but decided — 'No; I will leave my sons all, and they must act in mercy to my soul.' He died with all his accumulations; and his sons, in mercy to his soul, imitated his example, and by new violence and injustice, extorted new possessions." Hunt. *De Contemptu Mundi*. ap. Wharton, *Anglo-Sax.* vol. ii. 697, 698.

profession. Till the increasing power of the monarch had pervaded every part of the country, and compelled the great to respect the voice of law, and to feel the punishment of offended justice, no class of population could be more valued, or even useful, than these knight-adventurers.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the violent spirit of the age. The chancellor of Rufus is described as directing all his sagacity to disinherit the weaker minded, and to extort money.⁹ A great baron of that period, not only laid all the churches near him under contribution, but he also put his own wife into prison, and in fetters, to compel her to give up her property; and he carried a naked sword under his cloak, with which, when the humor seized, he stabbed, with shouts of laughter, any one near him, whom he could attack with impunity. His possessions he daily increased by new rapacity; and such was the influence of his power, and the terror of his character, that this monster was admired and venerated.¹⁰ The famous Robert de Belesme was of this sort. He preferred to see his captives perish, to being liberated; he would thrust out the eyes of children with his thumb, and impale those of either sex, whom he disliked. It was his ambition to be wondered at, and to have his extravagancies made the subject of vulgar proverbs.¹¹ We may reasonably ask, Can such things have been? But if we recollect that these barons, in the first reigns after the conquest, were as absolute in their domains as an emperor of Morocco; as illiterate; and daily in the use of arms and violence, from their babyhood, and countenanced by the general practice of all around them; our astonishment will subside into gratitude,

⁹ Hunt. De Cont. 698.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. 698, 699. And see the picture of another of these great robbers, in William of Newberry, l. i. c. 11. p. 37. ed. Par. 1610.

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at the happy improvement which society has since experienced. It is true that most of these ministers of cruelty died violently, because those "who live by the sword will perish by the sword." But while such habits lasted, the institution or practice of knight-errantry was an advantage to the community. Unquestionably, many of them consulted the benefit of an exploit, rather than its morality; but while society was in this state of military chaos, there was so much injustice, perpetually arising, to redress, that their exertions could not fail to be often on the side of right: there were always tyrant barons to be conquered; captives to be released; ladies to be assisted; and caitiffs' castles, that defied law, to be taken: and therefore a knight-errant, with a moderate portion of true chivalry and religious feeling, could easily contrive to unite his interest with his conscience; and to relieve, with profit as well as credit to himself, the brave and injured, by his valor.¹²

No fact perhaps will more strongly attest the truth of the revolting picture that we have been contemplating, than the circumstance, that in our Stephen's reign even some of our bishops encourage the practice of depredation, and partook of the profit. "The bishops, the bishops themselves," says a contemporary, "I blush to say it—yet not all, but many—bound in iron and completely furnished with arms, were accustomed to mount war-horses with the perverters of their country, to participate in their prey; to expose to bonds and torture, the knights whom they took in the chance of war, or whom they met full of money; and while they themselves were the head and cause of so much

¹² The knight or vavator, who claimed the land where the Conqueror was about to be buried, as his own unjustly torn from him, is called by Wace,

----- un vavator errant,

Qui la presse vint derompant.—MS.

wickedness and enormity, they ascribed it to their knights.¹³

In great national emergencies, kings invited knights to their courts by profuse liberality. We have already mentioned, that they travelled to the court of William the Conqueror and his son, from all parts, when the sovereigns had made it public that they wanted their services. Knights were the disciplined and effective soldiery of the day. They were the only part of the military that was completely armed; and their skill and power in the use of their weapons, made their exertions the usual means of victory.

We have several instances of our ancient kings entering into compacts with foreign princes for a supply of knights from their court or dominions. Henry I. made such a convention with the count of Flanders¹⁴; with a curious reservation for the Flemish sovereign to keep within his legal obligation to his feudal lord.¹⁵ The number was at times so large as to be 1000 knights from one province.¹⁶ John

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¹³ Gesta Stephan. ap. Duchesne, p. 962. He adds, "That I may not at present mention others, for it would be indecent to carp equally at all, public fame declaims against the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Chester, as more intent than others on these irreligious pursuits."

¹⁴ This was in 1101. "Within forty days after the count shall be summoned by the king's envoy or letters, he shall have 500 knights ready in his ports, to sail as soon as possible; the king to find the ships, and to send them to Gravelines, or Witsand, and so many as that every knight may have three horses. After these knights shall be in England, they shall make their fealty to the king or his commissioner, and shall act for his benefit as long as they stay in England, and not seek to destroy him. While they stayed, the king was to find them food, and he was to convey them back; and for this agreement was to pay the count yearly 400 marcs of silver." Rym. Fœd. vol. i. p. 3.

¹⁵ The count's feudal superior was Louis king of France, who was the person that was then threatening Henry with hostilities. Hence the convention excepts the count's fealty to his supreme chief, and thus manages to have this aid against him, and yet to keep the fealty unviolated. "If Louis shall intend to invade England, the count, as much as he can, shall cause Louis to remain at home, and seek to detain him there by every means 'sine malo ingenio.' But if Louis should actually invade and bring the count with him, the count was to come with as few men as possible, and therefore with only so many, as would save him from forfeiting his fee." Ib. Thus the count's 500 knights were to be fighting for Henry, while their master with a few others might be, from feudal obligations, in battle, tho unwillingly, against him.

¹⁶ Henry made an agreement with Flanders to this amount, and took twelve

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made a stipulation of this sort with the count of Holland, who swore to enter into a feudal state with him.¹⁷ The legal obligation reached only to twenty-five knights¹⁸, but the king was to have 500 or 1000 more if he chose to pay for their service.¹⁹ When kings wanted large bodies of these indispensable warriors, they sent abroad public proclamations to invite them to their court.²⁰ The minor independent foreign princes took land voluntarily and without loss of reputation from sovereigns with this obligation.²¹

We have a complete instance of the achievements of a knight-errant, even so late as Edward I. This prince, travelling thro Burgundy, heard of a noble living by rapine and spoil, in a very strong castle. In the true spirit of chivalry in its most generous heroism, Edward attacked this castle, to deliver the country from the violence of its master; took it; and then gave it disinterestedly away to the count of Savoy.²² Even our John furnishes us with

hostages at the valuation of 100 marcs each for its due performance; six of whom were to conduct the knights. Each of the hostages were to pay Henry 100 marcs if the knights were not sent. Rym. Fœd. vol. i. p. 6.

¹⁷ The count says, "I have done homage to him, and for my homage he gives me in fee 400 marcs a year, and I have become his liege man." *Ib.* p. 169.

¹⁸ It was in 1213 that the count made this contract with John: "When he wishes to have my service which I owe him, I will send him twenty-five knights of my land, at my cost; and from the day of their reaching England, they shall serve him at his charge for three forty days, and go with his body wheresoever he will." *Ib.*

¹⁹ "If he wishes to have any from my land into his service, he shall send some one into it to lead them to him; and he shall have 500 or 1000, or more if he wishes it, and I will find them ships at his expence, and they shall faithfully serve him." *Rym.* 169. So Henry II. made a similar bargain for 1000 knights in 1163. *Ib.*

²⁰ We have an instance of this in 1202: "The King, to all the knights of Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, to whom these letters may come; greeting,— We require you to come to us ready with horses, arms, bridles and other horse furniture, that you may honorably dwell in our service; and according to the service which you shall do us, we will give you remuneration in lands and money. Have faith in those things which Simon de Haverel, our beloved and faithful man, shall say to you on our part, concerning your coming to us." *Ib.* p. 129.

²¹ Thus in 1212 John writes to the duke of Limburg, that he had heard from the count of Boulogne, that if the king gave the latter the fee which Richard I. had granted to the duke, he would consider the king as his liege lord. *Ib.* 139.

²² *Matt. West.* 353.

an instance of a similar kind. He came to the castle of a very brave knight, but who was intent on rapine, and despoiling his neighbors, and who robbed all that travelled that road. John attacked him with his forces, and the predatory knight was strong enough to hold out for three weeks against his hostilities.²³

The importance of knight-adventurers, while government was weak, and the police imperfect, appears from many instances. When the Anglo-Saxon nobles, who disliked the Normans, fled with their families to the woods, and sought subsistence by rapine, the districts which they could pervade became so unsafe, that every man was obliged to fortify his house, like a besieged castle, every night; and prayers were said by the elder of the family, on the shutting of his doors and windows, as in a tempest at sea. Hence the Abbots of St. Alban's gave a part of their manors to have knights engaged to watch the roads, and keep them safe from all assailants.²⁴

In Stephen's reign, we find the country in the same state. Knights of all kinds flocked into it, and especially from Flanders and Bretagne, who distinguished themselves for their rapine.²⁵ In John's reign, we are told that all the castles of the country were the caves of robbers and the dens of thieves.²⁶ One of these powerful depredators is described to be as complete a caitiff as any that the knights-errant of romance have chastised. He was accustomed to boast, that he had assisted to burn twenty-four monks, with their church. He is stated to have anointed his captives with honey, and to have exposed them naked under a burning sun, for insects to torment. He seized a castle, and was sending for knights

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²³ Rigordus Philipp. l. 1. p. 215.

²⁵ Malmsh. 179.

²⁴ Matt. Paris, Abb. Alb. 45, 46.

²⁶ Matt. Paris, Abb. 118.

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from Flanders to defend it, when another knight, more gentle, came to the relief of the county, took him and hung him up.²⁷ When Anselm went to Rome, he passed thro Burgundy. The report of his title reached the ears of a baron, and he hastened to plunder him. The archbishop had turned out of the road, to refresh his train with a repast. The baron burst upon them, seized their horses, and was fiercely advancing to take them, when the reverend countenance of Anselm interested his sympathy, and stopped his violent purposes.²⁸ These instances are sufficient to shew the use of knights-errant travelling the country to prevent or punish such acts of violence; and our old satirist, Pierce Plowman, implies that they actually did roam about for this purpose.²⁹

Another important use of knights, and which must have long continued the profession, was the feudal obligation attached to all land, that a certain number of knights should be furnished, at the call of the sovereign, for a certain number of hides. The clergy were always obliged to retain the necessary quantity of knights to perform the service for them, as they could not do it themselves; and we often find in the enumeration of the possessions of a church, the land let or given to knights, as the hire of their military services. The baron or his children might attend for themselves; but when their possessions were large, as a knight was to be found for every twenty pounds a year of landed property, they were under the necessity of retaining many knights

²⁷ Malmsh. 186.

²⁸ Eadmer, 42.

²⁹ He says,

- - - Knyghtes shoulde - - -
Ryden and rappe adoune in remes aboute
And to take trespassours and tyen hem faste,

Trewely to take and treweliche to fyghte,
Ys the profession and the pure ordre that apendeth to Knyghtes.

1st Vision.

to fulfil their feudal obligation.³⁰ Knights also became a necessary part of both regal and baronial state. Thus Thomas à Becket had 700 knights as part of his household, besides 1200 stipendiary retainers, and 4000 followers, serving him forty days.³¹ The legal service of a knight, for the land which he held by military tenure, was to serve forty days at his own costs, where the king went against his enemies.³²

Knights were usually persons of birth, but not always so; the lower ranks were sometimes raised to the honor for extraordinary valor. Thus Rufus knighted the soldier who had unhorsed him.³³ So the emperor, observing great bravery in an individual of inferior condition, at the attack of a castle, ordered him to be honored with the military belt. He answered, however, that as he was a plebeian, he chose to remain so, because his condition was sufficient for him.³⁴ Indeed as society advanced, knighthood became so expensive, that statutes were made to compel the holders of adequate portions of land to assume the dignity. Knighthood being an honor additional to nobility³⁵, and emulously sought for by it, embraced in its ranks persons very unequal in wealth. The richer knights distinguished themselves by luxuries, which were complained of. Thus 1000 of them are said to have appeared one day in silk cointises, and the next day in new robes.³⁶ And John of Salisbury found their luxurious habits so

³⁰ The value of twenty pounds a year, is put as the fee for a knight, by the 1 Edw. II. In 1253, every person having fifteen libratas terræ, was ordered to be made a knight. Matt. Paris, 864.

³¹ Stephanides, 22, 23.

³² Mes tus jurs par le service de un chivaler attendirent au roi quaraunt jurs sur lur custages de meyne p' la ou le roy deveit aler sur ses enemis. Rotul. Parliam. 6 Edw. I. p. 11.

³³ See before, p. 136.

³⁴ Otto Frising. Urtizii, p. 458.

³⁵ Thus we frequently read of nobles not yet distinguished by knighthood, and of others attaining it. Gale Script. ii. 60. 71. Matt. Par. 323.

³⁶ Matt. Paris, 829.

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increasing, that he has left us a copious declamation against them.³⁷

This author tells us how knights should qualify themselves for their duty. They must learn from the beginning, to labor, run, carry weights, and bear the sun and dust; to use sparing and rustic food; sometimes to live in the open air, and sometimes in tents; then to practise the use of arms.³⁸ He draws a strong picture of the effeminate knight; which proves to us that in his time, the reign of Henry II., this order was beginning to degenerate, or rather perhaps that society was becoming, happily for its comfort, less warlike.³⁹

The true merit of a knight is correctly stated by a Troubadour. "It is to fight well; to conduct a troop well; to do his exercise well; to be well armed; to ride his horse well; to present himself with a good grace at courts, and to render himself agreeable there." He adds, "Seldom are all these qualities united."⁴⁰ This is very probable: to unite martial habits and vigor with the courteous elegancies of polished life, could not be often accomplished in a half civilized age.

³⁷ In his Polycratius, 181.

³⁸ Polycrat. 181.

³⁹ He says, "Some think that military glory consists in this; that they shine in elegant dress, that they make their clothes tight to their body, and so bind on their linen or silken garments as to seem a skin colored like their flesh. If they are sitting softly on their ambling horses, they think themselves so many Apollos. If you make an army of them, you will have the camp of Thais, not of Hannibal. Each is boldest in the banqueting hall, but in the battle every one desires to be the last; they would rather shoot arrows at the enemy, than come to close fighting.

"When they return home without a scar, they sing triumphantly of their battles, and boast of the thousand deaths that wandered near their temples. If diligent idleness can procure any spears, which, being brittle as hemp, should chance to be broken in the field; if a piece of gold, minium, or any color of the rainbow, by any chance or blow should fall out of their shields; their garrulous tongues would make it an everlasting memorial. They have the first places at supper. They feast every day splendidly, if they can afford it; but shun labor and exercise like a dog or a snake. Whatever is surrounded with difficulty, they leave to those who serve them. In the meantime, they so gild their shields, and so adorn their camps, that you would think every one not a scholar, but a chieftain of war." Polycrat. p. 181.

⁴⁰ Arnaud de Marveil, in St. Palaye's Hist. Troub. i. p. 81.

Knighthood was conferred by investing the person with a belt⁴¹, in which a sword was inserted.⁴² It was necessary that he should be a freeman.⁴³ There was no limit as to age.⁴⁴ Abbots were at length forbidden to make them⁴⁵; but bishops, knights, and princes, had the power.⁴⁶ To command knights, it was proper to be a knight.⁴⁷

The ceremony of conferring knighthood, was solemn and splendid. The Anglo-Saxon custom was, that the intended knights should confess themselves, and watch all the preceding night in a church.⁴⁸ The Normans thought this too unwarlike; but even they admitted it to be connected in some measure with religion, by taking an oath when they were dubbed.⁴⁹ Hence, John of Salisbury says, "without the religion of an oath, none is bound with the belt of knighthood⁵⁰; and on the day of their being dubbed, the new knight went solemnly to the church, his sword and belt were placed upon the altar, and prayers were offered.⁵¹ His oath declared his duty to be, "To defend the church, to attack the perfidious, to venerate the priesthood; to repel the injuries of the poor; to keep the country quiet; and to shed his blood, and if necessary to lose his life, for his brethren."⁵² That the ceremony of the investiture was splendid, we learn from the accounts of its expenses.⁵³

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⁴¹ Matt. West, 189. Duchesne's Hist. Norm. 973. Ord. Vit. 573. Matt. Par. 231.

⁴² So John of Salisbury declares, 187.

⁴³ This was ordered by Henry II. Hov. 614.

⁴⁴ Henry I, was made a knight at sixteen. Matt. Par. 11. Another at nineteen. Mailros, 185.

⁴⁵ Eadmer, 68. This was in 1102. Before that time, abbots knighted. Hereward went to the abbot of Peterboro' to be knighted. Ing. 70.

⁴⁶ Thus Lanfrac made Rufus a knight. Malmsb. 120.

⁴⁷ Therefore Hereward, before he began his attacks on the Normans who had taken his mother's property, procured the dignity. Ing. 70.

⁴⁸ Ing. 70.

⁴⁹ Henry II. in his laws, calls it the sacramentum armorum.

⁵⁰ Polycr. 187.

⁵¹ Polycr. 187. 193.

⁵² Ibid. 186.

⁵³ It was lawful for kings and territorial lords to raise money from their tenants,

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As they had their duties, so they had their privileges. They were freed from all gelds or taxes, and from all other services and burthens; in order, says the authority, "that, being so alleviated, they may instruct themselves in the use of horses and arms, and be apt and ready for my service, and the defence of my kingdom."⁵⁴ But the great inducements to the rank were, the honor, the donations they perpetually received, and the plunder they were always acquiring.⁵⁵ It is in vain to suppose that, before those happy periods occurred in which the greatest individual was subjected to the power of the law, the men who constituted the armed force of the country could be kept in peaceful demeanor. Hence, tho John of Salisbury contends that knights ought to be content with their legal benefits, he admits that they frequently diverged to rapine and violence. The ecclesiastical possessions seem to have been peculiarly the objects of their attack; and the writer is anxious to convince them, that this conduct was a sacrilegious infringement of their oath.⁵⁶

Warlike energy was certainly the first point of excellence. Rufus thought it a loss of honor, if on a sudden alarm, any one should seize his arms earlier than himself, or if any one challenged the enemy

to make their eldest sons knights. In the records of the Exchequer we see some of the expenses. "For clothes and horses, and other apparatus to make two knights, 21*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*" "For three robes of scarlet, three of green, two baldekins, one culcitra, and other things necessary to make a knight, 33*l.*" "For three robes of silk, three of green, three wrappers, three spurs, three saddles with thongs, three vests, &c., to make a knight, 21*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.*" 1 *Mad. Exch.* 372.

⁵⁴ Henry I. grants this. *Matt. Par.* 56. *Wilkins' Leg.* 234. Salisbury also mentions, that knighthood "rejoices in many immunities and more eminent privileges; and has not to provide horses, carriage, and other sordid burthens." *Pol.* 187, 188.

⁵⁵ The Troubadour Durand expresses some feelings of this sort: "War pleases me. By war I see feasts, gifts, pleasures and songs, multiplied. War converts a villain to a courtois. War well made, therefore, pleases me. Hence I wish the truce broken between the Sterlings and the Tournois (the English and the French)." *St. Palaye Troub.* ii. 229.

⁵⁶ *Polyer.* 186—188. He afterwards says, that from their conduct it would seem as if, when they offered their belt on the altar, they had denounced war against the altar and the God who is there worshiped. P. 193.

before he did, unless he afterwards conquered the challenger.⁵⁷ They allowed their enemies safe conduct from one part to another, for the purpose of battle.⁵⁸ They might, however, be degraded for misconduct; then their belt was taken away.⁵⁹

As the manners of the age softened, they attached themselves to the fair sex. But in the earlier state of chivalry, they had neither leisure nor taste for the refinement of love; their gratifications were then coarse; war was their passion, and their manners partook of the fiercer spirit of the times.⁶⁰ Even the ladies themselves were fond of war, and sometimes waged it.⁶¹ We read of one who so practised herself in knightly exercises, that she was called *Le bel Cavalier*.⁶²

They travelled with their squires, or armor-bearers, and page.⁶³ Their state parade was to march with

⁵⁷ Malmsb. 119.

⁵⁸ Malmsb. 184.

⁵⁹ Polycr. 189. This author is particularly zealous in satirizing the unworthy knights: "They go round the houses of nobles to explore feasts, that they may banquet splendidly. They throw out blustering and bloated phrases. They cut up Saracens and Persians without any bloodshed." P. 196.

⁶⁰ The dispute between Love and Chivalry is argued in a dialogue of the Troubadour Sordel:—

S. If you must lose the society of the ladies, or sacrifice the honor acquired by chivalry, which would you prefer?

B. The fame acquired by chivalry; because there are always new conquests to make, new glory to attain.

S. There is no glory without love. It is a bad choice to abandon pleasure and gallantry, for blows, hunger, cold and heat.

B. But how dare you appear before your lady, if you dare not take arms to fight? There is no true pleasure without bravery; this exalts us to the greatest honors: but the idle joys of love produce degradation and ruin to those whom they seduce.—S. Pal. Troub. ii. pp. 94, 95.

⁶¹ There is a curious instance of this in Ordericus. Two Norman ladies had quarrelled, Eloisa and Isabella. Each roused their friendly knights to assert their cause, and plundered and burnt each other's possessions. They were both spirited, loquacious, and beautiful, and governed their husbands; but they differed in temper. Eloisa was cunning and persuasive, fierce and penurious. Isabella was liberal and courageous, good-humored, merry and convivial. She rode among the knights, armed as they were, and was as dexterous in the use of their weapons. Pp. 687, 688.

⁶² The Troubadour Rambaud de Vaqueiras mentions, that thro the crevice of the door he saw the lady Beatrix one day pull off her long robe, gird on her brother's sword like a knight, draw it from the scabbard, and toss it in the air, catching it again with address, and wheeling about from right to left, till, having finished the exercise, she returned the sword into its sheath. Hence he named her *Bel Cavalier*. St. Pal. i. p. 271.

⁶³ Matthew Paris, mentioning a scarcity, says, "a knight, with his armiger et

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their shields uncovered, their spears elevated, and a banner before them.⁶⁴ To come to a camp with his shield on his neck, and his lance in his hand, was deemed an attitude of defiance, for which, if he was attacked, he had no redress.⁶⁵

Their shields were highly ornamented with gold and brilliant colors⁶⁶, and some knights placed on them the portrait of their favorite lady.⁶⁷

It was the fashion for newly made knights to travel to other countries, to prove their prowess at tournaments against foreign knights. Thus after our Henry III. had made eighty new knights, the prince Edward went with them to a tournament that had been proclaimed on the Continent, "that each might try his strength, as is the custom with new knights."⁶⁸ So in 1253, the earl of Gloucester, and another, sailed to the Continent, principally to be at a marriage, but secondarily to prove their courage and strength, and the swiftness of their horses, in a *hastiludium* then proclaimed. They happened to be unfortunate, for they were thrown, spoiled, and sadly bruised, and required daily fomentations and baths, to be restored.⁶⁹ The great appointed tournaments, on purpose that knights might come both to learn and shew their martial powers.⁷⁰ This custom occasioned knights to be frequently travelling about, as they used to come from different countries to these amusements; at which ladies were also present.⁷¹

puer et equi, could hardly be maintained for two shillings." P. 873. Escuyer literally implies shield bearer. The use of the armor-bearer we may see from the emperor's edict in 1158: "If a foreign knight comes peacefully to the camp sitting on his palfrey *without* shield or arms, then whoever hurts him shall be deemed a violator of the peace." Radev. de Gestis Fred. 492.

⁶⁴ Matt. Paris, p. 444.

⁶⁵ Radevicus de Gest. Fred. Urtis. 492.

⁶⁶ Polycrat. as before. A German poet describes one with a shield *fulgens auro*, and a helmet vermiculated with amber. 1 Meib, 579.

⁶⁷ The count of Poitou did so. Malms. 170.

⁶⁸ Matt. West. 300. Geoffrey, the son of Henry II., did the same. Hoved. 580.

⁶⁹ Matt. West. 252.

⁷⁰ Matt. Paris, 740.

⁷¹ Thus a knight at Kenilworth made a round table of one hundred knights and as many ladies, to which, for exercise of arms, many came from different regions, Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 8.

As many perished in these dangerous exercises, and they were sometimes perverted to evil ends, the clergy perpetually decried⁷², and our kings repeatedly prohibited them⁷³: but nothing could break the custom but the increased general civilization of the age. The fair sex at one time certainly encouraged them, for we read of a tournament, in which the prize was a bear, to be given by a lady.⁷⁴

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The chivalry of the Gothic nations began in the woods of Germany. No youth was there permitted to assume arms, at that time the great privilege of the noble and the free, at his own pleasure. It was made a social rank, to which it was necessary that the aspiring candidates should be elected in the public councils of their rude commonwealth; and the emu-

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⁷² They were frequently forbidden by councils and popes; as Hoveden, 584. Rymer Fœd. i. p. 245. In 1228 Pope Gregory issued a bull against them, because, he says, he had heard that some magnates and barons of England, under the occasion of a tournament, were making conventicles and conspiracies against Henry III. Rym. 301. The Manuel des Peches, in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. No. 4657. arraigns tournaments for many vices: —

Conveitise le quint peche
Turneurs funt pur verité
E coe mustre ben lur roberie
Lur trecherie e lur felonie
Le surfet de glotonie
E le ordur de lecherie
Les suent plus ke autre gent.

He says the same things are applicable to jousts: —

Kant ke ai dist de turneurs
Entender ausi de justurs
Kant se asemblent chevalers
Ov enburdiz des esquiers
En ambedeus l ad envle
Orgoill haute e felonie
Mes trop eist cler a blamer
Ke par le vil deble vout juster.

⁷³ Thus in 1232, "The king, to all those convened ad rotundam tabulam: We forbid you to presume to tourney at that table." Rym. p. 324. In 1234 the king proclaimed, "Understanding that a certain buhurdicium is fixed between the armigeros of our beloved W. and H. at Sherborne, per invidiam et atyam, and that they and other knights will be there, we command you, that taking with you the good and lawful knights of your county, you go to that place on the appointed day, and forbid them, and all who shall meet there for that burdicio, as they love their bodies and tenements, from presuming to tourney or buhurdare against our prohibition." Rym. vol. i. p. 332. — Our public records abound with specific prohibitions, especially those in the reigns of Henry III. and Edw. II. See Calend. Rotular. 11, 12, 13, 14, et passim.

⁷⁴ M. Paris, 265.

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lated distinction was then solemnly conferred by the prince or a kinsman giving them a javelin and a shield.⁷⁵ In these customs, we see the origin of knighthood. The ceremony of the election⁷⁶ and of the investiture was always continued, but in course of time the belt and the sword were substituted for the javelin and the shield. Until this period, he belonged to his family, afterwards to the state; and it was a part of the dignity and power of the prince to be accompanied by a numerous train of these elected youths.⁷⁷

As the Christian clergy prevailed in Europe, and became a constituent portion of the national councils of every country, they made religion a part of the ceremonial on these elections. They caused an oath to be imposed on the knight; they made the protection of the church a part of his duty; they extended this to the assistance of the weak and injured; and they gained an influence over his mind, by consecrating his sword and belt on the altar.

The earliest form of making a knight, that appears to us in England or abroad, after Christianity was diffused thro Europe, was the girding on his sword in a belt. That this custom existed in the days of Alfred who so knighted Athelstan⁷⁸; and that knighthood, as a military order, invested with command, prevailed in England long before the Norman conquest; the history of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors sufficiently shows.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Tacit. de Mor. Germ. § 13.

⁷⁶ Polycrat. de Nug. Cur. 181—187.

⁷⁷ Tacitus calls them Comites, the companions of the prince. Their first Latin designation in the old Charters and Chronicles, is Milites. The Anglo-Saxon term, Cniht, which gave rise to their name in England (Knights), expresses in part the meaning of the Comites of Tacitus; for that his word implied, like Cniht, a service, we may infer from his remark, "nec rubor inter comites aspici." *Ib.*

⁷⁸ Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 151.

⁷⁹ On the Anglo-Saxon Chivalry, see the Hist. Ang.-Sax. vol. iii. p. 105. M. St. Palaye therefore errs in the opinion he expresses, that, à regarder le Chevalerie comme une dignité, it would be difficult to place it earlier than the eleventh century. Mem. sur l'Anc. Chev. p. 66.

Chivalry, thus improved by its religious ceremonial and obligations, became an important agent in civilizing the fierce and predatory warriors of the Gothic nations. It led their rude minds to make even the warfare they loved, a subject of ethical discrimination. The actions of the base knight became marked, and separated from the noble and applauded. One path led to fame, the other to disgrace. Hence our savage ancestors, who at first little differed from banditti, were gradually taught to feel distinction from honor — an intellectual principle; from courtesy — a social merit; and from moral sensibility—the surest source of human improvement.

This distinction once arising, could not fail to be permanent. It was the interest of the church to preserve and increase it, for their property was always at the mercy of the depredator.⁸⁰ The king found his advantage in maintaining it, because it softened the turbulence of the baronial character, and gave the law the protection of its bravery. The barons themselves at last perceived the superior safety and comforts which arose from the extinction of the habits of the lawless knight. And the fair sex at all times found in honorable chivalry their most effective guardian and avenger. It was perhaps their influence that established its predominance in Europe. In their presence, knights delighted to prove their martial prowess; and from their hands received their public honors. The smile of the lady he adored, or professed to extol, became the highest ambition of the sturdy warrior; and her excellence was the topic not only of his praise, but of his defiance. Her service, her favor, was his proudest boast. Gradually, in his festive hours, he imitated

⁸⁰ See the complaint of the Saxon Chronicle, and our old annalists, in many places.

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her dress.⁸¹ Her gentle manners diffused their magic over his own; and social courtesy, the first herald of the compassionate virtues, became the indispensable accomplishment of the preux and polished chevalier.⁸² In the days of Rufus, these milder qualities began to take root, and the clergy, who did not anticipate their civilizing tendency, inculpated their effeminacy.⁸³ By the reign of Edward III. they had established themselves in the knightly character.⁸⁴ Rufus was an example of chivalry in its ruder state. The Black Prince exhibited it in its last perfection. But after his time, the improvement of society having diminished its utility, it disappeared with the evils which it had contributed to remove.⁸⁵

We may learn from Gower's satire and complaints, written at the commencement of the reign of Henry IV. that the knightly feeling and merit had declined; and we may also perceive from these, that it was not the interest of sovereigns to encourage or patronize the order. In his unpublished Latin *Vox*

⁸¹ Eadmer.

⁸² Thus Hue de Tabarie tells Saladin: —

Sire tout ensement devez,
Issir sans nule vilounie;
Et estre plains de courtoisie.
Baignier devez en honeste,
En courtoisie e en bonté,
Et faire amer a toutes gens.

Ordene de Chev.

⁸³ Besides our John of Salisbury, Saint Bernard, in some of his Sermons, attacks what he calls the degeneracy of the knights. It is very possible that a censurable luxury accompanied it.

⁸⁴ Altho there was no code of chivalry at first, yet in this, as in most professions, the improved practice led some individuals to describe the customs which had become rules. *L'Ordene de Chevalerie*, by Hue de Tabarie, edited by Barbazan, is of this sort. It is a series of instructions supposed to have been given to Saladin, when he applied to be made a knight. In this old poem an allegorical meaning is given to most of the ceremonies.

⁸⁵ The most complete collection of facts on chivalry has been made by St. Palaye, in his *Memoires sur l'Ancient Chevalerie*. He has chiefly consulted the old Romances and the Continental authorities. I have taken a different path, and endeavored to state it as it appears in our English historical documents; as in this light it would become entitled to a place in English history. But tho my authorities are distinct from his, and supply some original information, yet they concur to establish many of his principles, and show that the Romances, for the most part, represent true pictures of manners on this ancient class of Gothic dignity.

Clamantis⁸⁶, our old poet states, that knighthood was originally instituted for three objects: To defend the rights of the church—to befriend the public welfare—and to support the cause of the orphan, the ward, and the widow. For these purposes, he was to be always in his armor, ready for battle. Fame became his reward, yet fame was not the purpose of his exertions. It was in the cause of justice that he carried arms, and for this performed his deeds.⁸⁷

The poet then complains, that the knights' attention to the fair sex had become an undue and censurable attachment, and altered their ancient character.⁸⁸ He declaims largely on love, and paints, or rather depreciates it with a singular profusion of verbal antitheses.⁸⁹ He laments the infatuation it

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⁸⁶ It is in MS. in the Cotton Library, MSS. Titus, A 13. p. 104. It consists of alternate hexameter and pentameter verses.

⁸⁷ His fifth book begins with this subject; the last sentence in the text is thus expressed:

Non propter famam, miles tum arma gerebat ;
Sed pro justitia, protulet acta sua.

MSS. p. 97.

⁸⁸ Dic mihi, nunc aliud quid honoris victor habebat,
Si mulieris amor vincere possit eum.

MSS. ib.

⁸⁹ The chain of contrasted words is long, but some of them may amuse the reader:

Est Amor egra salus ; vexata quies ; pius error ;
Bellica pax ; vulnus dulce, suave malum.
Anxia letitia, via devia, lux tenebrosa,
Asperitas mollis ; plumbea massa levis,
Florescens et hiems ; et ver sine floribus arens :
Urticata rosa ; lex sine jure vaga.
Flens risus, ridens fletus : modus immoderatus,
Hostilis socius : hostis et ipse pius.
Instabilis constantia, velle sibi que repugnans.
Spes sibi desperans, et dubitata fides.
Albido nigra, nigredo splendida, mel que :
Acre qui fel sapidum ; carcer amœna ferens.
Irrationalis ratio ; discretio stulta.
Ambiguus judex ; inscius omne putans.
Mors vivens, vita moriens, discordia concors,
Garrula mens, mutus sermo, secreta febris.
Prosperitas pauper ; paupertas prospera. Princeps,
Servus, regina, subdita. Rex et egens,
Ebria sobrietas.—Agnæ ferox, leo mitis.
Accipiter pavidus, atque columba rapax.

MSS. ib.

The ingenuity of thinking of such contraries, is more obvious than their taste or justice, altho some are not discreditable.

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was causing.⁹⁰ He describes female beauty with some power⁹¹, and the strong effects of the passion when it predominates⁹²; but distinguishes the objectionable part of the sex from the others.⁹³ He notices the spreading habit of painting their complexion⁹⁴, and mentions the manners and spirit of the knight as become effeminate and disreputable under the influence of this attractive passion.⁹⁵

He calls upon this class of society to resume their ancient chivalry; but among the benefits with which he says the revival of good knighthood will be attended, and to the production of which the improved spirit was to be directed, he enumerates resistance to severe taxation, the maintenance of the public rights,

⁹⁰ *Infatuata scola, reddens magis infatuatum
Discipulum, cujus mens studet inde magis.*

MSS. p. 97.

⁹¹ See the MSS. pp. 98, 99.

⁹² See *ib.* 100. But his verses sufficiently show, that this affection was improving from the mere animal passion into a mental emotion — an intellectual sensibility, which both refined and elevated its effects, and removed the human character farther from the brute.

⁹³ He draws his picture of the Good Woman in his sixth chapter, and subjoins that of the Bad one. The latter wears gems, radiant with gold. She is smart in her dress, in order to seduce. Her vestment is made close, and therefore her chest is tightened; but her neck is open to display her bosom. She adorns her head with a colored veil and hair. Gold ornaments are placed so as to attract the eyes of the maddening gazer. Rings are on alternate fingers; and the object of all her finery is,

Magis ut possit prendere, compta, viros.

MSS. *ib.*

⁹⁴ "So the elderly female, to renew the beauty of the departed bloom, solicits the aid of the ointment; because she is like the freezing stem which has lost its summer rose. Age thus deprives old ladies of their former charm. The blush is displaced by the wrinkle; and the withering right hand seeks to cover the antiquated cheeks by the painted color. The eyebrows are trimmed. The lips are reddened, that they may please again. The hoary head is medicated, by herbs, into a better color than it ever had; and a thick supply of purchased hair transfers the ornament of others to herself. Some even miserably starve themselves, and lose blood, in order to be pale; for not to be pale is thought a rustic quality." MSS. *ib.*

⁹⁵ In the fourth chapter, Gower urges, that "when the love of a woman predominates in a knight, it extinguishes the true probity of his chivalry. He then adopts 'femineos mores.' His honor becomes an orphan branch fallen from the trunk of its nobility. Bodily wounds may be healed; but not even Galen could cure those of the impassioned mind. The wise knight is then transformed into the infatuated fool. Fame forsakes him; and his rational faculty is divested of its reason." MSS. *ib.*

and the protection of the common weal.⁹⁶ Such exhortations to activity on these popular objects, were no less than rousing the knights to be the military champions of the people against the government, and to become the leaders and supporters of insurrections or rebellions for such purposes. But if knights, who would be true knights, were to act for these ends, it is not at all surprising that after the effect of their aid in transferring the crown from Richard II. to Henry IV. all the preceding kings should withdraw from them the peculiar favor of the crown, and become desirous of their decline and diminution: especially after the use of gunpowder had made their muscular prowess less necessary in general battle, and caused armies to be raised from the poorer classes, when distant bullets became more efficient and irresistible than the charging war-horse and the well-couched spear.

It seems to have been the Norman knights who introduced into England the use and couching of the lance, as their principal weapon, and of making the charge with that, their most fatal blow.⁹⁷ Placed in

⁹⁶ Si bona militia fuerit, *taxatio dura*
Quæ sonat in patria, tunc erit absque nota
Qui bonus est Miles, pro hi nomine certat :
Et rem communem protegit ipse manu —
Moribus ergo stude, Miles ! Vicisique resute
Belliger et *valide publica jura fave !*

MSS. p. 104.

⁹⁷ We have been led to remark this circumstance in the fourth chapter of this volume, p. 70, note ⁵. The passage in Wace, there quoted, suggested this inference; and the idea which he gives of the Anglo-Saxon knights fighting only with battle-axes, is confirmed by the Textus Roffensis, which states, that all the Anglo-Saxon pedites, at the battle of Hastings, were armed, and fought with bipennibus. Harold, either from choice or necessity, had made his army engage on foot, and battle-axes had then become the favorite Anglo-Saxon weapon. It is probable that these were a species or a derivation of the ancient Sachs or Saex, which their primitive ancestors had been so celebrated for using, as to be thought to have taken their name from it, as their most familiar and successful weapon. William of Newbery remarks, "That the French insulted the English knights as rude, and inferior in skill." It is probable that this contempt arose from their not having then efficiently adopted the Norman spear and charge. Hence the MSS. Rad. Cogg. cited by Du Cange: "They charged on each other riding towards each other with their spears or lances *more Francorum.*" Gloss. Med. Lat. iii. p. 1148.

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its rest in the saddle, and driven upon the adversary whom they encountered, with the full weight and momentum of their horses' massy size and speed, the force of its percussion was irresistible on all but the few whose bodily strength, steed, and armor were capable of enduring it. In actual battle, the spear was made of the firmest wood, and pointed with the best tempered steel. But for their tournamental exercises, it was of lighter and more frangible materials, that it might unhorse without wounding, or shiver harmlessly, if the opposing knight was vigorous enough to bear the shock without being unseated.⁹⁸ The *Hastiludium*, *Torneamentum*, *Tabula Rotunda*, *Burhurdicum*, and other meetings, with other names, were all but so many drilling and exercising palestræ, in which knights trained themselves to meet each other in the formidable encounters of actual battle, and improved and displayed their ability to give and resist the overwhelming shock⁹⁹; but the quotations in a preceding part of this History show, that knights sometimes fastened themselves to their saddle, that they might not by the terrible blow be forced suddenly out of it.¹⁰⁰ This, occasionally, as in that instance, led to fatal results; and if he had vigor and ability

⁹⁸ The points were also blunted: this was carefully exacted. In 1252, one knight having killed another at a tournament in England, by the blow of his lance in the throat, "because it was not made blunt prout debat, which he protested was accidental, was deemed reprehensus for it." M. Paris, 1252.

⁹⁹ Hoveden characterises these as military exercises, in which they engaged, "nullo interveniente odio, with no intention of hostile feud, for the mere practice and display of their powers." That particular form of their martial meetings which was called Tournament, in the meaning and practice of the middle ages, is stated in the Chron. Turon. and in that of St. Martin of Tours, to have been invented by Gaufrédus de Pruliac, who was killed afterwards at Anjou in 1066. This authority makes the tournament an invention of the French knights; and hence Matt. Paris calls it "a French conflict." Hist. Ann. 1179. The chief distinction of the tournament seems to have been, that it was a congress of many knights, who divided themselves into little squadrons and other subdivisions, like opposing armies, and so contested together. The Grecian Nicephoras Gregoras (l. 10.) so describes it, and is cited by Du Cange, vol. iii. p. 1149. The Joust or Joust was the charging of two knights singly on each other. The tournament was, therefore, a near resemblance of actual war; as they used their swords after they had charged with their lances.

¹⁰⁰ See before, chap. vi. p. 163.

enough to keep himself in his seat, yet the shock often bore down the horse upon his hind legs, and produced a dangerous struggle of his muscular forces to preserve his equilibrium as he staggered, which he was trained to do, and to avoid rolling over and crushing his rider, who was too heavily armed to help himself in such a misfortune.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ The *Tabula rotunda* (the round table) is expressly distinguished by Matthew Paris from the tournament. He says, in 1252, "In order that the knights might try their skill and prowess in their martial exercises, they appointed unanimously that they should exercise their strength not in that *hastiludium* which is commonly and vulgarly called Tournaments, but rather in that military sport which is named the Round Table." An. 1252. It was the peculiar appendage of this institution, that it should combine festivity with martial exercise. The knights who were to engage, always dined first with each other at the table, which was made round, that there might be no precedence and no distinction of ranks. All met there as knights alike and equal, for the time of the chivalric entertainment. The most famous meeting of this kind in England, before Edward III., was that of his martial tutor Mortimer, at Killingworth, in 1280. The *Historia Prioratus de Wigmore* thus describes it: "When first knighted, he invited 100 knights and as many ladies to an *hastiludium* at Kenilworth, which he solemnly celebrated with vast expence for three days. Such solemnities had never been seen in England before. There he began the round table; and the golden lion, the prize of the triumphant knight, being adjudged to him, he carried it and all the company to Warwick, where he entertained them again at his own costs." Du Cange, p. 1050. It was in emulation of what Mortimer had done, that Edward III., in 1344, had a round table for his knights framed at Windsor, whose diameter was 200 feet. Wals.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Sketch of the State of Europe from the Eleventh Century to the Fourteenth.

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I.

The political state of Europe at the Norman conquest, exhibited the infancy of the nations which became afterwards the most celebrated in its history. From this period, progression appeared in every part of the continent.

But altho, from the constitutional uniformity of human nature, the attainments of any one state are possible to all, and are evidences of the melioration which may be generally acquired, yet the progress of each must correspond with its temporary means and opportunities of advancing. The desire, which every individual possesses, of bettering his condition, and the constant efforts which all are making for this purpose, impart to society an universal and perpetual tendency to improve. Every part struggling to advance, the whole is inevitably impelled forward. The theatre of life is not indeed a smooth and level surface; we do not glide through our favorite paths like the vessel with her swelling canvas through the yielding ocean; impediments and counteracting agencies continually occur; and therefore, though the advancing tendency be incessant and insuppressible, the result must be the complicated effect of the impulse and the obstruction. Yet the obvious improvements of society from its condition in the eleventh century, are proofs that

the meliorating energy has been the superior power, tho its operation has varied according to the differences of position, intercourse, national relations, local advantages, habits, territorial extent, external exigencies, and interior polity, of every country. The population of one age is never under the same circumstances with that which has preceded or which follows. The retarding and accelerating agencies, are therefore always varying, as well as their consequences, in every nation and at every period.

Hence the historical and intellectual map of Europe must be expected to display from time to time very multifarious, dissimilar, and changeable appearances—Some states were urged by evolving circumstances into activity and prominence, and then receded into comparative and often more useful obscurity; some were eclipsed to emerge with brighter splendor; some waned, from their political vices, into feebleness and oblivion; and some, like England, advanced with steady progress, obtaining perpetual accessions of civilization, and scattering them productively around. Spain, Italy, and France, as well as England, have in different æras led the march of European civilization. Germany has emulously followed; and others in succession have contributed their aids to the great social progress; till Europe has advanced to a moral and intellectual elevation which the ancients could not reach; from which she has never receded, and which may now be deemed a basis from which human nature will be ever soaring to nobler heights.

The present sketch cannot be allowed to depict all these mutabilities and improvements. The selection of a few leading circumstances in the history of the principal nations of the Continent is all that can be inserted here, without a disproportionate digression. But these may provide the mind of the reader with that general view of the horizon of Europe, during

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the period to which this work is confined, which will enable him to proceed through our English annals with more just conceptions of their bearings and relations, and of the contemporary state and civilizing progress of our continental neighbors; with more distinct views of the causes of some of the greater events; and with clearer anticipations of their exterior results, and of our comparative position.

Norway.

Beginning our survey of Europe from NORWAY, the country from which our Norman ancestors had sprung, we may remark, that the expedition of Sigurdr to Palestine in 1109, was the last effusion of its ancient heroism. In this voyage, the youthful warrior, for he was scarcely nineteen, touching at Portugal, defeated the Mohamedans at Cintra and Lisbon¹; conflicted with the Moors in Africa, and in the Isles of Ivice and Minorca²; reached the Holy Land, captured Sidon; and, on his return, after visiting Constantinople, passed by land through Hungary to Sleswick, and rejoined in safety his brothers in Norway, with whom he shared the regal sway.³ After his death in 1130, until 1300, Norway was ravaged by competitors for its petty crown. Successively slaughtered, new combatants were set up by the turbulent provinces to revive the contest; till Norway, exhausted by civil bloodshed, to which its domestic customs led⁴, sank with a diminished

¹ Snorre has preserved the verses of the Scald Halldor on these exploits, who names the towns "Sintre" and "Lissibon." Vol. iii. p. 234, 235.

² Snorre calls Africa Serkland. The Scald names the Moors blamanna and serkiom, or blackland and blackmen. The modern appellations of the islands appear in the Scald's verses, Ivitzo and Manork. P. 238.

³ Snorre, 241. Theodoric, the contemporary of Sievard, says that he sank into an inferior prince, from some noxious potation. Hist. Norv. 63. The next note probably shows what this really was. The Scald Einar, who sings Sievard's actions, calls Acre *Akrsboag*; Jerusalem, *Jorsala*; and Sidon, *Satt*. Snorre, 241, 242.

⁴ We have these manners described by a Norwegian author, who lived 1187. "In all the cities of the kingdom the uniform custom of inebriety prevails, which breaks all their alliances of peace, instigates even the mild to deeds of cruelty, and makes crimes to be thought a joke. Their drinking *without measure* produces this

population into that state of feeble quiet, from which it has never emerged; which was most compatible with its own moral good, and with the general comfort of its neighbors and of Europe.⁵ It soon afterwards became an appendage of Sweden, from which, at a subsequent period, it was abstracted by Denmark.

Denmark.

The principal wars of this country during the twelfth century, were with the Slavonic nations between the Elbe and Oder, whose depression was auxiliary to their civilization. The DANISH sovereign who first distinguished himself at this period, was Waldemar, who, after a severe exertion, conquered and destroyed the rich pagan city of Jomsberg.⁶ He, and his son Canute, pursued the Slavonian tribes with hostilities that gradually debilitated them⁷; and Waldemar II. who acceded in 1202, adopting the military politics of his predecessors, extended his dominion along the Baltic, from Holstein to Russia.⁸ Taken prisoner by stratagem, he occasioned the impoverishment of Denmark by the money exacted for his ransom. Most of his acquisitions were torn from him. Denmark was disappointed in her proud hope of acquiring the sceptre of the North, for which she was unfit; and this king died in 1241, an instance of the mutability of human prosperity.⁹

evil, because the citizens, excited by wine, seize their arms and rush to wickedness. They take no care to refrain their hands from shedding the blood of the innocent: and therefore you will find more horrible actions among them than in any other country." De Prof. Dan. in terram Sanct. Kirchm. 746.

⁵ Snorre, 294, to the end of his History. Krantz Norwegia, 414—418. This author gives an instance of the poverty of Norway; by its dried fish it purchased part of its necessaries of subsistence. One of its kings quarrelling with the German merchants who visited the coast, they blocked up its ports, and starved the country into submission. This was about 1280.

⁶ See vol. i. p. 36. Saxo is fullest and most authentic in his history of his friend and patron Waldemar. 269—373.

⁷ With the reign of Canute VI. Saxo closes his elaborate History, which, with all its faults, has the merit of exhibiting a genius to which Denmark, always scanty in its intellectual produce, has not since produced an equal.

⁸ Pontanus Hist. Dan. 296—309.

⁹ His misfortune was owing to his own misconduct. The duke of Schwerin,

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Inferior sovereigns, murders, civil feuds, and unimportant warfares, fill up the Danish history to the end of the century, displaying the imperfections of the social character of Denmark, and precluding it from attaining any important rank among the princes of the Continent.¹⁰ Its ancient fierceness dwindled, from the internal calamities which it produced, into comparative debility. As a better national character arose, it began in the fourteenth century to revive under Waldemar III.¹¹ and attained a substantial importance, when Norway became united to it by hereditary succession, and when Margaret, the princess whose marriage with Hacon, king of Norway, had occasioned the connexion, was also invited by the Swedes to be their sovereign. This able woman formed the grand project of uniting the three crowns of Scandinavia upon one head¹²; and in 1396, the estates of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, met at Colmar to effectuate it. The great union was agreed to, and Europe might have soon felt the consequences of the hardiest sons of Scandinavia associated in one kingdom, and warring under one banner; but neither of these kingdoms had sufficient virtue or intellect to make the incorporation permanent; and, from the Swedish spirit of turbulence or independence, and

going to the Holy Land, committed his wife to the care of Waldemar, who abused his trust. The duke, in revenge, on his return watched him when he was hunting, seized, bound, and carried him off. Vilfeldius ap. Pontanus, p. 309.

¹⁰ The Danish king Eric, in his *Historia gentis Danorum*, a brief but not ill-selected series of annals, thus remarks: "In Waldemar the Second, fell the crown of the Danish head. After him, from intestine wars and mutual destruction, the Danes became the derision of the nations around. They not only lost the territories which their fathers had gloriously acquired, but miserably wounded their own country." P. 305. ed. Linden.

¹¹ He had many wars with the Hanse Towns, and died 1375. His grandson Olaus V. succeeded him, the son of his daughter Margaret by the king of Norway. Pont. Hist. l. viii. p. 463—511. Olave died 1387.

¹² Pontanus narrates her reign in his ninth book, 513—544. Returning from Sleswick into Denmark, she died suddenly on board the ship, either from some pestilential contagion, or, as the Danish historian gravely remarks, from the disagreeable marine effluvia, "because the sensibility of the fair sex to odours is more subtle than ours." P. 544.

the Danish love of power and oppression, it soon became but a statesman's dream.¹³

The history of SWEDEN, emerging from the habits, and still struggling with the effects, of its ancient ferocity, has the same barbarous features which the two last-mentioned kingdoms displayed during the twelfth and succeeding centuries. Its provinces of Gothland at first contended with the other Swedes, for the right of appointing to the crown. At some times the Danes invaded, though not successfully, and at others, internal factions arose. The competitors for royalty murdered each other, and the offspring whose claims were in opposition to their own. The greater families increased the evil by their turbulence; and Sweden, thus attenuated by the same spirit of violence and mischief which had weakened Norway and Denmark, made no progress in its political rank, and but little in its social improvements, till the fourteenth century closed.¹⁴ Their interior commotions, however, kept them externally quiet, and they gradually disciplined themselves into order, frugality, temperance, and decorous life.

It may be said of all these three nations, that too many of their ancient customs, too much of their former fame and spirit, popular poetry, venerated traditions, and national pride, remained among them, for their population to be tranquil. Wherever they looked around, rocks and stones, engraved with the names and exploits of their ancestors, appeared. Tumuli on every shore raised their green summits, to remind them of the battles and of the glory of preceding times. Family histories and the spoils

¹³ Puffendorf refers the decline of the Danes to their nobility devoting themselves to the enjoyment of their revenues, and to their habit of employing Germans for their soldiers instead of their own population. The king also, jealous of his nobles, encouraged their aversion to military exploits. *Introd. Hist. Europe*, c. ix. p. 345.

¹⁴ Loccenius *Hist. Suec.* p. 72—96.

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acquired by ancient piracy, carefully preserved as the relics of departed greatness, were every where goading the descendants to be discontented with their inferiority and inactivity. Too ignorant and too proud, for Christianity to have its proper influence, it is probable that, by diverging into internal conflicts, they employed and consumed that spirit which might otherwise have again afflicted Europe. Their domestic misery was their own production; but it benefited the rest of the world, by preventing the Baltic from becoming a region of Scandinavian Algerines. They conflicted at home, till the recollection of their popular Vikingr was eradicated by the new openings for activity and turbulent reputation occurring from their civil feuds; till their scalds became unpatronized and disused in the new habits, sufferings and vicissitudes of the great; till Papal Christianity gave their character some useful features, even by its superstitions; and till due experience taught them to value the domestic comforts and social order of peaceful and unambitious life. As the fourteenth century ended, Sweden had effected a visible advance. The union of the Northern crowns under Margaret of Denmark, though it failed to combine them in a state of permanent peace, yet kept them tranquil for several years; and Eric, her sister's son, whom she had raised to the Swedish throne, succeeded to the three sceptres, and was important enough to obtain in marriage the daughter¹⁵ of our Henry IV. A fierce warlike competition between Sweden and Denmark, in the fifteenth century, operated to the benefit of both. The foreign war terminated their domestic conflicts, increased their national patriotism, and excited and consolidated their internal resources, energies, and strength.

¹⁵ Eric's reign may be read in Pontanus, 547—616.

Sweden became an independent monarchy, and darted afterwards into a political importance, advantageous to her own people, and to all Europe.

The barbarous population of the contiguous country of FINLAND had long annoyed the Swedes by their depredations. In the middle of the twelfth century, they were subdued in a battle so destructive, that the Swedish conqueror lamented it with tears. They were compelled to adopt his religion, but with surly acquiescence; and the archbishop who was instructing them, was murdered by the chieftain on whom he was imposing penance.¹⁶ From that time, Finland continued to be an appendage to the Swedish crown.

The regions extending from the ELBE to the EIDER and the BALTIC, were in the first part of the twelfth century under the government of the Slavi, whose princes or tribes maintained wars, rarely intermitted, with the Danes, Holsatians, Saxons, and Poles. Peculiarly tenacious of their idolatry, venerating, like the ancient Egyptians, their priests more than their kings¹⁷; differing with each other in their idols, mythology, and worship¹⁸, but united in an implacable hatred of Christianity; they eagerly plunged into warfare with their converted neighbors.¹⁹ The extermination which they labored to deal around, was retorted upon themselves. Their territories were gradually curtailed; and a large portion of the country, from their own desolations, and the retaliations

¹⁶ Loccenius Hist. Succ. p. 76.

¹⁷ Helmoldus, pp. 31. 90. They exacted tribute for their temple from the nations they conquered, and sent to it all the silver and gold which they took. Ib. p. 31.

¹⁸ Aldenberg worshipped Prove, but without an image; the Polabi, Siwa; and the Obotriti, Radigast; who had all priests and a complicated worship. The people of Rugen had Zuantewith, whose oracles were much venerated. They dreaded an evil being, whom they called Zeerneboch, or the black deity. Helmoldus, 43, 44. —At Pleinen, the idol was Podaga. They made some of their deities with two, three, or more heads. But they admitted one Supreme Being, who attended only to heaven, and thought that their earthly deities, to whom they consecrated groves, were his offspring. Ib. 68.

¹⁹ Helmoldus, p. 44.

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that followed, became a desert. To replenish these with a better population, large emigrations were invited from the Batavian and Flemish provinces. The new settlers built many cities, founded many churches, and rose to wealth and consequence with a rapidity that surprised their contemporaries. Saxony and other parts of Germany added their colonists, who also raised towns and cities in the desolate tracts.²⁰ The zeal of the German clergy assisted to people and civilize these districts. One archbishop re-established three sees, at Mecklenburg, Raciburg, and Oldenburg, which the Slavi had destroyed, and which for eighty-four years had remained uninhabited.²¹

The predatory habits of the rest of the Slavi were coerced; and in the thirteenth century, German nobility are seen arising in these districts, whose titles or sovereignties we recognize in modern days.²² Lübeck, for a long time the only spot amid the Slavi where Christianity could find an asylum, tho often attacked, and sometimes burnt, yet arose with new splendor from its ashes. It became gradually an emporium of the Baltic, and an independent republic. Merchants emigrated to it from the neighboring cities; and the prince who last rebuilt it, made its laws, and sent messengers to all the cities and princes of the North, inviting their commercial intercourse, and promising safety and friendship.²³

Poland.

In the twelfth century, the Oder was the western boundary of POLAND; and the approach to this river,

²⁰ Helmoldus informs us of these curious facts, pp. 74 & 92. A colony of the Frisians is mentioned, p. 51.

²¹ Chron. Slav. incert. Austr. p. 283.

²² The partition of the territories of Henry the Lion, the great but unfortunate duke of Saxony, multiplied the noble proprietors in these parts. He married the daughter of our Henry II., with whom he was obliged to take refuge in 1184. His youngest son, William, was born in England, from whom the present illustrious house of Brunswick is descended. Putter's Germanic Empire, vol. i. pp. 207—219.

²³ Helmold. pp. 30. 47. 50. 60, 61. 72. It was a free imperial city 1182.

out of Germany, was then thought to be impracticable, from the vast forests that lay near it, and which had long limited and deterred the progress of the German emperors. Forests also separated it from Bohemia, and marked its frontier towards Hungary.²⁴ But its population was kept in barbarism by this protecting seclusion. Predatory excursions by land, and piracy on the ocean, were their principal habits; and, with such pursuits, it was not unnatural that they should be thought deficient in fidelity to their princes, and in kindness to their relations. Their climate, cold and ungenial from wood and marsh, did not reward their unskilful agriculture; and in some parts, to live by hunting was preferred to the domestic labors of husbandry.²⁵ Christianity had obtained a footing in the country, with bishops and a clergy; but the Christianity and the clergy of all nations in their barbarous state, are but the means of good struggling with a general mass of evil, and long partaking of its mischiefs. In the middle of the twelfth century, the real improvement of Poland was begun by a military enterprise, which connected it with the German empire. Frederic Barbarossa, the most able of the continental sovereigns, in 1157, was incited to attack it. He led the German forces to the forests so long believed to be impenetrable; he passed the Oder, where the passage had been thought an impossible achievement; he terrified by his progress not only the Poles, but also the Prussians, Pomeranians, and Russians, whom they had called to their assistance; and notwithstanding they destroyed their own towns and defences as they retired, with the hope of checking his progress, he penetrated to Posnan, and laid

²⁴ Otto Frisien, Chron. p. 151. Radevic. Hist. Fred. pp. 477, 478. This ancient canon makes the Vistula the eastern boundary of Poland, and Russia its northern.

²⁵ Radev. 477.

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waste the country on his part, till its duke, Boleslaus, submitted and solicited peace; after granting which, Frederic withdrew.²⁶ Poland was often engaged in wars with the Prussians, and in the thirteenth century was severely harassed by the great Tartar irruption on the eastern frontier of Europe. It lost the command of Pomerania; and its province of Silesia, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, became united to Bohemia. But from its territorial extent, its augmented population, and the activity and spirit of union among its inhabitants, it became so internally strong, that its sovereign, Casimir the Great, who acceded in 1333, conquered all Russia, and annexed it to Poland, imparting to it the same laws and liberties. He equally benefited his own country, by introducing into it the laws and constitutions of Magdeburg.²⁷ Thus as any one nation made advances in civilization, these were gradually communicated to its neighbors, and the general level of society was kept every where rising.

Russia.

The RUSSIAN population had begun to form itself into a distinct and separate nation on the western boundary of its present empire. From the White Sea and the Lake of Ladoga to the Dnieper, and along the course of that river to its discharge into the Black Sea, the principal seats of the Russian nation appear to have been first established; having the commercial Novogrod, its predominating city in the north, and Kiow, the residence of its superior chief, and therefore its metropolis, in the south. Occasional intercourse of marriage, negotiations, war, religion and trade, scattered some gleams of Grecian civilization amid its rude tribes²⁸, who gradually

²⁶ Radev. 478.²⁷ Puffendorf, *Introd.* c. 10.²⁸ Their Vladimir the Great, in 1015, obtained architects and workmen from Greece, who built several churches and palaces, to the great displeasure of the old Russians, who beheld with horror the introduction of strange arts. From his baptism, in 988, Christianity became the established religion in Russia. *L'Evêque Hist. Russ.* p. 162.

became connected and formed into a nation, though perhaps not all originating from the same source. But as Poland and Hungary had become united into nations and kingdoms, and even Bulgaria had attained this distinction, their confines and superior civilization established a line of demarcation, which, by limiting the Russian Slavi on the west, kept them distinct on this frontier, and made it their interest to confederate for safety and successful war. The distinction produced by the improvement of their western neighbors, their own progress effected on the north and east. The Lithuanians were more barbarous than the Russians; and the Turks or Tartars, besides a similar inferiority, were also kept apart by their Paganism and Mohamedanism. Necessary confederations to repel these various neighbors, who often attacked them, led the scattered Russian tribes into the feelings, customs and relations, of a common nation. The adoption of Christianity, and of a clergy radiating from one ecclesiastical centre, and subordinate to one head²⁹, increased the spirit and habit of national union; and tho the frequent division of their population, under different chiefs, tended to sever their relationship, and to make them diverge into separate kingdoms, yet these were so often reduced, by the ambition and talents of some of their princes, into one monarchy, that their national unity was never broken. The son, Jaroslaf, greatly increased the power and reputation of the infant Russia, and was ambitious of family alliances with distant sovereigns³⁰; but he

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²⁹ The great influence of the clergy in Russia may be dated from the edict attributed to Vladimir, tho somewhat later, which puts under their legal jurisdiction almost all the civil and criminal transactions of life — a provision as useful to a barbarous, as injurious to an improved age. See it described by L'Evesque, 164—168. Vladimir established the first schools in Russia.

³⁰ His eldest son married the daughter of Harold I. king of England; his second, the sister of Casimir, king of Poland; his third, a sister of the prince archbishop of Treves; and his fourth, the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople. The

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broke its national strength by dividing it, on his death in 1054, among his sons in distinct principalities. By imitating this testamentary distribution, or by giving, during their lives, large grants of territory to their children, they prevented a large empire from arising, and occasioned many civil wars³¹, which exhausted the country, altho some of these quarrels tended to scatter this peculiar population over a larger surface. Becoming, from this cause, inferior to their neighbors in national strength, the contiguous states grew up to their independent greatness without disturbance from Russian conquests; for if Russia had continued the progress which Jaroslaf had begun, neither Poland, Sweden, Greece, Hungary, nor Germany, might have retained their distinct states, nor have benefited the world, as each has done, by its own peculiar improvements. Russia, twice attempted in the middle ages by the Popes³², might have sunk into the dominion of the papal hierarchy, and have never attained that originality of character, institutions, and political position, in which we now behold her with admiration at her progress, and a friendly hope of its beneficial acceleration. Her chief struggles in the twelfth century were against the Polovtsi, literally the hunters, a Tartar nation living between the Don and the Jaik, and perpetually depredating, but who were at last subdued. The Poles and Hungarians frequently bickered with her, and her own princes were often in civil conflicts. But one of her princes, about 1150, gave her the important improvement of building

king of Norway had his eldest daughter; Henry I. king of France, his second; and the king of Hungary, his third.

³¹ L'Evesque justly remarks, "Thus Russia became divided among a crowd of little sovereignties, of which many were but villages; and the chiefs were not mere lords, as in the rest of Europe, but princes of the blood of Rurik." P. 163.

³² By Gregory VII. in 1075; and by Urban II. in 1093. L'Evesque, pp. 212, 213. One of the most ancient literary documents preserved in Russia is a code of laws ascribed to Jaroslaf.

several cities, to which he invited settlers from Hungary, Bulgaria, and other places, who greatly increased the population and resources of the country.³³ Among these he began the foundation of the celebrated Moscow, at first a pleasant mansion, near which a city began under his auspices to arise.³⁴ The next sovereign, discerning the inconveniences of Kiow for the chief city of Russia, made Volodimir his capital, which long remained so.³⁵ But the country continued to be weakened as a nation, by the numerous rival sovereignties which divided and exhausted it, till 1223, when the great invasion of the Mongol Tartars, who, under Genghiz Khan, rolled like a torrent from China into Europe, added Russia to the number of their conquests. The line of its ancient dynasties was subdued. Its princes became subordinate and tributary to the succeeding khan of the Tartars. His will was the general law; his voice decided their contests. Their national spirit was broken, and their national predominance destroyed.³⁶ Some cities confederated to emancipate themselves from the Tartar yoke, and succeeded; but the rest of the country continued in the servitude, increasing in population from the Tartar tribes³⁷, and deriving some mental benefit from their predominance; for the Mongol Tartars had letters, some arts, and a spirit of religious toleration that might have instructed the whole Christian world.³⁸ Perhaps their

³³ This was Georges, or Joury I. who reigned, with some vicissitudes, from 1149 to 1157.

³⁴ Being affronted by a bojar, who was residing at this spot, the Russian sovereign confiscated his property, and, struck by the beauty of his hamlet, where two streams fell into the Moskva, he surrounded it with a rampart of wood, and peopled it with inhabitants from Volodimir and some neighboring viliages. Such was the casual origin of Moscow. L'Evesque, 340.

³⁵ On the decline of Kiow, which Adam of Bremen had remarked for its emulation of Constantinople (Hist. Eccl. p. 24.), see L'Evesque, 343—346.

³⁶ In this manner the principality of Kiow alone lost 60,000 of its subjects. L'Evesque, vol. 2. p. 26.

³⁷ The Tartar princes built several cities in Russia. Ib. 78.

³⁸ The respectful treatment of the Russian metropolitan by the khan of the Tartars, in 1313; and the important privileges which he granted or confirmed to the

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greatest use was the abolition of the petty sovereignties that were distracting Russia, and preventing it from becoming one compacted and improving nation. When its northern part, Archangel, was discovered, and its czar visited by Englishmen a few years before Elizabeth acceded³⁹, the foundations of this great country were being firmly laid. Its strength and power and improvements have been ever since extending and increasing, till it has become as formidable and dangerous to the Turkish empire as that was to Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Mohamedanism, curtailed by the Russian sword, is declining as the Ottoman dominions lessen, and may yet quietly evacuate Europe, if a Grecian nation can be established in sufficient independence. These great events are now (in 1829) at issue, and seem evolving; and this summer and autumn will be long distinguished by the momentous results, which cannot but be promotive of the progression of the human mind, and we will hope, of human nature; tho mental energy and social happiness are not always united.⁴¹

Russian clergy, whose prayers, though a Mohamedan, he solicited; are stated from Russian documents by L'Evesque, vol. ii. pp. 137—139.

³⁹ See Modern Hist. Engl. vol. iii. p. 298.

⁴⁰ Count Diebitsch deserves an historical commemoration as the first Russian or European general that has passed the Balkan mountains since the Padishah established his mosques and seraglio in Constantinople. This difficult and venturous enterprise was accomplished completely by him on 24 July 1829, and Adrianople surrendered to him on 20 August without opposition. Both incidents equally new in Turkish history, and fatal to Turkish power, and therefore eventually to Islamism itself.

⁴¹ The distinguished poets of Russia may be said to have begun with Prince KANTEMIR, who died in 1744; but LOMONOSOV far eclipsed him, and first gave to his native language the true harmony and symmetry of pleasing versification and a pruned regularity. Contemporary with him, 1718—1777, was SUMAROKOV, more known for the universality of his compositions than for their genius, for he attempted every species of poetry. In 1778, BOGDANOVICH published his fanciful Dushenka. KHERASOV, who died in 1807, has aimed at epic poetry in his Rossiada, tho with only a partial success; but DERZHAVIN is thought to have more than equalled the ablest of his predecessors. Others of much talent have succeeded, who are described in Grech's *Opuit Kratkoi Istorii Ruskoj Literaturui*, or Sketch of Russian Literature, which deserves, but has not yet received, an English translation. The modern history of Russian literature commences with the dynasty of Romanov: public schools then began. "The clergy brought with them from the universities of Italy and Poland a taste for polite learning, and in 1682 an academy

As the twelfth century began, the disturbed reign of Henry IV. was drawing to its close. Almost shaken from his throne by the revolting princes of the empire, and by popes struggling for useful though ambitious projects, he surmounted their opposition, to meet in his latter days the more afflicting hostilities of his son; and died in 1106, having witnessed the repeated desolation of the finest parts of GERMANY, and the moral and political commotions into which the intestine warfares had thrown its conflicting population. In the insolence of his youth he had expressed his regret, that no one seemed disposed to make him exercise his strength; and he imputed the tranquillity of his great subjects to their sloth and sensuality.⁴² He lived to experience the evils of their turbulent activity. Their struggles effected the important revolution, of making all the German dignities hereditary rights. The dukes, margraves, and counts, were no longer governors, dependent upon the crown, and transferable by its bounty or caprice; their titles and territorial property became permanent possessions, and descended to their families in regular inheritance.⁴³ This innovation reduced the imperial crown to a splendid nominal honor, circumscribed its ambition, and filled Germany with independent states. To provide checks to the great nobility, the emperors pursued the policy of establishing free cities in every part; and thus the growth of an original population was secured, nursed in moderated liberty, and gradually improved by every new accession of civilization

was founded at Moscow for the study of theology, philosophy, rhetoric and the liberal sciences." *Foreign Review*, No. 4. p. 281.

⁴² Otto Fris. *de Gest. Fred. c. 4.* p. 408.

⁴³ Pütter *Germ. Emp. l. 2. c. 9.* p. 184—198. "Instead of the ancient division of Germany into cautions (gau) there appeared in the twelfth century an infinite number of hereditary counties and lordships; and the family names of the possessors of them, which were derived from the ancient residences, soon became equally hereditary." *Ib.* p. 187.

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which their own ingenuity and continual intercourse with their neighbors could obtain.

The superior talents of Henry V. made his reign more prosperous than his father's. The continuance of the papal attacks on their emperors, roused the pride and disturbed the comforts of the German nobility.⁴⁴ Henry availed himself of their dissatisfaction, to invade Italy with 30,000 knights, whose encampments blazed in the darkness of midnight with a flaming torch on every tent. He boldly advanced to Rome, and seized the person of the Pope, notwithstanding the resistance of the citizens.⁴⁵ But he was at last obliged to yield the investiture of the spiritualities of the German bishops, by the ring and crosier, to the Pope⁴⁶; reserving to the throne the right of giving them their temporal fiefs, by the delivery of a sceptre. He married the daughter of our English sovereign Henry I. whom he left a widow in 1125, and whose struggles with Stephen have been already recorded.⁴⁷ He multiplied the freemen of Germany, by enfranchising all those in the servile state in cities, who were artisans; and he raised them to the rank of citizens⁴⁸; an important exertion of political wisdom and benevolent power.

The reign of Lotharius II. his successor, made the empire for ten years the scene of conflict with the duke of Suabia. He lost an army in an invasion of Bohemia; and so many Saxons were destroyed in its forests, on the disaster, that a national animosity became fixed between Saxony and Bohemia.⁴⁹ The duke of Poland did him homage for Pomerania and Rugen; and he compelled the king of Denmark, in

⁴⁴ Otto Fris. c. 1. p. 407.

⁴⁵ Otto Fris. Chron. l. 7. p. 147.

⁴⁶ Pütter, l. 2. c. 8. p. 172. —The emperors never regained this prerogative. *Ib.*

⁴⁷ See before, Book I. chap. vii.

⁴⁸ Butler's Revol. Germ. Empire, p. 47. 1st ed.

⁴⁹ Otto de Gest. c. 21. p. 418.

token of his feudal subjection, to carry the sword under his crown.⁵⁰ His campaign in Italy obtained a greater command of Apulia and Campania, than any preceding emperor had enjoyed.⁵¹

The conversion of Germany into an elective empire had been one of the results of its interior conflicts, and of the papal interference. This right of election by the German princes⁵² had been exerted in the appointment of Lotharius. It was repeated on the elevation of Conrade III. in 1139, whose intercourse with the Grecian emperor must have benefited the Germanic continent.⁵³

In 1152 he was succeeded in the empire by Frederic Barbarossa; a prince, whose personal talents, peculiar ambition, distant expeditions, and active reign, diverted the restlessness of his countrymen from the desolations of domestic depredation, established an intimate connection between the German and Italian mind, to their mutual benefit, and placed the Pope and the Emperor in political collisions, which were auspicious to the religious liberties of the empire.⁵⁴ After his death, on his crusade in Cilicia in 1191, his son, Henry IV. obtained the empire. This was the sovereign who detained our Richard Cœur de Lion in captivity, who married the heiress of Sicily, and who three times assailed Italy with an overwhelming force, and even meditated the conquest of Greece.⁵⁵ His death in 1197, released the Pope and the Peninsula from an enemy, whose

⁵⁰ Otto Chron. p. 149.

⁵¹ He expelled Roger from the duchy of these provinces, and gave it to Reginald: this produced a quarrel with the Pope, who claimed its feudal sovereignty. The grant was usually made by presenting a banner to the selected chieftain. To appease the Pope on this occasion, it was agreed that he and the emperor should both have their hands on the banner when it was given to Reginald. Otto Chron. p. 151.

⁵² See Pütter, c. 10. p. 199—202.

⁵³ See their letters and intercourse, in Otto de Gestis Fred. p. 419.

⁵⁴ On this important reign, the original contemporary accounts of Otto Frisingensis, Otto S. Blas, and Radevicus, may be seen in the Germ. Histor. Urtisli 1585.

⁵⁵ Otto S. Bl. p. 222.

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power was increased by his military talents; and the war of twelve years, which followed, for the German sovereignty, gave Italy an interval of independence and prosperity. Its cities sent their golden keys and respectful presents to Otho IV. the successful competitor, who was crowned at Rome in 1209. His reign was distinguished by his great defeat in Flanders, which preserved the independence of France⁵⁶; and he was succeeded in 1220, by FREDERIC II. whose inheritance of Sicily connected Germany with that interesting island at the time when the vernacular poetry of Italy was first receiving its birth. This Emperor confirmed the ecclesiastical and secular states in their territorial prerogatives.⁵⁷ His crusade to Palestine seems to have arisen from a secret intercourse and connection with the Sultan of Egypt⁵⁸, who at last disappointed his ambition in its projects as to Jerusalem.⁵⁹ But worldly celebrity, not religion, had led him to the venerated land⁶⁰, and he

⁵⁶ The monk of Padua ascribes this war to a sportive promise or wager of the king of France, to give the city of Paris to Otho if he ever got the imperial crown. Otho becoming Emperor, claimed the performance by arms. Monac. Pad. Chron. p. 582.

⁵⁷ Pütter, c. 12. p. 233.

⁵⁸ M. Reinaud has written the History of Frederic's Crusade, from Arabian MSS. Ibn Alatir narrates, that the sultan of Egypt solicited his assistance, when his brother, the Mussulman chief of Damascus, was uniting with the sultan of Charisme against him. Makrisi reports that secret ties had existed between the sultan and Frederic, when the former invited him to a joint attack on his brother, on the promise of giving to him Jerusalem and Palestine as soon as conquered. The emir, Fakr-eddin, was made his negotiating ambassador. But the brother's unexpected death having released the sultan from his apprehensions, he rather feared than wished Frederic's appointed crusade. Rein. Hist.

⁵⁹ When the emperor arrived in Palestine, the sultan had seized Jerusalem from his brother's child; and Frederic, amid their friendly civilities, demanded it according to the secret compact. The sultan hesitated. Dehebi has preserved Frederic's answer: "I am your friend. You are not ignorant how much I am above all the princes of the West. It was you who engaged me to come here. The king and the pope knew of my expedition. If I should return without obtaining any thing, I shall lose all consideration in their eyes. Is not this Jerusalem the place which gave birth to Christianity? Have not you now destroyed it? It is reduced to the last state of weakness. Pray give it to me in its present condition, that when I go back I may be able to lift up my head among the kings. I relinquish beforehand all the tributes I might draw from it." Rein. Hist.

⁶⁰ Makrisi adds, that he told the emir, Fakr-eddin "I should not so much insist on this cession, if I were not afraid of losing all credit in the West. My object in coming here was not to liberate the Holy City, nor any thing like it. I only wished to stand high in the esteem of the Franks." The sultan was very unwilling to give

excited the suspicion of Europe, not unjustly, that an hypocrisy approaching to impiety, was a degrading feature of his character.⁶¹ This moral anomaly may have originated from the peculiarity of his early nurture and tuition, which had mixed him too much with Mohamedan society to have given time or space for a Christian or sound intellectual education.⁶² Frederic's contests for the Italian sovereignty were as arduous as those of his first namesake. By 1242, he had acquired almost the whole of Italy, and he strove by every means to depress the papal power, to divest it of its temporal possessions, and to diminish the pride of the clergy.⁶³ The active Pope at

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up the city, but he dreaded the hostilities of Frederic. "At least," he exclaimed, "they shall only have churches and houses in ruins." It was settled that Jerusalem should remain as it was; no fortifications were to be constructed; the Mussulmen were to go to it as they pleased, to keep the mosque of Omar and the sacred chapel, and to have the free use of their religion. Peace was then signed for ten years five months and forty days, from 24 Feb. 1229. Rein. Hist.

⁶¹ Frederic visited Jerusalem before he left the East, and is thus described by Ibn Giouzi, an Arabian contemporary writer, cited in the Chronicle of Yafei. "The emperor was ruddy and bald. His sight was weak. If he had been a slave, he would not have been worth 200 drachmas. His discourse shewed that he did not believe his Christian religion. When he spoke of it, it was to sneer at it. Having cast his eyes on the inscription in letters of gold, which Saladin has placed above the venerated chapel, which said, 'Saladin purged the Holy City from those who worshipped many gods;' he had it explained to him, and then asking why the windows had gratings, he was told it was to keep out the birds. He answered, 'Yes! you have driven away the sparrows; but instead of them, you have got hogs,'—meaning the Christians. When the emir, enforcing the sultan's order to avoid what might displease Frederic, rebuked the Muezzins for uttering on the minarets the passages in the Koran against the Christians, Frederic, hearing of it, told him, 'you have done wrong. Why, for my sake, omit your duty, your law, or your religion? By heaven! if you come with me to my states——'" The Arabic MS. quoted by Reinaud, breaks off thus abruptly from mutilation; but we may infer the sentiment, from the feeling which the incident was introduced to illustrate.

⁶² Colonel Fitzclarence has printed his observations on the employment of Mohamedan mercenaries in Christian armies, in the Asiatic Journal, Feb. 1827. From these we perceive, that as Frederic II. had been brought up among the Saracens, and as the Arabic was almost his maternal language, he loved and protected the Mussulman religion. He permitted the Mohamedans to pursue it publicly in his dominions; they served in his armies; the call of their imauns to prayer was heard in his camp. Some of the chief offices, both civil and military, in his court, were filled by them; they even married Christian wives; and such an assimilation was taking place at that time, that some Spanish bishops became Mussulmen. Manfred, the successor of Frederic in the Two Sicilies, pursued the same plan of indifferent toleration. It was impossible for a state of things like this to continue without a great degeneracy in the Christian mind, and therefore we cannot regret that it was disliked and ended by the future kings.

⁶³ This is the language of the Monk of Padua, p. 590.; and the same objects, about the same period, seem to have influenced also the governments of France and England.

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last procured another emperor to be elected in opposition to him. Their personal contest, and the German domination of Italy, ceased by the death of Frederic in 1250. A long vacancy and many competitions ensued, for the imperial crown⁶⁴; till the house of Hapsburg, obtaining it in 1273, began a new and wise system of internal and external policy, abandoning Italy and foreign war.⁶⁵

The fourteenth century exhibited many wasteful struggles for the empire. Charles, the king of Bohemia, who attained it, and who died in 1378, conceded to France the little kingdom of Arles, annexed Silesia to Bohemia, increased the privileges of the German cities, to counterbalance the power of the great princes; and caused the famous Golden Bull to be compiled, which, settling the rules for the election of succeeding emperors, prevented their future dissensions on this interesting subject. Germany had now fully acquired its singular constitution⁶⁶; and rapidly improving in its internal culture and political strength⁶⁷, became, in the following

⁶⁴ In 1247 the count of Holland was chosen Emperor; and the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum* has preserved a detailed account of the ceremony of his imperial coronation, pp. 243—246. If emperors of Germany have been ambitious of universal dominion, can we be surprised at it, when we find that one part of the ceremony was, "Then the duke of Bavaria, the count of the palace or cup-bearer, gave him a golden globe, saying, 'Take this spherical globe, and *subdue all nations* of the earth to the Roman Empire, that you may be called the glorious Augustus.'" *Mag. Chron. Belg.* 245.

⁶⁵ Though often invited to Italy, he abstained from the enterprise, giving the answer of the Fox—"The footsteps deter me." He was the first that introduced the use of the German tongue in all public courts and private transactions, instead of the Latin. *Puffend. Introd.* c. 8.

⁶⁶ Altho taken as a whole it was one Empire, yet it was rather a compound body of states, the individual members of which formed each of them particular states, independent, but subordinate as parts to the whole, and connected by one common head. There were also towns and cities which were subject to none of the princes or states, but acknowledged the emperor alone as their territorial lord. *Pütter, c. 12. p. 239.*

⁶⁷ *Bebelius*, who addressed his panegyric on Germany to Maximilian, in 1501, maintains, that though Tacitus, Seneca, and others, had described Germany as barbarous, sterile, gloomy, and uncultivated, yet in his day it had become so full of cities, castles and mansions; so fertile, so agricultural; so connected by roads, population, and intercourse, that it might be justly said that Greece had emigrated to Germany. *Hist. Germ. Var. Basle, t. 1. p. 275.* His rhetorical image may be hyperbolic, but his description shows the universal improvement of Germany.

centuries, of the greatest importance to the progress of the general civilization of Europe. Separated from Italy, after an active intercourse with that improved peninsula, it was thrown back upon its own native peculiarities and resources; and it grew up from these into an original character of mind and morals, which has even excited the panegyric of the critical and cynical Machiavel.⁶⁸ His opinion is the more interesting, because, in ascribing their merit to their political seclusion⁶⁹, he contributes to illustrate one of the great processes of national melioration. When intercourse with a more civilized state can benefit a ruder one, it is impelled into incidents that establish a temporary communication. Thus the Germans were carried by ambitious emperors into Italy and Sicily, and an age of vernacular poetry and mental cultivation was the consequence.⁷⁰ When the continuance of the connection would have been pernicious, it was terminated. Germany lost the sovereignty of Italy, and was driven back into its own soil, to grow up there with its own hardy virtues, and into a native character and integrity peculiarly its own. One of the greatest obstacles to improvement in Germany, was its right of private wars; but

⁶⁸ "Germany is the place, of the whole world, where the footsteps of the old Roman virtue and fidelity are conspicuous, and that fidelity is the reason why so many cities live happily in liberty; for they are so careful and studious of their laws, that this circumstance preserves them from servitude, and from being overrun by their enemies." Machiav. Disc. c. 52. p. 324. Engl. ed.

⁶⁹ "Integrity and justice are no where to be found but in Germany; and this arises from their having little or no commerce with their neighbors; neither trading into foreign parts, nor admitting foreigners among them. Hence they prevent a communication of the corrupt manners of the French, Spaniards, and Italians, who are vicious enough to debauch the whole world." Machiav. Disc. c. 52. p. 325.

⁷⁰ "Soon after this, the most splendid period of Teutonic poetry and romance commenced. For the space of a century and a half, beginning about the middle of the twelfth, and ending with the reign of Rudolph of Hapsburg, emperors, kings, princes, nobles, monks and mental minstrels, vied with each other in producing and translating lays of love, romances, fabliaux, chronicles, fables and sacred legends. The names and works of above three hundred minstrels of that period have been preserved." Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, p. 7. ed. Edinb. 1814.

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the barbarous custom was at length abolished by law in the year 1495.⁷¹

The commercial phenomenon of the middle ages, was the HANSE confederation. Its origin is obscure. But the piratical habits of the North, accustoming its various peoples to bold and distant navigation, produced early a spirit of commerce on the Baltic, which rapidly superseded the habits of the sea-kings and vikingr.⁷² Birca in Sweden, even in the ninth century, was celebrated for its traffic. Bergen in Norway, Novgorod and Kiow in Russia, and the pagan republic of Jomsberg⁷³, besides other towns on the Baltic, were also distinguished. When Jomsberg fell, Lübeck rapidly emerged into commercial activity and wealth. The habit spread. Flanders, long the object of the Northman desolations, became also one of the seats of European commerce. The free cities of Italy imbibed the same spirit; Lucca, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, spread the Mediterranean with their vessels; and many of them had factors, settlements, warehouses, and shops, in England.⁷⁴ In the first part of the thirteenth century, some or most of these trading towns, especially those between the Bay of Biscay and the Arctic Circle, united into a confederation for mutual defence, and for the promotion, perhaps for the monopoly, of their commercial pursuits, under the name of the Hanse Towns.⁷⁵ In the time of Waldemar III. who died in 1375, the Hanse towns, who combined

⁷¹ By a clause in the Landfriede, an edict made by Fred. I., to every one was reserved the right of doing justice to himself by force, provided he gave three days' notice to his adversary, and declared himself his enemy. Pütter, c. x. p. 206. — "It may be safely asserted, that in the fourteenth and following century, there was scarcely a habitable tract of land, of a few square miles, to be found, which was not almost incessantly involved in troubles, and distracted by the horrors of private war." *Ib.* l. 3. c. iii. p. 294.

⁷² See *Hist. Anglo-Sax.* vol. ii. p. 252.

⁷³ See this *History*, Book i. chap. ii.

⁷⁴ See our subsequent chapter on Commerce.

⁷⁵ The word Hanse signifies, in the ancient German, a number of persons associated by compact. *Schilt. Thes.* p. 223.

against him, amounted to seventy-seven in number.⁷⁶ They exercised a judicial superintendence over the conduct of their members, and punished them by a species of commercial excommunication.⁷⁷ They formed fleets, supported wars, and attempted invasions when provoked.⁷⁸ After the fifteenth century, they rapidly declined, and dwindled to three towns, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburgh.⁷⁹

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The BOHEMIAN nation became gradually of vast importance to the great European family during the middle ages, by the marriage of its Princess Anne to the English sovereign Richard II.; and from its eager reception of the anti-papal ideas of Wickliffe, and from its sturdy maintenance of its religious reformation.⁸⁰ The ruder effects of its native Muse claim an early date.⁸¹ It resisted the Tartars in their invasion in the thirteenth century, and had then a bard who sang the victorious conflict with them.⁸² Its defeat of the Saxons in 1281, was also made the subject of an energetic effusion of the Bohemian Muse.⁸³ The aggressions and advancing vicinity of

Bohemia.

⁷⁶ Pontanus, in his *Hist. Denm.* p. 494, enumerates them, and gives the rhyming witticism of the Danish king upon them.

⁷⁷ Thus, because the town of Brunswick, one of their union, had supported a popular tumult, they declared it cut off from their Hanse. Its merchants were not suffered to trade in their emporiums, and were interdicted from the use and community of their privileges for eight years. *Krantz Wandalia*, pp. 207. 258.

⁷⁸ Their four principal emporia were, London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod. *Krantz*, *ib.*

⁷⁹ *Pütter*, p. 257.

⁸⁰ See *Modern History of England*, Book ii. chap. iii.

⁸¹ A MS. of Bohemian poetry, written between 1290 and 1301, was discovered by Hanka in 1817, and published two years afterwards. The pieces which remained in it, "were most probably the productions of the ninth and tenth centuries." *For. Quart. Rev.* No. 3. p. 150.

⁸² Hanka published an edition of this poem at Prague in 1823. It is a description of a battle with the Tartars, near Olmutz, in 1241. The verses are harmonious; ten syllables always containing five trochees, as "Wzhōru brātri, wzhōru wōla unēslov." The daughter of Kublay, the Khan of Tartary, travelling to visit the lands of the west, was plundered and murdered in a German forest. Her father marches with a vindictive army, conquers Russia, and reaches Olmutz. But here in the battle, on its contiguous mountains, his son is killed, and the Tartars driven back to their ancient territories. *Ib.* p. 150.

⁸³ *Benesh Hermanow* is the hero on this exploit. A close translation of the

the Turks, excited other exertions which do credit to its national genius⁸⁴: and from the foundation of its university at Prague in 1348, where Jerome and Huss so impressively lectured, to the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, when the Austrian sword and popish bigotry destroyed its liberties, and reduced it to a dependent state, the Bohemian language and its native literature were generally and highly cultivated.⁸⁵ Cruel persecution followed its subjection to

poem is ably given in the *Foreign Quarterly*, p. 151. It is full of original spirit, and thus ends—

Benesh climb'd a rocky mountain ;
 He swang his sword towards the right,
 Where the army's strength seem'd weakest.
 He swang his sword towards the left :
 There the army's strength was strongest.
 There—up to the riven rocks.
 From these rocks they hurl'd huge fragments :
 Hurl'd huge fragments on the foe.
 Hark ! the battle is rekindled.
 Hark ! From hill to plain they groan.
 Ha ! they groan— they fly—the Germans.
 Ha ! they fall—the battle's won. Ib. p. 151.

⁸⁴ One of these ballads is on the application of a Turk to a Bohemian warder on the frontiers for his daughter. The father not daring to refuse, the maiden, to escape the captivity, suggests, that he shall say she is dead, and send her in a coffin as a proof of the allegation. The close of it in the pleasing version of the Reviewer deserves to be quoted, as an indication that the Turks were not then considered by their Bohemian enemies as an unfeeling, tho' an imperious race. — As the coffin came,

- - The Moslem o'er
 The threshold sprung. "Ill-fated maid !
 O God of mercy and of power !
 The maid is dead ! the maid is dead !"
 The mourning Turk his kerchief drew,
 And wiped his wet and weeping eyes.
 "And hast thou left me ? left me too !
 My precious pearl ! my gem-like prize !"
 He bought himself a mourning dress,
 A dress of rosy taffety.
 "Why hast thou left me in distress ?
 Of flowers, the sweetest flower to-me !"
 He bade the death-bell loudly toll,
 From every Turkish mosque ; and ye
 Might hear the heavy grave song roll
 From Turkey ev'n to Moldawy.
 The Turk sped homeward : and the maid
 Her coffin left — for purer air.
 "Now heav'n be with thee, Turk !" she said ;
 And truth was in the maiden's prayer. Ib. 158.

⁸⁵ One of the short poems may be cited, which is in Polish, as well as Bohemian,

Austria: its Protestant churches were demolished; its vernacular books were burnt; and silence and suffering overspread the nation for a century and a half, till the augmented civilization and intelligence of the age which witnessed in its latter period the American and French revolutions, extended also its beams to the Austrian dominions, and began a revival of the human mind in Bohemia as well as in their imperial capital and stately aristocracy.⁸⁶

HOLLAND was, in the thirteenth century, beginning its intellectual improvements, and slowly advancing in its internal strength and comforts. Its earlier versifiers had chosen moral subjects for their compositions.⁸⁷ The works of its poets in the middle ages discover the same taste⁸⁸, with the addition of those

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as the originals shew the affinity between these two branches of the old Slavonian language:—

Two lovers seek the wood together
For shelter, when a mighty bough,
Riven by the fierce and stormy weather,
Falls — and they both are corpses now !
'Tis well. Their fate is bliss. Far sweeter
That both should die, than one remain
To mourn — a solitary creature —
Thro wearying, wasting years in vain.

Bohemian.

W zelenem hageeku
Milowal se dwa
Spadlo na ne drewo
Zabilo ge oba
Dobre udelalo
Ze obar zabilo
Nebude zeleti
Geden pro druheho.

Polish.

W zielonym gaiku
S ied zieli we dwoie
Drzewo sie zlamalo
Zabilo oboie
Oboie zabilo
T dobrze zrobilo
Zadne niezostalo
By z zalu plakalo.

For. Q. Rev. 155.

⁸⁶ Joseph II. checked the spirit of fanaticism, and withheld the hand of persecution. He established, or sought to establish, if not full liberty of conscience, at least toleration for the Protestant creed. *Ib.* 174.

⁸⁷ Maerlant, in his *Rymbybil*, completed in 1270, a rhymed translation of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, frequently refers to earlier poets. He mentions W. Utenhove as "a priest of good fame," who translated the *Bestiaires* of Guillaume. He speaks of the *Fables of Æsop* as put by Calfstatt and Noydekijn into rhyme fair and fine; of Claes van Brechten's translations from the "Walsche," and of Cato's "Book of Manners" found in many towns, translated into Dutch. All these works are now lost; they are only known by these notices that they once existed.

⁸⁸ Jakob van Maerlant, who was born in 1235 and died 1300, besides the *Rymbybil*, has left his moral "Dialogues between Jacob and Martin," his "Glass of Huleus," and "Flowers of Nature." He frequently refers to romances, like those of the Knights of the Round Table, as then in circulation in Holland, and mentions

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chronicles in verse which may give us rhyme and metre, but which are always as barren of poetry as they are useful for their historical notices.⁸⁹ Other Dutch compositions of these times are more fanciful.⁹⁰ Internal dissensions and civil wars soon afterwards occupied the public attention, with an eventual benefit to the general population.⁹¹

The reign of Philip Augustus, who died in 1223, nearly doubled the dominions of the FRENCH crown, by wresting Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine, from our pusillanimous John. The power of France, from this aggrandizement, was severely felt by Germany at the celebrated battle of Bovines, in which he defeated the Emperor Otho and his allies⁹², and established the French predominance in Flanders. Like other princes in Europe at this period, Philip favored the growth of free cities in his kingdom, to give the crown a balance of strength against the vassal population of the nobility.

His son Louis VIII. had been disappointed of the English crown by the coronation of Henry III.⁹³;

the "speekers and zangers," speakers and singers, who accompanied the festivities of the age. The poem of another author of this century is called "Natuurkundi" (natural philosophy). *Foreign Quart. Rev.* No. 7. pp. 42, 43.

⁸⁹ The *Rymchronyk*, or *Rimed Chronicle* of Melis Stoke, ending 1305, is of this description. Almost contemporaneous with him was Jan van Helen, who celebrated the deeds of Don John the first, of Brabant, in a poem of ten thousand verses. He says, his hero "won a Ridder's name (a knight's fame) at tournaments and jousts,

And with his weapons in his hand
Sought honor from land to land."

The writer of the valuable *Review*, to which I refer, thinks some of his verses to be vigorous. p. 43.

⁹⁰ "In the Netherlands, the 'War of Grimberg;' the Knight of the Swan; the Children of Count Hemann; and, above all, that extraordinary composition, *Reintjeu den Vos*, which was printed 1479, are spoken of as sources of instruction and amusement." *Ib.* 42, 43.

⁹¹ "Out of the tyranny and discord of the seigneurs, the influence of the towns and the powers of commerce arose; and little aristocratical republics fought the battles of popular interest against the exactions of the nobles." *Ib.* 45.

⁹² Rigordus describes with pompous elation the French rejoicings on this victory — the popular songs, the ecclesiastical chants, the churches hung with ornaments both inside and out, the houses covered with rich curtains and embroidered silks, and the streets strewed with plants and boughs of trees, to gratulate the king's triumphal entry. p. 223.

⁹³ This *History*, Book i. chap. xiii.

and the aid furnished by England to the disgraceful attack on the Albigenses, prevented him from dispossessing it in his resentment of Gascony and Bourdeaux.⁹⁴

The talents of St. Louis, who succeeded in 1226, were principally occupied by crusades in Egypt and at Tunis, which were as personally calamitous to the sovereign, who was taken prisoner in his first expedition, and who perished from the plague in his last, as to his nation, whom they harassed and exhausted.⁹⁵ He benefited France by laws and civil institutions, which increased its interior prosperity and relative strength; and he was formed to have greatly improved its moral character, if he had remained in his own country, quietly displaying in a peaceful life his wisdom, piety, and useful virtues.⁹⁶ In his reign a new direction was given to the French mind and politics, by the invitation of his brother Charles of Anjou into Italy. In the successful expeditions of this prince, he destroyed his German competitors with much personal cruelty, and obtained the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.⁹⁷ The same prince occasioned the union of Provence with the French crown, by marrying the daughter of its last count.⁹⁸

Philip III. succeeding St. Louis in 1270, had wars with the king of Castile, and the feudal counts

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⁹⁴ Henault. Chron. Abr.

⁹⁵ St. Louis had an admiring and affectionate biographer in his friend Joinville, whose work is one of the most interesting remains of the early French literature.

⁹⁶ His apology may be rested on the feelings of the age; for we find the troubadour Pierre Vidal inveighing against St. Louis's grandfather, because, instead of making a crusade and aiding the holy sepulchre, he passed his life "in a vile traffick, of which the French are ashamed." Palaye Troub. vol. ii. p. 281.

⁹⁷ On the actions of Charles D'Anjou, Sismondi has collected a copious account in his *Histoire des Rep. Ital.* vol. iii. p. 336—492. The execution of Conradine was unknighly and inhuman. The Sicilian Vespers was a horrible retaliation of his severities.

⁹⁸ The troubadour Pegullain laments this incorporation of Provence, but shews the utility of the event. "Instead of a brave seigneur, they will have a sire (a king). They will build neither cities nor fortresses. Subjugated by the French, they will not dare to carry again either lance or shield." Palaye, vol. ii. p. 239. Thus the enlargement of the kingdoms absorbed local warfare.

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in Languedoc and Guienne. His victories over the latter increased the internal consolidation of the French power.⁹⁹

The reign of Philip IV. or the Fair, from 1285 to 1314, was important for his contests for Flanders with Edward I., and for his struggles with Pope Boniface, who attempted, as in England, to keep the clergy exempt from lay-taxation, that their revenues might be more immediately applicable to the papal services. As the veneration for St. Peter's chair began now to be diminishing through Europe, from the unholy passions that often filled it, this dispute gave a decisive check to the progress of the papal authority in France. The right of appeal from its infallibility to the next general council was asserted, and a foundation was laid for the liberties of the Gallican church.¹⁰⁰

The short reigns of the three next princes¹⁰¹ were followed by that of Philip VI. or de Valois, whose resistance to Edward III. produced the chief events of that illustrious reign. His union of Dauphiny and Montpellier with the French crown, augmented the concentration of the national power; and, tho this was shaken by the captivity of his successor, John, at the battle of Poitiers, and by the factions of the yet insubordinate great, which ensued, yet Charles V. who acceded in 1364, notwithstanding the talents of the Black Prince, recovered all the conquered provinces, added others, and displayed and fostered that literary taste and spirit in the

⁹⁹ The monk Guil. de Nangis, who wrote the Gesta of St. Louis, continues his narrative to the end of Philip's reign. Hist. Franc. p. 482—504. ed. Franc. 1596.

¹⁰⁰ Philip arrested the Pope's legate, and afterwards caused the Pope himself to be taken prisoner. He abolished the orders of Knights Templars. To his reign have been referred the admission of the third estate into the States General, and the fixed establishment of the French juridical parliaments. Henault Chron. Abr.

¹⁰¹ Louis X. or Hutin, 1314—1316.

Philip V. or The Long, 1316—1322.

Charles IV. or The Fair, 1322—1328.

French people, which have never since abandoned them.¹⁰²

His successor Charles VI. who began his reign in 1380, a boy of twelve years, made his future days remarkable by a powerful invasion of Italy—an ambitious enterprise of fleeting glory, which has since become a favorite dream of French policy, attractive like many prospects in the distant view, but yielding only disappointment and evil on the near approach. No French conquest there has yet been lasting.

The rivalry of the cities that had arisen in the north of ITALY, and especially of Milan and Pavia, the principal, or the most ambitious of all, marked the first part of the twelfth century.¹⁰³ The attempts of Milan to increase her power, and the dissensions of the rest, were suspended by the approach of an invasion which they had themselves excited. This was the expedition of Frederic Barbarossa, the Emperor of Germany, directed first against Milan, whose unjust attack on Lodi had urged the citizens of that town to appear at the German diet, and solicit the aid of Frederic. The invitation was too grateful to be disregarded. Meditating the annexation of Italy to his imperial crown, he had already received with satisfaction the solicitations of the Pope, to coerce the fractious citizens of Rome, and the intreaties of the Apulian barons to aid them against the king of Sicily.¹⁰⁴ The additional complaint of Pavia and Cremona, against the encroachments of the Milanese,

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Italy.

¹⁰² The Memoires of Christine de Pisan, who began to write in 1399 at the age of 35, contain an interesting account of Charles V. She notices his attainments, and love of literature and the arts, and the translations from the Greek and Latin classics which he ordered. Being one day reproached for favoring the learned Clerks, he answered, "When they have knowlege, they cannot be too much honored; and while knowlege is honored, this kingdom will prosper, but will perish when that ceases." Mem. Christ. de Pisan, p. 204.

¹⁰³ Milan was then surrounded by seven republics, Como, Novarra, Pavia, Lodi, Cremona, Crema, Bergamo. Of these it destroyed Lodi in 1111, and subdued Crema and Como. Sismondi's Hist. Ital. vol. ii. pp. 5—20.

¹⁰⁴ Sismondi, 48—53; and see Otto's remarks, "de diversis bellis urbium Italiae," in his Chron. l. 7. p. 145.

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gave him specious pretexts to spread his forces over every part of Italy, with the certainty of being seconded, in the chief scenes of his warfare, by an important part of the native population.

The dominion of the German emperors over Italy, before the twelfth century, was neither perpetual nor complete. When the emperor intended to visit Italy, officers went before him to collect the customary tributes; and as soon as he entered it, all other dignities were suspended.¹⁰⁵ His sovereignty was then both acknowledged and felt. When he withdrew to Germany, the native princes and jurisdictions resumed their powers, and the government of the distant emperor was feeble and disputed.

It had been the policy of Otho the Great, the first German emperor who had acquired the command of Italy, to encourage the prosperity of the cities of Italy. He gave them the important privilege of possessing a municipal government, chosen and administered by themselves¹⁰⁶; the first step towards their being free states, and some of them republics. Gradually advancing in strength, and animated with reviving recollections of their ancient history, they endeavoured to imitate the institutions of Rome, when it was a republic, and also to possess a native prince. The eleventh century was the æra of many struggles to throw off the yoke of a foreign sovereign, and to have a king of their own choice and country. The power exerted by the popes against the emperors, favored the rising independence of the cities, and the wisdom of their domestic legislation accelerated their liberties. "They affect liberty so much," says a writer of the twelfth century¹⁰⁷, "that they prefer

¹⁰⁵ Otto de Gest. Fred. c. 12. p. 454.

¹⁰⁶ An intelligent review of the state of Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is exhibited in Ginguené's *Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. i. p. 101—107, and 142—145. Sismondi's work presents the full detail.

¹⁰⁷ Otto de Gest. Fred. p. 453. This author ends this work in 1156, three years before he died.

consuls to riches." They have three orders of society, chiefs, knights, and common people. To repress pride, their consuls are chosen from all these orders promiscuously; and to preclude ambition, the election is made annual. To provide a constant and effective military force, they admit to their honors of knighthood and dignity the youth of inferior condition; even the artificers of despised and mechanical arts, whom other nations exclude like a pestilence from the more reputable and liberal studies. "Hence," says even this German, the kinsman of an emperor, "hence they excel, in wealth and power, all the other cities of the world."

Such was Italy in 1154, when the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa entered it to effect its subjugation, and to receive the imperial crown from the Pope. His enterprise was popular in Germany, and he came repeatedly into Italy with a force that seemed to be overwhelming. Having established his fiscal system, he declared the appointment of the magistracy of the cities to be in himself, but with the assent of the people.¹⁰⁸ Milan withstood, with the courage of ancient Rome, the first efforts of his power; and maintained the unequal contest for eight years, with varying fortune, but with the most active bravery and heroic perseverance. The determination of Frederic was as inflexible as their own, and in 1162 his superior means of aggression prevailed. After a siege, endured by the citizens with that constancy in suffering with which human nature so often surprised us in defensive war, they were compelled by famine to surrender Milan to the imperial arms. The implacable Frederic commanded all the inhabitants to leave the place, and nine days afterwards had it rased to the earth.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Radevicus, l. 2. p. 509. This author, also a contemporary, continues the subject of Otto's work for a few years.

¹⁰⁹ On this last unequal contest, in which Frederic attacked Milan with 100,000 men, see Sismondi, pp. 130—135.

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The calamities of the Milanese having removed all danger from their ambition, awakened the rest of Italy to pity for their suffering, and to alarm at the conqueror's progress. In five years after the destruction of Milan, the principal cities in the north of Italy united into a patriotic league of mutual defence, called the League of Lombardy¹¹⁰, generously rebuilt Milan; and with this well-arranged confederation, aspired to destroy the German monarchy of Italy, which Frederic thought he had so surely established.¹¹¹ For fifteen years he contended for his ambitious gratification, till at the end of this time a ruinous defeat at Lignano, terminated all the hopes for which he had led seven overpowering armies into Italy, and endured a loss of half a million of men.¹¹² The peace of Constance in 1183 gave the Lombard republics an authorised and legal existence, and Italy was once more made independent of Germany.

Thirty years had this great conflict lasted between the Italian cities and the imperial crown. This long continuance had roused the population of Italy, and especially of Lombardy, into great intellectual activity. This general excitement produced civil dissensions. The nobles in each district, who had led their fellow-citizens in their warfare, aspired to the superior honor of their little states. The people became jealous of their chiefs. In some parts, factions divided the populace; in others, petty tyrants prevailed; and from the love of liberty among the many, and of power among the few, civil agitations

¹¹⁰ The Veronese began it by inviting the cities to meet in a diet, to concert the means of defending Italy. Deputies assembled, and contracted an alliance for twenty years, and engaged to defend each other against every one who should attack their privileges. Sismondi, pp. 160, 161.

¹¹¹ The patriotic cities were, Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Trevisa, Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Placentia, Parma, Modena, and Bologna.

¹¹² Sismondi, 222, 223.

almost every where raged at the close of the twelfth, and at the opening of the thirteenth century.¹¹³

But these social bickerings, and the struggles of the popes and emperors with their Guelphs and Ghibelline factions, only animated and employed the aristocracies and democracies of the Peninsula, and prepared them for greater exploits. The Venetians and Pisans obtained settlements at Constantinople, and engrossed the rich commerce of the East, which the enervated Grecians were incompetent either to value or to cultivate. The Latins' attack on their illustrious, but feeble, city was powerfully aided by the Venetian fleets; and when, on its conquest in 1204, Baldwin the Count of Flanders was made its emperor, the Grecian provinces were partitioned chiefly among the Italian leaders: Thessalonica and Thessaly were erected into a monarchy, for the Marquis of Montserrat; Achaia was divided into several duchies and principalities; some provinces, and several islands, were assigned to the Venetians. The Genoese seized Modon and Coron on the Spartan coast, and the islands of Crete and Corfu. But the Venetian senate, in 1207, granting permission to its citizens to arm at their own expense vessels of war, and to conquer for themselves the islands of the Archipelago and the cities on the Grecian coasts, a new ambition inflamed the minds of the Venetian merchants. Swarms of military adventurers crowded the neighboring seas: the unwarlike Greeks yielded to their rapacious attacks; Venetian duchies were established on part of the Grecian continent and in several of the isles, and the Genoese were dispossessed of their acquisitions by the superior activity and force of the Venetian armaments. Gradually, Venice lost

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¹¹³ Sismondi, 247 — 257. The monk of Padua's Chronicle, from 1207 to 1270, presents a plain but striking picture of the state of Italy at this period.

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her continental dignities, but she retained for four centuries the islands she had seized.¹¹⁴

While the cities in the north of Italy were thus becoming illustrious in wealth, power and reputation, those of Tuscany, which had been hitherto quiescent and obscure, began to emerge also into emulation and consequence. A spirit of party agitated Florence for three and thirty years, accustomed the inhabitants to arms, and excited it to the ambition which urged it to its future conquests and celebrity.¹¹⁵ The attack of Frederic II. compelled the Italian cities to renew the Lombard league. They preserved their independence, and continued their factions. But in the midst of this universal emulation and activity, their varied genius was expanded, enriched and exercised. Sicilian rhymers began that vernacular poetry which superseded the Provençal¹¹⁶, and opened the road from which Dante darted with an eagle's flight, transcending all his contemporaries, and pouring out strains which still astonish and interest his cultivated posterity. Petrarch soon followed with rival fame, not only improving his own countrymen, but even exciting and assisting the genius of the early poets of England, who confess their obligation, and echo his praise. Modern painting began with Cimabue, who died in 1300; and never ceased improving, till Italy had enriched the world with its Raffaele, Michel Angelo, Titian, Corregio, Guido, and the Caracci.

Palestine.

After the insincere expedition of Frederic II. the cause of Christianity in Palestine declined rapidly into that state of ruin and degeneracy from which it has never since recovered, and which St. Louis only

¹¹⁴ Sismondi, 376 — 435.

¹¹⁵ Machiavel remarks of Tuscany, that though a small territory, it had three considerable republics, Florence, Sienna, and Lucca. "Their minds and laws show a strange propensity to freedom, which proceeds from a scarcity of gentry in those parts." Disc. c. lii. p. 325.

¹¹⁶ On this interesting subject and period, the reader will be gratified by Ginguene's observations and facts, vol. i. pp. 336 — 358.

increased by his ineffectual and calamitous attempt upon Egypt¹¹⁷; and as there was no moral principle, nor true faith, nor genuine devotion, to uphold it, in most of those who professed to be its supporters, the booty and the worldly benefit were the principal objects which actuated those who took arms in its behalf in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And what other results could arise, from any who sought to maintain or to propagate it by war? Such violence was in direct contradiction to its most essential and most characterizing precepts; and such warfare on such a subject could only have the disappointing termination which it experienced and deserved. The deliverance of Acre by Edward I. produced no beneficial change after his departure. In 1268, Bibars, the Sultan of Egypt, took and ruined Antioch, and extinguished the Latin principality.¹¹⁸ The loss of Acre, in 1291, was followed by the final expulsion of the Latin Christians from the Holy Land.¹¹⁹

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¹¹⁷ He was taken prisoner in Egypt in 1250, after his capture of Damietta in the preceding year. He died before Tunis, in what is called the seventh Crusade, in 1270.

¹¹⁸ "The first seat of the Christian name was dispeopled by the slaughter of 17,000, and the captivity of 100,000, of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre and Jaffa, and the stronger castles of the Hospitallers and Templars, then successively fell." Gibbon, vol. vii. p. 408.

¹¹⁹ The sultan Bibars' exulting letter to the count of Tripoli, describing his sack of Antioch, still exists in its original Arabic, and has been published by M. Reinaud. He states, "We arrived under the walls of Antioch, at the commencement of the great Ramadan. At our approach, the troops of the city attempted a sortie; they were defeated, and their commander taken prisoner. Terror shook the soul of the monks. Death came to the besieged on all sides: we took Antioch by the sword on the fourth of the Ramadan. Ah! if you had but seen the knights trampled under the horses' feet; the city given up to pillage; your treasures distributed by quintals; the matrons of the city sold, four for a piece of gold; if you had but seen the churches and crosses overthrown; the leaves of the sacred gospels scattered; the sepulchres of the patriarchs trodden down; oh! if you had seen the Mussulman, your enemy, marching on the tabernacle and the altar, sacrificing there the religious, the priest and the patriarch; if you had seen your palace burning in the flames, and the very dead burning in the fire of this world before they could be by that of the other; certainly your soul would have exhaled itself away in sighs; your tears, by their abundance, would have extinguished the devouring fire. This letter congratulates you on your safety, for if you had been there, you should unquestionably have been now a dead man or a prisoner, or crippled with your wounds. As no one has been saved to apprise you of what has been done, from us you shall learn it. As there is none left to felicitate you upon your escape,

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power.

The progress of the TURKS in Syria, and of their Seljukian branch in Asia Minor to the shores of the Hellespont¹²⁰; its repression by the Crusades¹²¹, and the defeats of Saladin, as his talents and activity were reviving their Eastern power¹²² by our Richard I. have been already noticed.¹²³ From the time of their leaving their Scythian abodes in the Turan of the antient Transoxiana, to the thirteenth century, they had been steadily advancing in diffusion and strength to the borders of Europe. The gift of Sultan-oni, the sultan's frontier, a petty district on the borders of Phrygia and Bithynia, to Ortogrul, the father of Osman, began the foundations of that Ottoman empire, which in a century and a half overwhelmed the throne and christianity of the Greeks.¹²⁴ In 1299, Osman, on the death of Aladdin, the sultan of the Seljukian Turks, asserted his independence, and established a separate sovereignty in these parts. He was buried at Brusa, in the mosque called the Silver Dome, which had been the antient cathedral of the castle when the Greeks inhabited it¹²⁵; but tho he made himself a

we have addressed to you this discourse. You know now what to expect; you need not apply to any other to inform you of the truth. Adieu." Hist. des Guerres sous Bibar, in Journ. Asiat. July and Aug. 1827. A truly barbarian letter, from an overjoyed barbarian mind!

¹²⁰ See antè, Book i. chap. x.¹²¹ Ib.¹²² Ib.

¹²³ Ib. "The ancient Persians, who called their own country *Iran*, and every other country An-Iran, gave to the land beyond the Oxus (from which the Turks originated) the name of Turan." As the inhabitants of the country became proverbial for their rudeness and ferocity, it has been inferred that the word *Τυραννος*, tyrant, was made from this people by the Asiatic Greeks; and thus traced to its primitive signification, means literally *a Turk*. For. Quart. Rev. No. vii., p. 239. This is certainly a fanciful misconception; *Τυραννος* has a very different origin. We see its primitive source in the Saxon *Tyr*, Lord.

¹²⁴ On the death of his father, who was drowned in the Euphrates, from the falling of his horse, as he was leading his tribe back from Armenia, Ortogrul wandered to the west with four hundred families. While moving along the Black mountains, he observed two armies engaging; eager to partake the battle, he joined, with a generous feeling, the weaker party, and gave it the victory by his unexpected assistance. The conquered were an invading horde of Mongolian Tartars; their opponent was Aladdin, the sultan of the Seljukian Turks, and from his grateful feelings for the timely aid, Ortogrul received the gift of the possessions alluded to in the text. Von Hanmer's History of the Ottoman Empire. For. Quart. Rev. p. 239.

¹²⁵ "Till the beginning of the present century, his rosary was preserved there, as well as the great drum, with which he had received from sultan Aladdin the in-

sovereign, he was little more than the successful chieftain of a band of Turkomans, uniting the occupations of a shepherd and a robber. His property at his death, shews the rude simplicity of his manners ¹²⁶; but his countrymen regarding him as the founder of their national greatness, have adorned his name with a venerating legend.¹²⁷

His son Orchan first ventured to extend the Turkish incursions into Europe. The Grecian emperor, Michael Palæologus, had, in 1263, fixed a colony of Turkish auxiliaries on the shore of the Black Sea; and from that time many petty expeditions were attempted by Turkish depredators across the Hellespont.¹²⁸ But it was in the nineteenth of these aggressions that Soliman, the son of Orchan, effected their first firm footing in Europe, and began the once mighty, but now falling, fabric of the Ottoman power.¹²⁹

vestiture of Karadsha. These curious relics were destroyed, together with the mosque and castle, by the fire which ruined the city of Brusa, in the first year of the present century. The silver dome which covered the remains of Osman, was then reduced to a heap of rubbish. His standards and double pointed sword are said to be still preserved in the imperial treasury." For. Quart. Rev. 241.

¹²⁶ "The founder of the Ottoman dynasty left behind him no insignia of pomp, no treasures of gold or silver; his property consisted of a spoon, a salt-cellar, an embroidered coat, a new turban, several red standards, a stud of fleet horses, some herds of cattle and flocks of excellent sheep, from which are descended the sultan's flocks, which at the present day feed on the hills round Brusa." Ib. 241. Hanmer's Hist. ib.

¹²⁷ Osman is said by the Turkish historians to have seen, in a dream, the moon rising from the breast of the sheik Edebali, the father of his beloved Malchatun, and increasing from a crescent to a splendid orb, till it set in his own person; immediately a tree sprung from his loins, whose branches took root in Europe and Asia, and soon overshadowed the whole world with their foliage. Ib. 240. Such were the ambitious speculations of the ancestors of the present Ottomans.

¹²⁸ The industry of Von Hanmer has collected the particulars of twenty expeditions, from 1263 to the taking of Callipolis in 1357. The first of these noticed by the Turkish historians, is the eighteenth of M. Hanmer. The next was Soliman's attempt.

¹²⁹ His first daring little enterprise was thus suggested to him: He was reclining one evening among the ruins of the ancient Cyzicus, while the moon shed its full splendor on the Propontis. The temples of Jupiter, Proserpine and Cybele stood before him; their stately porticoes and colonnades reflecting the silver beams. The Turk gazed with awe and admiration on these marble edifices; they seemed to him like the remains of a palace of the queen of Sheba, built for her by the fairies, at Solomon's command. While sunk in this reverie, long rows of columns, towers and arcades appeared to his fancy to rise from the surface of the waters, so as to join together the opposite shores: the circle of light round the moon at the

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His adventurous seizure of a petty castle was soon followed, from the spirit of enterprise which it excited, by the fall of Callipolis¹³⁰; and the Turkish energy never subsided again, till, having planted the crescent, about a century afterwards, on the walls of Constantinople, they fulfilled the bold prediction of their Arabian prophet.¹³¹

The city of the Seven Hills then fell under the dominion of Islamism, and has so continued for nearly 350 years.¹³²

Servia and
Croatia.

The Slavonian population of SERVIA, BOSNIA, CRO-

same time dilated. "The dreams of imagination and the suggestions of ambition mingled together in his mind, and he immediately formed the resolution to try his fortune on the European shore. With a chosen band of forty, he crossed the channel in the following night, on a raft hastily constructed, and seized the castle of Tzympe. From this time forward, the acquisitions of the Ottomans increased with a rapidity which it is difficult to follow." For. Quart. Rev. p. 242.

¹³⁰ Ten thousand Turkish horsemen crossed the Hellespont to make this conquest. Von Hanmer's Hist. — It is not at all probable that the Turkish invaders of Greece in this or their subsequent expeditions were "the descendants of the 400 families who, only 120 years before, had settled on the heights of Temnes and Moriene." The able reviewer justly adds, "It is a more reasonable conjecture, that the onward current of Ottoman invasion or intrusion was swelled by bands of Phrygian and Ionian Turks; and that the successors of Osman owed their pre-eminence to their fortunate position, which placed them in the vanguard of the advancing multitude." P. 243.

¹³¹ It is stated from Von Hanmer, that the conquest of this city was expressly promised to the Moslems in the Koran, in two passages: one alluding to it; as, "Knew ye a city encompassed on two sides by water, and on the third by land? The last hour shall not come, before it be taken by 60,000 of the faithful." The other was more explicit: "They shall conquer Constantinople: the army that conquers it, is the best of armies." These words had encouraged the Arabs seven times to attempt its siege, and on one of these occasions to remain seven years encamped before its walls. Review of Von Hanmer, *ib.* p. 243. Such a promise would be a remarkable expression of the far-sighted and extensive ambition of Mohamed, which he would probably have attempted to accomplish in person, if he had not been, like Alexander the Great, interrupted by an unexpected death. But tho I have searched the Koran in Sale's translation, I do not find such passages, and am inclined to doubt their existence, as the chapter which is entitled "Alkum," or "The Greeks," the finest of the whole Koran, so far from directing any predictions against them, begins with a declaration, that altho "The Greeks had been just overcome by the Persians, they should in a few years conquer them in their turn." Koran, c. xxx. p. 330.

¹³² But the progress of the Russian arms to Adrianople in the August of 1829, creates a doubt how long the Turkish occupation of it will now continue. On its capture in 1452, Von Hanmer rather quaintly remarks, "Thus fell the city of seven names, seven hills, and seven towers, taken from the seventh of the Palæologi by the seventh sultan of the Ottomans." He also adds, that Adrianople is likewise built on seven hills, and that by the fall of this city, the conquest of the capital was foreshown. The seven names above alluded to are, *Byzantium*, *Antonina*, *Roma nova*, *Constantinople*, *Farruk* or the Earth Divider, *Islæmbol*, or the Fulness of Faith, and *Umeddunja*, or Mother of the World. For. Quart. Rev. 244.

ATIA and ILLYRIA, for some time resisted the aggressions of the Turks, as their accumulating forces pressed upon the Grecian metropolis. But as that fell, these provinces, and all the country on the north-east of the Adriatic, became subject at length to the Ottoman power: presenting the historical peculiarity, of two nations of different religions and modes of life, living intermingled with each other, sometimes in friendly relations, and sometimes contending with the fierceness and calamities of mutual enmity. Yet rude and uncultivated as all these districts have long been, poets and minstrels have arisen and been cherished among them, singing their heroic ballads, and traditional verses, on their guzla, or simple one-stringed guitar.¹³³ Illyria even yet has her wandering native bards or musicians, tho in that miserable state which implies a declining art and needy population,¹³⁴; and indeed, from the days of Homer and his fellow rhapsodists, what country is there in Europe that has been without this description of human characters?

Contiguous to the Slavonian provinces in the Adriatic, that important state had been for some ages growing up amid the lakes of this gulf, upon the rocks and little islands near its northern shore, which became the most powerful and most distinguished of Venice.

¹³³ Like the Servian, the Illyrian poetry celebrates deeds of savage atrocity, and of gentle and heroic virtue; but few of its pieces now remaining are of an historic character. Thomas II, the last king of Bosnia, is its only hero of eminence. "But it celebrates in high-toned strains the fierce carnage and noble daring of the heyduks (robbers) against the hated and dastardly pandours (police). Its superstition is of a darker cast. The saints appear not in it engaged in acts of beneficence. The sun and stars hold no converse with man, and the mountain-haunting Vila only once displays her beautiful form. But the horrible vampire is no unfrequent actor in its scenes; and the terrors of an evil eye are dwelt on with earnestness." For. Quart. Rev. No. iv. p. 664.

¹³⁴ "Most of the Illyrians can sing to the guzla their native songs; but there are professional minstrels, who roam from village to village: these are mostly poor, ragged old men, who sling thro the nose. Their music has little variety; and at the end of each verse, the singer gives a yell, like that of a wounded wolf, which in the mountains may be heard to a considerable distance. When the ballad is finished, the minstrel appeals for his reward to the generosity of his auditors," Ib. 665.

all others in the Italian peninsula, between the Alps and Tuscany.¹³⁵ The greater number of the islands were marshes.¹³⁶ The central and most elevated was called Rialto, and as several others were progressively united by bridges, the city of VENICE arose to notice and reputation, under the government of a tribune and council chosen by the people¹³⁷; till, as the seventh century closed, an elective doge was added as their chief and military magistrate.¹³⁸ His allotted power gave vigor, consolidation and stability to the prospering community¹³⁹; but it was an office often calamitous to its distinguished possessor.¹⁴⁰

In the twelfth century their constitution received

¹³⁵ At first a small band of fugitives from Padua, escaping from the devastations of the Goths, settled in the lagunes of the Adriatic in 420, and were governed by magistrates from Padua. Daru's History of Venice, and Galliccioli's Memorie Venete, contain the best materials and supply the fullest information on the rise and fortunes of this celebrated commonwealth.

¹³⁶ "In the lagunes, which are navigable at high water, but are left partially dry in the ebb, the fugitives found numerous spots amid the rocks and little islands, sufficiently extensive to admit of cultivation. Their natural produce and aliment were fish, and their only marketable commodities were the salt which they collected in their lagunes and the fish which they cured with it. Their occupations consisted in building and navigating small boats for their neighbors. Such was their first acquaintance with that element, which was afterwards to bear the proud fleets of their daring navigators, victorious warriors, and enterprising merchants." Edin. Review of Galliccioli, No. xci. p. 81.

¹³⁷ Padua having been devastated by barbarians, from 450 to 460, her little Adriatic colonies were left to themselves. Each island then elected a tribune; but in 503, their executive power was vested in a single tribune, chosen annually, and governing the petty state, in conjunction with a popular assembly and a council of forty persons chosen by the people. *Ib.*

¹³⁸ He was first chosen in 697. The third doge, for his activity against the Lombards, obtained from the Eastern empire a grant of land from the sea to the Adige. His successes raised the cruel jealousy of his countrymen, and fearing a dictator, they assassinated him, and abolished the office in 737; but, in 742, they restored it again as an elective dignity, to be held for life.

¹³⁹ The earliest of the Venetian historians, Andrea Dandolo, describes his powers to be those "of convoking assemblies; of declaring war and concluding treaties; of commanding the armies of the state; of appointing the military tribunes and the judges; of hearing appeals, and deciding definitively on all matters at issue; of collecting the citizens to choose their parish priests and bishops; of judging of all matters concerning the clergy, civil as well as criminal, leaving to the pope only such as were purely spiritual; of awarding ecclesiastical punishments, and of investing and installing bishops." Dandolo apud Galliccioli, vol. i. and Daru Hist. vol. i, p. 42.

¹⁴⁰ "Of forty-three who reigned in the course of 300 years, scarcely one-half concluded their career in peace. Five were compelled to abdicate, three were assassinated by conspirators, one was condemned legally to death, and nine to be deposed, deprived of sight, or exiled. Some only escaped these punishments by dying on the field of battle." Ed. Rev. No. xci. p. 84.

an aristocratical modification, which diminished the popular influence¹⁴¹; and the crusaders employing their vessels, and drawing large supplies from their commercial activity, the Venetian state became so powerful, as to be one of the three confederate princes, who, in 1204, attacked and conquered Constantinople. Her doge then declined the Grecian crown, but using the opportunity to aggrandize his country, he secured to it, by treaty, the most valuable possessions of the Eastern empire in the Archipelago. The trade and riches of Venice augmented with its maritime power, but at this time they had scarcely any territory on the continent.

Its dominions were chiefly insular till about 1270. Its rulers then secured part of Romagna, and from that time the successful and emulous ambition of the doges, and their warlike aristocracy, went steadily onwards to acquire new territories, till in the fifteenth century they became one of the greatest powers in Italy, and began to hope and scheme for its ultimate subjugation to their military dominion.¹⁴²

In SPAIN, the Mohamedan power progressively declined. The competition had long been decided between Christianity and Mohamedanism, and the latter lost the empire of the world, never to recover it. The Emperors of Morocco, uniting their African population, endeavored to renew the triumphs of the Crescent; but their efforts failed. The Christian

¹⁴¹ The assassination of the last of the three doges, in 1172, was succeeded by popular commotions. Among the provisions of the new constitution were, that the people should have the right of confirming or annulling the election of the doge, but *not* of choosing him; that he should thenceforth not select his own councillors, but that six individuals should be associated with him, subject to his control, who should form an integral part of the supreme magistracy, and without whose concurrence none of his decrees should be valid; that when he needed larger council, he should not apply to other citizens, but should consult with the forty. These, with the addition of sixty more, formed the senate, and the people were no longer to hold meetings; but all their rights were to be delegated to 470 citizens, then named the Great Council, from whom should emanate every act relating to the sovereignty. Ed. Rev. No. xcl. pp. 87, 88.

¹⁴² Gallicioli Mem. Venete. Daru Hist. Venice.

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kingdoms, superior in the mind and morals of their subjects, went on, enlarging their territories, and curtailing the precincts of Islamism; and as the fourteenth century closed, it was obvious that no long time could elapse before the whole Peninsula would be subject to their sway.¹⁴³ At this period, commerce, christianity, literature, science, and increasing political freedom, were combining with continuing progress to raise modern Europe to every attainable superiority. England partook in full measure of all these blessings; and we proceed to pourtray, in authentic detail, the history of its advancement, which has never been inferior to that of any of the states of Europe, but which has most frequently preceded all.

¹⁴³ To this period may be referred what remains of the ancient national poetry of Spain: Their Romances Caballarescos and Romances Historicias, their highly valued ballads and other poems. Of these the "*Floresta de Rimas antiguas Castellanas*," by Don Faber, printed at Hamburg 1821: C. Depping's *Sammlung*, or Collection of the best old Spanish Romances, at Leipsic in 1817: its republication in part, with amendments, by a Spanish Refugee in London, in 1825: Don Duran's *Romancero de Romances Moriscos*, at Madrid, 1828: and Quintana's *Poesia's Selectas Castellanas*, present the curious student with the most valuable remains. We may add the "*Colecion de Poesias Castellanas anteriores ad Siglo XV.*," by Sanches. The translation of several ballads and poems, by Mr. Lockhart and Mr. Bowring, in their separate publications, will gratify the English reader.

CHAP. II.

The Reign of EDWARD I.

1272—1307.

EDWARD had reached the middle period of life at the time of his accession. The mature age of thirty-four, and the varied activity and occasional adversity of his preceding years, had given a mellow tint to his character, which marked all his reign. His mind resembled the Conqueror's, in its solidity of judgment, military talents, vigor, decision, and irascibility. But, acceding to an undisputed throne, he had none of the jealousies which had so often alarmed William into error and injustice, and his vindictive temper was accompanied with a ready placability. He is stated to have been as easily disarmed by submission, as he was fierce and impatient, when counteracted or provoked.¹ But revenge often inflicts evils, for which no repentance can compensate. It gives a principle to our actions, and a spirit to our nature, that revive those darker features of the savage state, which cultivated reason is ever struggling to subdue. In Edward's conduct to the Welsh and Scotch, we see this baneful quality in full activity; and it has fixed

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¹ Walsingham gives an instance of this. Hawking one day on a river, he saw one of his earls not attending to a falcon that had just seized a duck among the willows: Edward, then prince, upbraided him for his neglect; and the noble tauntingly replied, that it was sufficient for him that the river parted them. Stung by the remark, the Prince plunged his horse immediately into the stream, though ignorant of the depth, and having with difficulty reached the bank, pursued the earl with his drawn sword; till the nobleman, seeing escape hopeless, turned round his horse, threw off his hat, and advancing to Edward with his neck stretched out, put himself on his mercy. The submissive posture disarmed the Prince: he sheathed his sword, and rode home friendly with the offender. Wals. Hist. Angl. p. 2.

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those spots upon his bright character, which no partiality can remove.

He is described to have been a prince of elegant form and majestic stature: so tall that few of his people reached beyond his shoulders; his ample forehead and prominent chest increased the dignity of his personal appearance. His arms were peculiarly agile in the use of the sword; and the length of his thighs gave him a firm seat on the most spirited horses, from which he could scarcely be shaken. The light yellow hair of his infancy became black, as he advanced to manhood. His left eye had the same singularity, of the oblique fall of the eyebrow, which had marked his father's countenance. His speech was hesitating, but occasionally eloquent.² His mind was resolute, ambitious, firm and courageous: yet tempered with that rare discretion, which never pursued objects beyond his power of attainment; which never applied insufficient means to important designs; and never enforced even a favorite project at the risk of his safety. Hence, when anxious to embark an army for Guienne, which his nobles declined to join, though he told one of them, who refused, that he should either go or be hanged; yet, when the haughty baron, repeating the king's oath, declared that he would neither go nor be hanged, Edward, with all his irascibility, paused and submitted: he saw thirty knights bannerets and 1500 others gathered round the menaced noble, and he wisely sacrificed his passion to his prudence.³

When unoccupied by war, he was fond of the pleasures of the chase. To hunt stags was his favorite amusement; and his daring ardor was so great in the pursuit, that he ventured to pierce them with his

² Walsingham, p. 2.

³ W. Hemingford Chron. p. 112. Hearne ed. This author, a canon of Giseburn, in Yorkshire, died 1347. His life of Edward I., in Hearne's edition, is valuable for its perspicuous narrative and public documents.

sword, when they were seized, instead of the safer hunting spear. An incident in his youth gave a devotional impression to his mind, which never left it. Playing one day at chess with a knight in a chamber, he suddenly rose in the midst of the game from an unconscious impulse, and in the next moment an immense stone from the ceiling fell on the place where he had been sitting. He referred his safety to the Virgin at Walsingham, and believed himself ever afterwards to be under the protection of Heaven; a persuasion that fortified his courage, and may have contributed to increase the moral decorum of his life.⁴

His juvenile character at its first ebullition had begun to be turbulent. He patronized as part of his household, and had educated in his court, some of those depredatory bands whom the imperfect police of the country suffered to roam, like the Robin-hood of our ballads, and who plundered even in his sight unchastised.⁵ In favoring this kind of society, he was somewhat imitated by Henry V. But he soon emerged into pursuits more profitable to his character, and more consonant with his rank. He delighted to try his great personal strength and dexterity in the exercises of the tournament. Hence, as soon as he was made a knight, he sailed over sea with his young companions, to prove their skill and prowess in some of the foreign courts.⁶

⁴ Wals. p. 2. — This impression was probably augmented by the catastrophe of pope John XXI., who, in the beginning of Edward's reign was crushed to death by the fall of the new apartments which he had built at Viterbo. *Ib.* p. 7. — In 1288, Edward had another escape: a flash of lightning passed between him and his queen, leaving them unhurt, but killing two ladies in the room. *Ib.* 14.

⁵ Matthew Paris has transmitted to us this incident. Edward was then seventeen. "Robbers and knightly plunderers, whom his court educated, scattering themselves far and wide, seized and carried away the horses, waggons and goods of the merchants." To give one instance, "When he visited the earl Richard at Wallingford, his family burst into the neighboring priory, and, driving out the monks, seized their provisions, fuel and fodder, broke their doors and windows, and cudgelled their domestics." *Hist.* p. 937. These violences were done "ipso permittente." *Ib.*

⁶ *Matt. Westm.* p. 300. ; who adds, "ut moris est novis militibus."

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He distinguished himself so much for his successful chivalry, that he attracted the notice of the Provençal poets. In their encomiastic allusions and exciting compliments, we perceive the estimation which he had acquired among his contemporaries.⁷ One of his last chivalric exertions before he became king, was at a court in Savoy, on his return to England. The count insisted on a trial of prowess with him. A tournament was proclaimed, and the opposed knights conflicted. In the heat of the struggle, the prince and the count became personal competitors. Throwing down his sword, the count, relying on his fancied superiority of strength, clasped Edward by the neck, and thought to have unhorsed him. But the prince, always firm on his saddle, kept himself erect, and suddenly spurring his courser, carried off the count from his horse, and then easily shook him to the ground. The play soon became a real conflict, from the vexation of the Savoyards; and the count, a little refreshed, attempted a second encounter; but feeling again Edward's decided superiority, he acknowledged it, and the dangerous diversion ceased.⁸

It was a striking trait in the character of Henry III. and announces great parental judgment and moral worth, that he had impressed the minds of his children with strong filial affection and fraternal concord. It was no less honorable to Edward, that he

⁷ The Troubadour Paulet, in his pastoral dialogue between himself and a shepherdess, makes her say of the prince of Arragon, "I should rejoice to see this noble infant and Edward firmly united. Scions of the same stock, possessed of great qualities, dear to their friends, and dreaded by their enemies, they would acquire high glory by their mutual support, and would achieve great conquests." The troubadour answers, "These young princes are indeed generous, skilful and illustrious in arms; they will never rest content with a diminution of their inheritance: why is not the joust and the round table prepared, where many a helm shall be cloven, and many a hauberk unlaced?" Hist. Troub. iii. p. 144. — The Troubadour Austace de Segret calls upon Edward to reconquer the territory which his father had lost in France. Ib. p. 391.

⁸ Wals. p. 13. Edward permitted the revival of chivalric exercises, which his father had discouraged. — In 1280, the baron Mortimer held at Kenilworth a round table of 100 knights and as many ladies, to which knights flocked from several countries, to try their prowess. Wals. 8. and Lel. Coll. i. 177.

behaved to his father in his life with zealous duty. He received the news of his death with an emotion which he confessed to be greater than that excited by the loss of his own infant.⁹ And he spoke of this revered parent, after his death, with high respect and praise, and raised a superb monument to his memory.¹⁰ Hence, notwithstanding all the energies of his character, he never, like the Cœur de Lion, disturbed his father's repose. He sought, in the most creditable pursuits of the day, the reputation which young minds covet; and having restored his parent to the throne, from which others had displaced him, he employed against the Saracens in Palestine that activity of mind and strength of frame, which Richard, in a similar situation and with similar endowments, had used to embitter and shorten his father's life. The length and prosperity of their reigns, and the creditable evolution of their characters, were proportionably different.

Edward, in his expedition to Palestine, arrived at Acre with 1000 men. After pausing a month, to refresh his companions, increase their force, and acquaint himself with the country, he attacked Nazareth with 7000 men, took it, and repulsed the hostile army that hovered on his rear. Receiving information that the Saracens had collected in a town several miles off, for a yearly festival, he marched with a chosen body, to surprise them. In the day time, he sheltered his followers in woods and caverns. On the third day, he reached the chosen spot. His followers were but few; the enemy nume-

⁹ His answer to the king of Sicily, who expressed his surprise at the circumstance, was, "A son may be replaced, but the loss of a parent is irremediable." Wals. p. 3.

¹⁰ When an impostor was brought to him, whom he knew to be a bad man, and who pretended to have been restored to sight at Henry's tomb, Edward said, "I know my father's justice was so great, that he would have rather put this knave's eyes out than have restored them." Wals. p. 9.—In the tenth year of his reign he built a superb monument for his father, at Westminster, of some valuable Jasper which he had brought out of France. Triv. p. 254.

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rous, but unaware of his vicinity. At the following dawn he burst upon them, so completely unseen and unsuspected, that all the Mussulmen were either destroyed or dispersed. A great booty of cattle and property was taken, with the loss of only one esquire. It is painful to read of the cruel customs of the warfare of this unformed age. In this attack, and at Nazareth, all the Saracens, even the women and the children, were put to the sword.¹¹ It is no small evidence of the improvement of mankind, that such inhumanity would now affix infamy indelible.

Edward distinguished himself so much by his activity and skill, that an attempt was made to assassinate him. In Persia and Syria, a strange description of people had resided for above a century, known by the name of Assassins.¹² In Syria, they lived in the mountainous country above Tortosa, but subordinate to the Persian chief. They are described as performing implicitly the orders of their Sheik¹³; and by an anomalous depravation of their moral habits, they were frequently employed to murder those, whether Christians or Mahomedans, with whom their leaders were dissatisfied. No Jesuit obeyed more passively the commands of his general. Even the celebrated Saladin was once the subject of their attack. A mystical belief that the divine spirit always animated the person of their Imaum, sanctified every enterprise which he enjoined.¹⁴ By one of these, the life of Edward was attempted.

¹¹ Chron. de Mailros ap. Gale Script. vol. ii. p. 241. and Chron. Hem. ap. Gale, vol. iii. p. 590.

¹² See antè, Book i. chap. xi. The Assassins of Persia are noticed by the Armenian Haiton, by Marco Polo, Elmacin, and by Abulpharagius. Those of Syria are mentioned by William of Tyre, Benjamin of Tudela, and many others, whom M. Falconet has cited in his elaborate, but rather confused, memoir on this singular people. Mém. Acad. des Inscript. vol. xxvi. pp. 202—227. — From one of their sheiks they were also called Ismailief. Ib. p. 240.

¹³ The word sheik, implying elder as well as chief, has occasioned, by its inaccurate translation, the idea of “the old man of the mountains,” who has been said to be their sovereign.

¹⁴ Falconet, p. 241. Von Hanmer’s History of the Assassins is the most recent and complete.

The civilities which had passed between this prince and the Turkish Emir at Joppa, led to the crime. The Turk was upbraided by the Sultan for the intimacy. The Emir, perhaps for safety, declared that he meant it to ensnare.¹⁵ It was at least converted to this purpose, and a youthful Assassin was sent with letters to Edward from his Turkish friend. Edward was reclining on his couch in the heat of the afternoon, clothed in a slight tunic; his friends were in a distant corner; when the youth entered the apartment, and searching his belt, as if for more secret communications, suddenly drew an envenomed dagger, and struck at the prince's side. Edward caught the blow on his arm, felled the assailant to the ground with his foot, and, wrenching his weapon, plunged it into his body.¹⁶ Edward had married Eleanora, the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile. A Spanish historian annexes the interesting incident, that Eleonora drew the poison from her husband's wound with her lips.¹⁷ That she was with him, is allowed; but no English chronicler mentions this affectionate heroism. The annalist, who is most circumstantial in his account, describes the Master of the Temple as advising medicaments to make the poison harmless, and the surgeons as dressing the wound. But the flesh blackening around it, the weeping princess was compelled to withdraw, till the necessary excisions were completed.¹⁸ The Sultan disavowed the assassination; and a truce of ten years was agreed upon, during which Edward

¹⁵ It is to be regretted that the chronicle of Mailros here breaks off abruptly, because the writer declares that he wrote from the information of a person who had borne arms there. P. 243.

¹⁶ W. Hem. 3 Gale, 591.

¹⁷ It is Roderic Santius (not Rod. Tolet., as Camden states) who has mentioned the circumstance in honor of the general character of the Spanish ladies: he says, *ut vera perhibent annalla*, l. i. p. 126. I know not his authorities; he wrote himself 200 years after the event. Rod. Tolet. merely mentions his birth, and then closes his history. P. 148.

¹⁸ Hemingf. 591. Brunne, in his translation of Langtoft, notices the assassination (p. 228.), but does not mention the princess.

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embarked for Europe. The first part of his returning voyage was to Sicily, where its king, Charles, received him with courteous honors, and sent his son to conduct him to the borders of his dominions.¹⁹ When he approached the papal territory, the cardinals came out to meet him, and accompanied him to the Pope, who listened respectfully to his complaint of the assassination of his kinsman at mass, by Guy de Montfort, and excommunicated the murderer.²⁰ From Rome, Edward proceeded through the principal cities of Italy, every where received with public honors and acclamations. In Savoy, he found at the foot of the mountains the English prelates and nobles, waiting to congratulate him, and to attend him to England. As he passed thro France, he did homage for his French dominions: then directed his course to Gascony, where he subdued a rebelling noble²¹; and at last reaching England, he was received in London with great popular exultation, the merchants casting gold and silver out of their windows as he passed.²² He was crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, in the presence of the king of Scotland²³, the duke of Bretagne, his own mother, and the gratulating parliament, with the usual festivities.²⁴

Of the intellectual education of Edward, we have no information. But his father's reign was the æra of a great cultivation of knowlege in England: and

¹⁹ Wals. 5.

²⁰ Ib.

²¹ Gasto de Biern. He was brought next year to England, with a halter about his neck. Though he appealed to the court of France against his liege sovereign, Edward gave him his life, but kept him some years in custody in his castle at Winchester. After his release, he became a grateful and obedient servant.

²² Chron. ap. Lel. Collect. ii. p. 471. — The king of Scotland is described as coming with an hundred knights on horseback, who, dismounting on their arrival, let their horses loose with their trappings, to be taken by the populace. Ib.

²³ The first offence that the king of Wales gave to Edward was, that he chose to be absent from this coronation; the next was, his refusal to do homage when summoned. Wals. 5.

²⁴ Among the records of Rymer are the orders issued for collecting provisions from the different counties, for the King's coronation. Thus Gloucester had to furnish 60 oxen, 60 hogs, 2 fat boars, 60 live sheep, 3000 capons, 40 quarters of bacon, &c.

his legislation evinces an enlarged and enlightened mind. That he was fond of the chivalric romances of the day, is implied by the expressions of one of their composers or transcribers.²⁵

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The reign of Edward was that of a prince whose sedate judgment and active talents advanced the civilization and power of his country. It may be considered under four heads: his incorporation of Wales; his wars in Scotland; his foreign transactions; and his internal regulations.

As the descendants of the original population of Britain, the Welsh must always be an interesting people. The very barbarism so long perpetuated in their principality, renders them of more antiquarian value, because it occasioned their language, their poetry, and their customs, to continue for many ages in their ancient state, little varied, because wilfully unimproved. They were too proud to deviate into the civilization and knowledge of the usurpers of their country; and the Welsh of the thirteenth century, with whom Edward conflicted, seem to have differed little from the Cymry, who, under their venerated Arthur, had labored so unavailingly to drive the Saxons and the English to the Eyder and the Elbe.

His con-
quest of
Wales.

The history of Wales, from the tenth century, is little else than the history of perpetual and inglorious bloodshed. Usurpers, irascible princes, ambitious kinsmen, or depredating chieftains, are exhibited as successively destroying each other, and depopulating their country; while England was advancing in a steady progression, under a settled government and internal tranquillity. If the storms of civil warfare sometimes paused, other evils arose to this unhappy people from the hostility of the Anglo-Normans, whose incursions were often temporary conquests. It can be of no use to chronicle these details of

²⁵ See the MS. French romances, mentioned in a subsequent part of this Work.

human slaughter, or to particularize the individuals who most distinguished themselves in the work of blood²⁶: they belong to the barbarous periods of European history, which are fast passing into that oblivion from which it would be absurd to rescue them.

After long interruptions of usurpations, the right line of the ancient British princes was restored in Gryffyth ap Cynan²⁷, in North Wales; and was transmitted, thro successive descendants²⁸, to Llewelyn ap Gryffyth, the last sovereign of Wales.²⁹ The hostilities of William the Conqueror, and his son Rufus, made a serious impression on the southern provinces; and two colonies of Flemings were, in the reigns of Henry I. and Henry II., successfully established there.³⁰

The military subjection of Wales diminished during the reign of John, and in the first years of his son. But as Edward advanced to maturity, his martial spirit found in this country an inviting theatre for his exploits.

²⁶ Wynne's History of Wales contains Dr. Powell's publication of Humphrey Llwyd's more ancient Work, made up from old chronicles, much augmented, or, as he says, improved. It gives the leading incidents of the Welsh story, but has left the ground as sterile as he found it. His preface is a feeble attempt to support the credit of Jeffry. His appendix contains the genealogies of Owen Tudor, and some state papers, principally concerning the discussions between Edward I. and the last princes of Wales. Warrington's History of Wales gives only the common facts.

²⁷ A Welsh history of this prince has been printed from an ancient MS. in the Archaeology of Wales, vol. ii. pp. 583—605. I am sorry that his countrymen have not preserved more details about him. He is said to have reigned, but with chequered fortune, fifty-seven years. Under his auspices, several statutes were made, reforming the Welsh bards. He certainly gave a new impulse to the Welsh genius, for it is from his reign that its poetry began to revive, after laying torpid nearly four centuries. One of the first poems of its revival is the elegy written on him by Meilyr, in 1137, when he died. In this the bard celebrates his patronage. He tells us, that he has been seated by his side when the gold-encompassed mead was circling — that he had been sent as a messenger from the splendid Chief of conflict, and that from him no singer experienced a denial. See the Canau Meilyr, in the Archaeol. of Wales, vol. i. pp. 188. 190.

²⁸ Owen of Gwynedd, the patron and the theme of the celebrated bards Gwalcham and Cynddelew, was the son of Gryffyth ap Cynan.

²⁹ Wynne, p. 109.

³⁰ These innovations are noticed by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers. The Welsh bards, in their tissue of angry feeling and declamatory epithets, convey no historical information.

At the age of twenty-four, he had led his father's forces over the Severn, and penetrated to Snowdon; but the Welsh fell back to their fastnesses, and the conquerors withdrew. When he became king, one of his first projects was to subdue the country, and to annex it to his English crown. It is dangerous to praise ambition. But this was one of those few military conquests which benefit humanity. Nothing short of the extinction of its native sovereignties, and its incorporation with England, could terminate those scenes of murder and devastation³¹, which were succeeding each other with no prospect of cessation. Edward's character is responsible for his personal motives to the enterprise; but its achievement was a blessing to both countries.³²

It would be unprofitable now to investigate the mutual complaints which passed between Edward and Llewelyn. Both had aggressions to detail, and wrongs to resent³³; and we cannot now decide impartially on the justice of their recriminations. Edward began his attack with every form of solemnity. The Welsh king was excommunicated by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the English parliament pronounced judgment against him.³⁴ The first invasions produced the submission

³¹ We see the reputation for ferocity, which the Welsh enjoyed, in the reproach which the Archbishop of Canterbury made to them at this period: "We mourn bitterly this, that the Welsh are said to be more cruel than the Saracens; for when the infidels make captives, they keep them to be redeemed by money; but the Welsh, from their delight in blood, massacre them, or, what is worse, take the money for their release, and then murder them." Process. A. B. Cant. ap. Wilkin's Concil. vol. ii. p. 73. The Welsh king, in his answer, admits that one person redeemed was thus destroyed, but that the criminal was wandering in the woods like a thief. He charges the English also, with sparing neither sex, age, nor any sacred place. *Ib.* p. 74.

³² The Archbishop is pleased to tell Edward "that the public necessity had compelled the *innocence* of his heart to raise his banners against the untameable perversity of the Welsh." P. 101. The public utility of the war is more evident than the purity of Edward's intentions in waging it.

³³ The bickerings with Wales had been frequent in Henry the Third's reign. See Matthew Paris, 937—981. — Wynne has stated the grievances mutually complained of, in his edition of Powel's History of Wales, 281—297, and in its Appendix, 363—398.

³⁴ Rymer Act. Fœd. vol. ii. pp. 79 & 68.

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of Llewelyn, on conditions sufficiently humiliating.³⁵ But rigor never conciliates, and the warfare was soon revived, by the irritation and pride of the oppressed, to the satisfaction of the oppressor.

On the submission of Llewelyn, his brother David had been treated by Edward with peculiar distinction. He had made him a knight, given him large possessions³⁶, married him to a lady of his queen's bedchamber, and appointed him seneschal of all his castles in Wales. David is described to have been an ingenious, but a crafty and plotting man. He soon persuaded Llewelyn to try again the fortune of war, which had twice disgraced him. Edward advanced into Wales by land, and sent the fleet of the Cinque Ports to Anglesey. When he learnt that they had taken it, he exclaimed, "Llewelyn has lost the finest feather in his tail³⁷," and caused a bridge of boats, surmounted with planks, to be made over the Menai, preparatory to his penetrating to Snowdon. On these celebrated mountains, the Welsh king fortified himself, and drove into the sea seven knights bannerets and three hundred armed men, whom he surprised at the passage. Llewelyn thus commanding the bridge, the English were unable to pass; when a traitorous Welshman told their general, that he had discovered a ford unknown to others, thro which they could wade, strike the Welsh who watched the bridge in their rear, and, by dispersing them, open a passage to the army. Ignorant of this intended movement, and anxious to ascertain the dispositions of the people, and to explore the intentions of his enemy, the king descended from his army in the mountains with only one esquire. Having reconnoitred as he wished,

³⁵ See them in Wynne, p. 284.

³⁶ Edward had given David half of Snowdon and its valleys, and of Anglesey. Cal. Rot. p. 5.

³⁷ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 9.

he was resting in a barn, when he heard a military shout. A moment's doubt came over him; but recollecting himself, he asked his esquire, "Are not my Welsh at the bridge?" The answer assured him that they were. "Then am I safe," cried the king, ignorant of the impending future, "tho all England should be on the other side."³⁸ The noise soon not only increased, but came nearer, and he was astonished to behold English banners advancing. They had struck their unexpected blow at his advanced guard, and their main body were rapidly passing the river. He now tried to regain his camp, but was suddenly crossed in his way by an English knight, who, ignorant of his rank, but discerning him to be a Welshman, advanced immediately upon him. The contest was unavoidable, and the king was too courageous to decline it; but he was lightly armed, and the lance of the Englishman was thrown with a fatal strength and precision; it pierced Llewelyn's side, and the last king of Wales fell dead, but unknown. The English knight, unconscious of the importance of his exploit, fell back to join his countrymen, who were now in full march on the fortified mountains. The Welsh formed eagerly on their cliffs, prepared for battle, but awaiting the return and directions of their sovereign. In vain they watched the valleys for his approach, in vain ascended the highest eminences to descry him; they saw their dreaded foes already ascending their steeps, to close in deadly conflict, and they had not their royal leader to animate or to guide them. Before they recovered from their disappointment, the English banners began to wave on their heights, and they found themselves attacked on all sides with an impetuosity and success which soon scattered them in a panic, from

³⁸ Hemingford, vol. i. p. 11.

which they could not be rallied. All who could escape the English sword, fled in hopeless confusion; and the unexpected casualties of this eventful day annexed the sovereignty of Wales to the crown of England, with a facility that could never have been anticipated. The curiosity of the knight having been excited by the rumors of the field, he descended into the valley, to see whom he had encountered. He found the dead body still on the ground, and, examining its face, it was recognized to be Llewelyn.³⁹ Eager to derive the full profit of his fortunate encounter, he degraded his chivalry by mutilating the corpse of the head, which he carried to Edward. The king had not the magnanimity of William the Conqueror, who reprimanded the knight who had wounded the dead body of Harold; but sent the head up to London, adorned in derision with a silver crown, that it might be exhibited to the populace in Cheapside, and fixed upon the Tower.⁴⁰ David attempted to renew the war, and summoned his nobles to his aid; but tho he was able to protract the struggle to autumn, he was chased, beaten and taken; and Edward, always ferocious in his revenge, again evinced his insensibility to princely honor, in his treatment of his captive. He caused him, after a parliamentary sentence at Shrewsbury, to be drawn on a hurdle, and hanged; and sent his amputated head to London.⁴¹ For what crime which death could not expiate, were

³⁹ Hemingf. p. 11. and Knyghton Chron. p. 2463—2465. This author, loose, and often fabulous, in his earlier annals, becomes authentic as he approaches his own times, and curiols for the original documents which he interweaves in his compilation.

⁴⁰ The archbishop of Canterbury states, in his epistle to Edward (Rymer, vol. ii. p. 224.) "That letters in cypher had been found in Llewelyn's pockets, by which it appeared that he had secret correspondences with persons in England."

⁴¹ Hemingf. p. 13. Knyghton, p. 2465. It is loathsome to read of these useless barbarities, which to the honor of the present reign, of the parliament, and of the author of the measure, are now abolished. The heart and bowels burnt—the head fixed near his brother's — and the four quarters of the body exposed at Bristol, Northampton, York and Winchester. Matt. West. vol. ii. p. 371.

the bodies of these princes thus insulted? The defence of a throne which they had been born to, and the assertion of the independence of a country which had always disdained the yoke of an invader. The union of Wales with England was advantageous to both. But the resistance of the Welsh kings was too natural to excite resentment in a generous enemy; too courageous, from the inadequacy of their means, not to deserve his admiration; and too consonant with the national feelings of their countrymen, not to command his respect for its patriotism, and his pity for their fate.⁴² But Edward's character, like that of Henry I., exhibits great mental eminence, unconnected, where ambition was concerned, with the amiable virtues of the heart. His prudence never erred; but his sensibility, touched too keenly by revenge, rarely acted right.⁴³

Edward pursued his victory to all the beneficial consequences that could be derived from it. Wales was annexed to the crown of England, divided into counties, placed under sheriffs, and was admitted to a participation of the more important of the English institutions.⁴⁴ By a fortunate or proposed coincidence, his queen was afterwards delivered of a son at Carnarvon Castle; and altho the Cambro-Britons, in possession of their independence, would have disdained the son of an Englishman for their sovereign, yet when the triumph of their invader was complete, there can be no doubt that their national vanity derived consolation from the recollection, that their

⁴² The Welsh rhymer's Latin lines on his prince, are meant to imitate the peculiar alliteration and rhymes of Welsh poetry:

Hic jacet Anglorum tortor, tutor Venedorum,
Princeps Wallorum, Lewlinus regula morum,
Forma futurorum, dux, lex, laus, lux populorum.

Wals. p. 11.

⁴³ In the same cruel manner he had another Welsh prince destroyed, who was in arms against him in 1293. M. West. 386.

⁴⁴ The king distributed the lands in the middle of Wales among his chieftains, but retained in his own hands the maritime castles. This policy is remarked to have occasioned great tranquillity. Walsingh. Hist. p. 11.

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future prince was their countryman. It is at least stated, that when Edward some years afterwards created this son the prince of Wales, the inhabitants of the peninsula were peculiarly gratified.⁴⁵

This incorporation with England was an unquestionable blessing to Wales. That country ceased immediately to be the theatre of homicide and distress, and began to imitate the English habits.⁴⁶ I know nothing that more strongly marks the beneficial change, than the new features which the Welsh poetry after that event assumed. We see no more, in endless repetition, the horrible imagery of the prowling wolf, the gushing blood, and the screaming kite feasting on human prey. It is no longer the baneful encomium on the wasteful conduct and the barbarous chief. The fair sex now begin to be the occasional subject of the bardic lay, and their charms impart that inspiration, which had been derived before only from the mead cup and the princely gift. Satire now proceeds to scatter its jokes and gibes; the praise of the sword is abandoned for the lampoon and the song; and the Muse finds that delight in beauty, rural nature, ethical truth, religion, and harmless sarcasm, which she had formerly experienced only in murder and devastation.⁴⁷ The numerous forces which the principality furnished to the king, in his expeditions to Scotland and Flanders, evince the addition of national strength which England derived from the union.

⁴⁵ "When the Welsh heard this, they rejoiced greatly, deeming him their lawful lord, because he was born in their country." Wals. 47. — So Matt. West. 416.

⁴⁶ "Collecting treasures, and dreading losses, like others." Wals. 27. The agriculture of the country was also benefited by the conquest, for Edward had the woods in Wales cut down, because they afforded military defences and retreats to the hostile people. Wals. *ib.*

⁴⁷ See the poems of Casnodyn on the fair Gwenlliant, and on the Trinity. Arch. Wales, vol. i. pp. 421. 427. See also the lyric poems on Gruffud, on various females, and on religious subjects, 454—532: and the satires and verses of the succeeding poets of the fourteenth century. In David ap Gwilym, who comes afterwards, we have a sweet, prolific, and playful Muse.

That Edward ordered a massacre of the Welsh bards, seems rather to be the vindictive tradition of an irritated nation, than an historical fact. The destruction of the independent sovereignties of Wales, abolished the patronage of the bards; and in the cessation of internal warfare and of external ravages, they lost their favorite subjects and most familiar imagery. They declined because they were no longer encouraged, and their disappearance has been mistaken for their extirpation.⁴⁸

Edward had reigned nearly twenty years with increasing reputation and prosperity, when those transactions with Scotland began, which show that even a sagacious and honorable mind may be urged, by the impatience of ambition, to actions inconsistent with its probity. The same benefits which were connected with the incorporation of England and Wales, would have followed a cordial union between North and South Britain; the experience of the last century has proved how largely it has increased the happiness and improvements of both; and it does credit to Edward's judgment as a statesman, that he projected its accomplishment, by contracting a marriage between his son and the Scottish heiress.⁴⁹ But it was a measure that could be successful and beneficial only so far as the union was voluntary, and as the means of establishing it should be peaceable and just. Patriotic feelings, ever honorable to the individuals who cherish them within the bounds of moral duty, and protecting so usefully the independence of states, are in their first impulse averse to national incorporations; time only can lead the

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Scotland.

⁴⁸ The good sense of the Welsh antiquaries of the present day (Camb. Reg. for 1795, p. 414, and for 1796, p. 463.) allows, and indeed has suggested, the scepticism of that popular story on which Gray has founded his "Bard," one of the noblest effusions of the lyric genius of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁹ Buchanan says justly, in his classical History, "Nec odia vetusta unquam commodius aboleri posse videbantur, quàm si uterque populus, honestis et æquis conditionibus, in unum coiret." L. viii. s. 2.

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general mind to a perception of their advantages, and to the adoption of measures for diminishing or averting their inconveniences. But violence, precipitation and wrong, kindle a spirit of resistance, dangerous from its contagious sympathy and vivacious pertinacity, and transmitting to posterity those rancorous antipathies, which produce sufferings to both countries, for many generations. Edward, by a casualty of nature, missed the quiet gratification of his wishes. Wisdom and humanity would have counselled him to have acquiesced in their postponement; but his sense of his own power led him to endeavour to extort that by its unexpected exertion, which was only attainable and only valuable when willingly conceded. His primary injustice experienced the retribution of temporary triumphs succeeded rapidly by signal disappointments, and at last bitterly avenged in the disgrace and disasters of his only son.—But wrong can never be committed without disquieting consequences.—Perhaps the death of his queen Eleonora⁵⁰, to whom he was tenderly attached, leaving a void in his domestic comforts, disposed him to seek amusement even from the troubles of ambition.

The sudden death of the king of Scotland, Alexander III., in 1286, occasioned the calamities which followed. He had married for his second wife the daughter of the earl of Dreux, and one dark night he went with a small retinue to her mansion, a few miles off: as he approached it, his horse stumbled, and threw him: he was raised from the ground, but

⁵⁰ She died near Lincoln, December, 1291. The king never forgot her. Her character is painted by the chroniclers with warm panegyric, for her modesty, piety, benevolence and urbanity. She was brought to Westminster, and wherever her body rested, the king had magnificent crosses, with her effigy, erected to her memory, that the passenger might breathe a prayer for her soul. Wals. 16. One of these at Waltham Cross still remains. Those in Cheapside and at Charing Cross have disappeared.

his neck was broken, and he instantly expired.⁵¹ His only heir was his grand-daughter Margaret, then in Norway, about three years of age, the offspring of a marriage between its king, Eric, and Alexander's daughter. Edward was in Gascony at the time of Alexander's catastrophe. The Scottish nobles sent to him for his advice. He recommended the appointment of guardians⁵²; and six noblemen were chosen to govern the kingdom during the absence of its young queen.⁵³ Edward, embracing the favorable opportunity of accomplishing a great and wise scheme of policy, had proposed an alliance between this princess and his eldest son, his intended successor. The Scottish parliament liberally agreed to his proposals, on conditions calculated to preserve the independence of their country.⁵⁴ After some negotiations, her father, the king of Norway, permitted her to sail to Britain; but by the time she reached the Orkneys, her health became impaired. She landed there in 1290⁵⁵, and shortly after expired. Her death destroyed all Edward's political hopes and combinations for the welfare of both countries; and his moral fortitude was unequal to the disappointment. Violent factions arose immediately in Scotland, which tempted his selfish passions. Thirteen claimants urged pretensions to the crown⁵⁶; but the main competition and only probable rights lay between Baliol and Bruce. Baliol was the grandson of the eldest daughter of their common ancestor; Bruce was the

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⁵¹ Hemingf. p. 29.

⁵² *Ib.* p. 30.

⁵³ Fordun. Scoti. Chron. vol. iv. p. 951. Hearne's ed.

⁵⁴ See the treaty in Rymer's *Acta Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 482. Lord Hailes has given the substance of the articles, in his temperate and judicious *Annals*, vol. i. pp. 190—193.

⁵⁵ Walsing. p. 16. *Matt. West.* 377. Fordun, p. 953. The bishop of St. Andrew's sent to Edward the first rumors of her death, and mentions the perturbation it had occasioned. *Rymer Fœd.* vol. ii. p. 1090.

⁵⁶ See them enumerated, and their genealogies, in Rymer, pp. 575—580.; and in Hailes' *Annals*, p. 208—212. Mr. Chalmers, in the first volume of his *Caledonia*, has diligently investigated the genealogy of Bruce. The substance of his researches is stated also in Kerr's *History of Robert Bruce*.

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son of the second daughter. The impartial Scottish lawyers seem to admit that Baliol was the legal heir. Both were descended from Norman ancestors.

That Edward was invited by one of the regents of Scotland to interfere on this occasion, is clear from the letter of the bishop of St. Andrew's; whose language implies, not only that his dread of civil warfare was his ostensible motive, but also that he had Edward's interest distinctly in his view.⁵⁷

That Edward sent his authorized agents, to persuade the Scottish chieftains to submit the succession to the crown of Scotland to his ordination, is the express assertion of the English historian⁵⁸; and that the Scottish parliament should assemble at his request in England, at Norham⁵⁹, is evidence that they approved of the suggestion. It is probable that if there had been no competition for the crown, the Scottish nobles would have disdained a king of England's interference; but the certainty of the sufferings of all, from the strength of the principal rivals, if the sword were once drawn in Scotland on the quarrel, induced them to defer their pride to their welfare; and the example of the dispute about the crown of Sicily having been referred to Edward's decision, may have operated at this juncture to incline them to a similar expedient.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ "We shall be involved in blood, unless the Most High provide a remedy by your interposition." He requests Edward to advance to the Marches, to prevent the effusion of blood; and he recommends him to take care that his royal honor and interest were preserved, and that the person chosen should adhere to his advice. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1090. Hailes, 197. This is dated 7th Oct. 1290.

⁵⁸ Hemingf. 31.

⁵⁹ They met on the 10th May, 1291, at the parish church of Norham. Hem. p. 32.

⁶⁰ Lord Hailes, p. 190, seems to doubt that the Scottish nobles agreed to leave the decision to Edward; but Barbour, almost a contemporary, affirms it, p. 6, and exclaiming,

A ! blind folk full of foly
Haid ye unbethocht you enkerly
Qubhat perell to you mycht apper
Ye had not wrocht on that maner.

He adds, that if they had remembered Edward's conduct to Wales, they would not have made him their arbitrator. P. 7.

But if temptation be dangerous to the best of mankind, in the ordinary concerns of life, how much more irresistible are the attractions of an attainable crown! Some magnanimous minds have appeared in history, who, satisfied with the glory of the reference, would have disdained to abuse it; and the wisdom of such conduct would have been equal to its heroism. But Edward's ambition was of a more vulgar cast. His power was unbroken; Scotland was divided, and, from its divisions, defenceless. His honor yielded to the seduction of the opportunity; and he met the Scottish parliament at Norham, to which he had summoned all his military force in the northern counties, with an express declaration of his feudal sovereignty over Scotland, and a peremptory demand of its immediate recognition.⁶¹ The astonished Scotchmen demanded time for deliberation.

On the 2nd of June, they assembled again; and the chancellor of England told them, that as the Scots, tho required, had produced nothing to invalidate the king's right, he was resolved, as lord paramount, to determine the succession.⁶² Turning then to Bruce, he asked him, if he would receive England's judgment, as superior lord? Bruce assenting⁶³, the same question was put to all the other claimants present, with the same result. Baliol was absent. He had probably waited to watch the event of the day, and the conduct of his rivals. On the next day, he imitated their conduct.⁶⁴ And thus Edward quietly obtained a solemn admission of his novel claim, which changed the very foundation of the Scottish constitution.

⁶¹ The speech delivered by Brabazon, his great justiciary, is in Hemmingford, p. 32.; and in Rymer, 543. The document in Rymer, is a journal of what passed at Norham, composed by one of Edward's clerics.

⁶² Rymer, p. 544. Hailes, 202.

⁶³ His assent was given, the record says, "finaliter expresse, publice, et aperte." Rymer, p. 545.

⁶⁴ Rymer, 545—548.

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Edward had supported his claim by quotations from the old chroniclers, of the homages performed by the Scottish kings to the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns. But these, tho expressed in general terms, may be fairly interpreted to mean no more than homage for English possessions⁶⁵, like that which the Norman kings paid to France, for their French territories. His strongest precedent was the submission of William the Lion to Henry II. as that was unquestionably for Scotland itself; but the force of this instance was averted by the renunciation of the feudal superiority, which this same William purchased of Richard I. But tho the arguments and the proofs of Edward were feeble, his power, and the urgency of the moment, were great. The competitors, eager for the expected dignity, and unwilling to displease their appointed umpire, even signed instruments, acknowledging his sovereign seigniori, and giving him seisin of all the land, and of all its castles.⁶⁶ He placed his own governors in these, and returned to England.

His feudal sovereignty being recognized, his mea-

⁶⁵ Walsing. p. 17. Hemming. p. 33. Some of the expressions of the ancient chronicles are strong, as Sax. Chron. p. 111.; Chron. Mail. p. 147.; Hen. Hunt. 355.; Malm 48. But they are too general to be proper foundations for a claim so important. That a king should cite chronicles in evidence of such a right, implies a total deficiency of records! and their absence, if such a cession had been made, is at least suspicious.

⁶⁶ See these in Hemingford, p. 34. In the instrument signed by Bruce, Baliol, Comyn, and six others, they declare, "volums, assentons et grantoms de resever dreit devant lui cum Sovereyn seigneur de la terre." Ib. Yet tho Bruce signed this instrument, Barbour, escaping from history into poetry, in order to exalt the ancestor of Bruce, his hero, makes him disdain to yield to Edward the senyhowry (the sovereignty). To Edward's proposal,

Gyff yow will hald in cheyff off me
I sall do swa yow sall be king—

He makes his Bruce to reply, that he does not yearn for the kingdom;

Bot gyff it fall off rycht to me
And gyff God will that it sa be
I sall als frely in all thing
Hald it as it belongs to king.

He paints Edward as declaring in wrath, that for this declaration he shall not have it; and Baliol as assenting to the king "in all his will" (p. 10.), and thereby gaining the prize.—But this is the licence of poetry!

sures to ascertain the rights of the claimants were strictly just. Baliol and Bruce were allowed to name forty commissioners each, to whom Edward was to add twenty-four, who were to investigate the subject impartially, and report the result of their inquiry.⁶⁷ The competitors stated their claims. But ten abandoned their feeble pretensions before the sentence was pronounced. Baliol, Bruce, and the descendant of a younger daughter, were the only persons who persisted in their rights. The Scottish commissioners made their report, and advised the claims of Baliol and Bruce to be first considered. Their respective reasonings were heard.⁶⁸ The commissioners and parliament decided, that the succession to the crown ought to be determined in the same manner as the succession to earldoms and baronies ; and, on the conclusion of the pleadings, adjudged, that by the laws and usages of both kingdoms in every heritable succession, the descendant from the eldest sister, even tho more remote in one degree, was preferable to the descendant from the second sister, tho one degree nearer. The application of this determination to the competitors was, that Baliol, the grandson of the eldest daughter, was to be preferred to Bruce, the son of the second daughter of their common ancestor. On this decision, Edward pronounced his final decree in favor of Baliol, on the 17th November 1292 ; but took care to provide that this judgment should not impair his own rights.⁶⁹ He exacted from Baliol, after he was put in possession of his kingdom, an oath of fealty ; and in less than a month after his coronation, the new sovereign was compelled to repeat his homage.

This interested conduct of Edward on his feudal claim, tainted the credit of his just award, and alarmed

⁶⁷ Rymer, 555. Hailes' Ann. 205.

⁶⁸ See them in Hailes, 215—220.

⁶⁹ Rymer, 589. Hailes, 214. 221.

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and disquieted the Scottish mind. The basest designs against Scotland have been imputed to him; and he has been supposed to have put up Baliol as a puppet, merely to dethrone him, and to incorporate the two countries. In justice to one of the greatest sovereigns that has swayed the English sceptre, it is important to remark, that, altho the incorporation of Scotland became at last his determination, there are not sufficient grounds to impeach his probity with this plan, before the conduct of the Scotch led him to adopt it. All that he claimed at the outset, was the feudal sovereignty of Scotland. But so had the king of France been the feudal sovereign of Normandy and Gascony; and yet the kings of England, who did homage for these possessions, had enjoyed the government of those countries with sufficient independence. There is no evidence that, when Baliol was crowned, the king of England projected to abolish the Scottish royalty or parliament. To be the lord paramount, the feudal sovereign of the whole island, as the King of France had been of Normandy, Bretagne, Flanders, and Aquitain, while these provinces were enjoying their independent hereditary governments, was the honor to which Edward aspired; and the great political object which he would have attained by it, would have been a termination of the predatory wars which had always desolated the borders of the two kingdoms. It was a species of impiety and perjury for the liegeman to make war on his feudal lord; and it exposed him to the loss of life and territory. Scotland becoming a royal fief of the English crown, a new sacred bond of amity would be established between the two countries.

The facts, that for four years Edward did nothing incompatible with the continuance of the Scottish royalty, and that it was the wilful hostility of Scotland itself which forced him into the field against it,

afford reasonable evidence that the line which we have drawn was the limitation of his ambition. From 1292 to 1296, tho he received an appeal against Baliol's judgment, preferred by a Scotchman himself to him as lord paramount⁷⁰, and summoned Baliol to his parliament to answer it, and had expressed displeasure when Baliol, contrary to his oath, attempted to dispute his homage⁷¹, which the English parliament also resented⁷²; yet this was the extent of his adverse conduct. And so far was Edward's behaviour from being revolting to Scottish feeling, that Bruce, the competitor of Baliol, having died, his family desired Edward to receive its homage, and willingly performed it.⁷³

The resolution of Edward to terminate the separate royalty of Scotland, must be dated, so far as actual evidence appears, from the injudicious conduct of the Scottish king and parliament, which would have led a far less irritable and vindictive sovereign to the same determination; because it proved, that the temporary homage was no bar to a perilous hostility. He was wilfully, and, considering the preceding acquiescence, perfidiously attacked where he ought to have been succored; and his subsequent aggression on Scotland, was but the retaliation of its injustice.

In 1294, two cinque-port sailors, at a maritime town of Normandy, went to fill their water-casks at a spring at which some foreign seamen were assembled. A quarrel for precedence was followed by a scuffle, in which a Norman was wounded. The Englishmen regained their ship. The French manned

⁷⁰ This was the case of Macduff's appeal, recited in Edward's writ of summons to Baliol, in *Plac. Parl.* vol. i. p. 111. Of two other instances mentioned by Lord Hailes, one was a complaint against Edward's own officers; and the other an illegal imprisonment of his officers. *Ann.* pp. 222 & 228.

⁷¹ *Plac. Parl.* 113. The words of Baliol's written petition, in French, are given in this record. Lord Hailes has dramatised the substance of this legal document, with unusual fancy, and with good effect, in his *Annals*, pp. 230, 231.

⁷² See the above record; and Lord Hailes, p. 231.

⁷³ Hailes' *Ann.* 229.

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their vessels and pursued, took some English ones, and hanged up the men in company with dogs, as a brutal satire. The cinque ports, in revenge, collected their fleet, and a challenge was exchanged to fight the quarrel, on a future day, in the open sea. A large ship, with a standard, was placed in the middle of the waves, as the spot of battle. Both parties collected friends and allies. The English went out with some Irish and Hoyland vessels; the Normans with French, Flemings, and Genoese: and from this unauthorized impulse of spontaneous and mutual resentment, two large fleets engaged in deadly conflict, without the governments of either party consenting to the crisis.⁷⁴

After a destructive battle, the English conquered. Many thousand seamen were slain, and great numbers drowned. The English brought home 240 captured vessels, laden with booty: and France and England became involved in angry discussion.

The king of France loudly demanded reparation and punishment.⁷⁵ Edward, with temperate magnanimity, sent an ambassador to request appointed conferences, to treat peaceably about it. The French sovereign, listening to no compromise, and perhaps glad of the opportunity, summoned Edward to his court, to answer for the outrage; and because he did not appear, declared his feudal possessions in Gascony to be forfeited, and immediately invaded them.⁷⁶

Edward appealed to his parliament on this flagrant injustice, at which Baliol was present; and they an-

⁷⁴ W. Hemingf. p. 40. Wals. 20. The day appointed for the engagement was the 14th April. Ib.—M. Westm. remarks, that at this time there was neither king nor law for the sailors, but whatever any one could take or carry away, that he claimed as his own. p. 396.—Walsingham says the French lost 15,000 men in this struggle. p. 23.

⁷⁵ Hemingford states, that Charles, the French king's brother, had been the real author of the battle. Edward would take no part of their plunder, because the battle had been fought without his order or consent. M. Westm. 387.

⁷⁶ Heming. 41—Matthew of Westminster has inserted Philip's summons in his History, pp. 387—390, accusing Edward of not being ignorant of the outrage.

swered, that they would follow him to life or death.⁷⁷ The first forces which he sent to Guienne, were defeated, thro the incompetence of their commander; and Edward then required Baliol to send him a military aid. Instead of complying with this natural request, Baliol and the Scottish parliament entered into an offensive and defensive treaty with the king of France, which was signed at Stirling in July, and ratified at Paris in October.⁷⁸

By this treaty, the Scotch bound themselves to begin and make war upon Edward with all their strength⁷⁹; and in execution of this engagement, before the king of England had committed any act of hostility against Scotland, or even evinced any inimical design anterior to this treaty, the Scots invaded Cumberland with 40,000 foot and 500 horse, under the command of Comyn, laid waste the country, and besieged Carlisle. In the next month they made a similar aggression on Northumberland⁸⁰; and Baliol, by the advice of his parliament, sent to Edward a written renunciation of his homage and fealty⁸¹: a feeble and injudicious action. If Baliol had not become Edward's liegeman, a renunciation was unnecessary; if he were so, no liegeman could cancel his fealty without the consent of his lord. The renunciation was therefore evidence of its own absurdity, and, by admitting Baliol's previous homage, precluded him from annulling it.

Edward received these tidings with undissembled indignation and contempt. "Has this felon fool committed such a folly!" was his bitter exclamation.

⁷⁷ Hem. p. 43.

⁷⁸ Hem. pp. 75—82. His work contains a copy of the treaty.

⁷⁹ "Dicto regi Angliæ—totis viribus suis guerram incipient et facient." Hem. p. 29.

⁸⁰ Heming. 87, 88. 93. Halles, 235.

⁸¹ Rymer Act. Fœd. p. 707. The only reasons which Baliol solemnly alleges for this conduct, are Edward's best exculpation from the rapacious ambition against Scotland with which he has been charged.

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tion.⁸² He neglected his war with France, and put his military power in motion immediately against Scotland. He marched to the eastern frontier, took Berwick by storm, and cruelly put its garrison and inhabitants to the sword.⁸³

From the hope of finding Edward embarrassed by his war with France, and by an insurrection in Wales⁸⁴ scarcely suppressed, the Scottish nation was thus, by the passions of its ruling authorities, confronted against the military power of England, at the time when this power was wielded by a man of consummate ability. In England, the due authority of government and law now reached to every part, and brought, on the legal summons, all its warlike resources into efficient and obedient co-operation. In Scotland, the crown was unable in many districts to enforce its lawful prerogatives; and the military aristocracy which attended the sovereign to the field, was often more ready to dispute his commands than to obey them. The English army was then well appointed with the best warlike equipments of the day, was sedulously trained in the discipline that was found most operative, and in the hour of conflict willingly executed the movements which their leader directed. The Scots, too independent and too haughty to like the slavery of military instruction, or to be implicitly subordinate to the commands of a general, were also rarely practised in the evolutions of large bodies, or in the skill of a protracted campaign. They knew little of the advantages of peculiar positions, and perhaps disdained a wariness, that in an uncivilized age savors of cowardice. Prompt, impetuous, and dis-

⁸² "A ce foll felon tel foli fet." Fordun, vol. iv. p. 969. He added, "S'il ne venira a nous, Nous vendrons a ly." Ib.

⁸³ Ib, 972. Hemingford says that 8,000 men were slain, and the women sent away. p. 92. Matt. West. makes the slain 60,000, a number too improbable to be believed; but he mentions it with a referentur. p. 403.

⁸⁴ Hemingford mentions this insurrection, p. 55. and Matt. West. 395.

orderly, rude in their weapons and engines of war, and attacking their enemy rather with individual bravery than with the effect of their combined strength, they never fought a pitched battle with an English army judiciously commanded, without certain and ruinous defeat.

Baliol and his nobles experienced this military inferiority of their nation in the battle of Dunbar. When the English besieged the town, the whole force of Scotland collected on the steep chain of hills above it in battle array. The English general, the earl of Warenne, marched against them, and moving out of a disadvantageous position, the Scots mistook manœuvre for retreat, and blowing their horns and howling with triumphant vociferation⁸⁵, rushed from their advantageous position, eager to attack, lest their enemy should escape. But when the English, defiling out of a deep valley, formed rapidly into a line of fearless battle, and charged the too confident and now disordered Scotch, their discipline and array had their full effect. The Scottish army, though greatly outnumbering the English⁸⁶, was totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men, and its principal chieftains.⁸⁷ Edward joined his army the following day. Dunbar surrendered. The castles of Rokesburg, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were as rapidly taken. Baliol, divested of his royal robes, and bearing a white rod in his hand, performed a humiliating penance, and resigned his kingdom and people to his liege lord Edward. The Scottish barons crowded, and among these Bruce, the future king, to re-swear fealty to the English sove-

⁸⁵ Hemingford says, *resonantes ululatus*, enough to penetrate the infernal regions. p. 96.

⁸⁶ Hemingford gives the numbers in this proportion; English, 1000 horse, 10,000 foot; Scotch, 1500 horse, and 40,000 foot.

⁸⁷ Lord Hailes remarks on this battle, "Upon almost the same ground, and in circumstances not dissimilar, Cromwell overcame the Scots, 3 Sept. 1650." p. 238.

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reign⁸⁸, who advanced triumphantly to Elgin; and the conquest of Scotland seemed complete. Baliol was sent by his stern antagonist a prisoner to the Tower of London; and the celebrated stone, the venerated palladium of Scotland, on which its kings had been always crowned⁸⁹, was taken out of the country, and conveyed to Westminster. The chief castles of the southern parts were committed to the care of Englishmen, and wise measures were adopted to conciliate the nation. John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, was appointed governor of Scotland, with Hugh de Cressingham, treasurer, and left with a military force that was esteemed competent to retain the country in peaceful subordination. It is clear that Edward had now resolved to abolish the separate sovereignty of Scotland, and all his future measures were directed to this object. But this result was the consequence of that vindictive hostility which the Scottish government had deliberately begun. I do not dispute the right of the nation to emancipate itself from the feudal subordination into which Edward had urged or surprised it; but the moment they appealed to war, they subjected themselves to all the evils of its disasters; and the union on which Edward resolved after his victory, was the exertion of the right of a conqueror, who had been placed in that situation by the intemperance of the conquered. It may also be suggested, that the exertion for independence ought not to have been made by those who

⁸⁸ By their acts, copied in Hemingford, p. 101, the Scottish nobles, and among these the two Bruces and Comyn, declare "promettoms—que nous lui servirons bien et loialement — Je serra feal et leal — Jeo demenk votre homme lige." See the latin translations in Walsingham, pp. 32, 33.

⁸⁹ We have a description of a Scottish king's coronation in Fordun: He was seated on this stone: under his feet, the nobles, with bended knees, strewed their garments before it; an Highlander then kneeling before the throne, and bowing his head, saluted the king in Gaelic, by recapitulating all his genealogy up to Kenneth Mac Alpin, and thence to the visionary Fergus. vol. iii. p. 758. The Leonine rhymes in Fordun imply the tradition, that the Scotch would reign wherever that stone was placed.

had sworn allegiance to Edward. The high-minded patriot, who had disdained such a fetter, kept his native rights undiminished. But if oaths be not individually binding, religion is a mockery, and morality but a crafty calculation.

That the administration of Edward's officers was deemed oppressive by the Scottish nation, need not be doubted. The English yoke had been forcibly imposed, and there must have been enough of high-spirited natives to resent the violence and to harass the obnoxious government. No country, accustomed to an independent sovereignty, can be speedily tranquillized under a new subjection, unless its inhabitants be so far civilized as to prefer peace and comfort to enterprize and hazard. Scotland has at all times had a high national feeling, and its mountainous chieftains have been distinguished for their habits of originality and independence. No country was less likely to be in that age an acquiescing appendage to another state. It is therefore not surprising, that parties, who are called bands of robbers, infested the highways, and invaded the English borders. A dislocation of authority so violent must have produced many sufferers, many indignant spirits, and many unprincipled adventurers. The measures put in action to repress them, would be inveighed against as tyranny, and, wherever they failed to intimidate, would multiply resistance.

It was at this period that the celebrated person arose, whose actions have long been the favorite theme of his countrymen, and whose memory still, and deservedly, lives to fame, in their undiminished admiration. Patriotism is not indeed enjoined as a Christian duty, because it is too much connected with the violent passions, and too often with destruction, to be safely placed in a code of benevolence and peace. But human sympathy has always acknowledged it to

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be, when pure and genuine, a sublime principle; an heroic emotion, which great souls only truly feel: which must always be exerted with an individual responsibility and sacrifices that are the best suited to guard against its excesses, and to separate it from imposture; but which, when justly originating, and usefully acting, will ever win the admiration of mankind, and justify their praise. The fame of Wallace is therefore founded on some of the noblest springs of human actions⁹⁰; and he violated no paramount duty in yielding to their impulse, for he was born with no allegiance to Edward. The English king had taken the Scottish crown by the right of conquest only. His rights thus originating from war, were still debatable by war. What the sword had extorted, the sword might yet dispute. A length of possession acquiesced in, the main foundation of the right of property, had not taken place; and Wallace was therefore at least as free to assert his national independence, as Edward could be to assail it.

The Scots, from the principle of his warfare, and the congeniality of their national feelings, have painted Wallace with features amiable and great. The English too indignant at imputed treason to feel the justice of his motives, and too prejudiced by the representations of the authority they revered not to misconceive his actions, have transmitted to us his portrait distorted with every moral deformity. That he was a

⁹⁰ Barbour has done more than express the feeling of his own heart and country on such a principle; he has breathed the spirit of every enlightened mind, in this energetic declamation:

A ! fredome is a noble thing.
 Fredome makes man to haiff liking.
 Fredome all solace to man giffis.
 He levys at ese, that freely levys.
 A noble hart may haiff nan ese ;
 Na ellys nocht that may him plesse,
 Gyff fredome faillyhe —
 And suld think fredome mar to pryse
 Than all the gold in warld that is. p. 13.

rebel and a public robber⁹¹, an incendiary, a murderer, and an apostate; more cruel than Herod, more flagitious than Nero; tormenting his prisoners, to make them dance in agony; embowelling infants, and consuming school-boys in flames⁹²—are imputations and tales that may be construed to imply that he was as cordially hated and misrepresented by one country, as he was loved and panegyrised by the other. We may believe that he plundered, burnt and slaughtered, often without mercy; for such was the barbarous character of war in that still ferocious age. We find Edward described by his own chroniclers, as putting the inhabitants of Berwick to the sword on his first invasion⁹³; and Wallace, as the native of a less civilized country, would hardly be more gentle. But we may perhaps fairly say, that his cruelties belong to his age, and that his noble spirit was his own. Europe and England have been too deeply indebted to similar characters and exertions, for us not to feel that Wallace is entitled to all the praise which his countrymen have lavished on him. His actions, tho he did not personally reap their reward, led the way to the independence of his country, at a period when its independence was believed by its natives to be its blessing. And from the admirable character and attainments which now distinguish the Scottish nation, we may infer, that the four centuries of additional independence which the efforts of their Wallace con-

⁹¹ Thus Brunne,

William Waleis is nomen
That malster was of theves. p. 329.

And Walsingham calls him "publicus Latro," but with a qualifying "ut fertur." p. 35. Hemingford is not more charitable.

⁹² Matt. West. 451. Walsingham, p. 36. Brunne, p. 339, says of him,

That never had pite of Inglisman no weys.

And in the fulness of his belief, makes this moral exclamation on his capture:—

A! Jhesu whan thou wille,
How rightwis is thi mede!
That of the wrong has gilt,
The endyng may thei drede. p. 329.

⁹³ See note 83.

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tributed to secure, were auspicious to the formation of a moral and intellectual capacity, peculiar, but excellent; strong, original, and deeply featured; but most auxiliary to the renown of the British nation, and to the improvement of human nature.

The authentic biography of Wallace can scarcely now be traced. Like all popular favorites, he has suffered from the fictions with which fond traditions have adorned and obscured him. That he was the younger son of a gentleman, seems sufficiently clear⁹⁴; and the neighborhood of Paisley, in Renfrewshire, has been presumed to be the place of his nativity.⁹⁵ That he was outlawed in his youth, for killing an English nobleman, is rather a popular opinion than an historical fact.⁹⁶ He appears to have been unknown, till he emerged to attack the English. Seven years was the short period of his exertions and his celebrity, and his actions are more fully recorded in the chronicles of his enemies, scanty as their notices are, than in the memorials of his friends.⁹⁷

The first achievement by which he roused the notice of his countrymen, was his killing the sheriff of Lanark, a brave and powerful man on the English side.⁹⁸ It was probably a guerilla exploit, successfully accomplished at the head of a few wanderers, whom he had

⁹⁴ Fordun says, that tho he was thought ignobilis among the earls and nobles of his kingdom, yet that his parents shone in military honors; and that his elder brother was a knight, and left to his children a sufficient patrimony to maintain his rank. vol. iii. p. 979. This seems correct, because Brunne, the English poet, mentions Sir John de Wallace as his brother:

“Bot Sir John de Waleis taken was in a pleyn.”

He adds, that his head was cut off, and placed at London Bridge,

“Beside his brother the bigge William the Waleys.” pp. 338, 339.

⁹⁵ Hailes, p. 245. Mr. Chalmers has exerted his investigating powers, in his Caledonia, vol. i p. 577, but with no decisive success.

⁹⁶ Buchanan mentions it, l. 8. s. 18. But Lord Hailes suspects this to be derived from blind Harry.

⁹⁷ His metrical History, by Henry the Minstrel, who is stated to have been born blind, and to have gained his subsistence by reciting his histories before princes or great men, was composed in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is the work, as Lord Hailes says, “of an author, who either knew not history or who meant to falsify it.” p. 245. It has, however, the full merit of a production of the Muse, for it is poetical as well as fabulous.

⁹⁸ Fordun, vol. iv. p. 978.

collected; but it struck the imagination, and from that time the discontented and the patriotic eagerly joined him, and made him their leader. He was highly qualified for the great task he had undertaken. His personal appearance was prepossessing, his courage daring, his fortitude immovable, and his liberality unbounded.⁹⁹ Wherever he went, successes followed his paths. The English every where fell before him. Enlarging his objects with his triumphs, he called upon the men of rank to assert the cause of their country under his banners. If any Scottish noblemen refused, he seized and imprisoned them till they obeyed.¹⁰⁰ Collecting thus an active and imposing force, he attempted to drive the English even from the castles and fortresses, till his exploits reached the ears of Edward, and alarmed him to new exertions to resist his progress.

Edward could not believe the first tidings of a reverse so unexpected. He dispatched the bishop of Durham, for some of his prelates were warriors, to examine and describe to him the truth. His envoy's report confirming the unwelcome news, as he was embarking to preserve Flanders from a French invasion, he commissioned his former general, the earl of Warenne, to go and chastise the bold revolt.¹⁰¹ Fifty thousand English and Welsh were marched into Scotland, and its easy reconquest was confidently anticipated.

Wallace had now been raised to the command of all the Scottish forces.¹⁰² He was besieging the castle of Dundee, when he heard that the English army was advancing to Stirling. Committing the prosecution of the siege to the citizens of the town, whom he charged to continue it under the penalty of

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⁹⁹ Fordun, vol. iv. p. 978.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 979.

¹⁰¹ W. Heming. 122.

¹⁰² Ibid. 124.

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losing life and limb if they were negligent¹⁰⁰, he hastened to check the progress of the invaders.

The waters of the Forth spread between the English and the town of Stirling; a rising ground was beyond it. Wallace brought up all his army behind the hill, and there halted, watching the English. Warenne sent two dominicans, to offer peace: "Tell your masters," said Wallace, "we come not here for peace, but to fight—to revenge and to liberate our country: Let them approach when they please, they will find us ready to meet them to the very beard."¹⁰⁴ The Scotch consisted of 180 horse, and 40,000 foot; the English, of 300 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry. The lofty answer of Wallace kindled the English pride. "They threaten us!" was the general exclamation: "Let us advance." "If you pass by the bridge," observed a friendly native¹⁰⁵, "you are ruined; two only can pass it at a time; they flank us, and can attack with all their front: there is a ford, not far off, where sixty men may cross together: let me conduct you to it." His advice was overruled¹⁰⁶, and this presumption gave Wallace the brightest day of his short military life. The foreseen consequence occurred. Wallace waited quietly till as many of the English had passed as he was sure of overcoming. He sent a body of spearmen to secure the foot of the bridge, and then charged, with speedy destruction, the whole first division that was before him. Their discomfiture threw Warenne into a panic, and he retreated

¹⁰⁰ Ford, vol. iv. p. 980.

¹⁰⁴ W. Heming, p. 126. "Se ad pugnam non ad pacem venisse." Trivet, Ann. p. 307.

¹⁰⁵ Sir Richard Lundy was the knight who gave this judicious counsel. Trivet, 307. Hemingford says, that some who were at the conflict had declared that the bridge was so narrow, that if the army had been passing it from dawn to eleven o'clock, not half would have got over. p. 128.

¹⁰⁶ The treasurer, Hugh de Cressingham, whom the English historian calls a proud and pompous man, persuaded the old and more cautious Warenne to use the fatal bridge. He fell in the confusion. 127, 128. The Scots stripped off his skin, and divided it among them, from their hatred of him. Trivet, 307. Wals. 40.

to Berwick, as far as his horse could carry him, abandoning even the English border counties to his triumphant antagonist, who pursued his advantages with such vigorous determination, that he was soon before Carlisle.¹⁰⁷ He sent in a friar with his message, "William the Conqueror, my lord, commands you to surrender!" "Who is this conqueror?" inquired the governor; "William, whom you call Wallace."¹⁰⁸ His summons was defied; and, finding he could not carry it by assault, he prepared to retreat. The epithet annexed to his name shews the exultation of his countrymen at his successes, and his popular celebrity.

His country thus liberated, he assumed the title of the "Governor of Scotland in the name of king John" (Baliol¹⁰⁹) and continued his exertions for perpetuating its independence. But Edward, returning from Flanders, prepared for a new campaign; and Wallace and Scotland soon felt the vigor of his military capacity.

The king directed his forces to be collected, but to attempt nothing beyond Berwick, till he came. He made his arm of cavalry particularly strong; three thousand select knights were on horses that were mailed, and four thousand on unarmed steeds. He desired no infantry but volunteers, and they are stated to have amounted to eighty thousand.¹¹⁰ As he advanced beyond Edinburgh, he experienced those evils which might have taught the Scottish patriots their true military policy. The safety of

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¹⁰⁷ Hem. 129—131. Cressingham is described as rector of the church of Rudeby, and prebend in several dioceses. p. 130. Five thousand of the English infantry, besides cavalry, fell in the battle. p. 130.

¹⁰⁸ Hem. 132.

¹⁰⁹ In the *litteræ protectoriæ* granted by Wallace to the convent of Hexeldsham, he and Andrew Murray are styled "Duces exercitus regni Scotiæ nomine—Johannis regis Scotiæ." Hem. p. 135. This protection was an act of humanity unlike the barbarities imputed to him. p. 121. On his title of "Custos regni Scotiæ," see Hailes, 253, from Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, No. 44.

¹¹⁰ Heming. 159.

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Scotland against England, at that time, lay in the imperfect state of her agriculture, in her scattered population, and in the hardy frugality of her inhabitants, content with the necessaries of life, and seeking and possessing no superfluities. In such a country, the invading army that did not carry with it the supplies for its campaigns, must waste in disease and famine, if the retiring patriots should destroy all resources in its line of march. Aware of this danger, Edward had directed a fleet of victualers to meet him in the Frith of Forth. Adverse winds detained them at Berwick, and the English army began to pine in want and malady. At length, a few vessels arrived with wine; and, as his Welsh troops were dying in great numbers, he distributed part to refresh them. They became intoxicated and mutinous. The English cavalry charged them, and they withdrew from the main body. It was reported to Edward, that they were going over to the Scots: His answer displayed his usual firmness; "I care not; let my enemies join my enemies, I will chastise them all."¹¹¹ The famine increased, and the King resolved to retreat to Edinburgh. As he was making dispositions for this purpose, a friendly visitor discovered to him, that Wallace and the Scottish army were only a few miles off, in the forest of Falkirk; that they had heard of Edward's determination to fall back, and had rapidly advanced, projecting to surprise his camp on the night of the following day. Delighted at their vicinity, Edward commanded his troops to arm, without revealing his secret information, and marched immediately towards Falkirk, every one wondering at his change of mind. In the moor near Linlithgow, he halted them for the night. They rested on the bare earth, their shields their

¹¹¹ Heming. 161.

pillows, their armor their bed, and their horses held, unbaited, near them.¹¹² As the king was sleeping, his war-horse struck his side with his hoof, and broke two of his ribs. An alarm spread, that the king was hurt: treason was suspected and charged; and a panic might have dispersed the English army, if Edward, subduing his sensations of pain, had not placed himself in his saddle, and reassured his troops by his presence.¹¹³ At dawn they marched straight to Falkirk, and beheld the Scottish army. The king wished to refresh his troops with food, but was reminded, that only a little brook separated the two armies. He saw the judgment of the remark, and he ordered the attack.¹¹⁴

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Wallace formed his men into four circular bodies, facing outwards, with their lances held obliquely, and with archers in their intervals. A peat morass was in his front, and he caused a row of stakes, tied by ropes, to be fastened in the ground, as a protection from the English cavalry. Behind these he planted his infantry, with this short address; "I have brought you to the ring, dance well if you know how."¹¹⁵

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Edward formed his troops into three divisions. The first advanced straight forwards to the enemy, ignorant of the morass; but meeting with it, they marched round it on the west. The bishop of Durham, with thirty-six banners, led the second line, and, aware of the peat-moss, skirted it on the east.

¹¹² Heming. 162.

¹¹³ Heming. 163. Wals. 42.

¹¹⁴ Hem. 163. Wals. 42. That the Welsh shunned the battle, has been stated, and is not surprising, as the cause of the Scotch had been so recently their own. Brunne says,

The Walsch folk, that tide,
Did nouthur ille no gode;
They held them alle bi side;
Opon a hille thei stode.—p. 306.

¹¹⁵ "I have brought you to the kyng, hop gif ye kun." Wals. 43. "Hop," that is, dance, or be active. See Lord Hailes's note on this speech, p. 258, who would read "ryng" instead of "kyng."

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This division, eager to have the first blow, marched faster than the bishop liked, who thought it better to wait for the support of the other line. "It is not for you to teach us war," cried an ardent knight, who shared the command; "To your mass, Bishop!" and led his willing troops into the conflict with the first circle of the Scots, while the van division was also hastening into action. The Scottish cavalry gave way before the impetuosity of the charge, and fled; but a few of the knights joined the circles of the infantry, to direct their movements. The northern bowmen, from the forest of Selkirk, fought manfully, but were soon destroyed. The condensed wood of the Scottish lancers, with their obliquely protruded weapons, was then full before the English knights, and steadily kept them at bay. In vain they essayed to break into the firm array; the foremost, with unavailing bravery, perished on the lances, as Wallace had foreseen; and the repulse of the English chivalry did credit to the military judgment of the patriot. His circles of infantry were impenetrable. But the English commanders were persevering and expert: they observed that the Scottish array, tho so effective for defence, was from that very circumstance, incompetent to attack: these circles of men were in fact but so many immoveable fortresses; and they resolved to assail them as such. The place abounded with large stones. The English generals ordered up their cross-bowmen and machines, and the stones and arrows were poured, without remission, on the front men of the circumferences, till so many perished, that the rest, astonished and overwhelmed, fell back on the interior. At this critical moment the English cavalry burst in, followed by their foot, before the Scottish officers could re-form their broken rings, which this movement threw into irretrievable confusion. Wallace

had made no provision for this possibility, or his materials were too unmanageable for discipline. Escape only was the object of the one party, and destruction, little resisted, of the other. The English converted their attack into a pursuit so disastrous to Scotland, that many thousands¹¹⁶ of her bravest defenders were destroyed. The pressure of famine prevented Edward from profiting by his great victory. The ships were still detained by the adverse winds. Fifteen days he remained in the camp, almost without food; and, instead of entering Galway, was at last obliged to fall back to Carlisle.¹¹⁷

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Wallace had, by his own intrepid and unyielding spirit, roused the decaying energies of his countrymen. When both the Bruces, and Baliol, and the Scottish parliament, had given up the patriot cause, he had set the example of a courageous fortitude, and, by twice expelling their English masters, had shewn a possibility of victory, which revived the submitting nobles from their despondency. But the aristocracy of his country was unworthy of its hero. The proud lairds and chieftains cavilled at the inferiority of his birth. His right of command was disputed; and dissensions in the Scottish camp are stated to have preceded the battle of Falkirk. Be this fable or truth¹¹⁸, it is clear that he was deserted after this defeat—we may add, unjustly deserted. That Wallace had formed a safer plan of operations, is evident from the information which made Edward advance. But the decision and rapi-

¹¹⁶ Heming. p. 165. Wals. 43. Hailes remarks the different estimation of the Scottish loss. Walsingham says 60,000. Hemingford, who writes with much particular knowledge, 50,000. M. West. in one place, p. 411, has 40,000; in another, p. 446, 60,000.—M. West. swells the army of Wallace to 200,000, p. 411; and Hemingford to 300,000, p. 165. Neither of these numbers seem probable ones. Trivet's account is more rational; he says, "It was thought by many that above 20,000 Scots perished." Ann. p. 313.

¹¹⁷ Hem. 167.

¹¹⁸ See Hailes, 254 & 262.

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dity of the English king having suddenly brought his army before the Scottish lines, the momentous battle became inevitable. The defeat, the natural result of superior discipline and equipment, well commanded, tho not fairly imputable to any fault in Wallace, destroyed his future influence among the selfish great. Appointing Bruce and others the guardians of Scotland, they protracted a defensive struggle till 1303¹¹⁹, when Edward, having made peace with France, was enabled to pour his undivided forces into Scotland.

The greatest resistance which he experienced in the campaign, was at the siege of Stirling. It required all the exertion of his besieging skill. Ninety days had passed with no signs of surrender. He became but the more determined to take it. First in every attack, he was aimed at from a balista, and the dart pierced his robe. Repetitions of the same danger induced his courtiers to advise him to expose himself less. His answer was a quotation from the Psalms, expressing his reliance on Providence, and that he feared not what man could do. On a following day, riding unarmed near the walls, the Scots discharged an immense stone, with such exactness that it struck his horse's feet, and he fell with the King. His knights ran to extricate him, gently upbraiding his carelessness of his own safety, and offering to expose themselves to every danger instead of him. The King declared that he would not separate himself from them. He increased the power of his machines, and the size of their projectiles. Seeing his English run to pick up the arrows discharged from the castle, which had fallen short, he called them back, "If you do not take them up," he remarked, "they will think that they cannot throw their missile weapons at all near you, and they will be discouraged; but if you

¹¹⁹ For the Intermediate incidents, see Hailes, 263—276.

collect them, they will perceive that a little addition of force will send them among you, and you will suffer from the discovery." At last, the governor, Sir William Oliphant, and others, came from the castle barefoot, ungirded, with ashes on their heads, and ropes on their necks, and in their hands, imploring his grace. He told them he would not receive them in his favor; they must surrender to his pleasure. They declared they did so — "My pleasure is," exclaimed the King, "that you be drawn and hanged." Sir William fell on the earth, and, with every expression of grief, threw himself on his mercy. The King turned to the companions of the governor, "And what do you expect?" They declared, with lamentation, that they submitted themselves to his will. The King, affected by their emotions, inclined a little aside, and saw his own friends bedewed with generous tears; he permitted the noble sympathy to spread in part to himself; he gave them their lives, but he ordered their imprisonment.¹²⁰

After this success, he penetrated to Caithness, and the country was reconquered. Bruce surrendered himself to the English; so did Comyn, and his followers. The Scottish chieftains all gave up the contest, except Wallace, who had been animating the previous warfare. He was invited to imitate them, and put himself under the royal grace.¹²¹ His unbroken spirit resolutely refused, and he retired to a place of concealment. But his rejection of the offers of pardon and peace increased Edward's resentment to inveteracy; he felt his conquest to be insecure while Wallace lived, and he put in motion many parties to hunt out his retreat.¹²² From his enemies the

¹²⁰ Matt. Westm. 447—449.

¹²¹ "Si lui semble que bon soit." The Grant of amnesty to Comyn and his friends is among the *Placita Parliam.* p. 212. It contains this clause in favour of Wallace. p. 213.

¹²² That Wallace was diligently sought after by Edward, appears from the Par-

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EDWARD I.Death of
Wallace.

persecuted patriot might seclude himself; but his retirement was penetrable by deceitful friends. One of these, directed by a faithless domestic, betrayed him into the hands of Edward.¹²³ Age had now chilled in that King all the generous feelings which once mitigated his resentments. He saw in Wallace nothing but an irreconcilable adversary; and his vindictive spirit had not the magnanimity to pardon. Wallace was arraigned at Westminster as a traitor. His defence was complete — he had never sworn allegiance to Edward; he was born with none; he had never acquiesced in his authority; he could not be a traitor to him.¹²⁴ But the English judges adopted the feelings of their sovereign. He was found guilty of treason — hanged — drawn — and quartered. His head was exposed on London Bridge, and his divided limbs sent to intimidate Scotland. Edward obtained the wretched gratification of destroying his noble enemy; but his cruelty has only increased the celebrity of Wallace, and indelibly blotted his own.¹²⁵

liamentary document, which states, that the king released Ralph of Haliburton, to go to Scotland and aid the other men, who were watching there, to catch Wallace. *Plac. Parl. i. 177.*

¹²³ Fordun, p. 996.—Brunner's version of Langtoft's Chronicle gives this account of his caption, which is worthy of notice, as the narration of a contemporary :

Sir Jon of Menetest served William so neih,
He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
That was thorght treson of Jak Schort his man,
He was the encheson that Sir Jon so him nam.
Jak brother had he slayn, the Waleis that is said,
The more Jak was fayn to do William that braid. p. 329.

¹²⁴ As every thing relating to so great a man is interesting, I will imitate Lord Hailes in quoting the following from Stow's Chronicle, p. 209 : — " William Wales was brought to London with great numbers of men and women wondring upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fanchurch-street. On the morrow, being the even of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horsebacke to Westminster, John Segreve and Geoffrey Knight, the major, sheriffes and aldermen of London, and many other, both on horsebacke and on foote, accompanying him; and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past, that he ought to beare a crowne in that hall, as it was commonly reported, and being appeached for a traytor, by Sir Peter Mallorie the king's justice, hee answered that hee never was a traytor to the king of England."

¹²⁵ Wals. 61. M. West. 451.—The popular affection for Wallace is strikingly shewn by the many local traditionary remembrances of him, which are still preserved in Scotland. The hills, the houses, the castles, and the glens, which he

By the submission of the chiefs, and by the death of Wallace, the subjection of Scotland seemed completed, and Edward proceeded to the settlement of its administration. In a parliament at Westminster, attended by deputies from Scotland, the great state officers and sheriffs, and the keepers of its castles, were appointed. The usage of Scot and Bret laws was abolished. The king's lieutenant was directed to assemble a Scottish council, to read over the laws of their king David, and the subsequent additions, and to correct such as were evidently against God and reason.¹²⁶

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Edward had thus attained the full gratification of his policy. Scotland was now his own; all had submitted. But the brilliant prospects of ambition are rarely permanent. Before a few months elapsed, the sceptre that appeared to be so securely grasped, was again contested, and at last vanished from the hands of his successor. The immediate causes of this unexpected revolution, are connected with a catastrophe, which has not yet been satisfactorily elucidated.

Baliol's sister left a son, named John Comyn, who had been made the guardian of Scotland, and leader of her armies against Edward. He was the representative of the rights of Baliol, which had been decreed to be antecedent to those of Bruce. The claims of Bruce had descended to his grandson Robert Bruce; and thus Comyn and Robert Bruce stood in the same competition of right to the crown of Scotland, which their ancestors Baliol and the first Bruce had maintained. Both had submitted to Edward.

frequented; the stones on which he sat; the tree in which he was secreted; the rock from which he plunged into the sea; the bridge which he crossed; the forest to which he withdrew; the foaming cascade behind which he was once screened; the barn in which he was taken, and the lake into which, after he was overpowered, he hurled his sword — are still fondly pointed out. Mr. Ker has collected the notices of these traditions in his History of Robert the Bruce. vol. i. pp. 125—132.

¹²⁶ Plac. Parl. i. 268.

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REIGN OF
EDWARD I.

1306.
Bruce as-
sassinates
Comyn.

Suddenly it was announced to the world that Bruce had assassinated Comyn, at Dumfries, before the great altar in the convent of the Franciscans. That the most distinguished king of Scotland should commit sacrilege and murder, is an act so abhorrent to moral feeling, that it has naturally engaged his countrymen to discover, if possible, some honorable motive to palliate the crime. It will be most impartial, in the present history, to state the principal circumstances of the transaction, as narrated by the Scottish historian; and then to subjoin the English accounts.

According to Fordun, Bruce had begun a negotiation with Comyn to revive the Scottish throne; and they had agreed, that Bruce should be the king, and that Comyn's possessions should be guaranteed and increased; when Comyn communicated the secret plan to the English government. Alarmed at the information, Edward meditated the destruction of Bruce, then at his court; when the earl of Gloucester, favoring the Scottish prince, sent him a piece of money and a pair of spurs, with this enigmatical message, "My master returns what you yesterday lent him." Bruce, whose mind, if pursuing such plans, must have been always in alarm, conjectured, on seeing the spurs, that his escape was counselled, and, giving the messenger the money, he secretly got to his horse, and rode off immediately to Scotland. On the marches he met a courier, on whom he found his own sealed treaty with Comyn, which this betraying friend was sending to Edward. Bruce, arriving at Dumfries, sent for Comyn to the monastery, and charged him with his perfidy: "You lie!" said Comyn, and Bruce immediately stabbed him. He fell, and was carried behind the altar. The monks inquiring if he thought he should survive, he answered, "I may." The friends of Bruce hearing this

possibility, determined to preclude it, and dispatched him.¹²⁷

The English historians omit the circumstances of the escape of Bruce; but state him to have invited his rival to the church of the Franciscans, to have reproached him for accusing him to Edward, according to one¹²⁸, or for refusing to throw off the English yoke, according to others.¹²⁹ There is no substantial difference between any of the authorities, on the main facts of the catastrophe. They all agree that Bruce convened the meeting; that he upbraided Comyn, and at last stabbed him; and that Bruce's friends, finding him not killed, completed the assassination. Thus agreeing on the principal fact, their variations as to the preceding conversation are unimportant, and indeed not irreconcilable. Bruce may have reprimanded him for discovering his secret purposes to Edward, may have urged him to support his plans, and may have received the lie to some of his assertions. On every supposition, it was still the destruction of a competitor by the person who was to be most benefited by the crime; and from this suspicious atrocity the memory of Bruce cannot be vindicated.

Some of Comyn's relations were also destroyed. The Scots hearing of the event, anxious for their

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¹²⁷ Hearne's *Fordun*, vol. iv. pp. 991—996. Barbour states the previous negotiation between Comyn and Bruce, *Buke* i. p. 23. He then adds a long digression on treason, introducing it with

Bot off all things wa worth tresoune !
For thair is nothir duke ne baroune
Na erle na prince na kyng off mycht,
Thoch he be nivir sa wyse a wicht,
For wyt worschip price na renoun,
That ivir may wauch hym with tresoune. p. 24.

He mentions Comyn's sending the indenture to Edward, p. 27; but he makes the English king shew it to Bruce, who asks a respite till the next day, p. 29, and in the mean time escapes. He states him to have killed Comyn, but does not describe their interview. *Buke* ii. p. 34.

¹²⁸ Hemingford, p. 219.

¹²⁹ *Matt. Westm.* p. 455. *Wals.* 62. And Brunne's *Langtoft* is to the same purport, p. 330. *Trivet* states, that Bruce, aspiring to the crown, killed Comyn, "quia suæ proditosæ factioni noluit assentire." p. 342.

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II.REIGN OF
EDWARD I.

Bruce pro-
cures him-
self to be
crowned.

Edward's
splendid
military
assembly
at West-
minster.

liberty, took arms in behalf of Bruce. The English justiciaries were besieged, and surrendered. Bruce a few weeks afterwards procured himself to be crowned king of Scotland¹³⁰, and exerted himself in spreading thro the country the flames of revolt; and, tho withstood by the counteraction of the powerful and indignant family of the Comyn's, and by many of the nobles, who preferred peace to turbulence and devastation, yet the insurrectionary movements spread, and Edward, who was now gradually sinking to the grave, amid the diseases of a decaying constitution¹³¹, was alarmed with the tidings, that the country, which he had so long struggled to incorporate with his own, was again emancipating itself from his authority.

Indignant and disquieted, he resolved to march an army into Scotland, which should extirpate all resistance. To provide a force impressive from its rank and splendor, and to engage the hearts of his own subjects in the expedition, he caused it to be proclaimed thro England, that all who were under legal obligation to become knights, and had competent means, should assemble at Westminster on Whitsuntide, and that they would be there furnished with every requisite from the king's wardrobe, except the trappings of their horses. Three hundred youths, the sons of earls, barons and knights, attended; and purple robes, fine linen garments, and mantles woven with gold were liberally distributed. The royal palace, tho spacious, was not sufficient to hold the vast crowds who poured in; and the Temple and its gardens were also appropriated to entertain them. Its apple-trees were cut down, its walls laid prostrate,

¹³⁰ He killed Comyn 10 Feb. 1306; he was crowned 25 March 1306. Heming. 220. So ardent was Scottish patriotism for his enterprise, that the countess of Buchan left her husband to go to crown him: she went to represent her brother, whose office it was, but who was detained in England. Trivct, 342.

¹³¹ He was unable to ride on horseback, from a weakness in his lower limbs, Triv. 342; and he was afflicted with a dysentery.

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and tents and booths were erected, in which the young knights appeared in their dresses glistening with gold. Every knight, as many as the Temple church would hold, performed their vigils in it. But the prince of Wales, by his father's command, passed his vigils in the abbey of Westminster. There, such was the clangor of the trumpets and clarions, such the emulous acclamations, that the chanting of the choir was drowned in the general exultation. On the following day, the king invested his son with the military belt, and gave him the duchy of Aquitain. The prince went with his new honors to the abbey, to confer the same dignity of knighthood on his associates; but so great was the pressure towards the high altar, to behold the ceremony, that two knights were killed, and many fainted, tho each had at least three others to conduct and defend him. The crowd being at last repressed and divided by strong war-horses, the prince was enabled to knight his friends. Two swans were then brought in with great pomp, decorated with golden nets and gilt reeds, and placed before the king. On seeing these, the sovereign vowed a vow to the God of heaven, and to the swans, that he would go to Scotland, and, living or dead, avenge the death of Comyn, and the broken faith of the Scots; adjuring the prince and his nobles, by their fealty to him, that if he should die on his journey to it, they would carry his body into the country, and never bury it, till the prince had established his dominion over it in victory and triumph.¹³² The great assembly eagerly gave their pledge; and one of the most powerful

¹³² We owe the description of this scene, so expressive of the manners of the day, to Matt. Westm. 457, 458. Trivet says, that on this day, as the king sat at table, surrounded with the new knights, a multitude of minstrels came in to induce the knights to vow some feat of arms *before the swan*. After mentioning the king's oath, he states, that the prince vowed never to rest two nights in any one place till he had reached Scotland, that he might fulfil his father's wishes. He adds, "The vows of the other knights are not recollected." p. 343.

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armaments that Edward had ever formed, was conducted to the north.

Against this pomp and power of ancient chivalry, what had Bruce to oppose? Only a few noble friends¹³³, the hearts of an undisciplined people, and his own unwearied spirit. But these were unequal to compete with the English resolution and resources. He attempted an enterprise against Perth, and made his men put their shirts over their armor, to disguise them; but he was defeated, three times unhorsed, and nearly taken prisoner.¹³⁴ This early discomfiture precluded all future hope. He withdrew, with a few patriots, to the Grampian hills, abandoned by his countrymen, leading the life of outlaws, subsisting on flesh and water, and not daring to appear on the plains.¹³⁵ They lived among the mountains, making their shoes of skins, till their sufferings compelled them to venture to Aberdeen. Here the king's brother, Neil, brought his queen, and some other fair ladies, the faithful wives of his

Bruce's
exile, and
sufferings.

¹³³ The friends of Bruce are enumerated, by Lord Hailes, in his *Annals*, vol. ii.; and by Mr. Pinkerton, in a note to his edition of *Barbour's Bruce*, vol. i. p. 43.

¹³⁴ *Matt. West.* 459. *Trev.* 344.—*Barbour* describes the battle at length, *Buke* ii. pp. 46—52. In the press of the struggle, he says of Bruce,

And quhen the king his folk has sene
Begyn to faille, for proper tene,
Hys assenyhe gan he cry
And in the stour so hardyly—
“On thaim, on thaim! thai feble fast;
This bargaine nevir may langar last.”
And with that word sa wilfully
He dang on, and sa hardely,
That quha had sene hym in that fycht
Suld hald hym for a douchty knycht.

¹³⁵ *Barbour* says, that the king and his companions

As utelaus went mony day,
Dreand in the mounth their payne;
Eyte flesch and drank water syne.
He durst not to the planys ga
For all the cummownys went him fra:
That for their liff war full fayn
To pass to the Inglis pes agayn.
Sa fayrs ay cummounly,
In cummownys may nane affy.

Buke ii. p. 55.

friends, who nobly came to share the hardships, and to soften the distresses of their husbands.¹³⁶

The king and his fellow exiles continued here till their residence became known to the English, who, hearing of it, projected to surprise him. But he watched the motions of their armed force, and, as it was folly to fight them, he mounted the ladies on horseback, and they all escaped back to the mountains. Their living here is romantically described. The baron of Douglas procured them venison, for they had no other meat, and with his own hands made gins and nets to take salmon, trout and eels, for their repast; the rest foraged about for other necessaries: and thus they subsisted till they reached Loch Tay.¹³⁷ But the nephew of Comyn resided in these parts, and hearing of the king's approach, assembled his clan, with their battle-axes, sought out the royal party, attacked, and dispersed it.¹³⁸ The desperate valor of Bruce deterred a pursuit. His vindictive antagonist in vain lamented the backwardness of his men.¹³⁹ Bruce escaped unwounded.

This disaster again drove them to the mountains.

¹³⁶ Barbour, pp. 55, 56. He does not omit a just sentiment of commendation :

Ilkane fer luff off thair husband;
That for leyle luff and loawte
Wald pertenerys off thair paynys be,—
For luff is off sa mekill mycht
That it all paynys maks licht.
And mony tyme mase tender wycht
Of swilk strenthes and swilk mycht
That thai may mekill paynys endur
And forsakis nane aventur
That ever may fall, withthy that thai
Thairthrow succur thair luffys may. p. 56.

¹³⁷ Barbour, pp. 57—59.

¹³⁸ Barb. Buke iii. pp. 63—65. Ford. p. 999. This affair happened on 11 Aug. at Dalry, or the King's Field. Hailes, p. 7.

¹³⁹ His lamentation is important, for the evidence it affords, that in Barbour's time traditions of Gaul the son of Morni, and of Fingal, were prevalent in Scotland :

He said, "Methink Martheoky's son
Rycht as Gol Mak Morn was won,
To haiff fra Fyngal hys mengye,
Rycht swa all hys fra us has he." Buke iii. p. 66.

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Bruce strove to cheer the minds of his friends. But the strength of the ladies soon began to fail. Their feelings were expressed by the earl of Athol, who told the king, that they were living in such hourly dread, so worn with fatigue and watchings, and so affected by cold and wet, and want of proper food, that their lives began to be in danger. Bruce saw the truth of the representation, and it was agreed that the ladies should be lodged in secure places. An affectionate parting took place, and the queen and her friends were conducted by Neil, the king's brother, to the castle of Kildrummy, about thirty miles west of Aberdeen.¹⁴⁰

The king being now driven to the necessity of stricter concealment; and all their horses having being given to accommodate the female travellers, he wandered on foot, with his remaining friends, among the rocky retreats. The winter was fast approaching, the country was full of enemies, and the rains made it impossible to lie all night on the hills. It was indispensable to seek a fit shelter. He resolved to go to Kintyre, the southern peninsula of Argyle. With this view they travelled to Loch Lomond; but this extensive and beautiful water stopped their progress. It is above twenty miles in length, and there was no boat. They proceeded along its banks, till the baron Douglas observed a small vessel sunk under the waves. They drew it out; it would only hold three men. The king and Douglas got into it, with another, who rowed them over. It went back for the rest, and they passed in it two at a time; while

¹⁴⁰ Barbour, 75—77. He thus describes their separation—

The queyne and all hyr cumpany
Lap on thair horsse, and furth thair far.
Men mycht haiff sene, quha had bene thar,
At leve takyng the ladyis gret,
And mak thair face with ters wet:
And knychts, for thair luffis sak,
Bath sick and wep and murnyng mak.
Thair kyssit thair luffis, at thair partyng.

those swam who could. This mode of ferrying occupied them a day and a night. The king strove to amuse his companions in misfortune by reading to them a romance.¹⁴¹ They divided into two parties to procure food. They searched the hills and woods about with little success; but their horns, which they blew to keep themselves together, were heard by the earl of Lennox, one of the few nobles who had espoused the royal cause, but who had believed the king to have perished at Methven. Rejoiced to find that Bruce lived, he hastened eagerly to the height where he was. The king affectionately welcomed him, and mutual embraces and tears displayed the tender sympathies with which, in their common lot of exile and poverty, they hailed each other's preservation, and lamented their sufferings.¹⁴²

The earl shared with them his provisions. They related to each other the hardships and dangers they had encountered, and journeyed to the sea side. The king found the vessels, which his brother had provided, and, embarking in them, was rowed by the isle of Bute, to the promontory of Kintyre. Angus of the isles was its laird. He received Bruce with hospitable duty, and offered him the castle of Dunavarty for his residence. But Bruce had experienced too much desertion and treachery,

¹⁴¹ Barb. 78—81.

¹⁴² Barb. 84. This author's feelings do credit to his heart. He justifies the tender meeting of his noble exiles, by saying,

That mekill joy or yheit pité
May ger men sua amowyt be
That wattir fra the hart will ryss
And weyt the eyne on syc a wyss—

After mentioning the emotions of anger, he adds,

Bot for pité I trow gretynng
Be na thing bot ane opynnyng
Off hart, that schawis the tendirness
Off rewth that in it closyt is. p. 84.

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to repose a confidence unlimited¹⁴³; he gratefully thanked Angus for his kindness, stayed three days in his fortress, and then sailed to Rachlin, an island on the north-east coast of Ireland¹⁴⁴, where he was secure of being beyond the persecution of his enemies. The simple inhabitants, unused to the sight of armed men, fled at his arrival into their strongest defences, with their women and cattle. Bruce treated with them friendlily. He assured them the safe enjoyment of their possessions; and they submitted to him as their lord, and promised to furnish him daily with food for three hundred men. Pleased with their integrity and the security of the place, he remained there all the winter.¹⁴⁵

Edward's unremitted thirst of vengeance pursued the hapless fugitives. He commanded all the people of Scotland to search for those who had borne arms against the English government, and to apprehend them, dead or alive. And he procured it to be enacted, that those who were at the slaughter of Comyn, or knowingly harbored the guilty persons, should be drawn and hanged.¹⁴⁶ This ordinance produced the capture of Bruce's queen.

When Bruce, on his precipitate coronation, remarked to her, "Yesterday we were called earl and countess, but now we shall be addressed as king and queen," she is stated to have answered, "You may be a summer king, but perhaps will not be a winter king."¹⁴⁷ This remark was so natural to a person of any reflection, in her circumstances, that it may

¹⁴³ He wis dredand for tresoun ay,
And tharefor as ik hard men say,
He traistyt in nane sekyrly,
Till that he knew him uterly.
Bot quhat kyndred, that evir he had,
Fayr cuntenance to thaim he mad. p. 89.

¹⁴⁴ Hailes, vol. ii. p. 7. Mr. Pinkerton refers, for a description of this island and Bruce's castle, to Hamilton's Observations on the North of Ireland. — Barb. 90.

¹⁴⁵ Barb. 92, 93.

¹⁴⁶ Hailes' Ann. p. 8.

¹⁴⁷ Matt. Westm. 456.

have been expressed without either asperity or aversion. But the English annalist adds to it upbraidings for her perjury, and that Bruce in resentment banished her. This resembles an enemy's exaggeration, and is not accordant with the picture drawn by Barbour. He however admits, that she had not the fortitude to endure the terrors of a siege¹⁴⁸, but quitted Kildrumy Castle when it was in danger of being attacked, and took refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain on the Dornoth Frith. But this was in the territories of the earl of Ross, and, dreading the penalties of the English ordinance, he took her from her asylum, and delivered her to the English.¹⁴⁹ Their male companions were executed as traitors, and the ladies imprisoned. The un-knightly conduct of treating the queen as a prisoner, is but another instance, that age had not allayed the implacability of Edward's temper.¹⁵⁰

The countess of Buchan, who had crowned Bruce, was also taken. Edward's observation as to her punishment, announces the same dark spirit of re-

¹⁴⁸ The queen and als dam Margery
Hyr dochtyr—
That wald on na wyss langar ly
In castell off Kyldromy
To byd a sege, ar rydin raith
With knychts and squires bath
Throw Ross rycht to the gyirth of Tayne. Barb. 99.

¹⁴⁹ Ford. 999.

Bot that trawalle thai maid in wayne,
For thai of Ross that wald not ber
For thaim na blayme, na yeit danger
Out off the gyirth hame all has tayne
And syne thaim evirilkane.
Rycht intill Ingland, to the king
That gert draw all the men and hing
And put the ladyis in presoun,
Sum intill castell, sum in dungeon. Barb. 99.

¹⁵⁰ Lord Halles' note will fully explain her situation in England. "The directions given for her entertainment are preserved in the *Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 1013. She was to be conveyed to the manor of Brustewick; to have a waiting woman and a maid servant, advanced in life, sedate, and of good conversation; a butler, two men servants, and a footboy for her chamber, sober and not riotous, to make her bed; three greyhounds when she inclined to hunt; venison, fish, and the fairest house in the manor." p. 9.

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venge, refining upon its cruelty: "As she has not struck with the sword, she shall not perish by the sword; but for her lawless conspiracy, she shall be shut up in a stone and iron chamber, circular as the crown she gave; and at Berwick she shall be suspended in the open air, a spectacle to travellers, and for her everlasting infamy."¹⁵¹ It is useful to record such actions; for, what can more forcibly persuade us to extinguish the first impulses of revenge, than to see the meannesses to which its gratification can degrade even great and princely characters.

The castle of Kildrumy was soon besieged by the English forces. It was as vigorously defended as attacked. But a false "lourdane, Hosbarne to name" set fire to its great hall, full of corn. The flames spread over the castle. The English saw the mischief, and made an assault. The spirit of the garrison, and the fury of the flames, compelled them to desist that night; but in the next morning they prepared to assail it again. It was then surrendered, with Neil the brother of Bruce, who was carried to Berwick, and unrelentingly hanged and beheaded.¹⁵² Sir Christopher Seaton, who had married Bruce's sister, and another Seaton, his kinsman, were captured in a different castle, and drawn, hanged and beheaded.¹⁵³ The earl of Athol, dreading a similar fate, tried to escape by sea, but adverse winds drove him back to the fatal shore. What can we say of Edward, when we read in a contemporary English annalist, who seems to admire his actions, that, tho the king was languishing at that time in the severe disease which in a few months consigned him to the tomb, yet on hearing of Athol's capture, he declared, that the news assuaged his pains.

¹⁵¹ Matt. Westm. 460.¹⁵² Barb. 100—103. Fordun, p. 1000. M. Westm. 462.¹⁵³ M. Westm. 461.

As the earl claimed a royal descent, some of the courtiers around Edward's bed remarked, that it would be indecent to sentence him like the rest. The distinction, meant perhaps to suggest a feeling of mercy to the dying king, only produced this unforgiving answer; "If his rank be higher, it makes his fault the greater; and since he is more exalted than the other parricides in blood, he shall be hanged in a loftier elevation for his crime." In consideration of his descent, he was not drawn, but he was suspended fifty feet from the ground. He was taken down half alive; a fierce fire was kindled in his presence, for the destruction of his corpse; he was then beheaded, his body burnt, and his head fixed on London Bridge, higher than usual, for his regal lineage.¹⁵⁴ Simon Fraser was as mercilessly treated. He had three times rescued and remounted Bruce at the battle of Methven¹⁵⁵; an irremissible offence. He was so distinguished a warrior, that his countrymen, prisoners in England, declared that he would never be either conquered or taken, and that Scotland could not be subdued while he was alive. One, in the Tower of London, was so enthusiastic an admirer, as to lay a wager of his own head, with the king, that Fraser would never be his captive. But the English perseverance and power at last apprehended him. The king cruelly exacted from his panegyricising friend, the forfeiture of the life he had lost; and Fraser was made to suffer the same kind of death with his patriotic associates. His head was placed on a lance at London Bridge, near the remains of Wallace, his unfortunate friend.¹⁵⁶ The only palliation that can be offered for Edward is, that most of these men had sworn their fealty to him, and had violated their oaths. But if they merited

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¹⁵⁴ M. Westm. 461, 462.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. 460.

¹⁵⁵ Ib. 459.

punishment by their perfidy, yet nothing can excuse the feeling of delight, the bitter unpardoning spirit, with which Edward exacted it. It might suit a Muley Abdallah, sultan of Morocco; it was unworthy of a Christian and an English king.

Bruce having passed the winter at Rachlin, his friends became impatient of their inactivity, and baron Douglas projected an expedition to the isle of Arran. He crossed the sea to it, and surprised some vessels laden with provisions and stores, which refitted and refreshed his friends.¹⁵⁷ Bruce ventured after him, with all the recruits he had collected. From inquiries which he made at landing, he found that some strangers had preceded him, and had discomfited the warden of Arran. He anticipated it to be an exploit of Douglas, and blew his horn, till it was heard and answered by his friend. Their forces united, and Bruce resolved to send a trusty spy to Carrick, his native territory, to explore its present state, the disposition of his clansmen, and the positions of his enemies. The man was directed to make a fire on an eminence at Turnberry, if it were prudent for the king to visit it.¹⁵⁸ The messenger found few who would talk of their lord, from the dread of the consequences; many had become decidedly hostile to him; and the land and castle were occupied by the English under Sir Henry Percy. The king was watching the opposite hills all the day, from Arran, but saw no sign. In the evening, a flame began to be visible. Rejoicing at the sight, they launched their little galleys¹⁵⁹, and proceeded to Carrick one evening in spring, in number three hundred men.¹⁶⁰ They rowed till night enveloped them. They

¹⁵⁷ Barb. 110—114.

¹⁵⁸ Barb. 114—117.

¹⁵⁹ *Ib.*, 117—120. The author introduces here a digression on astrology and necromancy, occasioned by the predicting speech of his hostess before he embarked.

¹⁶⁰ Barbour opens his fifth book with a description of the spring, p. 129.

had "na nedile na stane" to direct them; but the fire was burning light and clear, and they steered towards it. They found their spy waiting on the coast. He told the king, that his attempt was hopeless, as Percy, with three hundred English, was in the castle, "ful filled off despite and pride." Bruce in rage exclaimed, "Traitor! why then did you make the fire?" He answered, that he had not kindled it; but that observing one, and not daring to extinguish it, he had come down to the coast, to prevent the king from being deceived. Bruce consulted what was now to be done. His spirited brother, Edward, exhorted him to attempt some enterprise, protesting, that nothing should drive him back to the sea. Bruce adopted his bold advice; marched to the town, scaled and took it; destroyed all he found; intimidated and defied Percy, who kept to his castle; and after remaining three days on his hereditary possessions, obtaining information of the fate of his friends, diffusing the alarm of his name, and rekindling the secret hopes of his countrymen, he departed, when new bodies of English arrived in the mountainous district beyond.¹⁶¹ Douglas essayed an excursion among his own vassals, and surprised the English garrison, as it was proceeding to church on Palm Sunday, and destroyed them.¹⁶²

The family of Bruce were peculiarly unfortunate in their efforts to support his dignity. He was expecting the junction of his two brothers, Alexander and Thomas, with the assistance they could collect. They got together 700 followers, and landed with them at Lochrean, in Galloway; but they were attacked and routed by a chieftain favorable to Edward. The two brothers, severely wounded and

¹⁶¹ Barb. 130, 131.¹⁶² Ib. 138—146. Mr. Pinkerton remarks, that Palm Sunday was the 19th March in 1307. Ib. p. 141.

half dead, were taken prisoners, and conveyed to Carlisle. They were executed as rigorously as their friends had suffered; and their heads, in conformity to the ancient Turkish custom of the country, were exhibited on the gates of Carlisle.¹⁶³

To this period, instead of the romantic adventures into which Barbour deviates to aggrandize his hero, we may apply the striking description of Fordun, that the king was reduced to such necessity, that he passed a long period without any other food than herbs and roots and water; his shoes were worn off his feet, and he wandered barefooted—now hiding alone in some of the islands, now chased by his enemies, and despised and ridiculed by his own vassals.¹⁶⁴ Such was the stormy season that followed his rash coronation—an enterprise of patriotism or ambition, that had brought desolation to his own family and to his bravest friends. Perhaps his sudden seizure of greatness may be justly ascribed to his patriotic feelings; for he is stated to have exclaimed in the midst of his distresses, “Unless the ancient liberty of Scotland had excited me, I would not have endured such sufferings as these for the empire of the world.”¹⁶⁵

It is stated, that Christiana, a lady of the isles, a noble and kind lady, greatly assisted him.¹⁶⁶ His cause was so popular among the commonalty of Scotland¹⁶⁷, that when he could escape his pursuers, he frequently found supporters. In May, he collected enough to gain an advantage over the English commander at Loudon Hill¹⁶⁸, and three days afterwards he defeated another.¹⁶⁹ But these successes were

¹⁶³ M. Westm. 464. Langtoft, 336—338.

¹⁶⁴ Fordun, 1000.

¹⁶⁵ Ford. 998. Barbour.

¹⁶⁶ Ib. 1000.

¹⁶⁷ Ib. 1001.

¹⁶⁸ M. Westm. 465. Barbour, Buke viii., p. 10, says, he got together 600 men. But he gives Sir Aymer, his antagonist, 3,000; an unlikely disproportion!

¹⁶⁹ M. Westm. 465.

transient; more English forces came up, and he again retired.

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His greatest advantage was the death of his unremitting and able persecutor. Edward, feeling an improvement of strength, thought he had recovered: and made an offering of his horse-litter in the cathedral at Carlisle. Impatient to execute his meditated resentment on Scotland, he mounted his horse in his way to the Solway Frith, but his effort produced a relapse. In four days, he could advance but six miles. He reached Burgh on the Sands on 6 July 1307, and the next day "expired in sight of that country which he had devoted to destruction."¹⁷⁰

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The ease with which Philip Augustus had wrested Normandy from John, inspired the French government with a determination to expel the English from Gascony. Edward, not projecting any quarrel with France, performed, on his accession, the customary homage, for the frontier province, to the French sovereign then reigning; renewed it to his successor, and appeared also at his parliament.¹⁷¹ The discussions of Edward with Scotland presented to France an auspicious occasion for attempting the same incorporation of Guienne, which Edward had effected of Wales, and seemed meditating with respect to Scotland. The French king therefore made the accidental conflict between the seamen of the two countries, a serious ground of remonstrance and quarrel.¹⁷² He cited Edward to appear in person at Paris, and confiscated all his dominions in Gascony because he disobeyed. This province was invaded by the French king's brother, when the Scottish government was stimulated to attack Edward, and while Wales was still turbulent. Occupied by these important objects at home, Edward was unable to

Edward's
foreign
transac-
tions.

¹⁷⁰ Hailes' Ann. vol. ii. p. 21. He had just completed his sixty-eighth year, and had reigned thirty-four years and seven months.

¹⁷¹ Wals. 4 and 14.

¹⁷² See before, pp. 499, 500.

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succor Gascony effectually.¹⁷³ Encouraged by this success, Philip also ventured to contest with him the predominance in Flanders. Edward made several military expeditions to this country¹⁷⁴; but here, as in Gascony, the exertions necessary for his Scottish warfare enfeebled his offensive arm. France now fully learnt the use of Scotland to embarrass and divide the martial force of England. The Pope attempted to adjust their differences; but his award was too impartial to be satisfactory.¹⁷⁵ The discussions were at last ended by Edward's withdrawing from Flanders, and Philip's restoring Guienne. A temporary friendship ensued, and Edward married Margaret, the French king's sister, for his second wife.¹⁷⁶

The king of Arragon countenancing the Sicilian insurgents who perpetrated the Sicilian vespers, Charles of Anjou, who had commanded those French invaders that had fallen the victims to his ambition, defied him to a single combat before the king of England, at Bourdeaux.¹⁷⁷ But Edward, with a juster feeling of the duties and moral dignity of the sovereign character, declined to sanction such a duel.¹⁷⁸

Edward had repeated discussions with the Pope, on the taxation of the clergy.¹⁷⁹ He seems to have paid the annual tribute to Rome, which John had

¹⁷³ Wals. 25. 27. 35. Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 619, 642—652. The Gascon nobility were not cordially attached to England. Their letter to Edward, in Rymer, p. 168, contains phrases not very submissive.

¹⁷⁴ Hem. 147. Wals. 29. 34—41. 48. 56.

¹⁷⁵ The reference to Boniface was made to him, not as Pope, but as a private person. Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 808—819. The papal award was dated 27 June 1298. M. Guillard, in the Mem. Acad. Inscr. vol. lxxiv. p. 154, has remarked on the misstatements which historians have given of its contents.

¹⁷⁶ Wals. 44; who remarks, that Edward did no benefit to his kingdom by this marriage. *Ib.*

¹⁷⁷ See the articles of this intended battle in Rymer, p. 226.

¹⁷⁸ Edward, in his letter, states, that altho he should gain by it the two kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily, he would not permit such a duel, either in his own dominions, or in any place in which he could prevent it. Rymer, p. 239.

¹⁷⁹ See the numerous bulls and letters inserted by Rymer in his 2d volume.

commenced.¹⁸⁰ The Pope was at one time extravagant enough to claim the feudal sovereignty of Scotland, as a fief which had always belonged to the church; and Edward condescended to answer a pretension so untrue and so absurd.¹⁸¹ It is visible from all his negotiations with St. Peter's chair, that the English government was projecting the diminution of the papal power in England. It was too firmly rooted by time and prejudice, to be destroyed in one reign. But the firm and persevering spirit of Edward began that system of measures, which shook its stability, and prepared the minds of the nation for its subsequent abasement.

His expulsion of the Jews from England was a sacrifice of his good sense to the vulgar prejudices of his day.¹⁸² If they required exorbitant interest for their loans, or were severe in exacting their legal remedies, they acted in these points as money-dealers, not as Jews, and ought not to have been punished more than the Italian usurers, who were equally extortionate, but were patronized by the law. It would have better suited his wisdom to have discerned the commercial utilities of the Jewish nation, and to have roused his subjects to an imitation of its industry, perseverance, and foreign correspondence.—His measures for preventing the further aggrandizement of the church, for subjecting its property to the general taxation of his people, and for preserving its revenues from foreign incumbents, were honorable to his sagacity and firmness, and led the way to our great Reformation.—The useful laws which he promoted on the landed property of the kingdom, his improve-

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His inter-
nal regula-
tions.

¹⁸⁰ See the acknowledgements given by the Pope to the King on receipt of this money; which Rymer has printed, pp. 107. 208. 267.

¹⁸¹ Walsingham states the Pope's claims and the King's answers, pp. 46—49. He says that the Scots, "knowing that all things were *venal* at Rome," bribed the Pope to make his claim, to defeat the ambition of Edward. p. 46. And see Rymer, pp. 844. 873. 883.

¹⁸² See note at the end of this chapter.

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ments in our courts of judicature and jurisprudence, and his conceded tho extorted assent to the popular rights of his subjects, will be obvious to those who study attentively our ancient Constitution and Laws. — His reign may be now closed with the description of his person and habits, from a contemporary, who survived him.

Edward's
person and
character.

His head was spherical; his eyes round, gentle and dovelike when he was pleased, but fierce as a lion's, and sparkling with fire, when he was disturbed; his hair black and crisp; his nose prominent, and rather raised in the middle. His chest was broad; his arms were agile; his thighs long; his feet arched; his body was firm and fleshy, but not fat. He was so strong and active, that with his hand he could leap into his saddle. Passionately fond of hunting, whenever he was not engaged in war, he amused his leisure with his dogs and falcons. He was rarely indisposed, and did not lose either his teeth or his sight by age. Temperate by habit, he never devoted himself to the luxuries of his palace. He never wore his crown after the day of his coronation, thinking it rather a burden than an honor. He declined the royal garments of purple, and went about in the plain and common dress of a plebeian. Being once asked, why he did not wear richer apparel? he answered with the consciousness of true greatness, that it was absurd to suppose that he could be more estimable in fine, than in simple clothing. No man was more acute in counsel, more fervid in eloquence, more self-possessed in danger, more cautious in prosperity, more firm in adversity. Those whom he once loved, he scarcely ever forsook; but he rarely admitted into his favor any one that had excited his dislike. His liberalities were magnificent.¹⁸³ To this encomium

¹⁸³ This is taken from a "Commemoratio," addressed to his widow, queen

we may add his affectionate tribute of respect to his mother. Invited to visit the king of France, he had reached Canterbury on his way to it, when he heard that she was afflicted with an illness. He hastened to her at Ambresbury, and sent messengers to excuse himself to the French sovereign.¹⁸⁴

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Margaret, and preserved in the Cotton Library, MS. Nero, D. 2. The author was John of London.

¹⁸⁴ Wals. Hist. p. 13. The next year she took the veil.

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AFTER the destruction of Jerusalem on the siege of Titus, the Jews dispersed themselves over the other parts of the world. Many retired into Mesopotamia, and had celebrated academies at Babylon. Bartolucci, *Bib. Rab.* vol. 3. p. 663. Others were settled at Treves and Cologne, in the times of Adrian and also of Constantine, who permitted them to be magistrates and decurions at Cologne. Theodoric let them roof their synagogues at Genoa. Cassiod. 52. Gregory of Tours mentions them in France, where Chilperic endeavored to convert some by force, p. 132; and where they acted as physicians, p. 96; and Adelm. p. 497. Charlemagne found them at Pavia, and is said to have employed one as his ambassador to the Persian king. *Ib.* 405. 416. In Spain, they abounded from such early times, that the Jews of Toledo stated themselves to Alonso VI. to be the descendants of the tribes who had fled from the hostilities of Nebuchadnezzar. *Bartol.* vol. 1. pp. 7-10. They are noticed as being in Spain in the ancient councils of Elvira and Toledo. *Basnage*, vol. 4. pp. 1070 to 1078. In the tenth century they were numerous in Bohemia. *Ib.* p. 1085. And their sufferings from some of the crusaders, show their colonies on the Rhine in Germany, in the eleventh century. They became very rich in France, till 1182, when Philip Augustus expelled them, *Rigord.* p. 166; tho in 1198 he invited them back, p. 199. They were persecuted there again in 1252, *Matt. Paris*, p. 861; and banished from the French dominions in 1395; from Spain in 1492; from Portugal in 1500; and from Vienna in 1669. They have been also driven from Naples; *Bartoloc.* vol. 1. pp. 39. 54. 82. 720. They consoled themselves amid these sufferings, by believing that they have kings in the farthest parts of the world. *Bartol.* p. 121. Their kings may be those of imagination, but their nation seems to be every where scattered; and yet the curious fact, that the great Affghan nations in India derive themselves from king Saul, gives some color to their traditions of distant royalty.

In England they have been variously treated. Under the patronage of William the Conqueror, they came into England. They were declared to be under the protection of the king; a regulation which preserved them from servitude to others, and made him their liege lord. No one else was allowed to interfere either with their persons or their property. Wilk. Leg. Angl. 203. Henry II. favored them. Before his time, they were obliged to carry their dead to London to be buried. Their place of burial is supposed to have been near Redcross street. But Henry II. gave them leave to have a cemetery near every city, without the walls, if they could buy one. Hoved. 668. Brompt. 1129. Richard I. was also their friend. He ordered their property to be registered, and directed their contracts to be made before two Jewish lawyers, two Christian lawyers, two registers, and two presiding persons. One copy of the deed was to be kept by the Jewish lender; the other in an official chest with three locks, of which the Jewish lawyers held one of the keys. Hoved. p. 745. John tormented them to extort money.

Henry III. on the whole, protected and encouraged them. Among our ancient rolls of his reign, still preserved in the Tower, we have a safe-conduct for the Jews coming into his kingdom. Cal. Rot. p. 12. He allowed their rabbis to promulgate excommunications against other Jews in England. Ib. p. 23. We find their chief priest presented to the king after his election, and the king assenting to his appointment; and to another, called the Bishop of the Jews, his sacerdotal dignity was, for three marks of gold, restored to him, of which, for certain transgressions, he had been deprived. Ib. p. 29. In the disturbances between Henry III. and his barons, the king received all the Jews of London under his care, that he might protect them from violence, ib. p. 35; and he permitted a Jew to sell the debt of a Christian, which had been forbidden; Cal. Rot. p. 43. He raised various sums of money on them by way of tallage, but not oppressively. See ib. pp. 13. 16. 21. 25. 33. &c. When particular places were incensed against them, he yielded to the local prejudice; and thus granted to the burgesses of Derby, that no Jews should live in that city, p. 32. So at Rumsey, p. 38. But we find several protections granted to the Jews of London and Lincoln, pp. 36, 37. 39. He forbade them to buy lands *out* of a

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city or borough, or to devise their tenements to Christians; but they might leave them to Jews. *Ib.* p. 44. For 5,000 marks he once granted to his brother all the Jews in England, *ib.* p. 27; and at another time he gave him 6,000 marks “de Judaismo,” in aid of his expedition to Palestine, *ib.* p. 43.

Henry III. took also some trouble for their conversion, and built a house and church for those who were converted. *Cal. Rot.* p. 44. This church was on the site of the present Rolls chapel in Chancery lane. It was annexed by patent, in 1377, to the Master of the Rolls by Edward III., and has since continued to be appended to that dignified office. *Stow's Survey of London.*

Under Edward I. a new policy was adopted towards them; which was the more extraordinary, as the whole kingdom had become more enlightened. Our ancient Chroniclers contain many complaints against their conduct, and especially of their crucifying children in derision of our Saviour. This was so contrary to their interest, that we cannot avoid treating the imputation as a fable. Some instances of their religious zeal and imprudence seem to stand in a less questionable shape. It was ordered that on Easter eve they should keep their doors and windows shut, because they *were accustomed* to mock the Christians on that day. *Wilk. Concil.* vol. 2. p. 155. There is a legal document of Henry III. still more expressive in its detail, because the charge has all the forms of juridical evidence and examination. A physician at Norwich complained, that as his son, a boy of five years of age, was playing in the streets of Norwich, Jacob, a Jew there, took him up, carried him to his house, circumcised him, wished to make him a Jew, and kept him there a day and a night, till the clamor of the neighbors procured his release. The evidence was, 1st. The boy's visible state, and description of the circumstance: 2nd. The officers of the archdeacon, who brought away the boy, and swore that they found him in a state of recent circumcision. Other witnesses appeared. *Prynne* gives this record in his “Demurrer to the Jews,” p. 19. Yet it is material to remark, that the charge was not made till four years afterwards; and this delay, some circumstances of the case, and a variation between the charge and evidence as to finding the boy, the one placing him in the Jew's house, the other stating that he was found wander-

ing near the river after the event, tempt one to suspect some collusion or falsehood in the business. That the Jews, to whom the ecclesiastical plate and ornaments were often pledged as securities for monies borrowed, did not always treat the deposits with Christian respect, may be believed. That they were strict in exacting payment of their loans, may be also admitted. And that there could not be, in that age of fierce passions and prejudices, any cordiality between such Jews and Christians who were sincere believers of their respective faiths; and that in this state of mutual hostility, some irritated or foolish Jews may have been occasionally violent and wild, need not be doubted. But all these causes of offence were more likely to have occurred in reigns anterior to Edward I. than in his own; and yet from the beginning of his reign there was a visible disposition to discountenance them.

They were forbidden to sell their debts without leave of the king. Cal. Rot. p. 46. They were ordered not to erect new synagogues. Christians were forbidden to eat with them, or to have them for physicians. And they were ordered to have two woollen tablets, of different colors, two fingers broad and four fingers long, to be sown to their exterior garments, on their breasts, that they might be known from Christians. Wilk. Conc. vol. 2. p. 155. They were ordered not to lend money on usury, but to live by the labor of their hands, or by commerce. Wikes' Chron. Gale Script. vol. 2. p. 103. Their archives were frequently scrutinized, Cal. Rot. pp. 4. 47. 49; and inquisitions were ordered to see if they used the directed distinction in dress, p. 48. We find them at Oxford differing with the vice-chancellor in this reign. Ib. p. 46. In the preceding, the clergy of Oxford had quarrelled with and plundered them, but were imprisoned for the violence. Wikes' Chron. p. 45. We find them mentioned as possessing various houses in Marlborough and Andover, Cal. Rot. p. 49; and they held tenements under lords. Plac. Parl. 98.

We may consider the parts about the present Old Jewry as one of their ancient seats of residence in London, because St. Lawrence in Judaismo is mentioned, Cal. Rot. p. 89. St. Alan Upwell is also noticed as in Judaismo. Cal. Rot. 92. And as Henry III. gave to a knight the Tower of London,

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cum Judaismo, and the Thames, *ib.* p. 17, we may infer, that the district near Tower hill, of which the present Jewry street is a part, was also their appropriated station.

They were never quite secure in London; for tho Henry III. befriended them, yet even in his reign, in 1263, they were attacked by wilful rioters, who broke into their houses, and, sparing neither age nor sex, slew 400 persons, and seized their wealth; the earl of Leicester permitted a part of the plunder to be given to him. The Chronicler states, that in this abominable massacre neither babes at the breast, nor hoary age, found mercy. Chron. Wikes, p. 60.

Perhaps we cannot have a stronger indication of the popular calumnies, and of the degree of the popular prejudice against them, than the occurrences in London in 1256. Seventy-one Jews were imprisoned on a charge of crucifying a boy, which twenty-five knights asserted upon oath. The Franciscans, then emerging into note, by their prayers and intercessions liberated them from death. The good-natured public would not refer this act of mercy to the charity of the new order, but suspected that they were bribed to it; and so strong was this persuasion, and so great the popular resentment against the friars for their interference, that the common people refused to give the Franciscans any alms in future—a sentence of death by famine to a new mendicant order then subsisting on the daily bounty they could obtain. Matt. Paris, p. 922.

The first great attack upon them by Edward I. was in 1279, when they were convicted and executed in great numbers for clipping the coin. Wals. 8. Ten years afterwards, the government had determined upon its hostile policy towards them, and therefore, in 1289, Edward expelled them from Gascony. *Ib.* 15. This was followed in 1290 by their expulsion from England. *Ib.* A strange, impolitic, and cruel measure, by which one old chronicler had the sense to see that the revenue suffered. Wikes' Chron. p. 122. Another chronicler ascribes it to the queen dowager his mother. Ann. Wav. p. 242. He benefited his own wife from the spoils of this unfortunate people; for in the eleventh of his reign, he gave her all the goods of the Jews that had then been forfeited to him. Cal. Rot. p. 50. But, whatever was its origin, it was an unstatesman-like act, unworthy of Ed-

ward I. and not much unlike the Muscovite prejudice, which anciently would not admit them into their country, *Rer. Muscovit.* p. 127; tho less savage than the conduct of John Basilides, who ordered the Jews whom he met with in his invasion of Poland, that would not be baptized, to be drowned in the Don; *Rer. Muscov.* p. 282. The expulsion of the Jews from England was the more disgraceful, because countries, at that time more superstitious, permitted their continued residence. As the *Annalist* narrates the circumstance with a qualifying “*sicut a plerisque vulgariter dicebatur,*” we will hope that it was but a rumor, that the Cinque Ports seamen who were to convey them out of the kingdom, “robbed them of their property, and threw them into the sea.” *Chron. Wikes*, p. 122.

When we recollect their massacre along the Rhine in 1096, and in England in the time of Richard I.; and read of their repeated destructions in Germany; in 1221 at Erfurt, *Germ. Scrip. Pistor.* vol. 1. p. 695; in 1236 at Fulda, when on an accusation of their killing Christian boys for their blood, the emperor ordered an inquiry whether Christian blood was a *necessary* part of their passover, to which the official answer was, that *nothing certain* was known on the subject, *Ger. Rer. Urtis.* p. 91; in 1240 at Frankfort “with fire and sword;” in 1282 at Mentz and other places, *Trithem. Chron.* p. 291; in 1298 at Nuremberg, and thro all Franconia, *Germ. Script. Freheri*, vol. 1. pp. 341. 402:—That they were also exterminated from Bavaria, *Æn. Sylv. ib.* vol. 2. p. 79; that in 1348, 1349 and 1350, they were killed “like cattle,” and mercilessly burnt in great numbers at Basle, Friberg, Spires, Wurms, Francfort, Mentz, Alsace, Cologne, and in every part of Germany, *Germ. Script. Urtis.* pp. 177, 178. 148, 149. *Freheri* 1. and *Meibom.* 1. 285. 444. at which time, because a pestilence ravaged the Continent, they were supposed to have caused it by poisoning all the wells; and at which crisis they found themselves safe no where but at Avignon, where Pope Clement VI. defended them, *Urtis.* p. 147; that in 1391 they were burnt in Gotha, *Hist. Germ. Pist.* vol. 1. p. 984: and even so late as 1510 in Brandenburgh, *Trith. Chron.* 483:—When we recal to mind that these are only specimens of what they endured in other places, and were for several centuries in perpetual danger of suffering every where,

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THE JEWS.

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THE JEWS.

we can hardly persuade ourselves that any remnant of the nation so bitterly persecuted can now be surviving: And yet, such is the extraordinary history and preservation of this unparalleled people, that above a million are now in Poland, Lithuania, and the Austrian dominions; that in 1791 they stated their numbers in France to be above 60,000; that there are 30,000 in Salonica; 22,000 in Amsterdam; 10,000 in Rome; 5,000 at Mantua; 2,500 at Adrianople; that they are spread over various parts of Germany, and through the Turkish empire, and abound even in Georgia and Mount Caucasus; that they are in Egypt, Morocco, and other parts of Africa; and have, for ages, penetrated to India and China. At Copenhagen, they have an institution for instructing their youth in Hebrew, German, French, geography and natural history; at Brunswick, they have a similar establishment; also at Berlin; and they have even obtained permission to build a synagogue at Vienna, and to open public schools there. The Jewish nation must be astonished to find the two opposite predictions of their ancient Prophets *both* so literally fulfilled—That they should be every where scattered, despised and persecuted; and yet, that amid all their sufferings, their race should be preserved and continued, to be ultimately re-assembled. In their state of such oft repeated misery, their sublime Isaiah must as often have afforded them the noblest consolation—

But thou, Israel! my servant —
 Fear thou not; for I am with thee;
 Be not dismayed;
 For I am thy God.
 I will strengthen thee;
 Yea, I will uphold thee
 With the right hand of my righteousness.

Fear not, thou worm Jacob!
 And ye men of Israel!
 I will help thee, saith the Lord
 And thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel.

Fear not, for I have redeemed thee;
 I have called thee by thy name;
 Thou art mine.

When thou passest through the waters,
 I will be with thee;
 And through the rivers,
 They shall not overflow thee:
 When thou walkest through the fire,
 Thou shalt not be burned;
 Neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.

Fear not; for I am with thee;
 I will bring thy seed from the East,
 And gather thee from the West:
 I will say to the North, "Give up;"
 And to the South, "Keep not back:"
 "Bring my sons from afar,
 "And my daughters from the ends of the Earth."

ISAIAH xli. & xliii.

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CHAP. III.

History of the Reign of EDWARD II. surnamed Carnarvon.

1307—1327.

BOOK
II.

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EDW. II.

IT is because royal adversity has never been more clearly traceable to the personal errors of the sovereign, that the calamities of this reign become one of those historical lessons, by which future ages are benefited. Other examples may teach a king of England what to imitate; but the conduct of Edward II. impressively points out what he must avoid, in order to reign, not merely with honor, but even with personal safety and ordinary comfort.¹

This king acceded to the throne with every political advantage. His father had left that reputation, which always at first sanctifies the son, whatever be his merit; and so much national prosperity had resulted from the general ability of the preceding reign, that the new king had only to allow the political machine which his father had organized, to con-

¹ We possess on this reign, besides Hemingford and the continuation of Trivetius, five contemporary authors, viz. Trokelowe, De la Moor, Henry of Blandford, the Monk of Malmesbury, and Adam Murimuth. Trokelowe's Annals were printed by Hearne, from the Cotton MSS. Claud. D. 6. They contain a full detail of the first part of his reign, and extend to 1323. He writes as the friend of the barons; and describes himself as having seen the poor dying in the streets in the famine of 1315. p. 35. — Sir Thomas de la Moor was in the king's service, and obviously inclines to favor him. He is not so full as Trokelowe, on Gaveston, but gives a very interesting account of the last part of the reign. He wrote in French. The Latin translation of it is published in Camden's *Angl. Norm.* p. 593. — Henry of Blandford's *Chronicle* is a mere fragment of a few years, of which the chief features are, the articles of the truce with Scotland, and the king's accusation of the bishop of Hereford. The Monk of Malmesbury's *Life of Edward II.* is an important work: it extends from 1307 to the King's death, and adds a few incidents to 1348. He gives the fullest account of Gaveston's death. His work is printed by Hearne, from a private gentleman's MSS. after Trokelowe and Blandford. — Adam Murimuth, a canon of London, has left us a short chronicle, compiled from his diary. He says, that after 1305 he writes from his own eyesight and hearing. It is printed after the continuation of Trivetius.

tinue its operation. The country was improving in trade and cultivation, and in that affluence which these favourite objects of human pursuit cannot flourish without diffusing. The power of the church was restricted to a more wholesome influence. The barons, tho they had given even the irascible conqueror of Scotland a lesson, that they were not to be oppressed with safety, had yet marked out to the future sovereign, by their opposition, his true path of domestic policy. Wales was at last flattering itself into good humor, on seeing a king born among its venerated mountains, seated on the throne of Lloegyr. France was in amity. And Scotland, though unquiet wherever Bruce could penetrate or surprise, had been too often subdued, to maintain a perilous warfare against the military power of England, wisely directed. A new reign and a young king are always popular. Thus every thing combined to surround Edward II. with glory, and to promise a reign of peculiar felicity. It would seem to have required no common infatuation to have thrown down any prince from such a pedestal, on which he was as firmly as he was highly exalted. Love, honor, and happiness, seemed to be his natural inheritance. Contempt, degradation, and misery, became his lot.

But no department of human affairs can be conducted prosperously, without some degree of judgment and moral prudence; and Edward II. appears to have been deficient in both. His self-will was passionate, arbitrary, and obstinate. Violent and weak, dissolute and proud, his first action astonished all classes of the community, and his next, alarmed and disgusted them. Before his father's body was interred, this inconsiderate youth, not anticipating or not regarding the inferences that his subjects would make to his own discredit, from an action so illegal and precipitate, caused the chief minister and execu-

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The king
recalls
Piers de
Gaveston.

tor of the late king, a prelate who had the confidence and favorable judgment of his late master as evidence of his official worth, to be arrested and thrown into a dungeon; while he seized his property, without any known cause of complaint but the bishop's friendly endeavours to restrain his follies and too lavish expenditure while he was a prince.² This intemperate action was followed by another not less obnoxious; the recall of Piers de Gaveston to be his prime favorite and minister; a youth, neither older, nor wiser, nor more regular than himself.

Piers de Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight; and the late king, pleased with the services of the father, had made the lad a page to the heir-apparent. They were brought up together; and the prince contracted such an undue attachment to his companion, that he forsook the society of all the young nobility for the company of the seducing favorite. Neither the king's commands, nor the persuasions of the great, could separate them³; and we may judge of their amusements and tendencies, by observing, that the prince, by Gaveston's counsel, broke into the parks of the late king's treasurer and confidential counsellor, for which Edward banished his son from his presence.⁴ The prince continuing his irregularities, and his young favorite being considered as their cause or promoter, the parliament concurred with the king's wishes for the reformation of the heir-apparent, and banished Gaveston, as the incentive to his misconduct, out of the kingdom.⁴ Gaveston might have

² Trokelowe, pp. 3, 4. Ad. Murimuth, p. 38. Trokelowe says, that Edward had *long* nourished vindictive feelings against him, for these admonitions. The King's hatred was so violent, that no one, adds the author, "dared offer a word in his behalf." *Ib.*

³ Trokelowe, pp. 4, 5. Walsingham Hist. p. 68.

⁴ This is mentioned in a Chronicle in St. Peter's Coll. Library, from which Leland took the extracts published in his *Collect.* vol. ii. p. 473.

⁵ The *Scala Chronica*, written in the time of Edward III., thus mentions the circumstance: "Peter Gavirston was accusid to the king of many crymes, and as not worthy to be about his sunne, prince Edwarde, wherapon he was banishid owt

been the immediate tempter, but Edward I. was the real corrupter of his son. He surrounded his boyish day with all the pomp of greatness, and with obsequious flattery, at that period of his life, when the character most needs the wise discipline of judicious restraint and simple habits. Soon after the prince was thirteen, his father made him the regent of the kingdom, on departing for Flanders, and some assisting counsellors were appointed to direct him.⁶ But these, in discharging the business of the office, would leave the prince to enjoy all those blandishments and appendages of a splendid court, which the world would be as eager to pay to a paternal idol so prematurely exalted, as the flattered child would be impatient to receive. After such a gratification of boyish vanity, before any judgment existed to counteract its mischief, what benefit could Edward expect that his son would receive from any moral or lettered tuition? Good counsel would only seem monkish severity; instruction, pedantry; rebuke, impertinence; and hesitating obedience, even to irregular caprices, presumptuous disaffection. But Edward's personal pride blinded his discretion; and that bosom sin which led him, as much as his policy, to seize the crowns of Wales and Scotland, equally urged him to invest *his* son, even in childhood, with those ostentatious distinctions which defeated his own hopes and purposes, and severely avenged his persevering and unpitied ambition. The parent who has grown up to greatness amid difficulties and restraints, too often destroys the natural promise of the son, by surrounding him with those indulgences and distinctions which preclude the formation of active intellect, steady judgment, and moral habits.

of England." *Lel. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 543. Rymer gives the oaths that the king exacted from Gaveston, who, on his recall, procured the Pope's absolution from them. *Cont. Trivet*, p. 2.

⁶ *Wals. Hist.* p. 39.

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EDW. II.Promotes
him to
great ho-
nors.

The old king's advice on his death-bed, to his successor, to be just and affable to all; to be constant in his words and actions; to be kind to the deserving, and merciful to the distressed; and never to recall Gaveston on pain of a father's malediction—was heard by a mind that was resolved to disobey it; and therefore, before his father's body had reached London, Edward imprisoned the chief minister, and sent to Gascony for his banished favorite.⁷ Continuing to act with all the precipitation of a weak mind, he created him, on his arrival, earl of Cornwall; an honor, then as now, usually reserved for the royal family⁸: and on departing for France, to marry its king's daughter, passing by all the nobles of his court and country, he appointed Gaveston to be its regent in his absence.⁹ The great murmured, and obeyed; but, when they attended, with the regent, to receive Edward on his return from his nuptials, they were disgusted at seeing their sovereign rush publicly into his favorite's arms, and kiss him with a familiarity which produced a general contempt.¹⁰ He called him his brother; he gave him Wallingford, which had been assigned to his queen¹¹; and suffered him to rule like a second king, to whom none were equal, and whom all were to obey.¹²

Elegant in his person, pleasing in his manners, and sprightly in his intellect¹³, Piers lived to shew that the same early greatness which had injured his royal

⁷ Wals. Hist. p. 39. — William de Pakington states, that Edward on his death-bed had requested of his favorite lords, that "they shuld not suffre Peter Gaveston to cum agayne yn to England to sette his sunne agayne on ryot." *Lel. Coll.* vol. ii. p. 461. — He arrested the minister at Waltham. *Hem.* i. p. 244.

⁸ *Trok.* 5. — The Monk of Malm. notices that the king himself doubted whether he had the power to confer the honor, and that the larger part of the barons, that is, the parliament, did not consent to it. p. 95.

⁹ *Trok.* 5. — The Monk of Malm. says it was a "mira res," that he who was so lately an exile from England, should now be its governor and keeper. 98.

¹⁰ *Trok.* p. 5.

¹¹ W. de Pakington's Chronicle. *Lel. Coll.* ii. p. 461.

¹² Monk of Malm. 95.

¹³ Moor's Vita Ed. II. p. 593.

master, had not been more salutary to himself. Instead of reconciling, by prudent courtesies, the minds of the dissatisfied great to his undeserved elevation, he gratified his own vanity, and affronted theirs, by appearing at the coronation in superior splendor.¹⁴ This exhibition would have been soon forgotten; but he proclaimed a tournament at Wallingford, and had the folly to plan an insult to the barons who attended it, which they were the least likely to forgive. He placed on his own side all the young and robust knights, whom entreaty or reward could allure, and by their numbers overpowered and disgraced the nobles who attempted a competition. He carried off the prizes.¹⁵ His arrogance and wilful insolence increasing with the king's favor, which opposition only stimulated to fresh extravagance¹⁶, he publicly taunted the first men of the kingdom with contumelious nicknames.¹⁷ His rapacity was also precipitate and undisguised; and what he amassed from the royal treasure, he sent out of the kingdom.¹⁸ The king seemed to rival him in folly; for it is remarked, that if any of the barons entered the royal chamber while Gaveston was there, his smiles and conversation were wholly addressed to the giddy and obnoxious fa-

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Gaveston's
arrogance;

¹⁴ Moor, 593. And Ad. Murimuth remarks, that surpassing every one in his noble habiliments, he incurred the envy and the hatred of all. p. 39.

¹⁵ Mon. Malm. 97. Trok. 6.

¹⁶ The Monk of Malmsbury remarks, that the more the great opposed him, the more the king loved him. p. 95.

¹⁷ W. de Pakington thus mentions them: "calling the counte of Glocestre, cosine to the king, 'Cocolds Byrde;' syr Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, 'Boele Crenee;' and syr Gui counte of Warwick, 'Noer Chien d'Arderne;' and he cauled the gentil counte Thomas of Lancastre, the kinges nephew, 'Vieliers porceo quill ezt greles et de bel entaille.'" p. 461. — Walsingham also states, that he named Lancaster "the Stage Player;" the earl of Pembroke "Joseph the Jew," because he was pale and tall; and the earl of Warwick, because his complexion was sallow, "the Black Dog of Arderne," p. 66. — The continuation of Trivet. says generally: *proceres terræ contemnebat; infestis verbis et minis pomposis eos vilipendebat.* p. 4.

¹⁸ Trokelowe, 6. — The old Chronicle of St. Peter's College says, "Gaveston conveyed the table and tristilles of gold from the tresory of Westminstre, and delyvered them to one Armery of Frisconbaude, to be caryd yn to Gascoyn." Lel. ii. p. 473. — Hemingford values the treasure sent abroad by Gaveston, at 100,000 pounds, besides gold and precious stones. p. 244.

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vorite.¹⁹ No grace could be obtained, no business transacted, with the sovereign, but thro him.²⁰ Even the tributes of respect offered by his people, the king did not venture to take without Gaveston's participation and permission.²¹ This absurd prepossession only insured his destruction. In vain the king tried to stem the current of contempt by a public edict, that none should call him Piers Gaveston, but "the earl of Cornwall."²² The respect which insolence forfeits, no authority can extort. The nobles called on the king to convene a parliament, to consider the grievances of the land; and he found it necessary to order that they should not come to it armed.²³ But the resentment of the nation had become too strong for his control. The clergy united with the rest of the public; the barons fortified their castles²⁴; and the people were visibly disposed to support their leaders. Edward at last, alarmed at his own danger, consented that his favorite should again leave the kingdom. The archbishop threatened an excommunication if he delayed²⁵; when Edward, resolving that he should not go in disgrace, appointed him viceroy of Ireland, and sent him with a force sufficient to enable him to acquire some military reputation²⁶; a vain expectation. If he had possessed the judgment that was requisite to gain success in war,

¹⁹ Mon. Malm. 110.²⁰ Ib. and Trok. 6.

²¹ Walter de Whytlesee, one of the monks of Peterboro', gives us a remarkable instance of this: When the King, with Gaveston, visited that place, the abbot sent him a cup worth fifty pounds. The king immediately inquired, whether Peter had received any present? and being answered in the negative, he refused to accept the gift. The abbot hearing of this, sent to Gaveston a cup of the value of forty pounds, who took it, with a courteous air and thanks. The messenger then asking the favorite, if the other cup was worthy of the king's acceptance? and being told it was, he mentioned to Peter that it had been refused. Gaveston called his chamberlain, and gave him these orders: "Go to lord Edward, and tell him that I am willing that he should receive the abbot's present." The officer carried the rejected cup to Edward with this message, and the king then eagerly took it, and thanked the abbot for his liberality. Wal. Whytt. Cenob. Burg. Hist. p. 171.

²² Mon. Malm. 98.²⁵ Mon. Malm. 100.²³ Plac. Parl. vol. i. pp. 445 & 447.²⁶ Moor, 593.²⁴ Mon. Malm. 99.

he would not have been driven from the English court. His first advantages were succeeded by disaster. He lavished the royal revenues of the country in wasteful expenditure; and his Irish government only impoverished his sovereign, and increased the public hatred.²⁷

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EDW. II.

Edward, with a strange imbecility, pined in his absence, and thought anxiously how to recall him. It was suggested, that if he married him to his own niece, the sister of the earl of Gloucester, the alliance, by connecting him with the royal family, would give him a footing among the nobles of the land, and protect him from their hostility. The project was accomplished; and the barons paused, to see if the new connexion and his late humiliation would change his offensive conduct.²⁸ It is the opinion of an author who lived at the time, and who writes with a considerable degree of feeling on the subject, that if Gaveston had but conducted himself prudently and unostentatiously; or if the king, preserving his attachment to his friend, had but behaved with due consideration to his nobles; their opposition would have ceased.²⁹ But the arrogance and avarice of Gaveston, and the infatuation of his sovereign, continuing, the barons assembled with the commons in parliament, and Gaveston was criminally arraigned.³⁰ He was sentenced to perpetual exile; and it was

Marries
the king's
niece.

²⁷ Mon. Malm. p. 100. — Ad. Murimuth says, that he lived in Ireland royally; was very liberal, and much beloved there. p. 40.

²⁸ Trok. p. 8. That this marriage had the effect of strengthening Gaveston, is the opinion of the Mon. Malm. p. 96.

²⁹ Mon. Malm. 110.

³⁰ The charges against him are stated in the Parliamentary Roll, printed in Plac. Parl. 281. They may be briefly enumerated thus: Badly counselling the king; obtaining his treasure, and sending it out of the kingdom; drawing to himself the royal power and dignity; "seigneurant" on the king's state; alienating the king from his people; despising their advice; not suffering good ministers to make the law of the land; displacing them, and putting his creatures in their stead; taking the king's lands to himself; giving the crown lands to others; leading the king to war without the assent of his parliament; maintaining robbers, homicides, &c.; sealing blank charters with the great seal, to the deceit and disinheritance of the crown. Parl. Plac. p. 283.

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II.REIGN OF
EDW. II.Gaveston
banished.Ordinances
of Parlia-
ment.

ordered, that if he remained in England, he should be treated as an enemy to the king, to the kingdom, and to the people. Others were punished with him³¹; and among these, a lady accused of abusing the king's favor, was ordered to her house, and forbidden to approach the court.³²

The parliament now considered it necessary to interfere itself with the administration of the executive government. The barons and the commons passed ordinances, certainly trenching on the royal prerogatives, but occasioned by the previous misconduct. In order to discharge the king's debts, it was enacted, that no grant of land should be valid without their assent, and that all preceding grants should be recalled. The king was restrained from going out of the kingdom, or making war, without the approbation of the barons in parliament. All evil counsellors were to be removed. The chancellor, chief justice, treasurer, chancellor and chief baron of the exchequer, and other great officers, were to be chosen by him with the advice of his barons in parliament. Various other regulations were added; and it was also declared, that parliaments should be held once in every year, or twice, if need be, and in a suitable place.³³ Some of these provisions were innovations on the royal authority, and imply a strong mistrust of the royal capacity. But the whole tenor of Edward's reign too clearly proves the justice of this severe imputation.

Gaveston, unable to confront the storm which he had provoked, withdrew to France. The king of that country ordering him to be seized³⁴, he retired to

³¹ As, p. 553, "Emori Friscanbaud," mentioned in the preceding Note (18).

³² This was la dame de Vesey, qui ad procure le roi a doner a sire Henri de Beaumont son frere et as autres terres, franchises et baillies, au damage et deshonur du roi et aperte desheriteson de la corone, et ausint procure de mauder hors lettres desouz la targe contre lei et l'ententione du roi. Plac. Parl. 284.

³³ See these Ordinaciones at length, from the Parl. Rolls in Plac. Parl. 281—286.

³⁴ Trok. p. 9.

Flanders. But a life of difficulty and obscurity was insupportable to a man spoilt by royal favor and courtly luxuries. He suddenly returned to England, and moved from place to place, sometimes secreted in the king's chamber, anxious to emerge into his former splendor, but pursued too vindictively³⁵ to dare it. He tried to obtain an asylum in Scotland, but was refused.³⁶ At last, weary of lying hid like a felon, and trusting to the king's fondness and power, he ventured desperately on a public appearance at court, and was received by Edward with undissembled transport.

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EDW. II.

Gaveston
returns.

The enraged barons assembled again, and the archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated Gaveston. The earl of Lancaster proclaimed a tournament, as a legal pretext for his friends meeting in arms; and every necessary being collected, they moved to York.³⁷ Edward had placed his favorite in the strong castle at Bamborough.³⁸ The barons dispersed abroad, that there could be no peace in the realm, that the king would have no treasure, nor the queen her becoming honors, nor the great their suitable rank and consideration, while Gaveston was alive. They made the earl of Lancaster, a nobleman of the royal blood, their leader; whose father-in-law, on his death-bed, had exhorted him to protect the freedom of the people, the liberties of the church, and to be dutiful to the king, yet to remove from him all bad ministers, and to support Magna Charta and the articles of regulation.³⁹ They presented their petitions to their

³⁵ Among our public records, we still have the writ de scrutando P. G. latitantem in Devon. Cornw. Somers. et Dors. against the form of the ordinances of the nobles and king. — The Monk intimates, that he was sometimes in the king's palace, sometimes at Wallingford, and sometimes in Tintagel castle. p. 117.

³⁶ The Scottish king's answer was, "How can the king of England keep his treaty with me, if he does not keep his oath to his own liege men!" Mon. Malm. p. 118.

³⁷ Mon. Malm. 119.

³⁸ Th. Moor, p. 593.

³⁹ Trok, p. 13. The dying earl reminded him, that he had already three counties, and with his daughter would have two more; so that Lancaster was now supported by the force of five English counties.

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EDW. II.Taken by
the barons.

sovereign, who, refusing all compliance, sailed from York to Newcastle. The barons followed. The king withdrew, with his Peter, to Tinmouth.⁴⁰ The barons soon reached that town; and as they entered it, the king, heedless of the tears of his pregnant queen, refused to part with Gaveston, and hurried with him into a ship, and sailed down to Scarborough.⁴¹ The castle was strong, but it had no provisions; and the barons again advancing, the king was compelled to leave him to his fate, and to withdraw to York.⁴² To save his life, Edward promised to comply with all the petitions of the irritated nobles; and the earl of Pembroke swore to keep him safe till a specified day, that in the interval some negotiations might be entered into for his preservation.⁴³ On the road to Wallingford, with his prisoner, Pembroke rested at the village of Dadington, between Oxford and Warwick. "You are fatigued," said the earl to him, "and need refreshment; I have business; you may remain here till I return;" and left him under the care of a slender guard.⁴⁴ At the dawn of day, the earl of Warwick, whom he had called the "black dog of Arden," came with a small retinue to the village, summoned his chamberlain, and bade him rouse his master from his bed. The alarmed favorite was compelled to obey, and to follow the vindictive earl on foot. His pace being slow, he was placed on a mule, to travel faster; and he was carried in insulting triumph to Warwick, amid sounding horns and a shouting populace.⁴⁵

Pembroke, hearing of this movement, sued for his deliverance, pleading his own oath and danger.

⁴⁰ Trok. 15.⁴¹ Ib. 16.—Lancaster sent a message of respect and consolation to the queen, but would not visit her, lest that should excite the king's anger to her prejudice. Ib.⁴² Trok. 17.⁴³ Moor, 593. Trok. 17.⁴⁴ Mon. Malm. 120. Trok. 17.⁴⁵ Mon. Malm. 121. Moor, 590. and Trok, 17.

Gloucester answered him, that Warwick had acted by the general advice, and that he must abide the chances of his own peril. Pembroke then went to Oxford, soliciting the clergy and citizens there to aid him in recovering Gaveston. They declined to interfere; and Warwick announced to Peter, that he must die that day. Humbled and trembling, he threw himself at the earl of Lancaster's feet, exclaiming, "Generous earl! pity me." But his previous sarcasms had blunted the earl's compassionate feelings. The only answer he received was the stern and vindictive command, "Take him away! take him away!" and he was led into the earl's county, that the meditated violence might be committed in the territory of a nobleman, whose power and relationship to the crown might best confront its future indignation. He was there delivered to two Welshmen. One stabbed him, the other severed his head. His death was not believed till the head was exhibited. The barons then dispersed; and some friars coming from Oxford, removed the body, to be buried in that city.⁴⁶ A deed like this, whatever may have been Gaveston's demerits, was a foul and revengeful murder; and Lancaster lived to experience the severe retaliation, which the wilful shedding of human blood usually produces.⁴⁷

Killed by
the earl of
Lancaster's
command.

Piers Gaveston is described to have had some interesting qualities⁴⁸, which might have made him useful both to the king and people, if he had not been ruined by courtly pomp, and been seduced, by the

⁴⁶ Mon. Malm. 121—124. Moor, 593. Ad. Murim. 44.

⁴⁷ The reflection of the Monk of Malmsbury on his death, is remarkable for that age: "Let the English courtiers beware, lest, trusting to the king's favor, they should despise the barons (the Parliament). These are a principal member of the kingdom, without whom the king can attempt or execute nothing great. Hence they who undervalue the barons, despise the king, and show themselves guilty of treason." Mon. Malm. p. 124.

⁴⁸ The Scala Chronica says of him, that at first he was "noble, liberal and gentil, in summe fascions." Lel. ii. 545. And Ad. Murimuth, having intimated that he was much loved in Ireland, adds, "for he was splendid and bountiful in giving presents, and in procuring honors and lands for his adherents." P. 40.

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king's womanish fondness, to an absurd and childish arrogance.⁴⁹ As the nation was becoming too fierce and warlike, from the martial spirit and ambition of Edward I., the elegant accomplishments of Gaveston were adapted to soften and civilize the public manners; and, from the six years continuance of his power, these probably left some serviceable impressions on the court and nation. His death, from the general dissatisfaction which his own foolish humors had excited, was received with much popular exultation, tho it appears to have astonished many at the boldness of the crime. It was a new thing thus to brave the power and provoke the resentment of a king of England, not only by rebellion, but by destroying his chosen favorite.⁵⁰ It brought the king and the parliament again to a measured trial of their strength; and the issue must have been critical to English liberty, if the cause of the quarrel had been less universally unpopular.

The king's
indignation.

The king was with reason indignant at the catastrophe, and at the breach of faith which had accompanied it.⁵¹ Some counselled him to moderate measures; but the friends of Gaveston, of whom Hugh le Despenser was one, stimulated him to revenge. He called out his knights to arms, garrisoned his castles, collected his archers, assembled

⁴⁹ The Monk of Malmsbury solemnly asserts, "I believe and firmly declare, that if Peter had from the beginning conducted himself, towards the great, prudently and respectfully, none of them would have opposed him." P. 110. What a lesson to pride, and to favorites! But perhaps before any man can become a *favorite* of a prince, both must be equally unworthy. Judicious friendship is honorable and beneficial to the throne; favoritism implies imbecility.

⁵⁰ The Monk of Malmsbury remarks, "In killing Peter, an arduous enterprise was undertaken; nor has any thing like it happened in our days. They killed the great count, whom the king adopted to be a brother, loved as a son, and made his friend and companion. It was therefore necessary that he should be great, who could defend such a deed. Hence Thomas earl of Lancaster, as nobler and more potent than all, took on himself the peril, and ordered Peter, after being thrice banished, to be killed." P. 124.

⁵¹ Ad. Mur. thus describes the king's feelings: "The King remained tranquil, but dissembling; vexed at the death of Gaveston, and meditating a revenge, which, when the opportunity afterwards came, he did not spare." P. 45.

his military force, and then summoned the barons to parliament. They came to London, like men prepared to encounter hostility. Lancaster appeared with 1000 knights and 1500 foot; Hereford with a host of wild Welsh savages; Warwick with all his men of Arderne; and the other barons with the greatest power they could collect. Such a parliament was too formidable to be attacked. The barons did not go immediately to the king, but sent to announce their coming, and to inquire the cause of their being convened. The earl of Gloucester interfered as a mediator. They disclaimed all intention of disrespect to the king, but avowed their suspicion of his advisers. Edward at last desired to know their wishes. They answered, the confirmation of the ordinances, and his remission of all penalties for Gaveston's death. The king assented to the pardon, on the condition that his late favorite was not adjudged to be a traitor. They replied, that this exception would leave them exposed to legal prosecution. The king would not concede farther; and the barons, perceiving that he sought by protraction to exhaust them by their expenses, withdrew to their homes.⁵² Edward went to France, on the invitation of its sovereign, to be present at the festivities on the investment of the king of Navarre with the military belt.⁵³ The quarrel with the barons was at last terminated⁵⁴; and the next great incident of this reign was the calamitous battle of Bannockburn, which

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⁵² This detail is given with much probable minuteness by the Mon. Malm. 125—134. He seems to have penned down his narration and reflections at the very time, for he adds soon afterwards, on the king going to France, "May God bring him back safe!—Lo, our king has now reigned six years, and yet has done nothing hitherto worthy of either praise or remembrance, except that he has married royally, and obtained an heir to his kingdom." P. 135.

⁵³ Mon. Malm. 134.—In 1342, Edw. III. was born at Windsor. Moor, 593.

⁵⁴ Some of the records of the king's pardons for Gaveston's death are in the Rotul. Parl. pp. 74—76. The Monk of Malmsbury here gives an effusion of his contemporary feelings, for he suddenly exclaims, "Mightiest God! remove all false and perfidious men from our Sovereign." P. 140.

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closed the reign of Bruce with glory, and astonished England with an unexpected defeat.

Edward, instead of leading to Scotland the forces which his father had so anxiously collected for its subjection, abandoned the invasion. He attempted afterwards an ineffectual incursion. But in 1313, when Robert Bruce had taken Edinburgh and was besieging Stirling, he resolved on a powerful aggression. He summoned his barons to attend him: they answered, that parliament ought to be first assembled. The king declared the necessity to be urgent; they replied, that if they accompanied him to the war without the assent of parliament, they should violate the ordinances. The king preferring, as usual, prerogative to policy, commanded their services. To avoid his vindictive measures many went, but some only sent their forces.⁵⁵

Battle of
Bannock-
burn.

He marched in great power to Scotland, and with moderate good conduct must have been irresistible. It is interesting to observe how superior power can be defeated by superior intelligence. Bruce, whom even his enemies praise⁵⁶, met the peril like a consummate general. He could not hope to beat the English cavalry, and therefore did not attempt it.⁵⁷ He dismounted all his own horse, and formed his forces into an army of foot. They were about 40,000 men. He divided them into three bodies; none on horseback. Each man wore a light armor, which a sword could not easily pierce; battle-axes were at their sides, and lances in their hands. He compacted them into a thick mass, a bristled hedge⁵⁸,

⁵⁵ Mon. Malm. 144—146.

⁵⁶ The Monk says, "I should praise Robert Bruce, if his being guilty of homicide and treason did not make me silent." 107.

⁵⁷ Trokelowe says, the battle of Falkirk had taught the Scotch the inferiority of their horse. p. 25. The Scala Chronica observes, that the recent victory of the Flemings over the French at Courtray, had given Bruce an example, that cavalry might be defeated by infantry. *Lel.* ii. 547.

⁵⁸ Mon. Malm. 149. *Trok.* 29.

like the Macedonian phalanx, which from its union and solidity was impenetrable. To secure them from the first assault of the English cavalry, he employed the night in digging ditches along his line, from right to left, three feet deep and broad, which he covered with hurdles strewed with turf, strong enough for infantry to pass over, but weak enough to break under the weight of a horse.⁵⁹ In a reconnoitring skirmish, on the day preceding the great conflict, he had the advantage, and displayed his personal strength and valor; and his success alarmed the English into a belief that he meditated a night attack. This conjecture kept them watching; and the day happening to be a festival, they passed the night in carousing.⁶⁰ In the morning, the veteran chiefs advised the king, on account of the fatigue of a sleepless night and the effects of their festivity, to defer the battle till the morrow. The younger men derided the counsel. The earl of Gloucester enforced it. The king had the weakness to call him a traitor for his prudence. "You shall see to-day," he indignantly answered, "that I am neither a traitor nor a coward."⁶¹

The English were formed in three lines, one, of their knights, another their infantry and archers, the third with the king and clergy. Bruce refreshed his troops with bread and wine⁶², and harangued them on topics calculated to increase their resolution.⁶³ He placed himself in the front of the army

24 June
1314.⁵⁹ Moor, 594.⁶⁰ Moor says, there were vino madentes, wassalle and drinkehaile, plus solito intonantes. P. 594.⁶¹ Mon. Malm. 149.⁶² Ib. — Moor describes them as "burning with the love of liberty and their country." P. 594.⁶³ Barbour indulges his eloquence on this speech, l. 12. pp. 129—133. His topics are judicious —

The fyrst is, that we haiff the rycht,
And for the rycht, ay God will fycht.

His next was, that the English had brought
- - - - - rycht till our hand

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on foot, that his example might prevent any one from thinking of flight.⁶⁴ He felt the greatness of the moment, and his soul was equal to the emergency.

The tumult of battles is so great, the events so rapid and various, and they are seen from such different points of view, that several accounts of the same conflict will be often dissimilar to each other. Hence the battle of Bannockburn is told with different circumstances by the Scotch and English writers.⁶⁵ The main incidents in the latter are, that the English knights began the struggle with the sun shining on their gilt shields and burnished helms, instead of waiting till noon, when the radiance would have turned to their right.⁶⁶ That the earl of Gloucester, impatient of the king's taunt, advanced to meet the body under Douglas too eagerly, to have the credit of the first blow; that his horse being killed, he fell, and, from the weight of his armor, could not rise unassisted. That his knightly companions, astonished at his disaster, hesitated⁶⁷, and one only, who had fought in Germany, seeing the king about to retreat, cried out, that he was not used to fly⁶⁸, and, letting go the king's bridle, which he was holding, rushed to the earl's succor, but was overpowered and killed.⁶⁹ That the English cavalry, also charging on the Scots, the horses stumbled on

Ryches into sa gret quantite
That the powerest of yow sall be
Bath ryche, and mychty tharwithall,
Giff that we wyne, as weill may fall.

His third point was,

The thred is, that we for our lyvys,
And for our childre and for our wyvis;
And for owr fredome. and for our land,
As strenyeit into bataill stand. P. 130.

⁶⁴ Trok, 26.

⁶⁵ Barbour's account is in the last part of his twelfth and the beginning of his thirteenth book. Lord Hailes for the most part adopts it; vol. II, pp. 45—49.

⁶⁶ Moor, 594.

⁶⁷ Mon. Malm. 149, 150.

⁶⁸ Scala Chron. p. 547. This was Sir Giles Argentyr.

⁶⁹ Mon. Malm. — Barbour notices this incident, l. 13. p. 156.

the treacherous turf, and threw their riders on the Scottish lances. That the second line increased the evil; for, seeing the enemy rush on, they discharged their arrows, which fell on the unarmed backs of the struggling English knights; and that, alarmed at the general confusion, Edward was advised to quit the field.⁷⁰ A gleam of his father's spirit seems at this moment to have lightened in his feeble soul; for it is added, that, in a state of fury at the disaster, he rushed on the Scots like a lioness robbed of her whelps, till he was carried off by his knights, who saw that he was in danger of being taken.⁷¹

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The defeat was irretrievable. At the sight of the royal banner quitting the field, the army dispersed in panic. Resistance was at an end. Flight, pursuit, and destruction ensued. The king vowed to the Virgin, that if he got safely away, he would build a convent for the poor Carmelites⁷²; and he sought to take refuge in an adjoining castle, but the draw-bridge was raised against him, and he was compelled to pass on. This refusal was deemed a treason, but it proved to be his preservation; for if he had made it his asylum, he would have been taken. Repulsed here, this degenerate son of a magnanimous father, fled onward with the younger Spenser, reached Dunbar, and there, getting into a ship, sailed precipitately to Berwick.

Defeat
of the
English.

No defeat could be more disgraceful. The knights, throwing off their armor, fled half naked over the country, and were pursued for fifty miles.⁷³ The slaughter was proportionably great. The Scots took baggage to the value of 200,000 pounds, and a great

⁷⁰ Moor, 594.

⁷¹ Trokelowe mentions this circumstance, p. 27; and the *Scala Chronica* says, "The King in chafe foute sore, and had his horse paunched, but he got another." P. 547.

⁷² Moor, 594. "To this vow, Oriel college in Oxford owes its establishment," Hailes' *Annals*, ii. p. 49.

⁷³ Mon. Malm. 151.

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number of noble captives, whose ransoms made them affluent.⁷⁴ Bruce distinguished himself for his humanity to the prisoners. He distributed the spoil with magnificent liberality; and by this brilliant success completed the independence of Scotland, and the security of his hard-earned throne.⁷⁵

The remainder of Edward's reign was a repetition of the errors of its commencement. Hugh de Spenser, who had been in the train of Gaveston, became another favorite, and succeeding to his influence, and untaught by his catastrophe, adopted his follies and misconduct. The king became again at variance with his barons; and Spenser and his father were the objects of the popular animosity.⁷⁶ They fell its victims, but not till the great leader of the barons, the earl of Lancaster, had preceded them to the tomb.

The earl of
Lancaster
becomes
unpopular.

This potent and applauded nobleman ruined his popularity by his conduct at the siege of Berwick. In 1319, the Scots made a bold irruption into Yorkshire, to surprise the queen. They missed that booty, but Berwick was betrayed to them. The king advanced to recover it; but Lancaster suddenly withdrawing with his forces from the royal camp, the king failed in his attempt, and the Scots reached their homes unhurt. A great national clamor arose

⁷⁴ The earl of Gloucester would not have been killed, but that he went into the field without his "toga propriæ armaturæ;" and therefore was not recognized. Moor, 594.

⁷⁵ Trokelowe, xxviii. The Latin rhymer of this period, Robert of Baston, composed two poems on the Scottish wars; the one containing 28 and the other 66 quatrains of Latin rhyme: These are in the Cotton Library, Titus A. 20.

⁷⁶ A singular mode was used to apprise the king of the public discontent: "As he was dining in Westminster-hall, a woman entered it on horseback, dressed like the minstrels, and, going round the table in their manner, presented to the king a letter, and, turning her bridle, departed. The porters were blamed for admitting her; they alleged, that it was not the king's custom to refuse admission to minstrels at his festivities. She was pursued and taken, and owned that a knight had employed her. The knight being questioned, told the king, that he had taken that course to apprise him that he was neglecting the knights who had served so faithfully both his father and himself, and was enriching others who had not borne the burden of the day." Trok. pp. 39, 40.

at this event, and public rumor said, that the earl had been bribed by Bruce with 40,000 pounds to favor his escape. Other accounts refer the secession of Lancaster to his resentment at the king's announcing his intention to make the obnoxious Spenser the governor of the city. There can be no doubt that the king's friends industriously kept up the outcry of treachery, for it was their interest to do so; but the manner in which the Monk of Malmsbury speaks of it, shews that this opinion became the public sentiment.⁷⁷ The earl, alarmed at the general feeling against him, went to the king, and offered to purge himself from the imputation, by the hot iron, or by battle. His purgation was admitted, but his popularity was gone. He was now unexpectedly lowered to the level of his enemies' attack.

It was the continuous and characteristic defect of the king's mind, to form an attachment to his favorites, that seemed to his subjects like an enchantment; and this unlimited power over their sovereign, fostered in them a spirit of arrogance, and an expression of disdain towards others, which English barons would not brook. The nobles found themselves denied access to their sovereign by the younger Spenser, or received, thro him, in reply to their applications, harsh and adverse answers.⁷⁸ Their general discontent united them into a vindictive confederacy; and as in that age the great were always in the attitude of warfare, they directed their military retainers to attack the estates of the minister's father, in Wales and the Marches; they destroyed his woods, and plundered his moveables; and threatened so fiercely the lives of both the Spensers,

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REIGN OF
EDW. III.

1320.

⁷⁷ He utters a series of indignant apostrophes against the earl, as if he believed the charge. Pp. 198, 199.

⁷⁸ Ad. Mur. p. 55. Moor, p. 595. He says candidly, "I confess these errors in Hugh, but not as the vulgar talked of them, who studied by their fictions to shew greater crimes, and to make their bad actions worse than they were."

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II.REIGN OF
EDW. II.

The Spensers banished.

1321.

that they thought it necessary to evade the storm by flight. The barons met in parliament at Westminster; and the king was compelled to assent to the banishment of his favorite.⁷⁹

An insult to the queen which made the barons unpopular, restored the king's power. Approaching a castle of one of the confederated nobles, she was refused permission to pass the night there. This disrespectful rudeness roused the yet chivalrous feelings of the age; and knights and forces assembled round the king in sufficient number, to enable him to take the castle, and to proceed afterwards thro various parts of the country, apprehending some of the opposing barons, and recovering the submission of others. He sent his captives to the Tower; and in a subsequent parliament, procured a revocation of the exile of the Spensers.⁸⁰

The king advancing in strength against the Northern chieftains, they found themselves unable to withstand him. The question of submission was discussed. It was urged with reproach against Lancaster, that he might submit with safety, because, being a prince of the royal blood, he would find easy grace; but that to them, loss of life, liberty, or property, must be the consequence of surrender. The earl of Hereford, yielding, against his judgment, to their feelings, attempted a battle with the royal troops. The lance of a crafty Welshman, thrust suddenly up a crevice in the bridge on which Hereford was standing, pierced his bowels. The defeat of his friends quickly followed his disaster. Lancaster, and ninety-five of the chief barons, baronets,

⁷⁹ Moor, 595. Pakington describes the elder Spenser as cursing his son as the cause of his disgrace; and the younger as robbing on the sea during his exile, and taking out of two ships, about Sandwich, goods to the value of 40,000*l.* P. 463.

⁸⁰ Moor, 595. Trokelowe remarks, that the affair of the castle hurt the cause of the barons. P. 52.

and knights, were taken.⁸¹ His consanguinity to the crown was no protection against the king's resentment: he was treated as contemptuously as he had behaved to Gaveston.⁸² Eighteen of his friends were drawn and quartered, the rest banished or imprisoned.⁸³ He was carried to Pomfret, underwent the form of a hasty trial, without the opportunity of defence, and was hurried, with every mark of disrespect, to a scaffold.⁸⁴ Power, feeling too strongly what it is able to accomplish, is apt to consider too little how much only it is prudent to attempt. The capture of Lancaster afforded to the crown an opportunity of displaying a wise spirit of liberal conciliation that would have increased the humiliation of its enemy, and have strengthened itself. By destroying him, the government gave a sympathy and a sanctity to his memory, which made his death a formidable evil. The mount on which he suffered, became a consecrated place; and a military force was necessary to keep off the popular veneration.⁸⁵

Edward appointed the elder Spenser earl of Winchester, and the younger earl of Gloucester, and attempted an invasion of Scotland. Aware of his

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EDW. II.

Lancaster
taken and
killed.

⁸¹ Moor, 596. "And then wente Thomas Lancastre into a chapel denying to rendre hymself to Härkeley, and said, looking on the crucifix, "Good Lord, I rendre myself to the and put me into thy mercy." W. Paking. Chron. p. 464.

⁸² "Then they toke off his cote armoires, and put on hym a ray cote or goune, one of his menes lyveryes, and carried hym by water to York, were they threw balles of dyrte at hym." Pak. Chron. 464.

⁸³ Pak. Chron. 465.

⁸⁴ Pakington has preserved a few circumstances of his fate. "On his hasty judgment, he said, 'Shaul I dy without answer.' Then a certayne Gascoyne toke hym away, and put a pillid broken hatte or hoode on his hedde, and set hym on a lene white jade without bridil, and he than cryed thus, 'King of Heven, have mercy on me, for the king of herth nous ad querpi.' And thus he was caryed, sum throwing pelottes of dyrt at hym, and having a frerer precher for his confessor with hym, on to a hylle withoute the toune, where he knelid doune toward the Este, ontylle one Hughin de Muston caussid hym to turne his face towarde Scotlande, where kneling, a villayne of London cut of his hedde. 11 Cal. Ap. 1321." Chron. p. 465.

⁸⁵ In Pakington's Chronicle, was "A chapitre of the Miracles that men sayde that God wrought for Thomas a Lancastre." "And for resorte of people to the monte where Thomas was beheddid, Baldok the chancelar caussid 13 Gascoynes well armed to watch the hille a certen tyme." P. 466.

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superior force, the Scots retreated beyond their firths, destroying all the provisions of the country, which they evacuated. Want of food, forced the king to retire. The Scots warily followed him by secret night marches, and made a bold attempt to surprise his camp. The king, ignorant of their vicinity, had scarcely time to escape, and his army was dispersed. His pursuers spread themselves over Yorkshire, ravaging it with fire and sword, and returned home laden with booty.⁸⁶

1323.

The Spensers, continuing to strike down their enemies, confiscated the property of the bishop of Hereford, as an alleged supporter of Mortimer, one of the revolting barons. The prelate is described as a man of great worldly sagacity; daring; heedless of the means by which he reached his ends; and now provoked to a settled hatred, both of the sovereign and his minister. He applied himself to revive the party of the barons. They found the royal favor still unattainable, but thro the channels of the Spensers, whose ambition and rapacity so much increased with their power, that it was remarked, that England had three kings instead of one.⁸⁷ The favorites even ventured to abridge the state and luxuries of the queen. Their insolence, and the king's preferring attachment to them, filled her breast with contempt and hatred for her husband. The pride of the only daughter and presumptive successor of the king of France was deeply wounded, to find herself married to a man who grudged her the expenditure to which she had been accustomed; and who subjected his queen to be, like a handmaid, dependent

Conspira-
cy
against
the king.⁸⁶ Moor, 596.⁸⁷ We have an instance of the Spensers' violence, on the Parliam. Rolls: As a knight was standing in the cathedral at Lincoln, the younger Spenser came up to him, and, because he had arrested one of the minister's household, struck him so fiercely in the face with his fist, that the blood followed. The knight drew his sword; but further consequences were prevented, and the matter came before parliament. P. 352.

on the bounty of his favorites. She entered deeply into the counsels of the disaffected. She was advised, by the subtle bishop, to seek a fair occasion of going to France, and of planning with her brother the destruction of the Spensers. The king had meditated the journey, to appease the subjects of discord that were rising between the two countries; but his ministers, equally afraid of being left in England without him, and of accompanying him to France, where they would be in the power of the queen's brother, dissuaded him from going. Her blandishments at last persuaded him to let her be the negociator. She went to Paris; and he established himself during the spring and summer, on the nearest sea coast of England, to receive her letters and expresses more quickly.⁸⁸

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III.

REIGN OF
EDW. II.

Queen's
visit to
Paris.

The king of France, on the pretence of Edward's disobedience to his summons for homage, had begun to seize his French possessions. After the visit of the English queen, her brother proposed to invest her son with the disputed territory, if his father would resign it to the young prince, and send him to do fealty for it. Edward was advised to take his son over with him, and not to trust him to French duplicity. The interest of the Spensers again urged them to keep the king in England; and the young Edward was sent to France with the required cession, where he did homage to his French uncle, and received the possession of the Duchy of Aquitain.⁸⁹

The king now desired the queen to return with her son. She pleaded her brother's kindness, or compulsion, as an excuse for her protracted stay. Mortimer had escaped from the Tower⁹⁰, joined her

1325.

⁸⁸ Moor, 597.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ His escape is thus described by Henry de Blandford: In the middle of a stormy night, having lulled his keepers by a banquet, in which a sleeping-draught was administered, finding the chamber-door secured with many fastenings, he broke thro the wall into the kitchen; he got out at the top of that, and by cords made into a sort of ladder, provided by his friends, he descended, reached the Thames, obtained a boat, and, sailing boldly out to sea, landed on the Continent. H. Blandf. p. 84.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. II.She lands
in England.

councils in France, and was suspected of an unbecoming intimacy. Instead of revisiting England, she went to Hainault, and, without waiting for the king's permission or the assent of parliament, she contracted for her son a marriage with Philippa, the daughter of its duke. She levied there an army from Hainault and Germany, whom she paid out of the dowry of the bride, and making the count of Hainault, and Mortimer, its commanders, she sailed adventurously to England, and landed, about Michaelmas, at Orwell, on the Suffolk coast.⁹¹

Invasions like these are never dangerous, unless where extensive discontent pervades a country, and has excited a desire of change. The sentiment of loyalty, then, having ceased, its practice becomes a subject of individual policy and public dispute, generally prevailing only while law has power. The conscientious, always the minority, become neutral; and the moderate, usually the least active, give way to the impetuous, the turbulent, and the enterprising. Ministers, misled by a confidence in their apparent strength, neglect the only true foundation of their safety, the diminution of their unpopularity, by a removal of its causes. In the present case they had relied on the command of the executive sword, and saw the increase of the public displeasure with proud contempt or obstinate incredulity. The progress of the queen dispersed their delusion. Disaffection spread with contagious activity, and magnified her force; tales, that the Pope had absolved all the king's subjects from their loyalty, and excommunicated her opposers, spread largely before her⁹²; every one pursued his own inclinations, and the high and the low, the clergy and the barons, eagerly joined her in all

⁹¹ Moor, 598.⁹² *Ib.* In confirmation of this falsehood, two cardinals were said to be accompanying the queen. *Ib.*

parts. The king and his ministers in this important hour of trial found no friends. The elder Spenser flew to Bristol Castle, as his refuge; and the younger accompanied Edward to Chepstow, hoping to reach the fertile and well stored isle of Conday in the Severn, where, from its impregnable position, a defensive station might be made⁹³; but the adverse winds precluded approach; and the king, driven by the tempest to the coast of Glamorgan, projected to take shelter in the Abbey of Neath. The queen's pursuit was unintermitted. Her army, continually increasing, passed from Oxford to Gloucester; while the citizens of London rose into insurrection against the king's friends, seized the Tower, liberated its prisoners, beheaded the bishop of Exeter who had espoused the royal cause, and committed the usual excesses of a tumultuary movement.⁹⁴

From Gloucester she proceeded to Bristol, where the elder Spenser surrendered speedily to her summons. She gratified her cruel revenge, by his torture and death. Advancing to Hereford, she rested there a month, and sent one part of her forces, under the earl of Lancaster, son of the preceding earl, and a Welshman, to seize the king and his adherents. They found them at Neath Abbey. The king was taken and conveyed to Kenilworth Castle, where he was served all the winter, with a ceremony suited to his dignity. The younger Spenser was executed with the loathsome ceremonies then accompanying

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⁹³ Moor describes it as two miles in diameter, of fertile pasture, abounding in rabbits, pigeons, and with fresh water. It had only one entrance, which was so narrow, that two men, with their feet close together, could hardly pass it. The rest of its circuit was inaccessible rock. It was well provided, as if in anticipation of some disaster, with all sorts of provisions. P. 599.

⁹⁴ Moor, 599. Pakington, after noticing the bishop's violences which had excited it, adds, that they buried him and his two esquires "yn the hepe of rubusche aboute his toure, as they had ben dogges. And no marvel; for he was furnisch and without pite." P. 468.

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treason; and many of his supporters suffered by imprisonment and death.⁹⁵

The rapid success of the queen and her partisans, announce the universal discontent of the nation at the administration which had preceded. A parliament was held in London, which ordered, that on the part of the whole kingdom, three bishops, two earls, two abbots, four barons, two knights of every county, and two burgesses of the cities and county towns and cinque ports, should repair to Kenilworth, where the king was confined. The bishops outstripped the others, and, by threats and persuasions, strove to persuade the king to resign his crown to his son. After many promises that he should continue to receive the same royal respect, and many bursts of vexation and resentment, the agitated prince assented. The other deputies had then assembled, and were introduced. The king came out of his inner apartment, clothed in a black gown, but was so overcome by his feelings, that he fell senseless on the floor. They raised him and brought him back to life and recollection; and the prelate of Hereford mentioned the purpose for which they attended, adding, that on his refusal to surrender the diadem to his son, they would choose another sovereign. The king, with tears, expressed his grief that his people should be so exasperated against him as to be weary of his reign; but at last consented that his son should be substituted for him. The deputies then, by one of the knights, in the name of the whole kingdom, renounced their fealty and allegiance to him, and the steward of his household, breaking his rod, resigned his office, and discharged his retinue.

Parliament being again assembled, confirmed the

⁹⁵ Moor, 600. They put on Spenser and the chancellor's heads "chapelettes of poignant netles: and this writing was sette on Spenser's briste, in grate lettres, 'Quid gloriaris in malitia? Qui potens est in iniquitate.'" Pak. 468.

resignation, and raised the young prince, then eleven years old, to the crown, by the title of Edward III. A dower was assigned to the queen, so ample, that scarcely one-third of the royal income was reserved for the new sovereign. One hundred marks a month was allotted for the deposed king's expences, and he was consigned to the care of the earl of Leicester.⁹⁶

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The king had all the indulgences which, in his recluse situation, the attentions of the earl could give. But his reflections must have been severe, for, before the English would have suffered the son of their Edward I. to have been deposed, great must have been that son's misconduct, and hopeless his amendment. He lamented bitterly that neither his wife nor children came near him.⁹⁷ His plaintive exclamations interested the earl and his family; but on being communicated to his alienated queen, tho they did not excite her sympathies, they alarmed her by their visible impression on others, and she is charged with combining with the bishop of Hereford to plan his destruction. Two knights, Gorney and Maltravers, were selected as fit instruments to accomplish their base purposes, and were empowered to receive him from the earl of Leicester, and to carry him where they thought most proper, and to treat him as they pleased. They conducted him from Kenilworth to Corffe Castle, then to Bristol, where he was kept till the citizens showed some disposition to liberate him and send him abroad. This desire being known to his keepers, they conveyed him in the silence of the night to Berkley Castle. Anxious for his death, but dreading to produce it by violent means, which would revolt the public sensibility, they strove to harass him into dis-

⁹⁶ Moor, 600, 601. In one part of this reign, an impostor of low condition attempted to take advantage of the king's unpopularity, by pretending to be a son of Edward I. *Lel. Coll. vol. ii. pp. 473. 462.*

⁹⁷ Ad. Murimuth mentions, that she sent him delicate garments and soothing letters, but pretended that the Commons would not let her visit him. *P. 70.*

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ease by the most cruel and contumelious treatment; they made him ride thinly clad, and with uncovered head, that the severity of the season might affect him; they prevented him from sleeping, when exhausted nature sank into repose; they gave him unsuitable food, and contradicted all his wishes—that by watchings, by cold, and perpetual mortifications, they might hurry him to a premature grave.⁹⁸

Pursuing this plan of crafty villany, they made him a crown of straw, and ironically saluted him with “Fare forth, sir King.” To avoid meeting any of his friends, they turned towards the marshes on the Severn; and to prevent his being recognized, they resolved that his head and beard should be shaved. They stopped him on a small hillock for this purpose, and brought some dirty water out of a neighbouring ditch. The king, weeping profusely at the coarse indignity, exclaimed that he would have warm water, tho from his own tears.⁹⁹

Secured at Berkley, his unworthy queen renewed her consultations with the prelate. Their scheme of contumelies had not answered. But the safety, not only of themselves, but of so many others, was now involved in the king’s death, that his life was contemplated with all the impatience of alarmed and conscious guilt. Reproachful letters were sent to his keepers, for behaving to him too delicately. As the bishop knew that they dared not to proceed to the last violence without a written authority, he sent them an ambiguous order, which they interpreted as he wished.¹⁰⁰ They forbad the lord of the castle, who

⁹⁸ Moor, 602.

⁹⁹ *Ib.* 602. In justice to the king’s understanding, we may suppose, not that he shed tears to produce the warm water which he required, but that the tears occurring from his vexation at the indignity, he felt that they would answer his purpose. Moor says, that he had his account after the great pestilence, from William Bishop, who was one of the attendants of the king’s tormentors.

¹⁰⁰ *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.* Moor, 602. This may be either construed, “Fear not to kill Edward—it is a good thing;” or, “Do not kill Edward—it is good to fear it.”

was disposed to treat Edward courteously, to have any more access to him, and the nobleman quitted the place in disgust. They shut their sovereign up in a loathsome chamber, hoping that the fœtid exhalations would destroy him; but the king, reaching a window, cried out to some carpenters who were working on one side. The wretches perceiving that nothing but actual murder would avail, rushed upon him one night as he was sleeping in his bed, and holding him down, half suffocated with the bolsters, they thrust a red hot plumber's iron into his bowels, thro a horn, that no external mark of violence might be seen on his person. The poor king screamed in his agonies till some in the castle heard him, and suspecting his catastrophe, began to pray for his departing soul; but no one dared to interfere, and he expired in torture unrelieved.¹⁰¹ The murderers fled, on the perpetration of their horrible enormity. One was taken at Marseilles, and beheaded on his way to England, that he might not impeach his employers; the other escaped to Germany, and lingered out there a clandestine and miserable existence¹⁰², till he obtained a pardon and permission to return.

The character of this unhappy king seems to have been a compound of indolence, effeminacy, weak judgment, and self-will. His person was tall and strong, and his countenance handsome. His natural capacity was so enervated by indulgences, that tho a reflective contemporary says, that if he had exercised

¹⁰¹ Moor, 603. The next day, many abbots, earls, knights, and burgesses of Bristol and Gloucester, were called in, to see that his body was not mutilated. They privately inspected it, but superficially. Ad. Murim. p. 71.

¹⁰² Moor, 603. The Parliamentary Rolls have preserved the proclamations and rewards issued for the apprehension of the two murderers. Plac. Parl. vol. ii. pp. 53, 54. There is also a record of Berkley's clearing himself. His statement is, that he certainly received the king into his custody; but that when Edward was murdered, he was afflicted with such a severe malady out of the castle, that he had lost all memory. Pl. Parl. p. 57.

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himself in arms he would have excelled the Cœur de Lion, and if he had not followed the advice of bad men he might have been more noble than all his predecessors¹⁰³; yet his reign was more disgraceful and calamitous to himself than that of any preceding sovereign of the Norman line. Infirm of spirit, and devoted to his enjoyments, he shewed no energy but in striving to be arbitrary, and in supporting his favorites against the united feeling of his nobility and the common sense of the country. Son of one of our most able kings, and father of one of our most celebrated, his reign intervenes like a narrow and rugged isthmus between two great continents, barren itself, but the connecting passage between regions of great produce and renown. It is probable that his life of effeminate imbecility may have been the period of transition of the national manners, to that gay, gallant, and luxurious chivalry, which distinguished the times of his son. Luxury visibly increased in his reign¹⁰⁴, and the habits of the nation became more splendid afterwards. Two transient observations of reproach, which have been made on him by ancient chroniclers, may lead us to infer, that England is indebted to him for the encouragement of two of the great sources of her prosperity — her agriculture and her navy. One intimation is, that-if he had given as much attention to arms as he actually applied to husbandry¹⁰⁵, his name would have been resounded thro

¹⁰³ Mon. Malm. 136. This author seems to have penned his thoughts in his Chronicle, as if writing a diary from day to day. In this part he exclaims, "Grant, O Lord! peace in our days, and may the king be harmonious with his barons." *Ib.*

¹⁰⁴ See the feast on the installation of the abbot of Canterbury, in his reign, *Lel. Coll.* vol. vi. p. 34. And see also the king's edict to *restrain* luxury, in 1315, which he begins with reciting, "Forasmuch as thro too outrageous and unmeasurable services of measses and meates the whiche greate personages of our realme at *this tyme* have made and used to make, and yet do make and use in their houses — and hereupon other meaner men, to whom it is not convenient to take upon them such thynges, do endeavour and enforce themselves to counterfaite the great estates in doying such outrages farther than their state requireth." *Ib.* p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ "Circa rem rusticam." Mon. Malm. p. 136.

the world. The other remark, meant to be a sarcasm, expresses a mistaken inference of his subjects, or rather their ignorance of the important consequences of his taste: "King Edward kept much the se costes, al delighting in shippes, and too much using the vile company of maryners, wherby he lost much favour of his people."¹⁰⁶ We may construe this censure to imply that he pursued a wise object, in an unwise manner. But he had stamped the character of weakness so indelibly on his name, that his best actions may have been misconceived and misrepresented. On the whole we may conclude, that from a wiser education he would have derived a stronger judgment, and then might have become an applauded and happy king; but, blighted in the spring-time of life, his character became such as chiefly to serve

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"To point a moral and adorn a tale!"

NOTE ON THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

In this reign, the Knights Templars were abolished. The principal facts of the accusation and evidence which were collected against this celebrated and powerful body in England, are contained in the legal records preserved in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. 2. The following statement is a summary of the information which these documents have transmitted to us.

It was in 1309 that the letters of the Pope Clement, "plumbea bulla bullatæ," and therefore, perhaps, more technically to be called his Bull, were read to the Bishop of London, and others, sitting in his episcopal hall. In this the

¹⁰⁶ Scala Chronica. p. 549.

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Pope stated, that having been privately informed that the Master and Knights Templars had lapsed into apostasy, idolatry, profligacy and heresy, he had been unwilling to believe it. That Philip the king of France had made many representations to him on the subject: That a knight of the order, of high nobility, had sworn privately before him, that every new candidate, before he was received into the order, denied Christ, spat contemptuously upon a cross, and did other abominable things. That official inquiries had been made on this subject, and various depositions and confessions received, which shewed that some were delinquents in many things, and others in fewer. That therefore, as he could not himself inquire into the conduct of the order in every part of the world, where it was spread, he authorized them personally to commence, in the diocese of Canterbury, a careful examination of the evil complained of. He reduces these charges into eighty-seven heads, of which the substance may be comprised in the following paragraph:—

That every new knight, on being admitted, or soon afterwards, denied Christ, or God, and the Virgin, and sometimes the Saints: that the brotherhood generally did this, or the greater part; that they called our Saviour a false prophet, and said he did not die to redeem mankind, and that they had no hope of salvation from him; that they spat on the cross, trampled on it and defiled it; that they worshipped a cat in contempt of Christianity; that some, or all, did not believe in the Eucharist; that they thought their master or commanders could absolve them from all sin; that they kissed their new brother on indecent parts of his body; that their admissions and ceremonies were clandestine, and confined to themselves; that they committed loathsome vices; that they had idols, some with three heads, some with one, and some with a human skull, which they worshipped, and to which they ascribed the power of giving wealth, making trees germinate and flowers blow; that they swore to increase their order by any means; that they enjoined each other to strict secrecy, and that they punished with death or the dungeon those who revealed their secrets.

On these accusations the inquisitorial commissioners reported, that they had communicated their commission to the

Templars of London, and proceeded to examine them and other witnesses separately and apart from each other: and they detail the evidence which they had obtained.

They first examined one, who had been a Knight Templar five years. He had declared, that he had been admitted at Bath, before a hundred secular persons; that he asked the order to admit him to serve God and the Virgin; that he was then informed of the rules of the order, that he should do nothing of his own will, but according to the will of the commander; that he then swore to obey his superior, to have no property, to preserve chastity, not to consent to any one being unjustly disinherited, nor lay violent hands on any one, except Saracens, or except in self-defence; that this oath was taken before two brothers only, and that he had never made any other profession.

The three next examined, declared their admission to have been secret, and that it was the rule of the order that it should be so. One of them, keeper of the Temple chapel in London, was questioned, article by article, on the charges. He positively denied all the imputations, except the secrecy of their admissions, which he understood to be one of the original institutes of the order. All the others gave similar answers; altho some declared that their admissions had not been private.

Fifty Knights Templars, from different counties in England, were sent to the Tower; and other persons were examined, about the secrecy and the time of day of the admission, but no criminating facts were obtained.

New questions were then proposed to many Knights Templars; but nothing unfavorable was elicited, except that the admissions were secret, that the chapters were usually held at nights, and that the great master granted absolutions.

Other evidences, however, deposed many things on hearsay, confirmatory of the accusations. A Yorkshire knight swore, that a Templar once, at dinner at his house, declaimed against Christianity, and gave his wife a book to read on the same topics. A country rector said, that a priest had told him that he had taken the confession of a Knight Templar, which proved the charges; and many rumors and stories, at second and third hand, were also repeated.

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More direct evidence was obtained, in July 1311, from a Knight Templar who had fled, and was taken at Salisbury. He swore that he was compelled, by the grand master and two knights holding drawn swords, to deny Christ, and to spit upon the cross; that they did not adore a cat in England, but he had heard they did so in other parts. Another knight at first denied the accusations, but on a subsequent examination declared, that he had been forced to deny Christ, and that he had heard one of the grand masters say that the smallest hair on a Saracen's beard was of more value than all the body of Christ. Another Templar admitted that he had been forced into apostasy. From these and other confessions, which are certainly not free from reasonable suspicion as to their veracity; but still more from the general unpopularity and ill opinion under which the Templars labored, their order was dissolved by the Pope, and all its property confiscated.

Acta contra Templ. ap. Wilk. Conc.
vol. 2. pp. 329-401.

In 1792, Moldenhauer published, from the original records, the whole of the process against this order in France. Mr. Raynouard has written ably in their defence. Von Hanmer, in the *Mines de l'Orient*, vol. 6, has, from sources hitherto unknown or unemployed, endeavored to establish the horrible charges against them. De Sacy and Gruber have opposed his authorities or inferences; and Munter, the Danish bishop, has, from the Vatican MSS. published the statute book of the order, with valuable notes. Wilcke, in his German history of them, Leipsic 1826, has gone to original sources of information, and his conclusions are not favorable to them. His work is divided into four books. In the first, he traces the succession of their twenty-seven great masters during the 188 years of their duration. His second narrates their suppression. The third presents a view of their constitution; and his fourth book contains a variety of important original documents. There is a very able review of their history, by a friendly hand, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 8. pp. 608-641. But it is not possible now to decide on the exact degree of their guilt or innocence; the ingenuity may argue plausibly on either side of the question.

It may perhaps be most impartial to say, and the truth probably was, that the order had become useless, and, from its great affluence, dissolute and sensual. Many, and perhaps most of its members, from that Epicurean state of mind and habit to which wealthy luxury naturally leads, may have thrown off all regard for either religion or virtue; and some, from enlightened reason, may have emancipated themselves from the superstitions of the day. But that they should have worshipped cats or calves; or made the abnegation of Christianity, or spitting on the cross, any part of the ceremony of their admission into the order, is certainly incredible. Personal vice and irreligion may be believed of them; but not that absurd conspiracy against the faith of Christendom, of which they were accused. Their dissolution was, however, a benefit to the world; because all societies, that place mysterious secrecy and implicit obedience to its leaders among their essential rules, are dangerous to public order, and disadvantageous to public morals, being founded on principles that are inconsistent with both.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

It appears that this celebrated order, which was suppressed by the Pope in 1311, at the council of Vienne, has been since clandestinely continued, in secret and mysterious associations, in various parts of Europe. At the present time, 1830, it claims to exist as the same perpetuated body, which has never been totally dissolved; and which now, by a regular succession of chiefs and fellows that have never been discontinued, is the representative and filial descendant of the ancient Knights Templars. This singular fact was not generally known in the civilized world, from the careful secrecy of their meetings and transactions, till a few years after the imperial elevation of Napoleon Bonaparte. They then chose to avow their existence and descent by a publication of their history and documents, from the papal abolition of their

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ancient order to the present time, in a work at Paris, which they intituled "Manuel des Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Temple." One edition of this appeared in 1818, and the third in 1825; and in this work we find the assertions and evidences of the continuation of the order, and its subsequent members, principles and transactions.

That a branch of the ancient knights had continued to flourish in Portugal under a new title, "The Order of Christ," of which Vasco de Gama, Albuquerque, and other celebrated Portuguese were members, is an historical fact; and the emperor Napoleon had the fancy to become one of this body in 1805. The archives of this order are kept at Tomar in Portugal, the chief seat of the fraternity, and are supposed to contain much curious information on their antiquities, customs and transactions. The *Moniteur* of 2 prairial, an. 13, mentions Napoleon's admission to it; and the "Memoire" of Correa de Serra on this order, in the "Archives Littéraires," v. 7, p. 273, with the notice of Don François d'Almeida on Correa's Life, furnishes much information about them.

But it is stated in this "Manuel," the modern publication of the subsisting societies which claim to be the regular continuation of the ancient knights as their authorized history, that when their order was in 1311 suppressed in England, France, and in all the rest of Christendom, it had ramifications and relations in all the countries then known, and also, connections of consanguinity with the chief families in Europe; and that, undismayed by the public burning, as a condemned malefactor, of their grand master, Molay, in 1311, they renewed their fraternity, in great secrecy, under Jean Marc Larmenius, whom they made his successor as their grand master; and who, in 1324, published among them his Latin edict, the original of which they profess to have preserved, and which still subsists. It has been critically examined, but bears every mark of being an authentic document of the time in which it is dated.

By this act, in 1324, Larmenius denounces his anathema against the Scotch Templars as deserters of his order, and against the knights of St. John of Jerusalem as its spoliators. He notices the tokens which are to distinguish the false bro-

thers from the true ones; and declaring that he had received them from the preceding grand master, whom he calls the venerable and most holy martyr, he orders them to be communicated *orally* to the professed and consecrated knights. This act is written in Latin, in the peculiar characters which this order has adopted for its alphabet.

This document has the signatures of all who, since his death, have succeeded to the office of grand master. Among these occur the names of many distinguished Frenchmen: Du Guesclin; three Armagnacs, who followed each other from 1381 to 1451; of Chabot-Montmorency, Valois, Philippe le Regent; three successive Bourbons, &c. The list continues without any chasm up to Fabre Palaprat, an esteemed French physician, who since 1804 has been its most recent grand master.

It is curious that among the names of those who have been affiliated to this order, occur Bochart, in 1663, tho a Calvinist; Fenelon, in 1699; Massillon, in 1703; and in 1738, the celebrated king of Prussia. In 1745 the abbé Barthélemy and Duclos were added, and in our own days, among others, the natural philosopher Lacépède, General Roche, La Bourdonnaye, the prince Alexander, of Würtemberg, and our own Sir Sidney Smith, and the Duke of Sussex, are mentioned by the abbé Grégoire among those who have become a part of these modern Knights Templars.

Paris is their chief seat: but they declare that they have branches in England, at Brussels, at Rio Janeiro, at Caraccas, in Greece, and at Calcutta. They have, besides their grand master, four lieutenant generals, and eight grand preceptories, besides grand priories, balliages, commanderies, abbeys commendatories, &c. They have even divided the world into grand priories, and have made some nominally of Japan, Chinese Tartary, Congo, Monomotapa, and Nigritia. They profess to have the ashes of their grand master, burnt in 1311, taken from his fatal pile, with his sword; and the helmet of another of their martyrs, Guy, the dauphin of Auvergne. They have an ecclesiastical primate, who, in 1828, was Vi-Césarini, commander conventual of the order of Malta.

At their conventual meeting on the 29th of March 1824,

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of one hundred and fifty knights, eight of these came from England as representatives of the Templars of Great Britain; among whom Sir Sidney Smith recommended the acquisition of an island in the Mediterranean, for the public establishment and use of the fraternity. They celebrate the anniversary of Molay's death every year at Paris, and with some religious pomp.

They have an ancient Greek parchment MS. which contains what they choose to revere. Its characters are traced in gold, and have the appearance of being of the thirteenth century. The first part is their "Leviticon." The second, a mutilated copy of St. John's Gospels.

The Leviticon is their ritual, and comprises the religious doctrines of the initiated, and the "formes liturgiques" used on the admission of members. They are in nine classes, and all called Levites. The first of these is the "Levite de la garde extérieure," or knight. The abbé Grégoire, in his *Historic des Sectes Religieuses*, v. ii. p. 408-19, has stated the principles which the Leviticon inculcates, and which he terms, not unjustly, "an incoherent and confused medley of a species of Eastern Pantheism, of Deism, of Socinianism, and of Catholicism." In their St. John's Gospel the two last chapters are omitted, because their system denies the resurrection. There are, no doubt, different doctrines for the common knight, and for others who choose to have more infidel or absurd opinions; but some of the tenets in this venerated MS. of their Leviticon strongly confirm the idea, that the ancient Knights Templars were not unjustly charged with the abnegation of Christianity, or with such corruptions of it as amounted to a virtual dereliction of its real truths and doctrines.

The abbé Grégoire mentions some illustrious Englishmen as part of the present Knights Templars. I have been assured by an intelligent friend, that on his noticing this to one of these gentlemen, he acknowledged the circumstance, and intimated that the general outlines of the abbé's account were not incorrect.

The probability is, that there are many of these sorts of private or mysterious associations in every country: several of them, like the Knights Templars and Freemasons, con-

nected with acts of benevolence, or used as mere convivial societies; but in some of them, recondite principles of the worst kind are reserved to be communicated to those who are found to be susceptible of their deteriorating effects. Truth, honor, integrity, virtue, intelligence, and genuine religion, require no concealment, and never like or befriend it. When secret doctrines and mysterious confraternities begin, something may then be supposed to be desired or meant by the hidden rulers which is not consistent with sound judgment, with true morality, with social reputation, or with enlightened piety. Human mystery is rarely allied with wisdom, truth and probity.

The abbé's book contains a print of the grand master in the robes of his order, p. 392; and a plate of the secret characters or alphabet of its ancient MSS. p. 428.

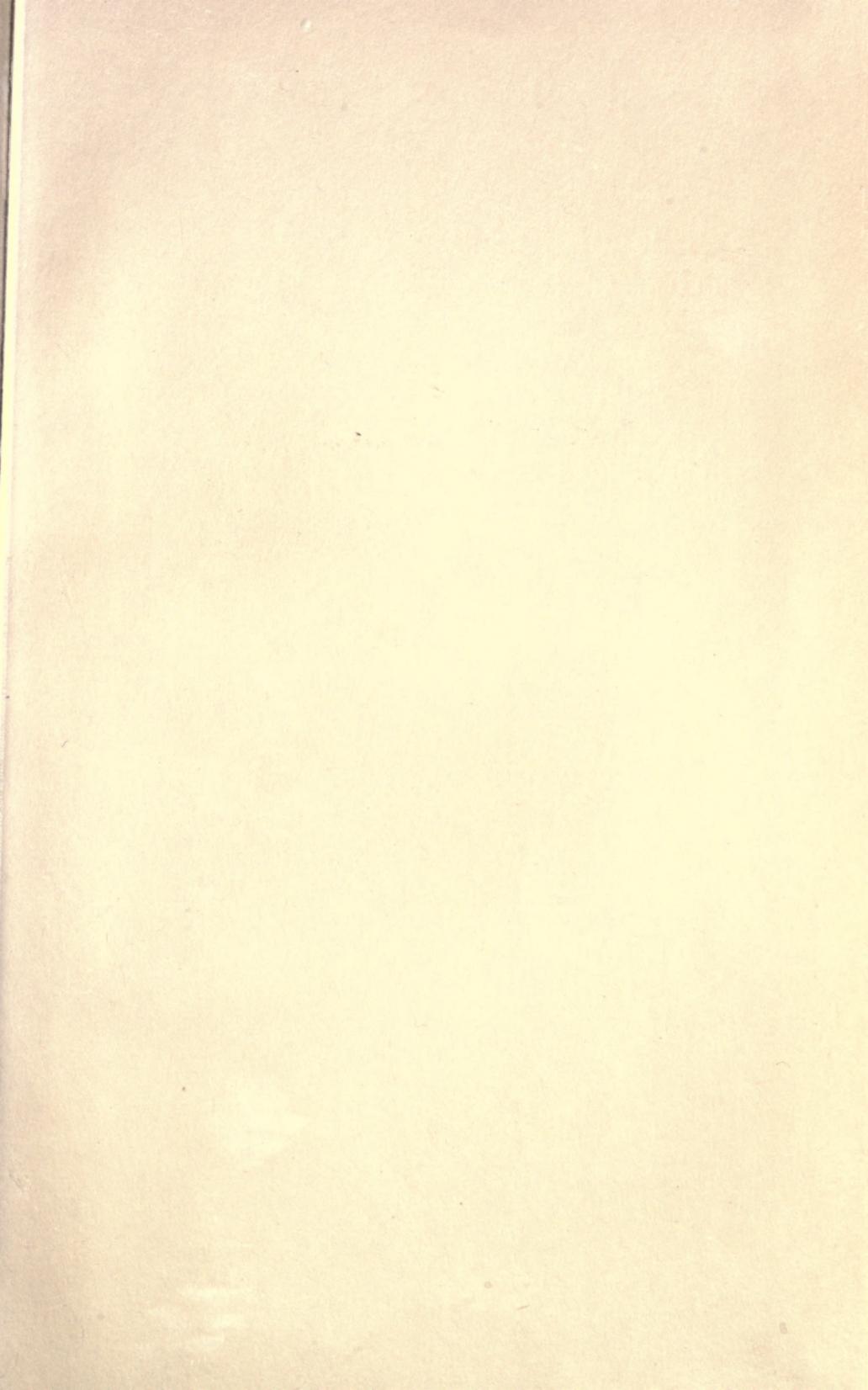
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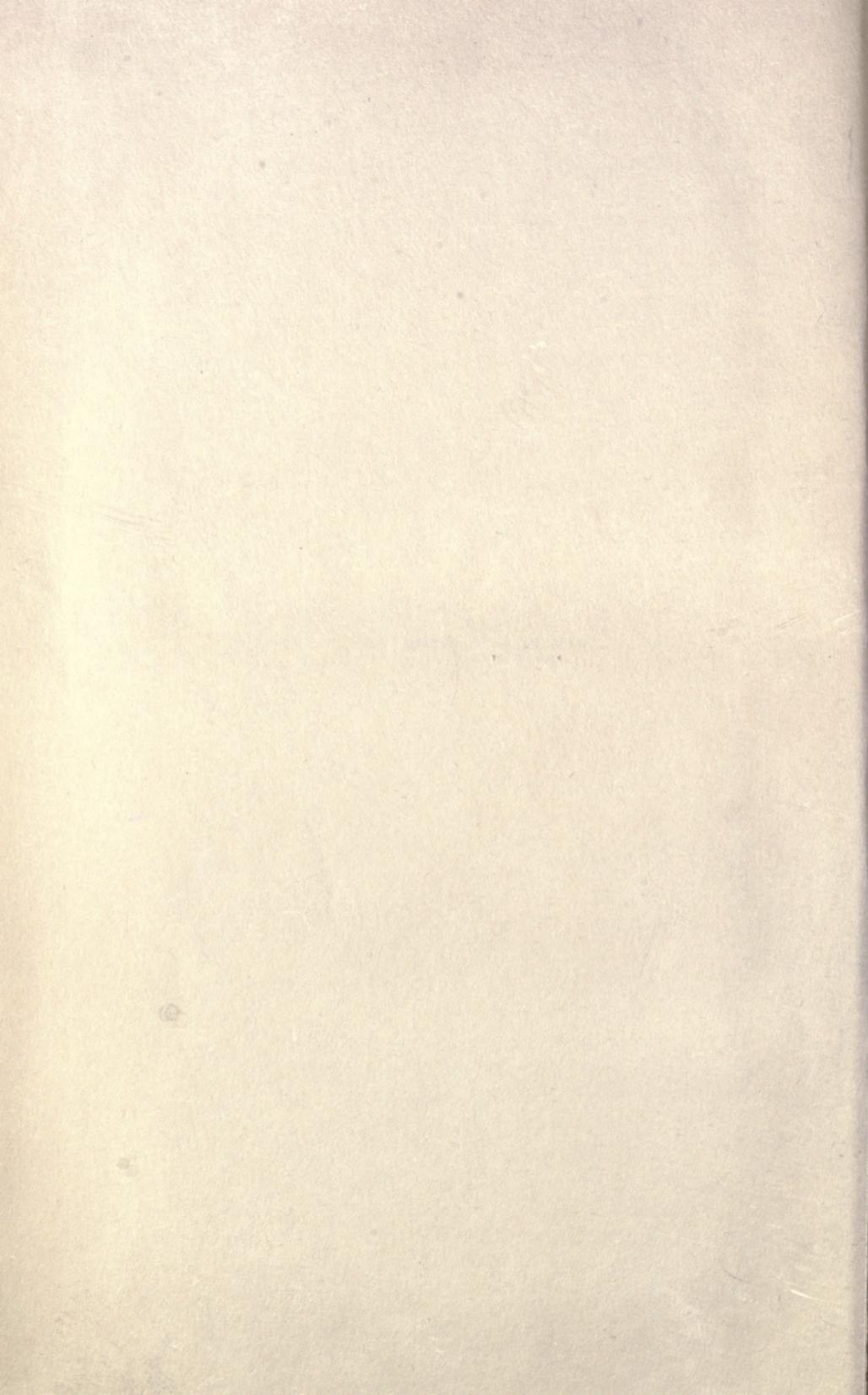
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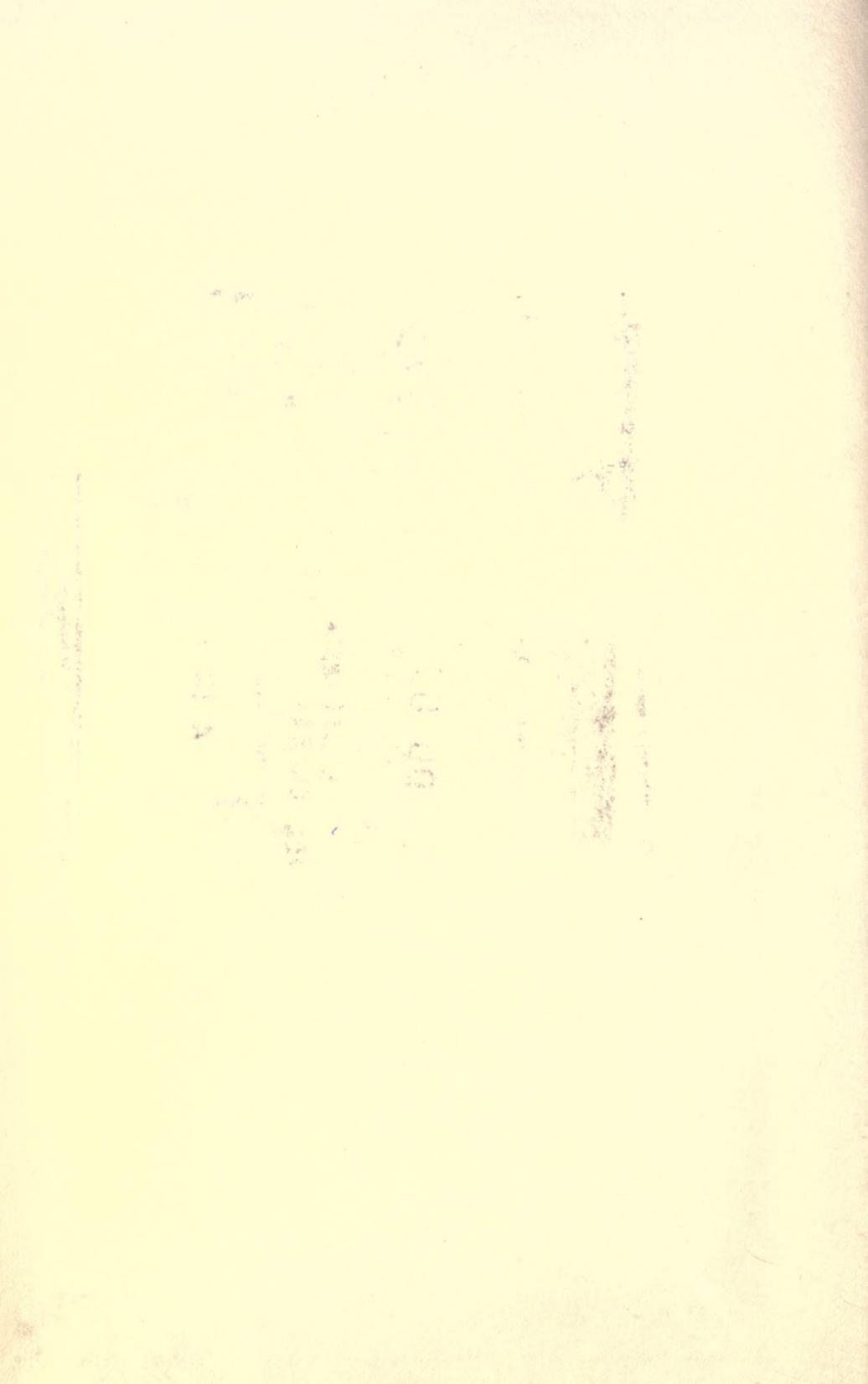
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