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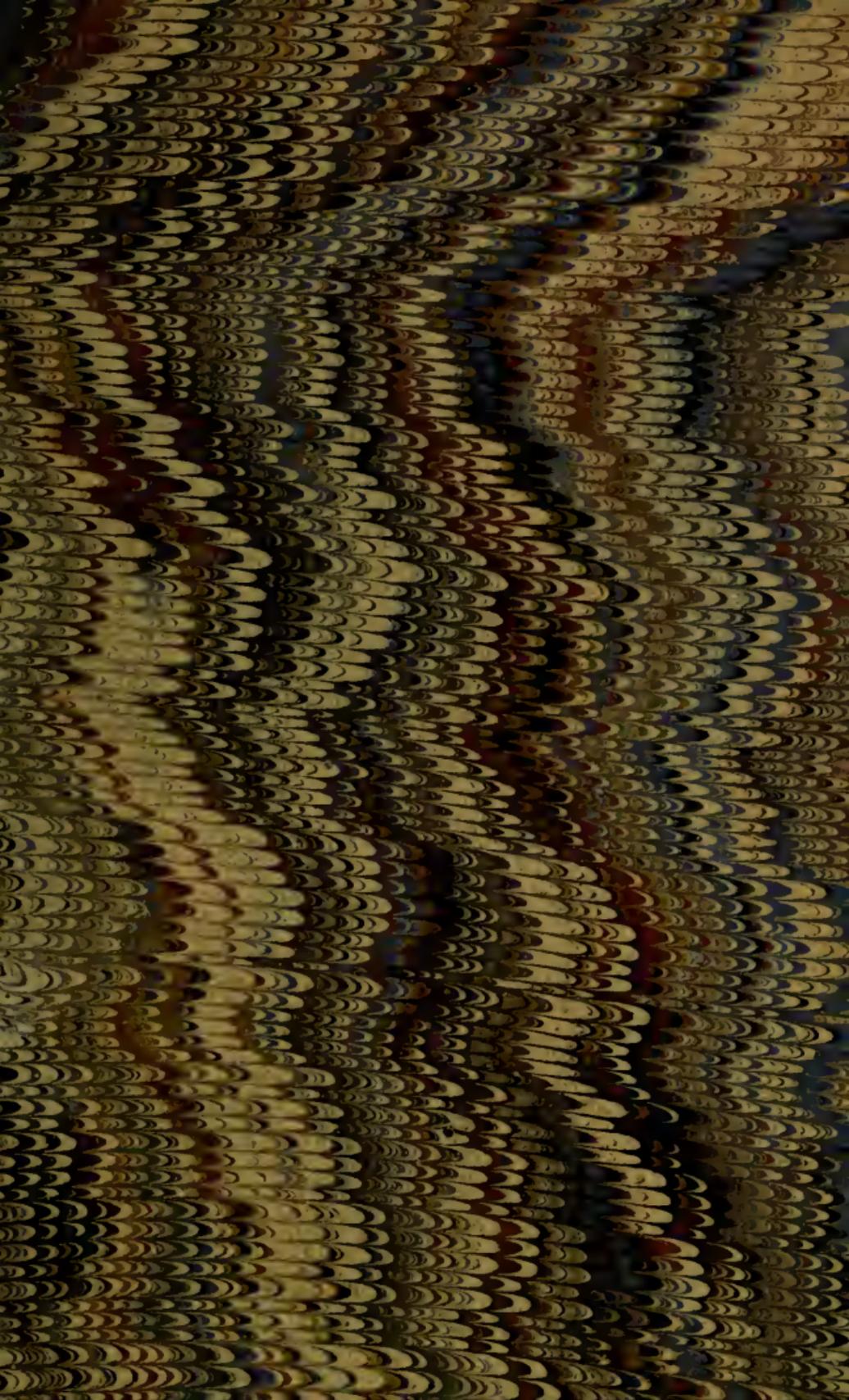
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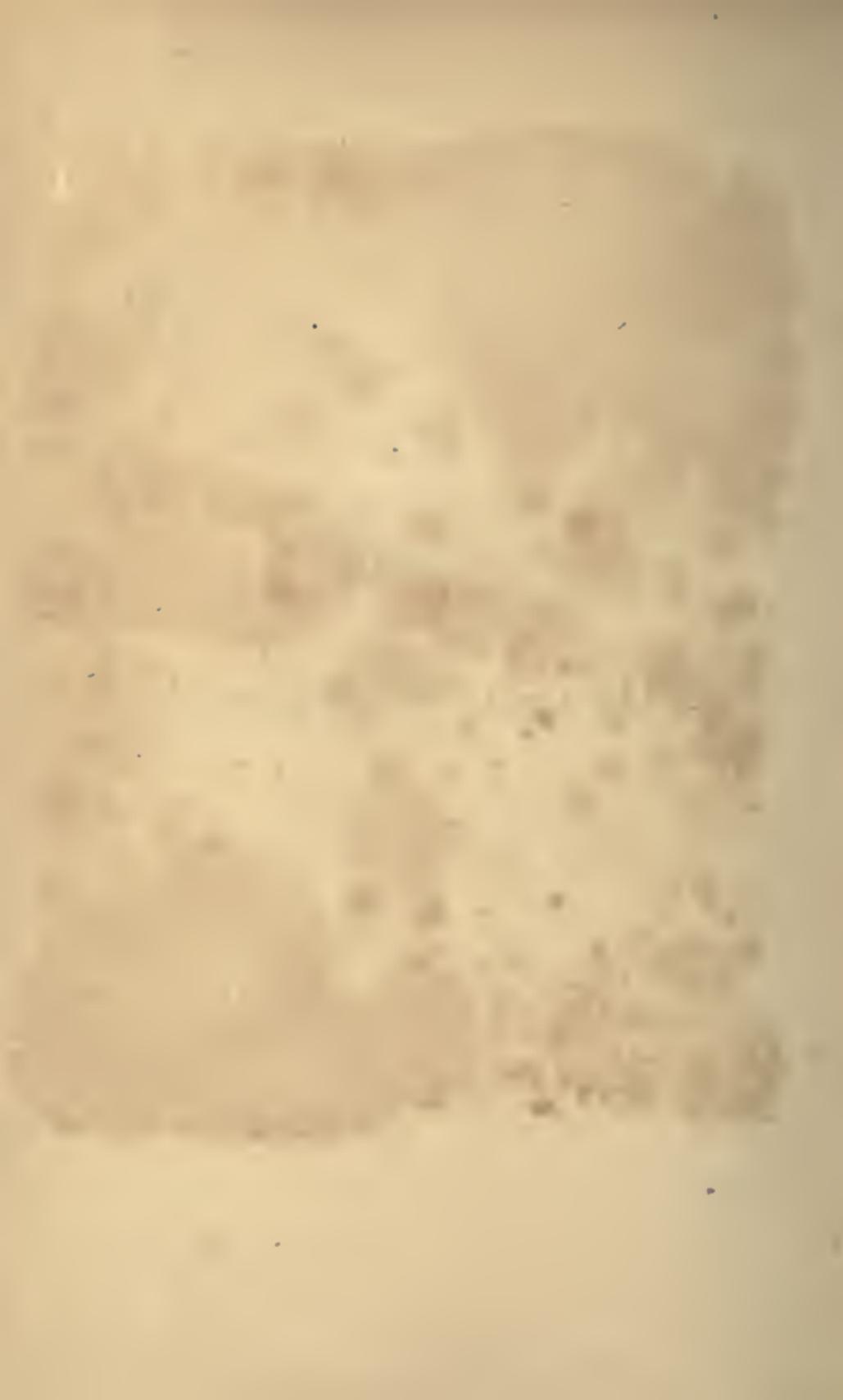


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LIFE AND TIMES
OF
RICHARD THE FIRST.







T.A. Dear sculp'

Richard Cœur de Lion

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
RICHARD THE FIRST,
Surnamed *Coeur-de-Lion*,
KING OF ENGLAND.

BY WILLIAM E. AYTOUN.

Ma fù de' pensier nostri ultimo segno
Espugnar di Sion le nobil mura,
E sottrare i Christiani al gioco indegno,
Di servitù così spiacente, e dura,
Fondando in Palestina un novo Regno,
Ou' habbia la pietà sede sicura:
Ne sia chi neghi al Peregrin devoto
D' adorar la gran tomba, e sciorre il voto.

TASSO.—*Gierusalemme Liberata.*

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

THE only records of our earlier English history are the Histories and Chronicles of the Monks, the solitary class of men who then cultivated literature and science, or had sufficient leisure or learning to depict the stirring events which perpetually passed around them. These histories are all written in Latin; for the English language, as now spoken, did then not exist—no amalgamation of the Norman and Saxon tongues had been effected—the first was the language of the higher, and the latter, of the lower classes. Such records are very valuable, since, as they could not be intended for publication, but were written for the exclusive use of the Monasteries or Abbeys to which the authors belonged, we find them generally accurate and faithful, as will be seen in almost every instance when collated together. From these sources, therefore, our

later historians have been forced to draw the materials for their works, and have entered more or less minutely into the history, policy, and events, of each successive reign.

Notwithstanding the great amount of talent, learning, and industry, which has been brought to the task, it is plain, that the authors of the long and continuous Histories of England from its nominal commencement must, in order to keep their works within a reasonable compass, have omitted much valuable information, illustrative of the feelings and manners of the times, and also avoided such minor occurrences as did not produce a marked effect upon the state and policy of the country. For the same reason, they have been forced to notice, very slightly, the politics of other countries, by which our own were often influenced and guided. Thus, the popular histories of England, in referring to the remoter periods, do little more than exhibit a faint outline, leaving a wider field to speculation than to thought.

This is peculiarly the case with regard to the reign of Cœur-de-Lion. Not one of our English monarchs has achieved a wider fame than Richard, and yet his personal history is, perhaps, of all others, least studied or generally understood. All men know that he rebelled against his father, but

comparatively few are aware of the causes which led to that rebellion. All know that he conducted a crusade to the Holy Land, and there encountered Saladin, but few, save laborious students, are acquainted with the real extent of his conquests, or the causes which drove him back, almost a fugitive, to Europe. As for his subsequent imprisonment, the story of Blondel de Nêfle, unsupported by any competent testimony, yet daily quoted as an historical fact, is a strong proof of the looseness of our general information. Yet hardly any period, of the romantic ages at least, is more interesting, or better entitled to a close examination at our hands.

I have therefore attempted in this volume to give as clear and distinct, and, at the same time, as particular a narrative, of the principal events which occurred at home and abroad during the reign of the Lion-hearted monarch, as I could obtain from the old records to which my attention was directed; and at the same time I have endeavoured to keep Richard personally in view throughout, except where it appeared necessary to go somewhat back, in order to give an idea of the origin of events which were to be developed in the course of the narrative. Some apology might otherwise be due for the sketch of the Crusades, and progress of the Latin kingdom

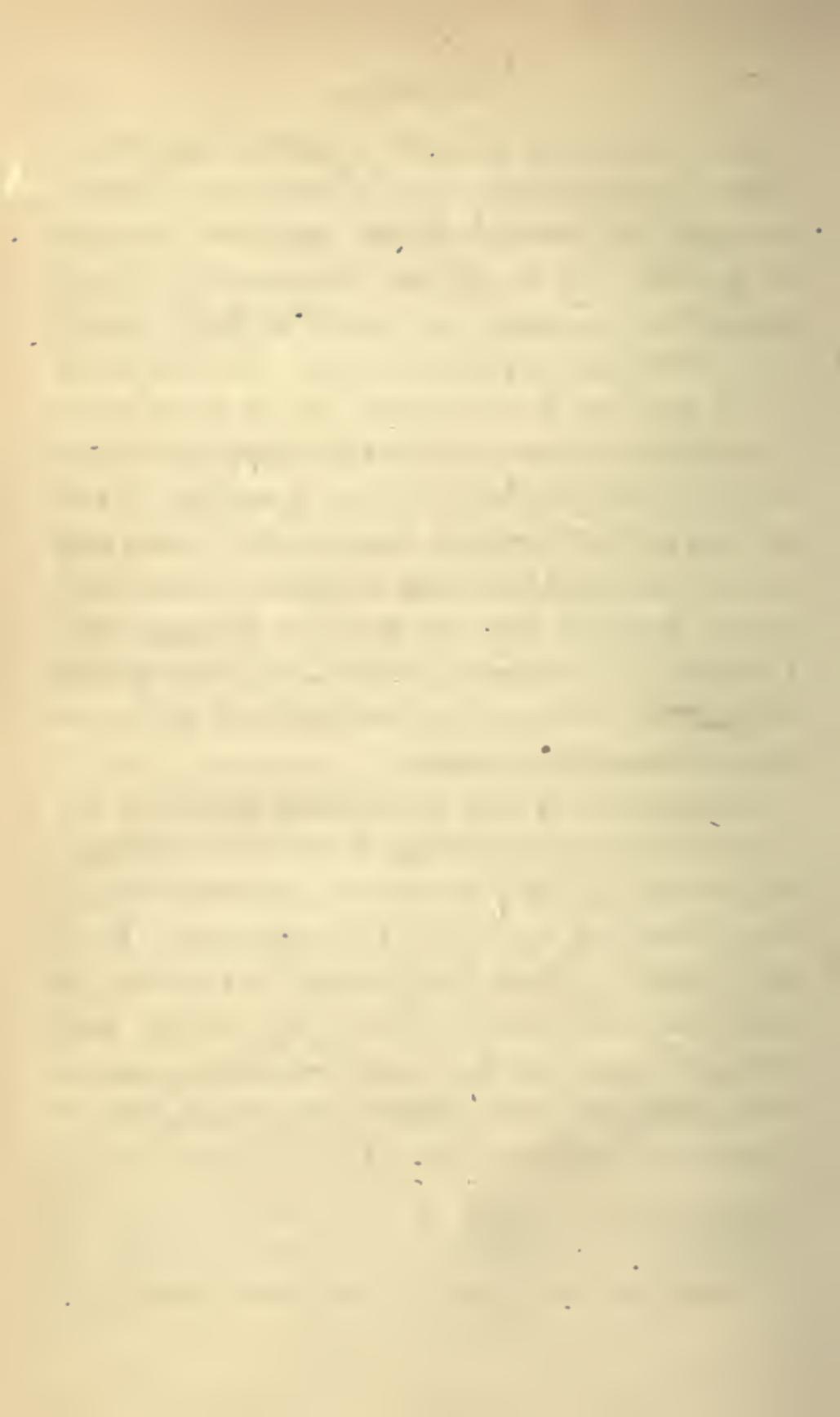
in Palestine, contained in the fifth and sixth chapters of this volume; but so much of the interest of this reign is derived from the Holy Wars, and so extraordinary is the history of the origin and establishment of a Christian dynasty in Syria, that I felt myself justified in so far departing from the main object of the work.

The authorities which I have principally consulted are as follows:—Rogeri de Hoveden *Annalium Pars prior, et posterior*—Matthæi Paris, *Monachi Albanensis, Angli, Historia Major*—Gulielmi Neubrigensis *Historia, sive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum*—Benedictus, *Abbas Petroburgensis, de Vita et Gestis Henrici II. et Ricardi I.*—*Chronica Gualteri Hemingford, Canonici de Gisseburne* Ge offry Vine-sauf's *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Ricardi, et aliorum, in Terram Hierosolymarum, &c.* I have also received much information from the works of the Arabian writers Bohadin and Abulfeda; very interesting in so far as regards the movements, conduct, and feelings, of the Saracens, and more particularly of Saladin, the great Asiatic opponent of Richard. In addition to those I have frequently had occasion to refer to the French historians of the Crusades, viz.:—Foulchier de Chartres, Odon de Deuil, Guillaume de Tyr, Bernard le Trésorier, and Jacques de Vitry. Most of those last are

to be found in M. Guizot's splendid work, "Collection des Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France," for which the world of letters has much reason to be grateful. It is still to be regretted that no attempt has been made to reprint the works of our earlier historians in a similar form. The task might be too great for one individual, but could be easily forwarded by the co-operation of the learned societies or clubs, who have already done something to rescue our ancient literature from oblivion. Such editions as that of the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, presented to the Maitland Club by the late respected Mr. Campbell of Blythswood, would, if placed within reach of the public, be found of invaluable service to the scholar and the student.

In conclusion, it may be proper to state, that the object of the following pages is merely to reproduce the material, which has not been collected without some pains and labour, in a popular form. If, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, he shall be thought to have effected this, and to have made more perspicuous a somewhat obscure portion of the pages of English history, the utmost wish of the author will be gratified.

Edinburgh, March 1, 1840.



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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
RICHARD THE FIRST.

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The Norman Conquest—State of England during the Reign of Stephen—Accession of Henry II.—His Family Dissensions with France—Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury—His Character—Privileges of the Clergy—Collision between them and the King—Constitutions of Clarendon—Disgrace of Becket—Expedition against Wales—Richard affianced to Adelais, Daughter of Louis of France—Coronation of the young Prince Henry—Return of Becket to England—His Murder—Conquest of Ireland—Henry is reconciled to the Pope—Rebellion of his Sons and his Queen Eleanor—League of the Princes with the King of France—Military Operations and Conference at Gisors—Inroad of the Scots and Rebellion of the English Nobles—Return of Henry to England—His Penance—Capture of the King of Scots—Henry is reconciled to his Sons—Richard in Guicenne—State of the Holy Land and Embassy from Queen Sybilla—Insolent Behaviour of Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem.

It is difficult to decide whether the Norman conquest, by means of which the system of chivalry was introduced into England, was at first productive of salutary or of noxious effects. Although that system, by the powerful aid of fiction, appears to us now, like a dazzling day-dream, surrounded with adventitious glory, there was much in its nature

opposed to the progress of social improvement, and to that state of fraternization which constitutes the safeguard and prosperity of kingdoms. Still it was of use as a transition from greater barbarism, such as prevailed in England during the rule of the Saxons ; and since, from its own nature, it could not be of long continuance, but must be and was modified by the expansion of the virtues of which it contained the germ, whereas the other state held out no promise of further improvement, the Norman conquest may be considered in nearly the same light as the Roman invasion, which first reclaimed the English savage from the hands of untutored nature.

It is not our purpose to trace the progress of the new dynasty to a remoter period than the accession of Henry II. ° When that monarch ascended the throne, he found his insular possessions in a state of the utmost desolation and distress. The civil war, which throughout the whole of Stephen's reign raged with unceasing violence, arose from the competition for the crown, between that monarch and Matilda the mother of Henry, and produced the most baleful effects upon the country at large. Stephen's authority was never sufficiently grounded to restrain his powerful vassals from committing excesses, which in that rude and lawless age were both frequent and cruel. Many of the barons, without espousing the party of either candidate, retired to their castles, and, collecting around them gangs of desperate ruffians, commenced a system of plunder and pillage of their neighbours' property. Where castles were wanting, churches were seized and fortified ; the house of God became in the most literal sense a den of thieves :

and, in short, so miserably weak was the executive power, that the life and property of none could be considered safe. Even the thunders of the church, usually esteemed so terrible, were disregarded by these marauders. Priests suffered equally with laymen, and the whole country was thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion. The reconciliation of Stephen and Matilda, and the appointment of Henry as successor to the crown, tended but little to restore England to tranquillity; nor was it until the death of Stephen and the accession of Henry, that the rebellious barons were compelled to acknowledge the paramount authority of the king.

In the year 1154, Henry II., being then in his twenty-first year, ascended the throne of England. No monarch, perhaps, ever commenced his reign under more promising auspices; few have met with a larger share of vexation, hostility, and disappointment. Even before he succeeded to his English possessions, he was one of the most powerful princes in Christendom. From his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine, from his mother, Maine and Normandy; and with his wife, Eleanor of Poitou, the divorced spouse of Louis of France, he received the seven important provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, Limousin and Guienne. As vassal of the French king he was at least as powerful as his feudal lord, and far more so when to his other possessions he added the sovereignty of England. Rich, active, and enterprising, he was hailed on his arrival, by his new subjects, with every demonstration of joy; and the commencement of his career seemed to promise a long and uninterrupted

course of prosperity to himself and to the realm. His first care was to suppress the power of those nobles who, during the previous reign, had grown up from vassals into lawless and independent chiefs, and to deprive them of those castles which were now transformed into the strongholds of robbery and rapine. In this he succeeded, though not without some opposition; but the barons being constantly engaged in petty warfare with each other, could not make any united or effectual resistance, and consequently were gradually overcome and deprived of their immoderate power. Having so far succeeded in reinstating the tranquillity of the country, Henry turned his attention towards the northern frontier, and without much difficulty received from Malcolm, the minor king of Scotland, the three counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, in exchange for the earldom of Huntingdon.

As our sketch of the events occurring during Henry's reign must necessarily be short, owing to the abundance of materials presented to us in that after-stage of English history, which it is our present purpose to elucidate, we cannot give a detailed account of the many wars and political negotiations in which that prince was concerned, but shall only allude to the most remarkable as bearing upon the history of his son. Henry, by his wife Eleanor, had eight children—William, who died in infancy, Henry, Richard, Geoffry, John, and three daughters, besides other offspring, the fruit of illegitimate amours. With the view to strengthen his alliance with the French king, and furthermore to prevent certain disputes touching his patrimonial territories, which were

likely to arise from a disputed clause in his father's will, Henry had no sooner established himself firmly in his English dominions, than he entered into a treaty by which Henry, his eldest surviving son, was affianced to Margaret the infant daughter of Louis. This important negotiation was conducted by the celebrated Thomas à Becket, then chancellor of the kingdom and archdeacon of Canterbury, whose personal history forms a prominent feature of the time. The prospect, however, of this alliance was naturally too distant to form a firm or an enduring tie; and a fresh cause of dissension presently arose between the kings of France and England, in the claim advanced to the duchy of Toulouse by Raymond, count of St. Gilles. The consequence of this new dispute was a war which produced no material results, and was afterwards ended by the papal intervention; but cordial amity never afterwards prevailed between the monarchs. Henry soon found ample occupation at home, and Louis, though indisposed to recur to actual hostilities, lost no opportunity of strengthening by his secret interest every cabal most obnoxious to his English rival.

In 1161, died Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, a good and a wise prelate, to whose advice and assistance Henry owed much of his early prosperity. The situation thus left vacant was one of the highest importance, as the revenues and patronage of the see, besides its spiritual dignity, rendered its occupant the most important personage in England after the king. Henry, who during the vacancy drew the revenues, allowed a period of thirteen months to elapse without nominating a successor; at last, as

was anticipated by the country at large, his choice fell upon the chancellor Becket, who was immediately installed into office. It has been said by some writers that Becket was most unwilling to accept the distinction thus thrust upon him,—as he foresaw that the necessary consequence of such an exaltation must be a series of disputes with the king and might draw down his severest enmity—no light matter, since Henry was one of the most implacable of mankind;—and that he would have much preferred to remain in a situation, better adapted to his natural character than that of primate of the church. These assertions, however, have been chiefly made by the notorious advocates of Becket's policy, and defenders of his personal character. Others, whose evidence is at least as credible, have asserted the contrary; and there seems every reason to believe, from his behaviour both before and afterwards, that he not only expected the distinguished office, but had maturely considered the line of conduct which he should thereafter pursue. It is probable that Henry, in making this appointment, expected to secure a partisan and a coadjutor in one whom he had always found a pliant and a politic servant; without considering that the same motives which made him tractable and useful in the one character, might render him stubborn and dangerous in the other. Certain it is, that no sooner was Becket appointed archbishop, than his character and bearing underwent a remarkable change. As chancellor he was distinguished for his love of pomp and show, the magnificence of his establishment, his courtesy to the nobles, and his veneration for the king: as archbishop he affected

to despise all external splendour; his train was narrowed and reduced; he became reserved and haughty, difficult of access, cold, sullen, and insolent. As if to show how little he regarded the interests of his patron, he sent back the seals of his former office to the king without explanation or apology, and that at a moment when his services as chancellor were imperatively required. Henry was hurt and disappointed; the nobles regarded with alarm the power thus cast into the hands of an ambitious and unprincipled man, and lost no opportunity of fanning the spark of rancour; while the clergy in general exulted in what they called the noble spirit of their champion, and already began to calculate on further possessions to be wrung from the laity, and greater privileges to be conferred on the servants of mother church. But other eyes than theirs were directed towards the same object. Not only the hereditary nobility, but the commons at large, had remarked with corresponding jealousy the augmenting power and progress of the religious institutions, which threatened, if not speedily arrested, to attain an undue preponderance in the state, and to curtail not only their rights and privileges, but the power and authority of the king. Henry himself was perfectly conscious of the absolute necessity which existed of setting some bounds to this spirit of clerical ascendancy, and an opportunity to commence the attack was soon afforded him by the conduct of the bishops themselves.

The special authority and jurisdiction of the civil and ecclesiastical courts in England were at that time by no means accurately defined. The principle

established by the Roman emperors, that all disputes among the clergy should be settled in their own courts, was readily admitted; but the decision of Justinian, who referred all cases, in which only one of the parties was a clergyman, to the same tribunal, gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the laity, who, with great show of justice, complained that in these circumstances undue favour was shown to the other estate. But the greatest grievance of all, and that which was most loudly reprobated, was the jurisdiction claimed by the clergy in strictly criminal cases, wherein any of their own order were concerned. By the canon law, the clergy were excluded from inflicting punishments of blood: the severest sentences they could pronounce were mulct, flagellation, and imprisonment; and as every person who had received the tonsure, whether in regular orders or not, was entitled to the full clerical privileges, it often happened that the worst malefactors in their own courts received a trifling sentence, whereas had they been tried in the ordinary courts of the realm, they would have been subjected to a far severer penalty. This provision, as was argued with much justice, plainly held out a bonus for sacrilege and crime, nor was the reform of any law in England more loudly demanded by one party, or more stoutly resisted by the other, than this. At last the civil and ecclesiastical powers were brought to issue on the following case.

In the days of Theobald, the predecessor of Becket, Philip de Brois, a canon of Bedford, had been tried before his bishop for manslaughter, and having been found guilty, was ordained to make payment of a

certain sum to the relations of the deceased, by way of recompense. In a subsequent quarrel with the high justiciary, Fitz Peter, this De Brois, presuming too much upon the shelter of his profession, used such offensive language, that the king insisted upon his being tried for the offence in the spiritual court, and the bishops having passed a sentence upon him which the king deemed wholly inadequate, he required the reverend judges to make oath that they had duly exercised their functions. This demand was met by a refusal on the part of the bishops; with the co-operation of Becket, now primate, who warmly espoused the cause of his brethren and order; a reference by the king to the ancient customs of the realm was met by an evasive answer; and Henry, in high wrath, broke up the assembly which he had convened, and appointed another to be held at Clarendon, where his will should be publicly declared.

In the interval, the other bishops, wisely considering their inability to cope with the king, and perhaps being convinced of the unrighteous nature of their cause, agreed among themselves to conform to the royal will, and so wrought upon Becket, that he at last abandoned his resolution. Accordingly, along with the other bishops, he swore to observe and conform to the laws and customs of the realm, as then first reduced to writing, and promulgated as the celebrated "Constitutions of Clarendon." By these Constitutions, the separate powers of the civil and ecclesiastical courts were clearly defined; juries were appointed to return verdicts in certain classes of disputes between the laity and clergy; members of the latter order might be tried before the civil courts;

no tenant of the crown could be excommunicated without the concurrence of the civil judge; and lastly, from the archbishop an appeal might be made to the king, whose decision in the archiepiscopal court was declared to be final. These were the principal heads of those remarkable Constitutions, which, without depriving the clergy of their due influence, set moderate bounds to their privileges, placed them upon a more equal footing with the other classes of the realm, and tended to prevent the undue interference of the pope with matters which lay entirely without his cognizance as head of the Christian church. To these Becket assented, though with sufficient ill will, but no sooner had he retired from the assembly, than he thought proper again to change his mind, and to write a recantation of his oath to the pope, Alexander III. In consequence, no fewer than ten out of the sixteen articles of the Constitutions were condemned by the pope, as contrary to the canons of the church. The king, already ill-disposed towards the archbishop, now regarded him with extreme aversion. At last matters went so far, that Becket was summoned to appear before the great council at Northampton, and to defend himself against various charges of perversion of justice, and embezzlement of the royal revenues. Of these he was found guilty, and sentence of restitution was passed upon him. Some of the lesser demands he paid or gave security for, but a claim of restitution to the amount of two hundred and thirty thousand marks, being the alleged amount of the revenues of vacant bishoprics and abbeys which he had drawn while chancellor, was so exorbitant as to be utterly beyond his means. As a last

resource he appealed to the pope. The king, on the other hand, ordered the nobles to proceed in enforcing the decree; the bishops, who highly disapproved of the conduct of Becket, would have concurred, had they not been withheld by the threat of instant excommunication which the archbishop vehemently held out; the other estates, however, were unanimous, and the head of the English church was declared guilty of perjury and treason. The scene which followed was one of the strangest kind. Becket, transported with passion, persisted in his appeal, denied and set at nought the king's authority, abused in the grossest terms the noblemen who announced his disgrace, and finally left the castle-yard amidst the yells and execrations of the people, who treated him as the opponent of their rights; and from whom, moreover, a favourite in disgrace seldom meets with much sympathy or support. England was now no place for the archbishop, who crossed over to France, and afterwards proceeded to the court of his papal protector, Alexander.

Expeditions against the native princes of Wales, and the settlement of disputes regarding his continental possessions, engaged the attention of Henry for several years after this violent rupture with the stubborn archbishop. In the first he was not always successful, as the fierce and daring courage of the mountaineers baffled him on more than one occasion; but in the adjustment of the latter, his usual dexterity was conspicuous, and by uniting his third son, Geoffry, with Constantia, daughter of Conan, earl of Richmond, he secured to his family the important and extensive province of Bretagne. While thus oc-

cupied in France, the consideration of the old question of church rights was again thrust upon him by the pope, who warmly espoused the cause of Becket, and subjected the prelates who had opposed him to ecclesiastical censure ; insomuch that Henry, who, though superior to much of the prejudice of his times, was not prepared to come to open rupture with the pope, consented to receive Becket at various conferences, whereat such modifications of the Constitutions were agreed upon, as seemed to promise for the future more amity between the king and the primate. Notwithstanding these, no perfect confidence could subsist between parties whose feelings had been so far outraged by each other. Becket, on his departure, asked the kiss of peace, a token of reconciliation which the king had not the hypocrisy to accord.

We have already stated that the French king took every opportunity of strengthening the hands of Henry's enemies. The English king, according to the tenure of his continental territories, was only a vassal of Louis, and his barons were therefore entitled to appeal against him to their feudal lord whenever they deemed themselves aggrieved. Louis rather encouraged than discountenanced these appeals, in disposing of which he found frequent opportunity of loosening his rival's authority, until matters went so far that a general war between France and England was expected. Neither monarch, however, was willing to strike the first effectual blow, and another attempt was made, by way of marriage, to reconcile the contending parties. The young prince Henry was already espoused to one daughter of Louis. His brother Richard, then a boy of twelve years of age,

was now affianced to another daughter, Adelais; and Henry consented to give up Anjou and Maine to his eldest, and Aquitaine to his second son. It was at the same time stipulated that these possessions should be held directly of the French king,—an imprudent arrangement certainly for Henry, and one to which much of the domestic discord which embittered the last hours of his life may be attributed. Shortly afterwards he procured the coronation of his eldest son, in spite of the menaces of Becket, who alleged that, as primate of England, he alone possessed the right of officiating at the august ceremony.

The career of this turbulent priest now drew near its close. Henry, with the probable view of putting an end to the disturbances, revolts, and misunderstandings arising from the intrigues of the archbishop with foreign powers, and believing that he would be better able to control this factious subject in England than while abroad, made at last such concessions as met with the unqualified approbation of the French king and his nobility; nor could Becket, although still reluctant, refuse to accept them without forfeiting the countenance of his most powerful supporters. After six years of exile, the archbishop returned to England, but more in the guise of a conqueror than of an offending but pardoned subject. Policy, if not a better feeling, might have suggested to him the propriety of avoiding all ostentatious or offensive demeanour, but the nature of the man was such, that at all risks he resolved to gratify his personal vanity, although at the expense of his sovereign's credit; and accordingly, no sooner had he landed, than, instead of returning to his diocese, he

commenced a sort of triumphal procession through Kent, in the course of which the people, instigated by the monks, and attracted by the unusual magnificence of his parade, welcomed him with shouts of joy. His intention was to have proceeded directly to Woodstock, and paid his respects to the young king, but that prince, in whose memory the personal insult conveyed in the attempted interdict by the archbishop to his coronation was still fresh, despatched a messenger to Becket, declining his attendance, and peremptorily ordering him to retire to his diocese. This unexpected rebuff had the effect of compelling him to return to Canterbury without an audience, but not of controlling his factious spirit. On Christmas day thereafter he ascended the pulpit, and after inveighing bitterly against those who had in any way opposed his views, proceeded to excommunicate various noblemen for aggressions on the property of the church, and for personal insults offered to himself; and amongst the number of those thus violently thrust from the pale of the church were several of the king's ministers and officers, with persons of the highest station in the realm.

Henry was not the man to brook such insolent defiance of his power. He was still residing in France when the news of this outrageous proceeding was brought him, and in the first transports of his anger is reported to have exclaimed, "Is there not one coward of ye all who eat my bread, who will free me from this turbulent priest?" This hasty expression was but too literally interpreted by four of his knights, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Reginald Fitzurse, and Richard Brito, who

secretly departed from the court, repaired to Canterbury, and there, under circumstances of peculiar barbarity, murdered Becket at the altar.

The sensation which this bloody tragedy produced, not only in England but over all Christendom, was excessive. The thunders of the church were instantly levelled against all who had the remotest share in the murder, and against every one who should harbour or defend the assassins. Henry himself was compelled, by a speedy submission, an earnest avowal of his own innocence, and the payment of a large sum, to purchase a suspension from the sentence of excommunication. The imperious and haughty Becket, whose life had been a tissue of arrogance and disloyalty, was canonized by Alexander without the usual formalities; and the excitement which prevailed throughout England was such, that the king deemed it necessary, without waiting for the result of the investigation ordered by the pope, to divert the minds of his subjects by engaging in some foreign enterprise. This has always been a favourite scheme of monarchs to avert the evil effects of their own misgovernment at home, for no plea is more specious than that of national glory, and how can national glory be more easily attained than by ravaging and plundering the possessions of a weaker neighbour?

Ireland was the country whose conquest was doomed to avert the consequences of Becket's murder from the head of the English king. Its geographical situation marked it as a desirable acquisition; and the inferiority of the natives in the art of war, and the dissensions which prevailed amongst the various chieftains or kings, combined to render it an

easy prey. Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of ruined fortunes, had already landed in Ireland with a numerous body of adventurers, had formed an alliance with Dermot king of Leinster, and had possessed himself of Waterford and Dublin. It was probably the intention of Strongbow to found a dynasty of his own upon the island, but if so he was greatly disappointed, for Henry no sooner learned the success of his vassal than he issued a proclamation, forbidding any more of his subjects to cross over to Ireland, and recalling all those who had already joined in the expedition. Strongbow, like the jackal at the approach of the lion, felt himself compelled to abandon his booty, but by submission and proffers of assistance, was allowed to retain, as vassal, a portion of the territories which he expected to have governed as lord. Henry landed at Waterford, proceeded to Dublin, and completed the work which his liegeman Pembroke had begun. All the native princes of Ireland, with the exception of those of Ulster, yielded to his authority. Henry, in the spring of the year 1172, returned to England; and we shall here conclude our notice of the conquest of Ireland by stating that, after his departure, the natives recommenced hostilities, and almost succeeded in driving the English from the island. A new treaty, however, was made with O'Connor, king of Connaught, who consented to hold his lands as vassal of the English crown, and in 1177, Henry's general, De Courcy, ancestor of the noble family of Kinsale, succeeded in subjugating the fertile province of Ulster. John, the youngest son of Henry, was appointed by his father lord of Ireland,

and was confirmed in that high dignity by the pope, but his wanton and insolent behaviour to the native chiefs was such as to excite a rebellion, and after nine months of misgovernment he was recalled in disgrace. The subsequent management of Ireland was left to John de Courcy, an old and sagacious soldier, who discharged his trust with success.

Henry did not tarry long in England, but proceeded with all expedition to Normandy, where, after various conferences, he succeeded in making peace with the papal legates, and was absolved from all censure on account of the murder of Becket. The following were the terms upon which he obtained this immunity. He took a solemn vow and obligation that he would, at the sight of the Knights Templars, consign as much money as would maintain two hundred men-at-arms for the space of one year in the Holy Land;—that he would take the cross, if the pope desired it, and serve against the Saracens either in Palestine or in Spain;—that he would restore the possessions of the see of Canterbury in full, and reinstate in his favour all persons whom he might in any way have injured on account of their adherence to the now sanctified Becket*.

All subjects of dispute seemed now to have terminated, and Henry had every reason to expect that the remainder of his reign would be passed in tranquillity. Reconciled to the pope, and at peace with his neighbours, he flattered himself that every threatening cloud had disappeared from the political horizon, and knew not that the storm was brewing

* See Hoveden, "Purgatio Henrici Regis, pro morte beati Thomæ," and the "Charta absolutionis."

at home. His eldest son, Henry, a vain and ambitious prince, was so wrought upon by his father-in-law Louis, that he had the audacity to demand from his father that he should cede to him entirely either Normandy or England, on the plea that, after his formal coronation, it was beneath his dignity to remain in the simple capacity of a subject. Henry of course met this proposal with a flat denial, accusing his son of ingratitude, whereupon the prince, without further expostulation, left his presence, and fled to the court of his father-in-law. Henry, who, whatever might have been his other faults, was not wanting in affection towards his children, sent to the king of France, entreating him not to countenance a rebellious son in his resistance to a father's command, and received in reply a taunting letter from Louis, wherein the prince's right to the throne of England, after his coronation, was broadly asserted, and his determination to support that right as openly avowed. Hardly was Henry recovered from the shock thus suddenly inflicted, than his feelings were still more severely lacerated by the departure of two other sons, Richard and Geoffry, who asserted the same claims as their elder brother, to the territories of Poitou and Bretagne. It now became evident that queen Eleanor was the instigator of these domestic quarrels. She was a woman of a high and ambitious spirit, qualified by her own talents to have ruled an extensive empire, and most jealous of any innovation on rights which she considered her own. We have already mentioned that she brought to Henry a dowry of seven important provinces. These she fain would have governed herself, but Henry was too fond of

rule to commit any part of his jurisdiction to another; and the queen now sought to secure to her children those possessions which she could not in her own person enjoy. Moreover, her attachment to her husband had long been converted into a bitter and vindictive feeling. The infidelities of Henry were notorious. He had many mistresses, the most famous of whom was Rosamond de Clifford, the subject of so much romance; and his natural offspring were not only promoted, but publicly acknowledged by the king. All this was gall and wormwood to the proud soul of Eleanor. With that deep resentment which none but a slighted woman can feel, she determined to repay the injury and wrong; and the method she adopted of alienating the affections of her children from their father, and instigating them to rebellion, was the surest way of effecting her revenge. Although successful so far, she failed in making her own escape, for when on her way, disguised in male attire, to join her sons at the French court, she was seized by the emissaries of her husband, and placed in confinement, from which she was not released until her son Richard succeeded to the throne.

The overtures of an ambassador, whom Henry sent with the view of effecting an amicable arrangement with his children and their protector, the king of France, were peremptorily rejected; and at Easter 1173, a great assembly was held at Paris, when Louis and his barons bound themselves by oath to assist the young king in prosecuting his rights; he, at the same time engaging never to make peace with his father without the knowledge and consent of France. Philip, earl of Flanders, and William the Lion, king

of Scotland, the one tempted by the promise of the earldom of Kent, and the other by that of Northumberland, joined the confederacy, and thus Henry, from a situation of almost perfect security, was menaced with danger on every side of his dominions. As it was impossible to place implicit reliance on his own subjects, many of whom, particularly the barons, would have rejoiced to see the throne occupied by a less careful and vigilant monarch, he took into his service twenty thousand of those free companions or Brabanters, who, like the Swiss in later times, were ready to engage in any war if sufficiently paid, and who, notwithstanding their mercenary habit, were reckoned the best soldiers of that age.

Philip of Flanders was the first of the confederates who began the war. He entered Normandy at the head of a numerous army; reduced Albemarle and Neuchâtel, and invested Driencourt. At this latter place his brother, Matthew of Boulogne, was mortally wounded, and the earl, struck by remorse with this unhappy event, which he considered as a judgment upon him for engaging in so unnatural a war, drew off his forces and returned to his own country. Louis and the young king invested Verneuil, which they reduced by famine, and Henry, marching to relieve the place, had the mortification on his arrival to behold it in flames. An attack, however, upon the rear-guard of the French army was crowned with success, and a large body of insurgents who had taken possession of the town of Dol, were defeated and made prisoners. Another conference was now held near Gisors, when Henry made most reasonable proposals to his sons, offering the two eldest half the

revenues of the territories they demanded, with a certain number of castles, and Geoffry, the estates of earl Conan, in Bretagne, provided his marriage should be sanctioned by the pope. If left to themselves the young princes would probably have accepted of these offers, but Louis, who having kindled the torch of rebellion was by no means desirous that it should be so easily quenched, threw fresh obstacles in the way, and the earl of Leicester, a notable rebel, who had joined heart and hand in the confederacy, conducted himself so violently to the king that the conference was broken off in disgust.

In the meantime Richard de Lacy, the grand justiciary, had in revenge for the earl's revolt taken the town of Leicester, and in conjunction with Humphrey de Bohun, the lord high constable, repulsed the Scots, who had begun to pillage the frontier; afterwards they carried the war into the Scottish territory, burned the town of Berwick, and ravaged the Lothians. On their return from this expedition, the generals of the king fell in with the earl of Leicester, who, along with Bigod earl of Norfolk, was marching to the relief of his town, and made him prisoner. The approach of winter put an end to these hostilities for the present; but in the ensuing spring they were renewed with double vigour. Although the Norman dominions of the king were threatened with a most formidable invasion from France, the state of England was even more alarming. Fresh armies of the Scots poured into the northern counties, carrying everything before them. Yorkshire was in a state of revolt. Earl Ferrers, and David earl of Huntingdon, brother of the Scottish king, were in arms in the heart of

England. Norwich was occupied by the earl of Norfolk, and a numerous fleet of the earl of Flanders lay at Gravelingen, waiting for a favourable wind to transport prince Henry and his army to the coast. Under these circumstances, the return of the king to England was indispensable, and accordingly, without permitting his enemies to gain intelligence of his intention, he set sail for Southampton.

The rebellion of his sons, the ingratitude of his nobles, the danger of his kingdom, all seem to have weighed most heavily upon the mind of Henry, and to have impressed him with the belief that so many calamities could not be the result of mere accident, but were intended as a direct visitation from the hand of God, in token of his displeasure for the murder of Becket. Perhaps, too, the steps which he now adopted were not only meant to reconcile him with Heaven, but also to conciliate his subjects, a great proportion of whom were convinced of the saintly qualifications of the defunct archbishop, and quoted with reverential awe the wonders that were worked at his shrine. As soon as he landed, Henry proceeded direct to Canterbury, walked barefooted through the streets to the tomb of Becket, protesting his innocence of the deed in all save the utterance of a hasty expression; submitted to be scourged on the naked back by several monks; and, after performing lengthened devotions, returned to London, where the fatigue he had undergone and his anxiety of mind threw him into a fever. From this he was recovered by the joyful news of the capture of William of Scotland by Ralph de Glanville, an exploit which, by the way, redounded less to the credit of the victors than of the

vanquished*. Fresh vigour was instilled into the frame of Henry by these unexpected tidings. He instantly set out to join his army, but before he reached it the danger was over. On the loss of their king the Scots had retired to their own country. David of Huntingdon had laid down his arms, and the English barons were fain to secure their safety by flight or by surrender. Within three weeks from the time of Henry's landing, tranquillity was restored to England, and the army which had been levied for the purpose of opposing the Scots, was transported to the shores of Normandy.

On his arrival, Henry found his sons, along with the king of France and the earl of Flanders, who by this time had overcome his compunction, in the act of besieging Rouen. The English army proved too strong for the confederates, who burned their engines and retired without hazarding a general engagement. Henry, who all along appears to have been unwilling to continue the contest with Louis, whose vassal he was for his Norman territories, again made overtures for a conference, and this time they were not rejected. Peace was made upon very advantageous terms for the princes, who certainly received more favour than they were entitled to from their rebellious conduct. The young king Henry received two castles in Normandy, with a yearly subsidy of fifteen thousand Angevin pounds; Richard was gifted with two castles in Poitou, and half the revenue of that province; and Geoffry with two in Bretagne, and half the estates of earl Conan. William of Scotland was released

* For an account of this skirmish in which William was surprised, see "Chronica Gualteri Hemingford, Cap. XXI."

upon harder conditions. He was compelled to take an oath of fealty to the king as his liege lord, and to deliver up as security the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Berwick, along with his brother and twenty barons as hostages. These terms were at last agreed to, and peace being once more restored, Henry along with his eldest son returned to England, and the whole nation, wearied of war, prayed that no domestic feud might again disturb their tranquillity.

Richard, who had received his knighthood from Louis, began to signalize himself by displaying proofs of a warlike and enterprising genius. The mountains of the Pyrenees bordering on Guienne were at this time infested by bands of robbers, who, descending in large hordes upon the lower country, committed great ravages and depredation. These he hunted to their fastnesses and almost extirpated. He then turned his arms against some refractory nobles with like success; and also took by storm the strong fortress of Taillebourg, formerly reputed impregnable. In the meantime, his brother Henry found occupation by enacting the part of a knight-errant, visiting every tournament which was proclaimed, and holding others, wherein he often carried off the prize of superior skill and activity. Geoffry remained in Bretagne, and also signalized himself by quelling an insurrection raised by Guiomar, viscount of Leon.

The desperate state of the Christians in the Holy Land under Baldwin the Leper, now attracted the attention of all the princes of Christendom, and for the first time Henry bethought him of his vow to lead a crusade into Palestine. The affairs of

Jerusalem will be so fully narrated in the sequel, that we need not here state the peculiar circumstances which gave rise to the appeal; suffice it to say that the kings of England and France agreed to proceed together, for the relief of the harassed Christians, and would in all probability have done so, had not the mutual arrangement been dissolved by the illness and death of Louis. Henry, after this, applied himself to the internal arrangement of his kingdom, and enacted many wise and salutary laws, tending to restrain the power of the nobles, and to promote the administration of equal justice. He also completed the conquest of Ireland, to which we have already alluded.

In 1185, a deputation from queen Sybilla of Jerusalem, headed by the patriarch Heraclius and Roger du Moulin, grand-master of the Hospitallers, arrived in England and craved his personal assistance. They had previously visited the court of France, where the young king, Philip Augustus, though large in his promises of support, declined for the present to engage personally in the enterprise; and their hopes now rested upon Henry, whom they considered bound by his former oath to draw the sword in their defence against the infidel, especially in such a crisis, when the existence of Jerusalem itself was at stake. Henry received the embassy with much kindness, but declined pledging himself to the crusade, until he had convened the estates of the realm, and taken their opinion upon the expediency of the measure. A great assembly was accordingly held at London, where not only the English nobles, but William of Scotland and his brother David, were present, and

Henry submitted to their decision the question of a crusade. The opinion expressed by the nobles was contrary to the wishes of the patriarch. Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, himself maintained that the oath taken by the king might be, and ought to be, dispensed with; that Henry had taken another oath at his coronation, to the effect that he would always watch over the welfare of his subjects; that this oath, being the tenure of his crown, superseded all others, and that a crusade to Palestine was obviously incompatible with the first duties of a monarch. The opinion thus expressed was no doubt agreeable to Henry, who, in fact, had such experience of the temper of his sons, that he durst not have left his kingdom; but to sweeten the disappointment he privately sent for the ambassadors, and having explained to them more fully the relation in which he stood with France, concluded by making them an offer of fifty thousand marks, and added that he would further bind himself to support any of his subjects who might be willing to take up the cross. But the old patriarch Heraclius, whose heart was in the Holy City, indignantly spurned the offer, and burst into a torrent of the wildest invective against the king. "It is not for money, but for men we come," cried he. "And as for you, sir, you have hitherto reigned with abundance of glory—but know that God, whose cause you have now abandoned, is about also to abandon you, and will let you see the consequence of your enormous ingratitude for all the riches and kingdoms you have obtained by your crimes! You have violated your faith to the king of France who is your sovereign,

and you make that your excuse for refusing this war, because you are afraid he will make war upon you. You have barbarously murdered the archbishop of Canterbury, and yet you refuse, in expiation of your guilt, to undertake this holy war, for the defence of the Holy Land, to which you have engaged yourself on the blessed sacrament! Never believe"—continued he, observing the colour rush to the face of the king—"Never believe that I dread the fury which glows in your cheeks and in your eyes, and which the truth of what I have now spoken has kindled in your soul—There! take my head! Treat me as you did St. Thomas! I had rather die by your hand in England than by that of the Saracens in Syria, since I esteem you little less than a Saracen yourself!" It is much to the credit of Henry, whose temper was none of the coolest, that he did not take the patriarch at his word, or at least in some way exact revenge for his insolent and mad demeanour; but former experience had by this time taught him the necessity of bridling his passions, and he dismissed the ambassadors without any marks of his displeasure. But one remark of the aged patriarch was true. Henry had yet to drink deeply of the bitter cup of affliction.

CHAPTER II.

Disputes among the Princes—Refusal of Richard to do Homage to his Brother—War in Guienne—Prince Henry takes the Cross—His Death—Conduct and Death of Geoffry—Cause of the Disputes between Richard and his Father—His Alliance with Philip of France—The Third Crusade preached by William Archbishop of Tyre—Preparations for the Crusade—Saladin's Tithe—Intrigues of Philip and Richard—Incursions on Touraine—Conference of Bon-Moulins—Final Rupture between Henry and Richard—Interference of the Legate-cardinal of Anagni—Spirited Behaviour of Philip—War in the Territory of Maine—Peace concluded at Azay—Narrative of the Conference there—Death of Henry II.—His Obsequies, Character, and Family.

IN the unfortunate disputes, noticed in the preceding chapter, which caused such dissension and ill-blood in the royal family, it will be observed that the young princes made common cause together against their father, and that by a general rebellion they sought to obtain or wrest from him the boon which each particularly desired for himself. Such an alliance was not likely to be lasting. The same lust for independence, and impatience of control, which had made them so far transgress the laws of nature and the ordinances of man, as to league with the professed enemies of their parent, now began to manifest itself in their conduct towards each other. Henry was selfish and overbearing; Richard, headstrong and proud; Geoffrey, cunning and perfidious. No common bond of union now existed among them. Henry dreaded Richard as a rival, and looked forward with apprehension to the time when his younger brother might dispute with him the sovereignty of England and of Normandy. Richard even now refused to own his brother as superior, and Geoffry,

with the cunning of a base and ungenerous spirit, lost no opportunity of fomenting the discord thus unhappily begun.

Their father Henry, at the instigation of his eldest son, whose coronation gave him a plausible pretext for the demand, ordered the others to do homage to their brother for the duchies of Brittany and Guienne. To this act of submission Geoffry assented, but the high-spirited Richard at first flatly refused to owe fealty to his brother whilst his natural sovereign and father was alive. This declaration was followed by a hot and vehement dispute, in which young Henry took a part; and when Richard, at last yielding to the entreaties of his father, consented to waive his objection, the young king spurned his homage, and the brothers parted interchanging threats of animosity and defiance. Richard, who knew his brother's temper by experience, lost no time in retiring to his own country, and in fortifying his castles. The barons of Guienne, with whom Richard, overfond even in so limited a stage of the display of his power, had never been popular, offered their services to Henry, and that prince, collecting an army of Brabanters and assisted by his brother Geoffry, marched into Guienne and took the town of Limoges. Richard, thus deserted by his own subjects, had recourse to his father, who, commiserating the situation of his son, and anxious for the sake of all parties to preserve the appearance of peace, marched with a large army into Guienne in the hope that his mere presence would cause the invaders to abandon their design. But both Henry and Geoffry were weary of their father's authority, and could by no means

be brought to an amicable understanding with their brother. Nay, if we may believe some historians, though for the credit of human nature we are unwilling to place implicit reliance on their statement, so utterly were these young men abandoned to their own evil passions, that they did not hesitate to plot the death of their father, whose greatest fault towards them had been unmerited indulgence. According to these writers the two princes had appointed a conference with the king near the walls of Limoges, and while he was awaiting their arrival the soldiers in the castle discharged a flight of arrows, by one of which his horse was shot through the head, and a knight who rode beside him was dangerously wounded by another. This detestable action so alarmed and incensed the king, that prince Henry deemed it prudent to make humble concessions for the present, and to cast the greater part of the odium on the shoulders of his brother Geoffry, who still continued rebellious.

Whether Henry took the cross with the view of establishing himself in his father's favour, as Hoveden asserts, concealing all the while the most treacherous designs under a penitent and saintly exterior, or whether he was really anxious to seek out some larger field of action than Brittany or Guienne, will probably remain a disputed question for ever. The annals of the time do not enter with sufficient minuteness into the history of these family feuds to enable us to fathom the precise nature of the motives which actuated this unfortunate young man throughout the whole of his short career. Enough only is said to show how deeply he transgressed, and how cruelly

these transgressions were felt by his fond and affectionate father. Certain it is that very soon after his rupture with Richard, and while Geoffry yet persisted in disobedience, the prince announced his intention of proceeding to Palestine; and the king, though at first disconsolate, yielded a reluctant consent. But the hand which had been so often raised against a father was not destined to strike one blow in defence of the sepulchre of Christ. A few days after his intention was made public, the prince was taken with a violent fever at Martel, in Turenne, and as is often the case with the worst and most dissolute characters, when they behold their end approaching, being seized with the utmost terror and remorse, he despatched a messenger to his father to implore his forgiveness, and to entreat the favour of a visit before he died. But such had been the former duplicity of the prince, that the advisers of the king could not place reliance in the sincerity of this awful appeal. Their remonstrances induced the king to refrain from according the visit; but willing, so far as he might, to assure the dying penitent of his perfect forgiveness, Henry sent the archbishop of Bordeaux with his own signet as a token of love and reconciliation. The churchman hastened to fulfil his mission, and arrived just in time to speak the soothing message to the prince. Thus, says one historian with as much terseness as truth, "*Henricus tertius Angliæ Rex Junior immatura morte decessit: plane immatura si ætatem respicias, sed multum sera si actus attendas**."

Geoffry, deprived of this powerful coadjutor in

* Hemingford.

rebellion, yielded for a time, and tranquillity appeared again to be established in the royal family, until a demand from the king upon Richard, now heir-apparent, to cede his territory of Guienne in favour of his younger brother John, awoke fresh dissensions, which ended in another appeal to arms and was with difficulty quieted by the intercession of the king. Geoffry, in this dispute, made common cause with John; indeed it was solely at his instigation that the younger brother, who never evinced the possession of any military genius, ventured to oppose himself to the energetic and daring Richard. Geoffry next proceeded to demand the earldom of Anjou, which being refused, he took the opportunity of leaving his father's court, threw himself into the arms of Philip the young king of France, who inherited his father's personal pique against the English king, and offered to hold Brittany in direct vassalage from him, provided he would countenance and aid his designs upon Normandy, and other parts of his father's continental territories. A new war, however, was prevented by the death of this perfidious prince, who expired in consequence of some internal injury sustained by a fall from his horse at a tournament, and a truce of two years' duration was concluded between England and France.

It will be recollected that Richard, when a boy of twelve years old, was affianced to Adelais, daughter of Louis and sister of his successor Philip. This princess was entrusted to the care of Henry, until such time as the marriage could be properly solemnized, and had all this time been sedulously kept from the company of her intended spouse. Public rumour began

to assign strange reasons for this unusual restriction. The well-known temperament of Henry gave rise to suspicions that some other motive than solicitude for the purity of Adalais had led to her seclusion, and Richard was taught to fear that he had found a successful rival in the person of his father. This is a grave charge against Henry, and one on which, in justice to his son, we are bound to lay considerable weight, as such an outrage of morality, if it does not altogether extenuate, at least palliates the subsequent conduct of Richard, and makes it appear more consistent with the character of one, who, if headstrong, was never wanton in his resistance to a father's authority. About the same time, a report became prevalent in England that Henry intended to disinherit his eldest son, and to leave the greater part of his dominions to the younger brother, John, who had not joined with his brothers in their former cabals, probably because he was then too young to think or act for himself. The suspicions engendered by such a report, and the thought of the deeper injury to which we have above alluded, made Richard doubly jealous of his father, and of those by whose counsel he was usually directed. In the young king of France he found an apparent friend, ready to sympathise with him in at least one of his grievances: Richard went over to Paris, and an extraordinary intimacy was soon formed between the two young men, one deeply interested in the recovery of his bride, and the other in the vindication of the character and honour of his sister.

With the view of testing his father's feelings towards him in the matter of the succession, Richard drew up a formal petition, wherein, after premising that, as his

elder brother Henry had died without issue, all the rights and titles enjoyed by that prince were now transferred to him as heir-apparent, he humbly prayed that his father would, in consideration of the circumstances, and in support of the authority of his heir, be pleased to consent to his coronation with the same ceremonies previously granted to his brother. This request was met by Henry with an absolute refusal; which ought not, however, to be construed as an acknowledgment of his designs in favour of John, since later experience had given him ample proof of the danger attendant upon such a step, and the folly of expecting any one to remain content with the shadow, whilst another possessed the substance and reality of rule. Richard considered this refusal as the first step towards his disinherison, and drew yet more closely towards his new ally of France. Henry, alarmed at this ominous conjunction, strove by promises of all reasonable favour to win back the confidence of his son, but in vain. Richard remained sullen and suspicious; and in a moment of irritation received the cross, swearing that if he were deprived of his rights in England and Normandy, he would go to Palestine, and wrest a better kingdom than either from the hands of the infidel. This sudden resolution, engendered by passion, soon however died away, and the confederates began to occupy themselves with schemes which boded no good to the peace and happiness of Henry.

In the commencement of the year 1188, the plans of Philip and Richard began to be developéd. The former despatched an embassy to Henry, demanding the restitution of the territory of Gisors, and the im-

mediate solemnization of his sister's marriage with Richard; and threatening, in the case of a refusal, to march an army into the heart of Normandy, and to lay it waste with fire and sword. One at least of these demands was too reasonable to be peremptorily rejected, nor could Henry have done so without fortifying the suspicions which his former mysterious conduct towards the princess Adalais had excited; he therefore had recourse to another conference, in which he doubted not by his diplomatic skill to gain a peaceful triumph, and a meeting was accordingly held at a place between Gisors and Trie, where, besides the kings, many of the principal nobility of both realms were assembled.

Hardly had the customary greetings been interchanged, when William, the famous archbishop of Tyre, ambassador from queen Sybilla of Jerusalem, rose up in the midst and recounted, with great eloquence and feeling, the struggles of the Christians in the Holy Land against their infidel invaders. He told them how at the bloody fight of Tiberias the bravest of the Christian chivalry were slain, how their king was taken, and how the Holy Cross itself had fallen into the hands of the Saracens. He drew a touching picture of the state of Jerusalem thus bereaved of her defenders; he told them how every soul within her walls, even old men and women, had taken up arms in her defence; how Saladin with his victorious legions had encamped before the city; and how the Holy Sepulchre was lost to Christendom. Then, proceeding in a still higher strain, he conjured them, as they loved their God, not to suffer the country in which their blessed Redeemer had lived and died to

be profaned by the scorners of their faith; he besought them to have pity upon their Christian brethren, now driven from house and home, or languishing in hopeless captivity; he urged them instantly and with one accord to take the cross, and promised them, in return, victory and glory here and an eternity of bliss hereafter. This harangue, delivered by one of the greatest orators of his age, wrought an extraordinary effect on the feelings of his hearers. By common consent the subjects of dispute between England and France were laid aside, a general crusade from both kingdoms was planned upon the spot; and Henry, Philip, and the earl of Flanders, with all the nobility present, received from the hands of the archbishop the emblem which pledged them to the holy war. The vast concourse of people assembled to behold the conference were transported with joy at the news of this sudden and unexpected concord. The crusades were always popular amongst the lower ranks, who regarded Palestine with something of the same feelings that animated the Spanish soldiery to the conquest of Peru, since if religion had a greater share in producing their enthusiasm, it was not always unmingled with sentiments of a grosser and more worldly kind. It was arranged that the English should carry a white, the French a red, and the Flemish a green cross, in the projected expedition; and that a general tax, under the name of the Saladin tithe, should be levied throughout the countries thus engaged. The exact terms of this remarkable impost were as follows:—Such persons as engaged in the crusades were exempted from the contribution, but all others, clergy as well as laity, were compelled to

pay one tenth of their revenues and moveables—arms, jewels, and consecrated vessels alone excepted—towards defraying the expenses of the war. All interest upon money lent was suspended during the time the debtors were engaged in service in the Holy Land, and all persons might mortgage their inheritances or benefices for the period of three years, during which time the creditors should peaceably enjoy them whatever might happen to the owners. Other arrangements regarding dress, accoutrements, behaviour, &c., were then agreed upon, and the assembly broke up for the purpose of putting these resolutions into effect. Henry returned to England, where the Saladin tithe was immediately proclaimed. Jews as well as Christians were declared liable to the impost; and ambassadors were sent to William king of Scotland, urging him to levy the same tax throughout his dominions. In Scotland, however, a country too remote and too little in correspondence with its neighbours to share in the excitement which the loss of Jerusalem created, the proposal of so serious an impost was listened to with general dissatisfaction, and was negatived by a meeting of nobles and prelates to whom the message of Henry was submitted by the king.

Whilst the minds of all in France and England were occupied and engrossed with this splendid phantasy, whilst the one magnificent dream of rescuing Palestine from the dominion of the heathen, drove the realities of life, and the urgent demands of political arrangement from the thoughts of others, Richard still continued to brood over his own wrongs and disappointments, and came at last to regard the

cause of Christendom as hostile and injurious to his own. What mattered it to him whether the cross or the crescent waved on the towers of Jerusalem, if his own long-cherished hopes were to be abandoned, and his hereditary dominions taken from him, and bestowed upon another? or how could the brightest laurels he might win abroad repay him for the defection and treachery that were sure to undermine him at home? Had he yielded to the universal impression, and, with such consequences staring him in the face, embarked as a simple soldier in that long and doubtful expedition, his character would have remained to subsequent historians either an enigma or a cause of dispute: some might have praised him as heroic—some represented him as disinterested—but the greater part, beyond all doubt, would have set him down as negligent or weak. In history we are bound to judge men by the common standard, not certainly extenuating their faults, but not requiring from them that extraordinary self-denial which better suits the stoic than the Christian; and adhering to this view, even without losing sight of the prejudices of the times, we are free to confess our opinion that Richard, under all the circumstances, was justifiable in the motive which led him to assert his natural rights, although the manner of such assertion might be rash, culpable, and impolitic. Philip was the first to whom he opened his mind, and history leaves us in doubt of the nature of that eventful conference. By some it is supposed that a secret understanding existed between the princes, and that the subsequent conduct of Richard was privately sanctioned by Philip. Others

have asserted that the resentment of the English prince was kindled as much against the king of France on account of what he deemed his unworthy defection, as against his father for his cold and obstinate refusal. We are rather inclined, from the evidence adduced, to lean to the former opinion, and think that after events sufficiently support the allegation of a secret understanding between Richard and Philip. However this might be, it is certain that the former, pretending to revive an old quarrel, invaded in a hostile manner the territories of the count of Thoulouse; and that Philip, being solicited to assist his vassal, entered the duchy of Berry, part of the dominions of the king of England, reduced the most important towns and fortresses in Auvergne, and finally led his troops into the territory of Touraine. Amidst his preparations for the crusade, Henry was startled by the news of this fresh aggression of the French. An ambassador whom he despatched to Paris received for answer, that Philip had no intention of disbanding his army until he had reduced the whole of Berry and the Norman Vexin. This announcement at once determined his course. Henry in all haste levied a strong army of English and Welch auxiliaries, and, in conjunction with Richard, marched into France, where he took and burned several of the frontier towns. Animosity was now so thoroughly excited on either side, that, had the prolongation of the contest depended solely upon the kings, there is little doubt that a fierce and devastating war would have raged between England and France. But the nobles of both countries, whose power as chieftains was altogether independent of

their kings, thought proper to interfere, and to recal them from this hasty dispute, to the remembrance of the oath which they had so lately taken in common as crusaders. At the first conference, Philip insisted upon retaining his recent conquests, and the negotiation was broken off by Henry in disgust; nor would it have been renewed, had not the earls of Flanders and Blois declared their conviction of the unreasonable nature of Philip's demands, and avowed their intention of abiding by their vow, never to bear arms against a Christian prince, until their return from the Holy Land. This announcement from the most powerful of his friends made Philip hesitate; and another conference was appointed at Bon-Moulins, at which it was hoped the treaty would be finally adjusted.

At this meeting, Henry proposed, by way of an amicable arrangement, that the conquests on either side should be abandoned, and that matters should be allowed to remain in the same situation in which they stood when the kings accorded together to take the cross. To his amazement, the first person who objected to this foundation of the treaty was Richard, who absolutely refused to give up his latter conquests, without some equivalent. Philip also, instead of siding with Henry, insisted upon other terms. He offered, it is true, to abandon the towns he had taken, but on these conditions only—that the marriage between Richard and his sister Adalais should be instantly solemnized; and that all the subjects of Henry, whether in England or in Normandy, should be required to take the oath of allegiance to his son. Henry refused to fulfil either. His obstinate denial, thus publicly announced, to

what Richard deemed his just and natural rights, snapped asunder the last cord which held the king and his son together. Richard again formally repeated in his own name the demands urged by the king of France, which being again peremptorily denied, he stepped forth into the midst of the assembled circle, and, eyeing his father with a look of indignation, exclaimed, "I now see that to be true, which I formerly deemed to be impossible;" and, unbuckling his sword and presenting it to Philip on his knee, he added, "From you, sire, I crave the protection of my rights, and to you I do homage for all the lands in France held of you, as liege lord and suzerain." Philip instantly accepted of the prince as his vassal; and the assembly broke up in confusion and dismay.

If called upon to give an opinion on the conduct of the actors in this extraordinary scene, we should be inclined to say that Henry's obstinacy, in refusing to agree to the nuptials of the French princess with his son, was, to use the mildest terms, wanton and unjustifiable; that his resistance to this and the other demand of Philip was sufficient to confirm Richard in his belief of the rumour that the sovereign rule was intended for his brother John to his own especial prejudice; and that acting upon this conviction, he was perfectly justified in throwing himself upon the protection of the king of France. It would seem too that Philip, considering the treatment of his sister, and the reports which were current of her liaison with Henry, did no more than justice to his family in insisting upon a speedy marriage, and in accepting, upon the refusal of this demand, the

homage of the injured prince. It is fortunately seldom that in history we meet with cases involving so delicate a point, but whenever such are obtruded upon our notice, we are bound to side with the party willing to observe his engagements, and to give our testimony against the other, whose refusal to perform them strengthens the suspicion originated by rumour, of a breach of the laws of nature, morality, and religion.

All thoughts of the crusade were for the present abandoned ; and indeed the aspect of affairs was such, that even the warmest advocates for the expedition began to despair of its possibility. The pope, Clement III., who was deeply interested in the cause, viewed the disturbed and hostile state of northern Europe with anxiety and alarm. His remonstrances and exhortations had the effect of rousing the dormant spirit of the Germans and Italians, large numbers of whom were actively preparing to set out for the Holy Land ; but without the co-operation of the kings of England and France, who were in fact the two pillars of the enterprise, success was more than doubtful ; and until some arrangement of these domestic disputes could be made, it was obvious that neither monarch would stir one foot from his own dominions. The truce agreed upon at the commencement of the last conference had not quite expired ; and though Henry, Philip, and Richard, in their own territories, were making active preparations for war, hostilities had not yet commenced. The pontiff resolved to profit by this short interval, and despatched a cardinal-legate to mediate between the contending parties. This time, however, it ap-

peared that the questions at issue could not be settled otherwise than by the arbitration of the sword ; for although Henry and Philip yielded so far as to submit their quarrel to the judgment of the legate-cardinal of Anagni, and the archbishops of Rheims, Rouen, Bourges, and Canterbury, Richard, to whom the latter prelate was sent in the capacity of mediator, stood out upon the justice of his cause, declaring that no reference was required, seeing that even his father could not deny his title to those articles, the fulfilment of which had nevertheless been so often and so ignominiously evaded. Public opinion also manifested itself on the side of Richard. Many of the most influential nobles of Brittany, Normandy, and Anjou, who on all previous occasions had taken the part of Henry, now went over to his son ; for the odium of rebellion was not now so generally cast upon Richard, as that of tyranny and unnatural malignity was attached to the conduct of the king.

Active warfare would have commenced upon the expiry of the truce, had not the legate, with the greatest perseverance, urged another conference between the kings, which neither of them could with any appearance of decency refuse. At La Ferté Bernard, then, the princes met ; and Philip, on the part of himself and Richard, stated as an indispensable article the restitution and marriage of his sister. If this was agreed to, he hinted that the other points at issue might be easily arranged, and the preparations for the crusade resumed. One more stipulation, however, he thought it necessary to make, viz. that, as Henry, on account of his advanced age and increasing infirmities, was to be held excused from

his oath, and absolved from the necessity of embarking for Palestine, John, the youngest of his sons, should accompany his brother to the crusade. This stipulation was obviously meant for the benefit of Richard, and probably was suggested by him ; but Henry chose to interpret it differently, and replied with a sneer, that if his eldest son had been foolish enough to take the cross without his knowledge or consent, and without making any previous arrangements for contingencies at home, he saw no reason why he should copy his imprudence, and leave his dominions open to foreign invasion, in the event of his death during the absence of his children. "But," added Henry, "I will make one proposal, by adopting which all our differences may be settled. Let Adalais be wedded to John instead of Richard, and I will not only give up her dower, but gift them with more important territories." This infamous suggestion, so contrary to all principle, so outrageously unjust towards Richard, and so injurious to the honour of the princess, was met by Philip with a contemptuous refusal ; nor is it easy to conceive how Henry could have entertained so preposterous an idea, knowing as he well did the proud spirit of Philip, and the violent passions of Richard. It in fact could be construed no otherwise than as a declaration of his intention to set aside his elder son, and invest the younger with the privileges of heir apparent, unless we regard the proposal as a mere trick to delay the marriage of the princess ; in which case we must come to the obvious conclusion, that Henry had a personal interest in throwing obstacles in the way of the union of Adalais with his son. In either

view his conduct was highly reprehensible, and calculated to produce the very worst effects; nor does it appear that he was supported on this occasion by any of the prelates of either realm, or by any of the nobility who were usually favourable to his cause. The cardinal-legate, notwithstanding, thought fit to maintain the argument of Henry, and urged the duty of concession upon the other party, with rather more vehemence than was altogether consistent with his character as mediator. On being reminded that all concessions must necessarily be mutual, and that the duty was also incumbent on the other party, the zeal of the legate increased. Vituperation began at last to supersede eloquence in his discourse, and yet he was allowed to proceed without interruption, until he uttered a threat of laying the whole dominions of Philip under an interdict. "I fear not your interdict," replied Philip, "nor shall I heed it if pronounced, seeing that it is not founded upon any principles of equity. What right, I would fain learn, has Rome to interfere in these disputes, least of all in any that concern the honour of France? What title has she to animadvert upon my conduct, if I am called upon to exercise the duties of a sovereign? What right has she to step between me and my vassals, if I find it necessary to chastise them for disobedience and rebellion? O, my lord, it is not difficult to perceive that the savour of the English sterling is still in your nostrils, and perverts the fine perception of a judge!" As for Richard, he was so indignant at the insolence of the legate, that he clapped his hand to his sword, and was with the greatest difficulty prevented from offering violence to the terrified priest.

The nature of this conference was such that all ideas of negotiation were abandoned, and hostilities instantly commenced. The county of Maine was this time the seat of war. Philip and Richard advancing with their combined forces from Nogent-le-Rotrou in Orleannois, reduced in succession La Ferté Bernard, Monfort, Malestable, Beaumont, and Ballon. Henry threw himself into Mans, the city of his birth, which he expected to make good against his enemies; but they, appearing before the walls after a forced march, created such confusion, that the suburbs were accidentally set on fire by Stephen de Tours, seneschal of Anjou, and the conflagration extended to the town. Henry himself had great difficulty in escaping to Fresnoy, whither he was not followed by the confederates, who marched towards Tours, reducing every place of strength upon the road, and at last by escalade took possession of that important city. In the mean time, Ranulph de Glanville was despatched to England for the purpose of levying additions to the royal forces, and Geoffry, the natural son of Henry by Rosamond de Clifford, whose attachment to his father was unshaken, and who filled the dignified office of chancellor, was actively engaged for the same purpose in Normandy.

The prelates and princes whose mediation at the conference of La Ferté Bernard had proved ineffectual, came to the determination of waiting until the success of one party or another should give them an opportunity of again proposing terms with more likelihood of a favourable consideration. They, therefore, took no part on either side during the continuance of the contest, but kept themselves in

readiness to renew the negotiation as soon as they could with propriety interfere. The distress of Henry was now so extreme, that for very shame they felt themselves bound to step forward in his behalf; and accordingly the count of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, proceeded to Tours, and submitted to the king of France and Richard the terms on which, as it appeared to them, an advantageous peace might be concluded. These, being remarkably favourable to the confederates, were accepted by them; and Henry, finding that his continental subjects were daily deserting him, and that the success of Geoffry in raising the Norman levies was more than doubtful, was forced, with a swelling heart, to yield to terms which in his better days he would have scorned to hold with the most puissant monarch in the world.

At Azay the kings met, and the treaty as originally proposed was ratified by all parties. The heads of it were as follows. Henry agreed to renew to Philip the homage, which at the commencement of the war he had renounced; Adelais was to be delivered up to persons whom Richard should nominate, and the nuptials were to be consummated immediately upon the return of the affianced bridegroom from the Holy Land; all the vassals of Henry were to take the oath of fealty to Richard before his departure; all the barons and others, holding of Henry, who had taken part with his son were to receive full pardon; twenty thousand marks of silver were to be presently paid over to Philip; and Mans, Tours, and the castles of Trou, and le Loir, or in the option of Henry, Gisors, Pacy, and

Nonancourt, were to be held by the confederates until all the stipulations of the treaty were fulfilled.

Thus was Henry, once the greatest warrior and most powerful prince of his time, after a career remarkable for the number and the extent of its conquests, forced to succumb to the rising fortunes of two youths whom he had seen in their cradles. Bitter indeed must have been this reverse to a mind so haughty and unyielding as his, and bitter the necessity which compelled him to sign the act of his own degradation before the assembled chivalry of England and of France. It was the last deed of this famous monarch, and heaven and earth were witnesses.

The kings met on horseback in the plain of Azay, and the treaty was read to them by the archbishop. The day was sultry, and the clouds unusually dark and heavy—fit canopy for a king consenting to his own disgrace. Henry and Philip were standing close together, and the former had just commenced an expostulation against some of the proposed articles, when a vivid flash of lightning blinded them for a moment, and the thunder roared above their heads with a long and terrific peal. It appeared that a fireball had struck the earth in the midst of the small space which separated the kings. Henry, over-excited and nervous, trembled so violently, that had it not been for his attendants he must have fallen from his horse. In the outbreak of the elements he imagined that he had heard the voice of God commanding him to yield; and, with fear and precipitation, he consented to every article of the treaty. One only stipulation he made, which was this, that

since he had granted a free pardon to all his subjects who had taken up arms against him, or had made a separate treaty with the confederates, he might at least be informed of their names. The scroll was delivered to him; and the first name he saw there inscribed was that of John, his youngest and best beloved son.

This blow was alone wanting to crush the broken spirit of the king. Richard's defection he had seen with anger, but he was conscious that it was at least partly attributable to his own harshness and jealousy; other sons had left him, but that was in the days of his prosperity—John had turned upon him when he was almost without a friend. This combination of misfortune and ingratitude was too much for his frame, already weakened by disease. He was conveyed in a litter to the castle of Chinon, where his disorders assumed the appearance of a rapid fever. He fell into a state of delirium, during which he was heard to invoke the curse of Heaven on his disobedient and rebellious children. The chancellor Geoffry heard of his father's illness, and hastened to Chinon. He found him again sensible, but so weakened that it was obvious to all that his end was rapidly approaching. Henry received his natural son, whose conduct shamed the legitimate, with signs of sensible joy; he gave him the ring from his finger; and expressed a wish that he should be promoted to the archbishopric of York or the see of Winchester, and hoped that Richard would pardon his fidelity to his father and king. The chancellor, as well as the prelates who still watched beside his deathbed, prayed him, for the good of his own soul,

to revoke the curses he had called down upon his sons, and not to suffer his anger to reach beyond the grave. Henry, however, obstinately refused to unsay his malediction, and, becoming gradually weaker, requested to be carried into the church, where, having partaken of the communion, he died at the altar. Immediately afterwards the prelates and barons departed—a new star was culminating in the sky—a new king demanded their homage. None were left to watch the royal corpse save menial attendants; and even these, as soon as the others were gone, laid hands on every valuable in the place and departed.

“And who so poor as do him reverence?”

In this condition was the body found by some of the returning nobles, and conveyed to the nunnery of Fontevrault.

Intelligence of the king's decease was instantly conveyed to Richard, who heard it with much sorrow, and probably not without contrition. Although the conduct of his father towards him had been such as to justify many of the steps he had taken, the mere fact of such rebellion, even though forced upon him, was a terrible and appalling thought. He too had not been blameless, for timely submission perhaps might have healed the mutual wound, and restored him to his father's confidence; but it was too late, and all the reparation he could offer was to lament the errors of the past. Leaving the camp of Philip, he hastened to Fontevrault, and assisted at the ceremony of the interment, after which he received the great seal from the hands of Geoffry, and the homage of the barons present.

Henry II. expired on the sixth day of July, 1189, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. Subsequent historians have differed as to his personal character, but all bear witness to the beneficial reforms which he introduced, and the happy effects of his internal policy upon England. Had he been more moderate in his temper, and less suspicious of those around him—had he been as virtuous in his private as he was just in his public capacity, he would in all probability have known nothing of the sorrows which embittered his existence, and hurried him prematurely to the grave. His history is a warning to princes, that greatness in the king cannot compensate for the want of sterling virtue in the man.

Henry left behind him two sons, Richard and John, and three daughters, by his queen Eleanor. Of these the eldest, Matilda, was married to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, whose name is so conspicuous in the annals of Germany, though more for his misfortunes than his merits. Eleanor, the second, was married to Alphonso king of Castile, and Joan, the third, to William king of Sicily. By Rosamond Clifford, Henry had two sons, William surnamed Longsword, who married the heiress and succeeded to the title of Salisbury, and Geoffry, first chancellor, and afterwards archbishop of York. It is almost unnecessary to add that the story of Rosamond's death by means of poison administered by queen Eleanor is a mere fiction, and unsupported by any credible testimony.

CHAPTER III.

Richard's Policy on his Accession to the Throne—Amicable Adjustment with Philip—Eleanor appointed Regent—Order of Richard's Coronation—Disturbance caused by the Intrusion of the Jews—Outrages against that People in different Parts of England, and horrible Massacre at York—Richard's Preparations for the Crusade—Anecdote of the Bishop of Durham—Disposal of the Crown-Lands and public Offices—Homage of the King of Scotland remitted—Embassy from Philip—William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, appointed Chancellor and Justiciary—Richard crosses over to France—Final Arrangements before his Departure—Great Meeting at Vezelai—Richard arrives at Marseilles—His personal Appearance, Temper, and Reputation.

THE accession of Richard to the throne of England was greeted by his subjects with various feelings. The unruly and the turbulent, judging of his character from the mere circumstance of his opposition to his father's will, and from the military disposition which the wars in Guienne and Normandy had developed, confidently expected to reap a rich harvest under the auspices of a monarch who seemed little burdened with scruples, and less inclined even than his father to pay that homage to the clergy which the church of Rome in those days was wont most scrupulously to exact. The partisans of Henry, on the other hand, expected nothing but wrong and outrage from a prince who had gone so far from the path of duty as to league with a foreign power against their patron and his natural guardian. Fidelity to the father, they thought, must be construed into treason against the son; neither could they expect that, under the circumstances, the honest plea of adherence to the interests of their country, which was all they could offer,

would be either admitted or approved. Their fears were entirely groundless. Richard knew well how to appreciate the worth of loyalty, and was not slow in perceiving that those who, from a high motive, had supported the cause of the former monarch, would be the most likely to rally round the standard of his legitimate successor. It was his first care, therefore, to confirm in their offices and places of trust all the retainers of the late king. Geoffry, the chancellor, was nominated by him, according to his father's wish, archbishop of York. His brother John was not only confirmed in his English possessions, but was gifted with the earldom of Mortaigne: in short, no one who had been favoured by Henry had reason to complain of the partiality or injustice of Richard. Stephen de Tours, alone, the seneschal of Anjou, who was probably suspected of malversation, was treated with some severity; for he was thrown into prison, until he consented not only to deliver up the castles and treasures which he had held from Henry, but to pay a considerable ransom for his own personal liberty. Even in this case, Richard's severity was tempered with mercy, since, after his conditions were complied with, he continued Stephen in his former place of trust. At Rouen, in the presence of the continental nobility, he was girt with the ducal sword of Normandy, and received the homage of his vassals. Immediately afterwards he held a conference with king Philip, whereat the French monarch showed some liberality and confidence in his royal brother, by waiving his claim for the castle of Gisors, conceded by Henry at the meeting of Azay, in consideration of the payment of four additional thou-

sand marks, and by restoring to Richard all the other possessions which he had taken from his father.

Whilst occupied with these continental arrangements, Richard did not forget the situation of his mother, whom he dearly loved, and who, with the exception of one short interval, had been kept a close prisoner ever since the revolt of her sons. With the order for her release was transmitted a commission investing her with the dignity of regent, so that Eleanor no sooner issued from her confinement, than she took upon herself the highest dignity of the realm. The prisons at the time of Henry's death were remarkably full, partly no doubt with offenders against the law, but partly also with those whose crimes were more political, and therefore more leniently to be judged by a king succeeding under such circumstances as Richard. Eleanor therefore proclaimed a universal amnesty; ordered the doors of all the prisons to be opened, and the captives to be set at liberty; and moreover, ordained that every freeman in the realm should take an oath of allegiance to herself and to the reigning monarch, which ordinance, according to the historians of the time, was taken universally, and almost without one dissentient voice. This general feeling on the part of the people is a strong proof of the favour with which they regarded the cause of Richard, not only in his new capacity as king, but in the latter struggle, which must have been so fresh in the memory of all, that, had they disapproved of his conduct, their homage would not have been by any means so readily conceded.

Having thus settled his affairs in Normandy to the satisfaction of all, Richard crossed over to

England for the purpose of holding the ceremony of coronation, and of placing himself upon an amicable footing with his nobles. His first care was to confirm the act of amnesty passed by his mother, Eleanor; his next was to restore to the barons those estates and castles which had been declared by Henry forfeited, on account of the adherence of their owners to the cause of his son. The earl of Leicester was courteously and kindly received by the new king. John, in addition to the earldom of Gloucester, received new and extensive grants of the crown-lands. He was now the sole surviving brother of Richard; and, doubtless, these marks of the royal favour were heaped upon him no less from affection than from policy. Domestic strife had caused already so much woe and distress in the family, that Richard hoped the remembrance of the past would act as a salutary check in restraining the ambition of his brother; and, to remove the slightest cause of complaint, he placed him in a more opulent situation than was ever occupied by a prince of the royal blood.

The third of September, 1189, was appointed for Richard's coronation; and on no previous occasion was it celebrated with more pomp and magnificence. As the particulars of this august ceremony have at no earlier period been given by contemporary historians, it may not be uninteresting to the reader to know how it was conducted in this instance, and we have, in that hope, selected the account of one who was probably an eye-witness of the scene. In the morning, the bishops, abbots, and principal clergy, went in procession to the palace, their attendants bearing the cross before them, and carrying censers.

The king received them at the door of his private chambers; and, all the arrangements having been completed, the procession moved on towards Westminster abbey (the path from the palace to the altar being covered with broad-cloth) in the following order. First walked the clergy carrying the cross, the censers, and vessels of holy water; after them came the priors, abbots, and bishops, in the midst of whom were four barons carrying huge candlesticks of gold; then came Godfrey de Lucy, with the cap of state, and John de Mareschall, with the golden spurs; next William earl of Pembroke, with the sceptre, and William earl of Salisbury, with the rod and dove; after these came David earl of Huntingdon, brother to the king of Scotland, prince John, and Robert earl of Leicester, bearing three swords, the scabbards of which were curiously inlaid with gold; they were followed by six earls and six barons, carrying a casket containing the other royal insignia and robes of state; then came William de Mandeville earl of Albemarle, bearing the royal crown before Richard, who walked between the bishops of Durham and Bath, while four barons, two on each side, bore on the points of their lances a silken canopy above him. In this order, and followed by an immense crowd, the procession entered the abbey and proceeded to the altar, where Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, was stationed. Kneeling down before the altar, Richard swore upon the Evangelists and the most esteemed relics, to maintain his fidelity to God and observe the ordinances of the holy church; to rule his people with justice and equity; to abolish all evil laws and customs, and to establish none others but such as

should tend to the general welfare. After this oath he was divested of his mantle and upper garment ; sandals worked with gold were placed upon his feet ; and the archbishop of Canterbury, pouring the consecrated oil upon his head, breast, and arms, anointed him as king. The cap of state, carried by Godfrey de Lucy, was then placed upon his head, and the royal robes assumed, after which he received the sword of justice, and two earls kneeling down buckled on the spurs. Richard was now led to the altar on which the crown was placed, and received an admonition from the archbishop not to lay hands upon it, unless he were prepared with the utmost strictness and rigour to observe every article of the oath formerly administered. To this the king replied that, by the grace of God, without fraud or reservation, he would observe all that he had sworn ; and thereupon he lifted the crown from the altar and delivered it to the archbishop, who placed it on his head. The sceptre and rod were then given to the king, who was led from the altar, and took his seat upon the throne. Mass was then performed, and at the offertory the king was reconducted to the altar, on which he placed a mark of the purest gold. After mass, the procession returned in the same order as before*.

After the ceremony, a splendid banquet was held in the choir of the abbey, at which all the nobility were present. Unfortunately, however, the festivities of the day were interrupted by a brawl, which speedily increased into a riot, and produced disturbance and bloodshed not only in London, but in other of the principal cities and towns throughout

* Hoveden. Matthew Paris.

the realm. Every one is aware of the hatred which during the middle ages was borne by the people, not of England alone, but of all the European states, towards the Jews. This savage and unnatural feeling was fostered and encouraged by the priests, who considered the Hebrew nation as labouring under the curse of God, and therefore liable to be persecuted by his servants. Even the Saracens were more respected by the Christian church than were the seed of Abraham. Baptism could wash away the sins of the first, but what could remove the taint which poisoned the blood of the latter? Yet, though thus despised and oppressed, the Jews had even then, by their acuteness and industry, established themselves extensively in the country, and prospered so well that many a proud noble and franklin were in their danger; nay, being the sole bankers of the time, even the state was compelled to grant them immunities and a precarious protection, in return for the advances which its exigencies often required. With the commons, who derived their ideas on the subject from their spiritual teachers, the Jews were held in abhorrence. Men shrunk from a Hebrew when he passed them on the road as though the mere touch of his garment were contamination.

“ They called him misbeliever—cut-throat, dog,
And spat upon his Jewish gaberdine.”

On the occasion of Richard's coronation, the Jews were expressly forbid, by proclamation, to approach the abbey, lest their presence should take away from the holiness of that most august ceremony. After it was ended, the Jews probably thought that the restriction was removed, and being anxious to ingra-

tiate themselves with the new sovereign, a deputation of their elders entered the banquet hall, to pay him their homage, and to lay some costly presents at his feet. This intrusion was instantly resented by the clergy and their retainers, who rose up in a body, and drove the Hebrews from the hall, loading them with blows and imprecations. The multitude without, taking the cue from the priests, fell upon them as they came out, and inflicted such gross injury that several died in consequence. This outrage was followed by a worse. The mob of London, hearing what was done at Westminster under the sanction of the clergy, rushed to arms. Every Jew whom they could lay hands upon was beaten or slain; their houses were broken open, pillaged, and set on fire. As soon as Richard was made acquainted with the particulars of this barbarous riot, he despatched the justiciary with an armed force to disperse the rioters, and caused three of the ringleaders to be hanged, more, as Matthew Paris tells us, on account of their having, in the midst of the tumult, pillaged and burned the houses of Christians, than for any injury they had inflicted on the proscribed and friendless Jews. But no example could stop the mischief thus calamitously begun. The spirit of fanaticism and the appetite for plunder was kindled in the hearts of the rabble everywhere, when they heard of the tragedy at London. In Lynn, Stamford, Norwich, Lincoln, and many other places, the Jews were maltreated, plundered, and slain; but the cruellest persecution of all awaited those who dwelt in York.

Two wealthy merchants from that city, Benedict

and Jocenus, were amongst the number of those deputed to wait upon Richard at the banquet, and were handed over like the rest to the tender mercies of the populace. Benedict, under the fear of instant and violent death, exclaimed that he abjured his faith and was willing to become a Christian. On these conditions he was saved, but being next day brought before the bishops, he refused to be baptised, alleging that he was still a Jew at heart, and had only made profession of a change when he saw his life in jeopardy. This man was shortly afterwards murdered at Northampton; but his partner Jocenus succeeded in escaping from the hands of the banditti and brought the news of the alarming catastrophe to his brethren at York. More Jews had their residence there than in any other city of the kingdom, London alone excepted; and the wealth they had amassed was prodigious. They were much in the habit of trafficking with the neighbouring proprietors, and had flattered themselves that on any occasion of popular outbreak they were sure of influential protection—little dreaming that the men they had so often obliged would be the first to heap ruin on their heads. Yet so it was. At York the attack upon the Jews was not a mere movement of popular impulse, but a regularly planned conspiracy, in which men whose station at least ought to have restrained them from joining in such excesses, were deeply implicated; and one as terrible in its catastrophe as any which the pages of history can show. A dark and tempestuous season was chosen for this diabolical purpose; and at midnight the citizens of York were roused from their rest, by the cry that

the city was on fire. And in truth flames were bursting out in various quarters; the townspeople were busied with extinguishing them; and thus every obstruction was removed from the path of the conspirators. The house of Benedict, the murdered Jew, was the present object of their attack. It was known to contain property to a large amount; and the present state of the family, bereaved of their master, favoured the attack. The doors were burst open—every individual of the household, man, woman, and child, was put to death without mercy,—the treasures were packed up with the greatest expedition, and after having removed every article of value, the murderers set fire to the house, and decamped unmolested with their booty. This awful example showed the Jews how little they could trust to the faith of their so-called protectors. Their situation was desperate in the extreme, for the robbers, having had tangible proof of the riches contained within the walls of one Hebrew dwelling, were not likely to leave the rest unvisited; so, with the consent of the governor, the majority removed with their wives and children, and the greater part of their property, to the castle, which was of strength sufficient to repel any attack from without. It shortly appeared that these suspicions were well founded; for, a few days afterwards, the same banditti returned, but much more openly than before, and, being reinforced by some of the town rabble, marched to the house of Jocenus, where, as it was a place of considerable strength, some of the Jews, who did not judge it necessary to retire to the castle, had taken up their abode. The atrocities of the former night were then reacted,

with circumstances of even greater horror; and on the following day all restraint was thrown off by the people, all law abandoned, all humanity renounced, and every street throughout the city of York became a scene of rape, robbery, and bloodshed. The only terms offered to the unhappy Jews were death or baptism; even the latter alternative did not save their property. Very few of them recanted, and all the others were murdered in cold blood before the eyes of their distracted brethren in the castle.

These latter began to fear for their own safety, and to suspect the fidelity of the governor. The temptation indeed was large, for they had brought with them immense treasures, and experience had taught them that the cupidity of a Christian was often stronger than his promise. They resolved, therefore, to take measures for themselves, and accordingly one day, when the governor was absent in the city on some business, they disarmed the sentinels, secured the gates, and refused him admission. The consequence of this ill-advised step was, that the governor applied instantly to the sheriff of the district, who pronounced this act of the Jews to be leze-majesty, and an insult to the king's authority. A general attack upon the castle was ordered. Persons of all ranks, from the country as well as from the town, flocked together, excited by the hopes of booty; the zeal of the multitude became uncontrollable; and, although the sheriff presently repented of the steps which he had so rashly taken, and revoked his previous order, the mob were now entirely beyond his authority, and refused to disperse until the castle was taken, and the besieged delivered into

their hands. In consequence the assault commenced, and lasted for several days, for the Jews defended themselves with obstinate desperation. Still, however, the rage of the people increased, nor were there wanting men of holy calling to hound them on. Many friars took an active part in the proceedings; and, according to Hemingford, there was a hermit present, whose bloody denunciations of death to the enemies of God excited the people almost to madness. This fanatic, however, met with his reward, for, venturing to approach too near, he was killed by a stone from the walls. At last, the Jews, finding they could hold out no longer, took council among themselves what was best to be done. A rabbi, who was held in great repute among them for his learning and knowledge of the law, advised suicide as a last resource, declaring that it was far better they should perish by their own hands, than be put to a slow and lingering death, by their brutal enemies. Many of the Jews acceded to this proposition, but others refused, saying they would rather trust to the mercy of the besiegers. These having left the assembly, the work of destruction began; Jocenus and his friends slew their wives and children, and then put an end to their own lives, having first burned such of their treasures as were consumable, and buried the rest. An attempt also was made to set fire to the castle, but this was vehemently resisted by the remainder, who next morning appeared upon the walls, stretching out their hands with the most humble supplications, and fervently entreating that their lives at least might be spared. This was promised; but no sooner were the gates opened than

every surviving Jew was dragged forth and massacred in the most barbarous manner*. Such was the miserable fate of the Jews of York, which, as the classical reader will remark, resembles in many points the history of Virius and the Capuans as related by Livy. Such parallels, it is true, may be often drawn between events recorded in ancient and modern times: would that the balance of humanity lay oftener on the Christian side!

Richard was terribly incensed at these inhuman deeds; in fact, his honour was thereby compromised, as he had promised peace and security to the Jews. The bishop of Ely was instantly despatched to York, and commenced a rigorous inquiry; but the principal ringleaders had fled to Scotland: and, beyond suspending the governor and sheriff from their offices, and taking many of the principal inhabitants bound under heavy penalties to answer for the late outrages to the king, and in addition levying a pecuniary mulct, his expedition cannot be said to have answered the ends of justice.

Richard now commenced in good earnest his preparations for the crusade; an expedition which had always lain near his heart, and which he now considered himself bound to accomplish, by the double tie of religion and glory. It is difficult for us, the children of an age so far removed from that of the crusades, to appreciate the motives — we say, it is difficult for us to comprehend the spirit, amounting almost to a mania—which drove the great majority of the potentates of Europe from the calm enjoyment of their own possessions, and the

* Hemingford.

moral and intellectual improvement of their subjects, to squander their blood and treasure on the sterile wastes of Syria. Chivalry alone, or the thirst for military glory, would not have urged them so far, nor were there any solid temporal advantages to tempt the cupidity of monarchs, whatever inducement there might have been to a poor and courageous knight. It is to religion we must look for a solution of the problem;—religion, trammelled with all the incumbrances of superstition, and struggling towards an imaginary goal, yet still retaining evidences of its pristine strength, and exhibiting in the persons of the crusaders traces of that pre-eminent faith which supported the early martyrs on the cross and in the fire. Towards Judea, the land of the redemption, Christian Europe bent with yearning, and her lamentation was raised for fallen Jerusalem, like the wailing of a child over the tomb of its mother.

When so many other princes had obeyed the call of the church, and repaired to Palestine, it would have been quite inconsistent with his character and profession, had Richard tarried at home. During the last fifty years, war had been frequently proclaimed through different states of Europe, battles had been fought, and provinces conquered and recovered, but these events, except in the bosoms of the interested actors, created little sensation. No general spirit was roused, no lasting glory was to be obtained by such partial contests. All dwindled away into insignificance before the aspect of the dubious strife maintained by the Latins and Saracens in the plains of Palestine; and the simple soldier of Christ, who returned home with no other trophy than his

wounds, was held in more honour than the man who had wrested a province from his neighbour.

It was intended by the kings of France and England, that the present crusade should be more extensive than either of the former; and indeed the power and talent of Saladin, with whom they had to deal, made this indispensable. Their preparations, therefore, were commensurate with the importance of the undertaking. All able volunteers for the cause were accepted, and the Saladin tithe rigorously levied throughout the kingdom. Richard found in his father's treasury about a hundred thousand marks; but this sum was by no means adequate to the demand, and he resorted without scruple to other means of obtaining money. To Hugh de Pusey, bishop of Durham, he sold the temporalities of his see, the life-rent of the earldom of Northumberland, and the honour of Sudberg for ever. "Am I not," said the king, "a cunning alchemist, thus to transmute an old bishop into a fire-new earl?" The same prelate purchased from the king, for a thousand silver marks, the office of chief justiciary, and at the same time received permission to remain in England, contrary to the vow he had taken of joining the crusade. This conduct of the bishop gave much offence to the church at large, as the office of justiciary was inconsistent with the episcopal functions, and the purchase of a secular title was held to savour too much of the vanities of the world. The following anecdote of this prelate is related by Matthew Paris. It seems that, in his youth, Pusey had consulted a hermit of the name of Godrick, who, besides enjoying the reputation of superior sanctity, was supposed to be

endowed with the gift of prophecy. "Your future lot, and the span of your days," said the hermit, "are known to God and the holy apostles, and not to me, who am but a miserable sinner, striving to expiate my own faults by tears and penitence; but this much of your fortune I can read, that for seven years preceding your decease, you will be afflicted with a grievous blindness." This prediction caused the bishop no small uneasiness, as not only the blessing of sight, but his life, seemed to depend upon the preservation of his eyes. Physician after physician was consulted on the subject, years rolled on, yet his vision seemed unimpaired. At last, seven years after he became justiciary, a dangerous malady stretched de Pusey on the bed of sickness. The symptoms became every hour more alarming, until his friends thought themselves obliged to warn him of his danger, and offered to administer the sacrament. "Then" faltered the bishop in despair, "Godrick the hermit lied, when he prophesied I should be blind for seven years." "Nay," said another prelate who stood beside him, "Godrick lied not, for hast thou not been blind in preferring temporal to spiritual honour, an earldom and thy secular office, to the service of Christ, and the cure of souls entrusted to thy charge?—Yea, so much the truer was his prophecy, inasmuch as the blindness of the soul is more deplorable than that of the body."

In the same manner Richard obtained large sums by disposing of the offices of sheriffs, keepers of the royal forests, and many other dignities to the highest bidders. Even the manors of the crown were sold to furnish out the crusade. In short, Richard's con-

duct was such as to warrant the belief that he never intended to return from Palestine; and in reply to the remonstrances of his counsellors, he is stated to have said, that he would sell the city of London without scruple, if he only knew where to find a purchaser.

This indifference of Richard to his own interest and that of his country, induced William the Lion to come forward, and offer to redeem the independence of Scotland, for which country he had done homage to Henry before he was set at liberty. This he accomplished by the payment of ten thousand marks, and at the same time received back the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, Edinburgh castle having been previously restored. The charter by which Richard renounced his superiority, restores also all the privileges and possessions which Henry his father had extorted, and confirms the lands in England, possessed by William, to him and his heirs for ever, reserving only the homage for these, which continued to be yielded as before.

Richard having now drained the resources of England, was anxious to pass over to his continental territories, but was detained some time longer by the arrival of the cardinal of Anagni, again deputed by the pope to adjust some differences between the archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of the Holy Trinity. This interference on the part of the supreme pontiff was by no means agreeable to Richard, who was as little inclined as his father to allow any potentate, temporal or spiritual, to exercise authority in his dominions. He therefore sent orders to his officers, that the cardinal should be

detained at Dover, and in the meantime set out in person for Canterbury, where he prevailed upon the contending parties to submit to his own arbitration. Rotrou, count of Perche, ambassador from Philip of France, now arrived in England, and communicated to the king and his barons the resolutions which had been passed at the great assembly of the states, convened at Paris; by these it was finally fixed that, on the approaching term of Easter, the king and all his nobility should rendezvous at Vezelai, and proceed direct to Jerusalem. The count further was charged to inform Richard, that king Philip earnestly desired that they might accomplish the voyage together, and therefore prayed that he would make haste to set his affairs in order at home, so that he might be enabled to join him in the following spring. In consequence of this request, a general assembly was held at Westminster, at which the earl of Essex, as marshal of the realm, swore in name of his royal master, to meet with Philip at the appointed place and time, and thence proceed to Palestine. The last arrangement which Richard made, was to provide for the administration of England during his absence, and in this respect he made a most unfortunate choice. William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, was appointed grand chancellor and also justiciary of England to the south of the Humber. This last dignity was doubtless an infringement upon the rights of the bishop of Durham, but as the administration of the northern counties was left to his charge, he did not venture to murmur openly. The appointment of these men, who were not qualified either by birth or character

to undertake so important a charge, gave general dissatisfaction to the nobles; but Richard would not hear of any opposition to his will. To make bad worse, these prelates were exceedingly envious of each other, and, as will be seen in the sequel, their dissensions proved of no small detriment to the state. All things being now settled, Richard repaired to Dover along with the cardinal Anagni, who in the interim had removed an interdict laid by the archbishop of Canterbury on the lands of prince John, on account of his marriage with the heiress of Gloucester, who was within the prohibited degree of consanguinity. From Dover the king crossed over to Flanders, where he was cordially received by the count, who accompanied him into Normandy.

The time fixed for the commencement of the crusade was now fast approaching, but the death of the queen of France caused it to be postponed for a period, and it was finally arranged that the forces should not embark until midsummer. Meantime, the kings held a conference at Gué St. Remi, where the most friendly intentions, auguring well for the future alliance of France and England, were professed on either side. The kings swore, during the continuance of the crusade, to preserve the peace between both countries inviolate—nay more, to lend each other assistance in case either should be attacked by a foreign power; and as their absence would of course prevent any personal interference, they exacted a like oath from the prelates and barons, who were appointed to remain in charge of their respective dominions. With regard to the conduct of the expedition, it was agreed that in case of the death of

either, the survivor should be put in possession of the whole treasure appertaining to the deceased, and should of right succeed to the command of his army; and these engagements were fortified by the penalty of censure, to which they voluntarily subjected themselves, if failing in or breaking their solemn reciprocal covenant. Never before were the two great nations bound together by such amicable ties, never were the kings of France and England united by so cordial a bond. It is to be regretted that the tenure of it was not stronger and more lasting, and that the dispositions of the obligants did not by nature more closely harmonise.

Before setting out, Richard sent for his mother Eleanor, who brought along with her the princess Adalais, and he also called another great assembly of his peers. The nomination of Geoffry to the archbishopric of York had been confirmed by the pope, to the satisfaction of all parties, except, perhaps, of Richard, who dreaded his extreme popularity with the commons, and was apprehensive lest it might be turned against himself. At this meeting, therefore, he exacted an oath from the archbishop, and from his brother John, that they would not set foot in England for a period of three years subsequent to his departure; a restriction which he afterwards thought fit to revoke so far as regarded the prince, the person of all others against whom it ought to have been most rigorously enforced. Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury, now took formal leave of the king. His impatience to arrive in Palestine and join the Christian forces now encamped before Acre, was so strong that he could

not wait for the tardy embarkation of the royal army, but set out in company with Hubert bishop of Salisbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, the old justiciary. These distinguished personages arrived in time to be present at one of the most memorable actions which occurred during the siege of Acre. The king then appointed five commissioners to regulate the fleet and the order of embarkation, and issued the following singular regulations, to be strictly observed during the voyage. The ordinance runs thus. "If any one shall slay another on board ship, he shall be bound to the dead body and cast into the sea—if he slay him on land, he shall be bound and buried as before. If it shall be proved by lawful witnesses that any one has drawn his knife upon another, or wounded him to the effusion of his blood, his hand shall be struck off—if he smite him with the fist only, he shall be plunged three times into the sea. Every time that one voyager insults another with irritating or opprobrious language, he shall forfeit an ounce of silver. If any one shall be convicted of theft, he shall have his head shaved, shall *be tarred and feathered*, and put ashore on the first coast whereat the vessel may touch." The latter part of these regulations is curious, as establishing the antiquity of a custom not yet entirely exploded.

William Longchamp, the chancellor, now returned to England for the purpose of entering into his new functions as viceroy, and afforded Richard, before setting sail, a specimen of the administration which England was doomed to suffer during the monarch's absence in a foreign land. His first step was to fortify the Tower of London, of which he was ap-

pointed keeper; his next was to seize upon the person of the bishop of Durham, his colleague and justiciary of the northern counties, whom he detained in close custody until he gave up Windsor castle and other places of strength which the king had entrusted to his charge. After this he made over the county of York to his brother Osbert de Longchamp, and proceeded to levy enormous contributions from the clergy. His conduct was speedily complained of, and remonstrances were forwarded to Richard, who, nevertheless, espoused the cause of his favourite, and testified no displeasure against him, unless the issue of a charter confirming the former grants to the bishop of Durham, can be interpreted as such.

About midsummer, A. D. 1190, the kings of England and France rendezvoused with their respective armies in the plains of Vezelai. The spectacle was most imposing, for all the chivalry of the kingdoms were gathered there together, vying with each other in pomp and magnificence. Innumerable tents covered the surface of the country. Squadrons of horsemen were seen in every direction, marching and exercising in the fields, and thousands of spectators were assembled from all parts of France, eager to behold the gorgeous array, or to take leave of their friends before their departure to Palestine. After remaining for two days at Vezelai, the encampment was broken up, and the armies marched together as far as Lyons, where they separated; Philip proceeded to Genoa, where his fleet awaited him, and Richard marched onwards to Marseilles.

As we have not hitherto described the personal appearance of Richard, we shall take the present

opportunity of drawing our sketch from the accounts of different historians, some of whom had frequent opportunities of beholding him; and though their portraits do not correspond in every particular, some being drawn with too partial a hand, and others purposely distorted, there still runs through the whole a sufficient resemblance to enable us to identify the great and rare original. Richard, then, was considerably above the common stature, large and strongly built, with the sinews of a Hercules, and the heart of a lion. His hair was of that light colour, between auburn and yellow, which is supposed to denote the predominance of the Gothic blood; his eyes were brilliant and sparkling at all times, but more especially when he was roused. In battle, it is said that his aspect was so tremendous, that the boldest of his enemies hesitated to encounter him, and shrunk back as much dismayed by the terror which his look inspired, as from fear of the might of that redoubted arm. His whole figure, indeed, might have been taken as a model of manly strength, and even of just proportion, had not the great length of his arms deviated from the classical standard; but this peculiarity was manifestly an advantage, as it gave him an immense superiority in the use of the sword and axe. Of his character we shall have to speak more fully hereafter, at present we shall confine our notice to his natural temper. Like all persons of an ardent temperament, who have not learned from experience the art of controlling themselves, Richard was very apt to pass into extremes. His attachments were ardent and lasting, but his dislikes were equally strong. He was choleric

and passionate even to his friends, who durst not go beyond a certain length even in the tender of their advice, and were forced to watch the countenance of their royal master, which never failed to give them warning, though short, of his rising anger. These fits passed away as suddenly as they arose; still, during their continuance, it was wiser to avoid his presence than to brave the fury of the storm. Unrivalled as he was in war, Richard had a strong natural taste for the fine arts; he loved minstrelsy to distraction, and his admirers declare that he was himself a poet of no mean pretensions. We shall afterwards present to our readers in its proper place, a specimen of Richard's composition, from which they may be enabled to judge for themselves of his proficiency in the gentle science. Certain it is, that in his own time, his reputation was high among the troubadours, but where is the poet-prince who will not find criticism disarmed of half its terrors? As to valour and personal prowess, it is needless for us to speak in his praise. Even at this day there is scarce a child in Europe, who is not acquainted with the name of the lion-hearted Richard, and who has not heard something of his deeds in the Holy Land. And if the memory of his valour has escaped the clutch of time, if his name is still in our mouths familiar as a household word—what must have been the fame of our English monarch in the full and present blaze of his renown?—What must have been the enthusiasm of his soldiers, whose lot it was to follow a leader more adventurous than any of the paladins?—And what wonder, if, amidst the overpowering lustre of his achievements, his faults were

overlooked and forgotten? Our creed is that of peace, and war we consider less in the light of a necessary evil, than as the greatest blot on the memory of all who rashly engage in it. It is a recantation of the Christian faith—and the worst crime against the laws of nature and of God. Such is our fixed opinion, and yet, so powerful is the effect of old associations, that the very mention of the name of Cœur-de-Lion, thrills us as though we heard the trumpets sound, and beheld the kingly warrior charging, with his English chivalry around him, into the densest of the Saracens' battle!

“For what were Richard, if he was not first?
Is't not a monarch's right in war and peace,
To pass before his subjects? Where's the man
Would turn his craven back, and hie him home,
When in the middle of the hostile press
He sees the floating war-plume of his king,
And hears his voice, above the trumpets' jar
Shout, To the rescue? Every heart becomes
Too mighty for its breast, and on they pour
To that one centre, irresistible
As lions bounding among antelopes!
Who shall lead on the soldiers but their king?
Where in the battle will they find an eye
Whose glance will better kindle up their own?
Whom will they sooner circle and defend—
Whom will they die for sooner than their king?”

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival of Richard at Messina—His Reception by King Tancred—Disturbances with the Natives—Their Attack upon the English—Richard takes Messina by Assault—Dispute with Philip—Richard makes a Treaty with Tancred—Builds the Castle of Mategriffon—Encounter of Richard and William de Barres—The Abbot Joachim of Hauteperre—Domestic History—Queen Eleanor arrives in Sicily with the Princess Berengaria of Navarre—Tancred reveals to Richard the Treachery of Philip—Marriage of Richard and Adelais finally broken off—Richard leaves Messina—Seizure of some his Ships at Cyprus, and Attempt of the Emperor Isaac to seize on his Sister and Berengaria—Richard takes Limesol, and defeats the whole Army of the Cypriots with a few of his Knights—Treachery of Isaac—Richard takes Famagosta and Nicosia—Arrival of Guy of Lusignan, whose Party is adopted by the King—Marriage of Richard and Berengaria—Richard leaves Cyprus—Encounters and sinks a large Turkish Trireme—Arrives at Acre.

THE English fleet, consisting of more than a hundred large vessels, set sail as early as the Easter holidays; but violent storms, which they encountered at sea, caused them to disperse, and before they were again collected and could reach Marseilles nearly five months had gone by. Richard waited for three weeks in hopes of their appearance; but as no tidings of them arrived, he hired ten vessels and set sail for Sicily. On his way he touched at Genoa and Ostium, and was fortunate enough to fall in with his fleet at Salerno, from which place they proceeded to Messina.

The island of Sicily was at this time ruled by Tancred, cousin of the late king William, who had married Joan, sister of Richard. Tancred's title to the throne was by no means clear, and as he was moreover of an avaricious character, and unwilling

to make good the provision settled upon the queen-dowager, he fell upon the easier expedient of retaining her in the island, contrary to her own remonstrances and the repeated desire of her brother. It was therefore not without alarm that Tancred beheld the English fleet enter the harbour of Messina, which was already occupied by the French. Policy, however, as well as the laws of hospitality, compelled him to receive the new-comers as guests; and Richard made his entry into the town, with trumpets sounding and banners displayed, as though he were the conqueror of the place. A large house in the suburbs was allotted him for his residence, while Philip as the safer inmate was quartered within the walls; a distinction which Richard speedily perceived, and understanding the motive, resolved to shape his conduct accordingly. In fact it was difficult at first to say whether he came in the character of an enemy or a friend.

Tancred, from motives of prudence, retired to his city of Catania, leaving Messina entirely in the hands of the crusaders. The chief officers of the island, however, were sent to do the honours to the guests, with orders to maintain, if possible, a good understanding between them and the inhabitants. The people of Messina were a rude and barbarous race, of mixed European and Asiatic origin, jealous of all foreigners, and exceedingly apt to quarrel. It is therefore little matter of surprise, that feuds and disturbances arose between them and the English, shortly after the arrival of the latter—that ill blood was generated betwixt them, and that the crusaders repaid the insults of the natives with blows. The market-

place speedily became a daily scene of confusion and outrage, and although the English and Sicilian authorities took every measure to promote a better understanding, the mutual dislike of the parties increased rather than diminished, and on more than one occasion blood was freely shed. The conduct also of Richard, it must be confessed, was not calculated to allay the fears of the Messinese. Immediately on his arrival he despatched messengers to Tancred, requiring him to deliver up the person of his sister Joan, and to make restitution of her dowry. The latter part of this demand was not fulfilled at the time, but the queen was instantly sent; and Richard, crossing the straits, seized upon a castle on the Calabrian shore, which he prepared for her residence, and took possession of a neighbouring island, which he converted into a *dépôt* for provisions. These proceedings tended greatly to inflame the anger of the inhabitants, and placed the officers of Tancred in a very disagreeable position. A conspiracy was hatched by the Messinese, who one morning rose up in a body, fell upon such of the English as were within the town and expelled them forcibly from the gates. The camp was instantly in an uproar; the crusaders vehemently demanded permission to avenge this insult; and an instant assault would have been the consequence, had not Philip of France, accompanied by the Sicilian officers, entered the English quarters with the view of adjusting differences with the king. Richard, though highly incensed, and just upon the point of leading his followers to the attack, could not refuse to accept their mediation; but in the middle of the conference

a fresh alarm was heard from without, and the kings were apprised that the townsmen had issued forth, had fallen upon the quarters of Hugo le Brun, and had already killed and taken several of his men. Richard started up, and without uttering a word left the assembly—the others, foreseeing the consequences, made haste to enter the town. The appearance of the king in the middle of the combat gave new energy to the English. Although taken by surprise they rallied so fast, that the Sicilians were speedily driven within the gates, and Richard, whose blood was now fairly up, gave orders for a general assault. The consternation of the Messinese, when they saw the commencement of those preparations, which boded nothing but slaughter and rapine to themselves, may well be imagined. Some manned the walls and repaired their military engines as well as they could on so short a notice—others ran to the king of France, and implored him to save themselves and their city from destruction. The first ardour of Philip's attachment to Richard had for some time been cooled; frequent altercations, in which Cœur-de-lion manifested his hot and impetuous character, had shown the king of France that his English brother and friend was likely to become a dangerous rival, and therefore he had less hesitation in acceding to the prayers of the Messinese, and even went so far as to arm in their behalf, and to despatch a messenger to Richard forbidding him to enter the city. If Richard had previously hesitated, this interference on the part of France would at once have decided him to persevere. A furious assault commenced, in the course of which several of the English knights

were killed from the ramparts; but at last the assailants mounted upon the walls, the gates were forced open, and the townsmen put to flight. Philip, alarmed for the consequences, retired to his own palace, which was left unmolested; not so the houses of the Messinese. These were given up to plunder, although the lives of such as offered no resistance were spared, and the standard of England was planted upon the walls of the town.

Philip was highly indignant at this last action of the English, which he considered as an infringement of the respect due to him as feudal superior to their king, and as tantamount to an assertion of their own supremacy. He demanded, therefore, that the standard of England should be taken down, and that of France displayed upon the walls; and his request was met by Richard with a flat denial—"Does he think," said he, "that I will yield my conquests and the glory of the victory to one who is not even a sluggish friend, but a perjured and vexatious enemy!" At length the remonstrances of his prelates, who dreaded exceedingly lest any serious quarrel should arise between the kings and might impede the prosecution of the great object of the expedition, induced Richard to remove his standard. He left the city in charge of Philip, and care was afterwards taken to prevent any recurrence of the late disorders. This, however, there was little cause to dread, as the Messinese had received a severe and convincing proof of the danger they had incurred by tampering too far with the patience of their English visitors.

The season was now so far advanced that the

crusaders abandoned all thoughts of prosecuting their voyage until the succeeding spring. Philip kept himself close within his palace, affecting to play the part of protector to the Messinese ; while Richard, to whom idleness was unknown, commenced a negociation with Tancred for the restitution of his sister's dowry, and for the delivery of a certain number of vessels which the late king of Sicily had promised to contribute towards the furtherance of the crusade. An embassy for that purpose was despatched to Catania, and was courteously received by Tancred, who willingly received the explanation offered by Richard for his late conduct, and attributed the blame to the rashness and hostility of his own subjects. Philip appears to have acted on this occasion with much treachery and deceit. The recollection of the insult offered to his flag was by no means effaced from his memory ; besides, certain circumstances now led him to suspect that the alliance between Richard and his sister Adalais, which had been so long postponed, was likely to be broken off for ever. Yielding to the dictates of resentment, he secretly despatched messengers to Tancred with an exaggerated account of the affair at Messina ; and made such representations as were calculated to mislead that prince in his estimate of the power and influence of the English, and to give him hopes that, in case of another outbreak, the French would espouse the cause of the Sicilians. These intrigues of Philip had so far an effect, that the settlement required by Richard was postponed, and the supply of provisions brought to the English market so much lessened as to cause serious

alarm. As a hint therefore to Tancred, that further delay in the adjustment of these claims might be attended with the loss of his kingdom, and that the hearts of the English crusaders were not so earnestly set upon the conquest of the Holy Land, as to render other acquisitions wholly unacceptable, Richard commenced the construction of a large and strong castle, upon an eminence overlooking the town of Messina, and employed in the work not only the soldiers of the army, but the sailors from the fleet. This castle he named *Mategriffon*, *i. e.* Slayer of the Griffons, a term of reproach applied to the Messinese, who, as we may suppose, looked upon the monument of their own defeat with anything but eyes of favour. To this place Richard removed his residence, and kept such state there as the circumstances of the time and place would permit.

Tancred now perceived that it was vain for him to stand out against the power and impetuosity of Richard, and proposed a compromise, which was accepted. By this treaty it was agreed that twenty thousand ounces of gold should be paid to the queen Joan, in satisfaction of her dowry; twenty thousand more to Richard, in satisfaction of the engagements and legacies of the late king William; and the daughter of Tancred was affianced to the young duke Arthur of Bretagne, son of Geoffry, and nephew and heir of Richard. These terms were considered honourable to both parties, and were communicated to the Pope, in a confidential letter from Richard.

Peace being thus established, the winter passed over without the occurrence of any very remarkable event, unless we reckon as such an attack of

some marauding Pisans and Genoese upon the fleet of Richard, which was, however, without much difficulty repelled. We shall here relate an accident that occurred during Richard's stay at Mategriffon, as it is very characteristic of the impetuous nature of the man. Riding out one morning to exercise, as was his constant habit, accompanied by several of the most distinguished knights of England and France, he encountered a peasant leading an ass laden with cancs, and being in a frolicsome mood, he purchased the whole burden, and distributed them amongst his attendants, avowing his intention of holding a tournament on the spot. No amusement could have suited the company better. Each knight selected his antagonist, retired to a proper distance, placed his weapon in the rest, and encountered in mid career. Of course there were few saddles emptied in this mimic joust, although most of the spears were broken; but it so happened that William de Barres, who was esteemed the bravest knight in the French army, was the antagonist of the king, and tore his garment in the course. It is said that Richard had a pique against this knight, on account of his having formerly broken parole when a prisoner in Normandy; but be that as it may, Richard lost his temper, and drove against him so fiercely, that de Barres' horse stumbled, and the rider was nearly overthrown. At the same moment, the girth of the king's saddle burst, and Richard was hurled to the ground. This untoward accident made him doubly furious. He called for another horse, and made a second attack upon de Barres, who still maintained his seat. Fortunately, none of the party carried

more dangerous weapons than those which had given rise to the contest. Robert de Breteuil, son of the earl of Leicester, who had been knighted the day before, laid hands upon de Barres, but Richard ordered him to be gone. "What!" cried he "thinkest thou I have need of another to overthrow a traitor like this?" Again he seized on de Barres, and strove to drag him from his seat; yet with all his gigantic strength he could not make him swerve from his place, and the knight recovering from his amazement, grappled fiercely with the king. Their force appeared so nearly matched that neither could overcome the other, and the rest of the company at last interfering, put an end to this unseemly struggle. Then Richard, looking angrily on his antagonist, exclaimed, "Get thee gone, sir knight, and beware how thou comest before me again, for thou hast made an enemy of a king, and my hatred shall pursue thee and thine for ever!" Upon this, de Barres departed in great confusion; and although his royal master and the other leaders of the crusade waited next day upon Richard, and entreated him to forego his resentment, representing how detrimental it would be to the cause if they lost the services of a knight so valiant and esteemed as de Barres, it was some time before they could persuade him to recall his words; nor was it until long after, when he witnessed the prowess of the Frenchman in the field of battle, that he thoroughly forgave him for the insult so unwittingly committed.

If any of our readers should happen to be profound students of the Apocalypse, and to have formed any theory regarding the rightful interpre-

tation of the mysteries therein contained, it may gratify them to know, that about this time there lived at the monastery of Haute-pierre, in Calabria, a famous abbot called Joachim, who was not only an expounder of these, but a prophet of no small reputation, and that in his own country. This man at a very early age had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he asserted that he had received from Heaven the key to the mysteries of St. John. These he professed thoroughly to understand; and so widely were his opinions bruited, that they obtained from him the notice of the head of the church, and that in no enviable form, since in the council of the Lateran, under Innocent III., he was declared a Tritheist and open heretic. Richard was curious to behold so singular a character, and, being perhaps infected with a touch of that superstition common to the time, sent for this prophet from his monastery in Calabria, and questioned him regarding the probable success of the crusade. To this Joachim replied, that the time for the deliverance of Jerusalem was not yet come; that Saladin was the sixth head of the Dragon, and that according to the mystery of the numbers, he could not be destroyed until seven more years were fulfilled; but that Richard would reap great glory from his expedition, and would triumph over all his enemies. It appears that the worthy abbot was unwilling to lose the opportunity of detailing his religious opinions to so distinguished an auditory, for passing rapidly from the subject of the crusades, he launched forth in the exposition of the Apocalypse from beginning to end, affirming that Antichrist was already born,

though not advanced to manhood, that Rome was the place of his birth, and that he would be elected pope. This hardy assertion drew upon the prophet the wrath of the French and English prelates, who entered keenly into the discussion ; and much learning was spent on either side in canvassing points, which, to the present day, have baffled the ingenuity of the uninspired.

We now come to a domestic part of the history of Richard, which is of the utmost importance, as it severed entirely the bond of friendship between him and Philip of France ; a bond which for some time had been relaxing in strength, but which was never fairly broken until now. Before the death of Henry, Richard had been attracted and subdued by the beauty of Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre, and the passion thus kindled had still continued to burn, though Adelais was now free, and the preliminaries of his marriage with her were adjusted. It does not appear that Richard ever entertained any real regard for the French princess. Between him and her a terrible gulf was created by the suspicion of an illicit intercourse with his father, which the conduct of Henry went far to establish. The princess, indeed, was loud in her denial of the imputation ; but what woman would not have said the same, when her honour and character were impeached ? Eleanor, the queen-mother, had such ample proof of the other infidelities of her husband, that she was prone to believe any rumour of the kind. In her destined daughter-in-law, she beheld a former rival ; and such being the case, how could she countenance the marriage of her son ?

All the influence, therefore, which Eleanor possessed, was employed against Adalais, and for Berengaria. Richard was overjoyed to find his wishes thus seconded by his mother, and despatched her to Guicenne to negotiate the alliance. No obstacles were thrown in the way by the family of Navarre, who were delighted with the prospect of so powerful a connexion; and Eleanor along with Berengaria journeyed to Naples, from which place, having sent intelligence of their arrival, they were conveyed by Richard's orders to Brindisi, where they would be better accommodated than at Messina, and where, by the orders of Tancred, they were received with all possible honour.

Richard now determined to pay a personal visit to the king of Sicily, whom, in respect of the late treaty, he considered as an intimate ally, and accordingly waited upon him at Catania, where he met with a cordial reception. The monarchs exchanged splendid gifts. Richard presented Tancred with Caliburne, the famous sword of king Arthur; and during this visit, which lasted for several days, they became so attached to each other, that they spoke without reserve of the late events, and of the part which the French king had taken in the affair of Messina. To the inexpressible surprise of Richard, Tancred produced a letter from Philip, which he affirmed had been given to him by the duke of Burgundy, wherein the writer asserted that, from his knowledge, he could aver that the king of England was faithless and a traitor, and would not keep the treaty which he had made with the Sicilian monarch. That if Tancred would fall upon Richard either openly

or by a night attack, the French would give him every assistance in their power, and help to drive the English from the island. "I neither am, nor have been, nor will be a traitor," said Richard, when he had finished the perusal of this extraordinary epistle, "and so help me God as I have not infringed one article of the treaty I have made with you, nor will I do so as long as I live. But it almost passes belief that the king of France could write such slanders of me, seeing that he is not only my feudal lord, but the sworn companion of my pilgrimage." "That letter," replied Tancred, "which I have placed in your hands, was delivered to me by the duke of Burgundy; and if the duke should be base enough to deny it, I am ready, through my champion, to prove the falsehood on his head." With consent of Tancred, Richard retained the letter, and the kings shortly afterwards parted with professions of unalterable regard*.

When Richard and Philip again met at Messina, the countenance of the former was altered. He no longer greeted his comrade with cordiality, or even common politeness, but took every means of preventing further communication between his army and the French. Philip suspecting the cause of this estrangement, but ignorant of the extent of Richard's knowledge, despatched the count of Flanders to inquire what reason the king of England could allege for treating him in so uncourteous a manner. To this Richard replied by repeating the conversation he had held with Tancred, and showed the count the letter under Philip's own seal. The French king,

* Hoveden.

when this reply was announced to him appeared exceedingly confounded, but soon recovering himself, said to the count of Flanders, "This convinces me that the king of England wishes to malign me, for that letter of his is false and forged. I never wrote any such. And I believe further, that he has got up this accusation against me, for the purpose of deserting my sister Adalais, whom I hear that he has sworn he will never marry. But let him beware, for I certify him that if he leave her and take another, I will be his implacable enemy for ever." This having been reported to Richard, he replied, that no consideration on earth should force him to marry Adalais, by reason of her connexion with his father, to whom she had born a son; which fact he was ready to establish that instant, by numerous and credible witnesses. It appears that Philip was staggered by this assertion, perhaps indeed he was already aware of its truth, for, by the advice of the count of Flanders, and others in whose judgment he could place implicit reliance, he consented that all the arrangements regarding Adalais should be held null and void, on condition that Richard should pay the sum of two thousand marks sterling, yearly, for the period of five years, and restore Gisors and the other places which had been ceded to him as the portion of the princess. It was further agreed, that the duchy of Bretagne should in future be a fief of Normandy, and that the duke of Normandy should do homage to the king of France for both territories. Richard presently advanced one year's instalment by way of redemption-money; and the treaty being signed and sealed, Richard was declared free, and at liberty to

marry whomsoever he pleased. As for Adelais, in whose frailty we are reluctantly compelled to believe, she afterwards married William, count of Ponthieu, who, singularly enough, was one of the hostages offered by Philip for his observance of the articles.

In the month of March 1191, Philip set sail from Messina for the Holy Land. Richard neither wished nor offered to accompany him. After what had passed they could no longer be true companions, neither was it worth their while to carry the mask of intimate friendship. When Philip was gone, Richard brought his mother and the beautiful Berengaria to Messina, and remained there until he had collected a sufficient number of vessels to transport his forces and the munitions of war. These being at last procured, he took an affectionate farewell of his mother, who returned to England, and, having previously demolished the castle of Mategriffon, set sail, his fleet consisting of one hundred and fifty sail, fifty-two galleys, ten ships laden with provisions, and a number of smaller craft. On board one of the larger vessels, called a buschia or buza, were his sister Joan and the princess Berengaria; he himself sailed in another vessel. For some days the fleet proceeded with a prosperous wind, but after they had passed Crete a furious tempest arose, which separated the vessels and drove them in different directions. Richard put into Rhodes, where he waited for some days in great anxiety regarding the fate of his other ships. At last, one of the fast-sailing craft which he had despatched to scour the seas in search of the rest, returned, and brought him the unwelcome intelligence, that three of his largest

ships were stranded on the coast of Cyprus, and that the buza which conveyed his sister and bride had sustained considerable damage, and was lying off Limesol, her entry into that harbour having been delayed for reasons which we shall presently relate.

Cyprus was at that time governed by Isaac, a prince of the house of Comnenus and a usurper, who united in his character all the mean and despicable traits that rendered the name of Greek, during the crusades, a term of infamy and reproach. Although so nearly situated to Palestine, and therefore liable to invasion from the Saracens, the Cypriots had never taken any part in the Holy Wars; indeed they were nothing more than a race of rude barbarians, far inferior in civilization to the Turks, and ready to plunder all whom accident might drive on the shores of their alluring island. As we have already said, three of Richard's largest vessels were wrecked off the coast, and numbers of the soldiers drowned in attempting to make their way to land. Those who escaped were received by the inhabitants with great professions of friendship, and led into a neighbouring castle, where they were deprived of their armour and imprisoned, under the pretext that they could not be allowed to go at liberty until the will of the emperor, whom the natives represented as the most benevolent of men, could be ascertained. In the meantime the storm had abated, and the captain of another ship which had ridden it out, sent large supplies of provisions ashore for the use of his unfortunate comrades. These were instantly appropriated by the Cypriots, who kept the English immured in the castle without

giving them the bare means of subsistence, until, seeing that nothing but a lingering death awaited them, the soldiers made a desperate attempt, in which they were so far successful as to burst open the doors, overpower the guard, and reach the open country. They had no weapons save a few bows and daggers, which they had managed to conceal, but with these they kept the Cypriots, who now mustered in great numbers, at bay, and made their way to the harbour of Limesol, where they found the crew of another vessel scuffling with the inhabitants. The English at last beat off their opponents, and established themselves on the shore. All this while the buza which contained queen Joan and Berengaria was lying at a short distance; but the crew being ignorant of the country, and suspicious of its inhabitants, had not ventured to disembark, although the vessel was much shattered and in urgent need of repair.

Next day the emperor Isaac appeared in person, and held a long colloquy with the sailors who had landed. He appeared very reasonable and mild in his professions, excused the conduct of the islanders on account of their ignorance, and promised that all the arms and stores which had been taken should be restored. He also gave the English full liberty to enter Limesol, and furnished them with provisions and wine, which were eagerly accepted. The unwary crusaders thus suffered themselves to be inveigled into the city, where, suspecting no treachery, they were surrounded and secured. The crafty Greek next attempted to get the princesses into his power, and for that purpose solicited them earnestly

to land. Certain circumstances, however, had rendered them doubtful of his honour. The sudden disappearance of the English from the harbour was, to say the least, suspicious; and weather-beaten as they were, they preferred to remain in their vessel, rather than place themselves in the hands of a man whose reputation was far from creditable. Still, lest he should be inclined to enforce his request by other means than mere solicitation, they deemed it prudent to dissemble, and to flatter him with the hope that they would presently accept his invitation; in the interval they expected with much anxiety the arrival of Richard, and in fact were soon relieved by beholding the approach of the fleet, which had again collected at Rhodes.

As soon as Richard was made acquainted with the injuries which his men had sustained on shore, he sent a messenger to the emperor, demanding the restitution of their persons, and of all the arms and stores which had been taken from them, and from the stranded vessels. To this, Isaac replied with much insolence, that he cared nothing for the crusaders, and had no common cause with them; that he had seized the persons and property of the English as intruders upon his island, and would keep them until ransomed; and further he threatened, if Richard should venture to disembark, to treat him in the same manner. A far more qualified defiance would have been sufficient to rouse the blood of Plantagenet. Richard ordered his men to arm themselves, and filling all the boats belonging to the fleet with troops, advanced towards the harbour. Isaac, on the other hand, was prepared for the attack. Squad-

rons of cavalry appeared on the shore to oppose the landing of the English ; a number of boats well manned were sent out of the harbour to cope with them at sea ; whilst on the pier and bulwarks, clouds of archers and cross-bow men were stationed, who poured their shot into the midst of the advancing crusaders. Nothing, however, could withstand the impetuosity of Richard. The boats of the Cypriots were taken, and those who manned them thrown into the sea ; the missiles from the land were repaid with showers of arrows from the English bowmen, the most expert archers of the world ; and as soon as the boats arrived in shallow water, Richard leaped into the surf, and, calling on his men to follow him, threw himself into the midst of the Cypriot cavalry, and was instantly surrounded. But the first few blows dealt by the herculean arm of Cœur-de-Lion made the boldest of his assailants recoil in dismay, and well and powerfully was he seconded by his noble English followers. The king seized the bridle of a horse whose rider he had hurled to the ground, and vaulting into the seat, dashed into the thickest of the press, where the emperor Isaac was conspicuous by his gilded armour and royal insignia. "What ho ! lord emperor !" shouted Richard, "come if thou darest and meet me hand to hand." But Isaac was no match for him in personal prowess, and set the example of flight to his troops, by turning the rein. The Cypriots were first driven into the town of Limesol, where they endeavoured to maintain themselves, but the gates were speedily burst open ; and as the English entered the town the natives escaped by the other side. In Limesol the conquerors found

great store of provision, and every other necessary of which they stood in need after their precarious voyage. Richard, whose enterprise and ambition were alike gratified by so unexpected a conquest, was in no haste to pursue his journey, but determined to remain awhile for the purpose of refitting, trusting also that he should have an opportunity of indulging further his passion for military exploits. Accordingly on the next day, the queen of Sicily and the princess of Navarre landed, and Richard then caused the horses on board his ships to be disembarked, remarking that a true knight could never fight so well on foot as in the saddle. The poor animals had been sadly shaken by the tempest, and were in much need of rest, nevertheless Richard, who had not settled down from his yesterday's adventure, selected fifty of the strongest, and ordering his best knights to mount and follow him, rode away into the country in search of further adventure. It so happened that the emperor Isaac, having remarked that the crusaders were all on foot, was less afraid of their advance, and had pitched his camp in a valley not more than five miles distant from Limesol, where he waited for further reinforcements, confidently expecting in a few days to be enabled to blockade the English in the city, if not to compel them to abandon the island. From this camp he sent out scouts in all directions, some to raise the inhabitants of the more distant parts of Cyprus, and some to watch the progress and movements of the enemy. A large body of cavalry despatched on the latter service advanced as far as an olive wood, at no distance from Limesol, and seeing none of the

English abroad, save a small body of horsemen pacing leisurely along the plain, thought fit to express their contempt of the crusaders, by sounding a challenge with their martial music, and displaying the banner of the emperor. Never was a challenge more readily accepted. The horsemen, who were no other than Richard and his knights, instantly halted, faced about, and descriing the enemy, set spurs to their steeds and bore down towards them. The Cypriots, whose defiance was mere bravado, and who remembered well the terrible lesson which the experience of the previous day had taught them, had not the temerity to wait the onset, but fled precipitately towards their camp, closely followed by the knights. At last Richard arrived at the brow of an eminence, down which the fugitives had galloped, and beheld in the plain beneath the camp of the Greeks spread out on the borders of a winding stream, and an immense multitude of people moving to and fro. These, as soon as they caught a glimpse of the hostile apparition, raised a terrible clamour, and throwing themselves upon horseback advanced within bowshot of the knights, and discharged a shower of stones and arrows against them. Some of Richard's followers proposed advancing to the charge, others considering the overwhelming numbers of the Cypriots, thought it would be no shame to retire; their spokesman was a warlike clerk, Hugo de Mara by name, to whose remonstrances the king replied, "Sir Clerk, we soldiers meddle not with your profession, neither do we presume to interpret the Scriptures. I pray you do likewise, and suffer us to deal with yon rabble as we see fit." Further advice only

served to confirm the obstinacy of Richard, who laughed to scorn the fears of his followers, and desiring them all to follow him, galloped straight towards the enemy. The Cypriots appalled by his temerity gave way; every knight followed the example of his leader, and scattered the enemy like chaff before the wind. A thrust from Richard's lance brought the emperor to the ground, but his attendants rushed hastily in, and mounting him on another horse, led him from the field of battle. His retreat was the signal for a general flight. The barbarians fled with precipitation from the blows of these warriors, who, cased in complete steel, appeared to them invulnerable, and in their rout they flung away helmets, swords, lances, and even the banners which they carried; nor did they consider themselves safe until lodged amongst the fastnesses of the neighbouring mountains. The camp with all the stores it contained, which were immensely valuable, fell into the hands of Richard, who, sending for assistance to the city, returned to his sister and bride the victor in as unequal a contest as was ever waged. Indeed the credibility of the story might be questioned, if we received it upon less accurate authority, than the narrative of one who accompanied Richard on his eventful voyage*.

We shall continue the history of Richard's warlike achievements in Cyprus, before adverting to other important matters which occurred during his stay in that island. It was the intention of the king, without listening to the overtures which the emperor,

* Vinesauf.—Hoveden's account differs so far, that he calls this a midnight attack.

now terrified lest his kingdom should be wrested from him, repeatedly made, to penetrate into the interior, and if possible to seize the person of Isaac ; but the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, jealous of the delay which would thus befall the great objects of the crusade, interposed, and succeeded in effecting a conference between the hostile monarchs. They met on a plain near Limesol, and after some discussion it was agreed that Isaac should swear fidelity to Richard, and should accompany him to the Holy Land with five hundred cavaliers ; that he should pay three thousand five hundred marks in satisfaction of the stores and arms taken from the stranded vessels, and should besides deliver over his castles and places of strength to the custody of the king, as a pledge for his performance of the above articles, on the understanding that the same should be restored to him on the accomplishment of the crusade. Scarcely, however, were these conditions agreed upon, when the emperor, being instigated thereto by one of his generals named Caiphas, who assured him that Richard only waited for an opportunity to cast him into prison, fled to Famagosta ; whereupon Richard, entrusting his army to the guidance of Guy of Lusignan, who had just arrived from the crusaders' camp at Acre with directions to proceed straight by land and invest that city, took four galleys, and sailing round the island blockaded the mouth of the harbour, trusting thus to secure the person of the emperor, should he attempt to escape either by land or sea. Whilst thus engaged three new messengers from the Holy Land arrived, and entreated Richard to forego his conquests in Cyprus, and to

hasten with all despatch to the relief of the Christian army before Acre, which they represented as in a state of the utmost distress. Richard replied sourly that he was the best judge of his own affairs, and needed not the advice of his brother of France, at whose instigation this embassy was evidently sent. Guy of Lusignan now arrived at Famagosta, but found it deserted, the emperor having retired inland on being advertised of his intention. Richard immediately landed and advanced towards Nicosia, where the inhabitants yielded without resistance, and came out in procession to meet the conqueror. Richard accepted their submission, and exacted no other penalty from them than that of shaving their beards, in token that they had now transferred their allegiance to another master. Isaac in the mean time had retired to the almost inaccessible castle of Candaira, where he remained in stupified despair; having thus seen, in the space of fifteen days, his kingdom wrested from him, and being conscious moreover, that his own treachery was the sole cause of these disasters. Guy de Lusignan advancing at the head of a division of the army, reduced in succession three castles, in one of which was the young and beautiful daughter of the emperor, the creature on earth whom he loved the most, and whose loss completely subdued whatever of his courage remained. Humbled and dejected, he left his retreat of Candaira and came before Richard in the guise of a suppliant; he threw himself at his conqueror's feet, abandoned to him all that he possessed, beseeching him only that he would not load him with iron fetters. Richard beheld this miserable spectacle of forced

humiliation with hearty contempt, but also with some pity. He raised Isaac from the ground and allowed him an interview with his daughter, at sight of whom the fallen emperor manifested the most lively emotion, folding her in his arms, and shedding tears of joy. The further fate of Isaac is well known. He was bound with chains of silver, and confined in a castle on the sea-shore of Palestine, where he died, about four years afterwards. His daughter was given as an attendant to queen Berengaria, and in that capacity accompanied her to England, after the expiry of the crusade.

The arrival of Guy of Lusignan in Cyprus was owing to the following circumstances. A keen contest for the crown of Jerusalem, at that time an empty honour, was carried on between Guy, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. The details of this quarrel will be found hereafter more fully narrated, in this place we shall only say that the party of Guy was the weakest, and that the king of France had warmly espoused the cause of his rival. This last circumstance was of itself sufficient to recommend Guy to the protection of Richard, who declared himself at once of his party, and presented him with two thousand marks and other articles of value. In thus precipitately pledging himself to support one claimant in a dispute the merits of which were only partially known to him, Richard doubtless acted with the greatest imprudence, for judging of the two candidates by their personal qualifications alone, there can be no doubt that Conrad was in every way superior to Guy, whose principal claim to the crown was, that he had already lost his kingdom.

Immediately after the conquest of Limesol Richard concluded his nuptials with Berengaria, a very amiable princess, and one every way worthy of so high a destiny, and on the same day she was crowned by the bishop of Evreux. The ceremony was just over when Richard received the joyful news that all his remaining ships, which had been scattered by the tempest, had entered the harbour safe and undamaged. Nothing now remained for him but to take order for the preservation of his conquests, which he did by committing the island of Cyprus to the charge of Richard de Camville, and Robert de Turnham; and weighing anchor, with a fair wind he set sail for Acre. While at Cyprus, a rumour had reached him that this city was already taken, which caused him much vexation, for he felt as if his absence at the issue of the siege had been a stain upon his renown, and he therefore proceeded with more diligence lest other successes should crown the arms of the Christians before his arrival. Crossing, therefore, the narrow sea which divides Cyprus from Palestine, his fleet came in sight of Tortosa, and bearing southward, they passed the towns of Tripoli, Biblos, and Beritus, places which the English had often heard mentioned by pilgrims returning from the holy wars, and which they now gazed upon with a feeling akin to veneration. Rounding the promontory of Sidon, they discovered a huge vessel lying off the shore, which proved to be a Saracen trireme, despatched by Saladin to carry stores into Acre, as that town was besieged from the landward side. She was waiting for a favourable opportunity to put into the harbour, a matter of no small diffi-

culty, since the ships of Tyre belonging to the marquis were constantly plying along the coast; and her cargo is said to have consisted of a hundred camels-load of arms, warlike engines, crossbows, bows, bolts, and arrows, with jars filled with Greek fire, (a most dangerous composition which no water could extinguish,) and two hundred venomous serpents inclosed in glass bottles, which were intended to be thrown into the Christian camp. On board this vessel also, were seven of the Turkish emirs, and about eighty of the noblest Saracens, who were specially despatched to undertake the defence of the city; so that the capture of the ship became an object of the highest importance to the Christians. When first hailed, those on board of her, perceiving the character of Richard's armament, replied that she belonged to the king of France, but the language and tone of the answer persuaded Richard of the falsehood. Being hailed again, they replied that they were Genoese bound for Tyre; but showing no colours or proof of their country, the truth became apparent to all, and a swift galley was sent with orders to board. No sooner did she approach the Saracen ship, than such an overwhelming shower of stones and darts was launched at the crew, that they were forced to lie upon their oars, and keep at a respectful distance from the trireme, which now began to move away with great rapidity, by aid of her oars, although the wind was almost down. Richard ordered his own ship to be pushed close to her, but again the missiles of the Saracens were thrown with such deadly effect, that the rowers had not courage to keep their places, but were fain to shelter themselves

from the iron shower. Nor could the English bowmen shoot with much prejudice to the enemy, as the trireme was far higher than any of the galleys, and was besides furnished with bulwarks, which effectually protected her crew. In this way the skirmish lasted for some time, and it became evident that the trireme was fast leaving its pursuers. "What!" cried Richard, "will you suffer that ship to go away unharmed? Knaves, if you do, you deserve all of you to be nailed to the cross.—Shame on ye, make another effort, and if we take her, all the treasure she contains shall be yours." These words so animated the rowers that they again made up to the trireme, and some of the sailors leaping overboard, passed ropes round her rudder, so as to divert her from her course; others by aid of ropes clambered on board, but these were instantly despatched by the Turks, who fought with great gallantry, and though surrounded evinced not the slightest intention of yielding. Twice were they boarded, and twice were the assailants repelled; at last Richard, alarmed for the safety of his fleet, as the Saracens now began to use the Greek fire, ordered some galleys to strike the trireme with the iron beak or rostrum which those vessels carried at their prow. His commands were obeyed. The galleys being removed to some distance to increase the force of the shock, were impelled against the sides of the trireme with all the force that the rowers could exert. Her timbers, though strong, could not sustain the concussion, and she began gradually to settle down. The Turks, who until the very last moment had continued to defend themselves bravely, now leaped into the sea,

where numbers of them were drowned or killed ; mercy towards a vanquished enemy being hardly considered as a virtue by the most Christian crusaders. Thirty-five only of the emirs and principal engineers were saved out of nearly fifteen hundred picked men, whom Saladin had selected for the relief of Acre.* That night the English fleet anchored off Tyre, and next day, the wind being again favourable, they reached Acre, and beheld with eager wonder the strong towers and defences of that city, the camp of the surrounding Christians, and beyond them at a greater distance, the glittering tents and waving banners of the mighty army of Saladin.

* I have here stated the crew of the Turkish vessel at the highest estimate, which is that of Hoveden. Bohadin, the Arabian historian, gives us the more probable number of six hundred and fifty ; and adds, moreover, that the Saracens, despairing of escape, sunk their own vessel. I have, however, followed Vinesauf in the foregoing account of this remarkable naval combat.

CHAPTER V.

State of Palestine after the first Crusade—Hostility of the Turks—Capture of Edessa by Nouredin—The Second Crusade preached by Saint Bernard—Expedition of Louis VII. and the Emperor Conrad III.—Misfortunes of the Germans, and Treachery of the Greek Emperor, Manuel—Great Defeat of the Germans in Cappadocia—Arrival of the French in Asia—Passage of the Mæander—Battle of Laodicea—Arrival of the Crusaders in Palestine—Siege of Damascus—Dissentions among the Syrian Nobles—Return of the Crusaders—Military Orders of Knighthood—The Hospitallers—The Templars—Antioch attacked by Nouredin—Death of Baldwin III.—Amaury's Egyptian Expedition—Shiracouch and Saladin despatched to Egypt—Defeat of Amaury—Egypt occupied by Saladin for the Caliph of Bagdat—Death of Nouredin; of Amaury—Baldwin IV. and V.—Guy de Lusignan elected King of Jerusalem—Quarrel with Count Raymond, of Tripoli—Great Preparations by Saladin for the Invasion of the Holy Land.

As we are now approaching that period of the history of Richard which is most interesting to the general reader, and which for ages past has been made the fertile subject of romance and song, it is necessary, in order to comprehend aright the origin of the third crusade, as well as its singular consequences, that we should give some account of the state of the Latin empire in the East, towards the close of the twelfth century. A hundred years had not elapsed, since the cross of Christ was planted on the walls of the holy city, and Godfrey of Bouillon, by the common consent of the first crusaders, was within the Church of the Sepulchre proclaimed the first king of Jerusalem. Under him and his immediate successors, the newly founded kingdom increased in strength and prosperity. Large tracts of territory were added to the original conquest, the

strongest fortifications and towns, long considered as impregnable, were wrested from the hands of the Moslem, and the whole of that extensive country which ranges between Cilicia and the Arabian desert, was parcelled out into principalities and lordships, and occupied by the Christian invaders. The kingdom of Jerusalem extended from the town of Biblos to Darum, on the Arabian frontier, and was incomparably the most considerable of all the Latin possessions, as it comprehended, in addition to the holy city and its dependencies, the important counties of Jaffa, Ascalon, Galilee, and Cesarea, the seaports of Acre and Tyre, with numerous inland cities. Next to it in importance was the principality of Antioch, possessed by the descendants of the warlike Tancred. To the eastward of Antioch lay the territory of Edessa, stretching across the Euphrates into the heart of Mesopotamia, and constituting an independent county beneath the rule of the noble Courtenays. The county of Tripoli, which lay between Antioch and Jerusalem, was the smallest of these independent states, and was governed by the descendants of Raymond, count of Thoulouse. Into these new regions, known to Europe only by report, and consequently grossly exaggerated in the estimate of their wealth and productions, thousands of the dissolute and debauched, whom no promises of heavenly favour, no priestly injunction, or princely entreaty, could have enlisted in the cause of the sepulchre, thronged with avidity and exultation. The soldier of fortune, the proud and needy baron, who could find no means in impoverished Europe to satiate his rapacity, the worthless adventurer, and even the

speculative merchant, all hastened, with the eagerness of men who have heard of a discovered treasure, to that glorious country where lordships were meted out to the first who would take possession, and where gold as well as glory was the sure guerdon of a blow. Nor were they altogether disappointed in their expectations, visionary as these may seem. The new rulers of Palestine, however rich their blood or noble their pretensions might be, were in fact nothing more than adventurers on a larger scale, and therefore entertained no idle scruples as to the character and conduct of those whom they retained in their service. The number of original crusaders who had survived the hardships and terrible devastation of the wars was so small, that no new-comer, who brought a stout heart and a stalwart arm to aid against the common enemy, stood any chance of rejection. The first purpose of the crusade had been accomplished—the holy sepulchre was freed from the thralldom of the heathen, and so far all was well. The pilgrim from the West might now approach that sacred shrine without the fear of contumely or the degradation of tribute—the penitent might supplicate forgiveness of his crimes at that spot which, of all others upon earth, was deemed the most venerable and the most efficacious; and the palmer might unmolested pluck from the trees by the banks of the Jordan, the green memorial of his journey, to form the proudest ornament of his cottage by the shores of the northern sea—these triumphs might satisfy the monk, but they could not satisfy the soldier. No blaze of heavenly glory which the eloquence of the hermit Peter, or the other preachers of the

crusade, had conjured up to his vision, was bright or lasting enough to dull his eyes to those temporal advantages which the occupation of Palestine promised to secure. The sepulchre was still the centre-point and talisman of the whole, but it had now acquired another value than its own peculiar sanctity—not only the favour of Heaven, but the riches of earth depended upon its possession and defence.

In imitation of the feudal system of Europe, the newly acquired territories were parcelled out into baronies, and distributed amongst the original crusaders, and those who were willing to make Palestine the home of their adoption. The principal cities and fortifications were occupied by the Christians, but owing to the paucity of their numbers, and the great extent of the conquered country, the rural population were in most places allowed to remain in the condition of serfs of the soil. This would have been a wise arrangement, and would in time have materially contributed to strengthen their power, had the Christians been sufficiently enlightened to adopt any plan by which the interests of all classes might have been in some measure identified. Nothing of this kind could of course occur to men who, even at home, were accustomed to a state of society separated only by the influence of a chivalrous spirit from a state of utter barbarism, in every matter that related to social and civil policy. The inhabitants of the country were doubly detestable in their eyes, on account of their religious tenets, and we have ample grounds for believing that the utmost liberality of the first settlers amounted to a bare and grudging toleration. On all occasions,

therefore, as was afterwards shown when the struggle between Moslem and Christian was renewed, the rural population of Palestine took arms against their masters.

Nor were the warlike Saracens disposed to resign those countries which they had held so long, without a struggle. Hardly a year passed over without some attempt on their part to regain their former ascendancy. Godfrey himself, within a year of his election to the throne, repelled with some difficulty a vigorous attack made by Al-Aphdal, the former conqueror of Jerusalem. Baldwin, his successor, was driven into Ramula, and there besieged by the Turks, and had the greatest difficulty in effecting his escape. Pontius, the second count of Tripoli, was taken and slain by the Mussulmans; and Fulk, the fourth king of Jerusalem, was on one occasion conquered by the sultan of Aleppo. Added to these misfortunes, inflicted by the common enemy, were the baleful effects of internal dissensions perpetually prevailing among the Christian princes, and rising at times so high that civil war was actually proclaimed, and their forces were mustered against each other. They also suffered much from the hostility of the Greeks, who made an inroad into Antioch, and showed themselves as inveterate if not as courageous enemies as the Moslems themselves. But the greatest scourge of all was Nouredin, the powerful sultan of Aleppo. This warrior, whose reputation may vie with that of Saladin, and who occupies a most conspicuous place in the histories of the period, completed the conquest of Edessa, which his predecessor Zenghis had begun, and thus

by breaking the eastern line of the Latin frontier and narrowing the northern range, the Moslem acquired an advantage which promised speedily to be followed by the re-acquirement of the whole kingdom of Syria. No sooner was the news of this important event, and the threatening attitude assumed by the Saracens, made known throughout Europe, than the old religious spirit was roused again with fresh force and fervour. Ambassadors were sent from the clergy and nobles of the Holy Land, to solicit the aid of their western brethren against the returning power of the infidel; the voices of the pope and the chief potentates of the church were raised to back the appeal, and the story of their misfortunes was everywhere heard with sympathy, and responded to by vows of speedy vengeance. Nor were instruments, whose efforts in those days of darkness and superstition were revered as direct inspirations from the Deity, wanting to forward the cause. As the eloquence and zeal of the hermit Peter were the moving principle and origin of the first crusade, so the second also may be traced to a similar source, the energy and perseverance of the celebrated Saint Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. This remarkable man, whose talent and learning had already been conspicuously displayed in the part he took against the schism in the church created by the pretensions of the anti-pope, Peter of Lyons, and also by his exposition of the heresies of Arnold of Brescia, and that amorous scholar the famous Abelard, now turned the whole powers of his gigantic mind towards the establishment of a new crusade, and began the necessary agitation, which,

to be effectual must, like an electric spark, pervade the whole of Christendom. More respected and less wild in his views than his predecessor, Peter the Hermit, and gifted with a vast deal more of shrewdness and penetration, Saint Bernard was the man, of all others, best fitted to direct the flame of popular enthusiasm towards the proper quarter, and to prevent it from being wasted on rash and ill-advised attempts. Thus, when Louis the Seventh, an enthusiast for the crusades, convoked a great assembly of the nobles and clergy at Bourges, to consider the propriety of an immediate expedition to Palestine, although the step was strongly urged by Godfrey, bishop of Langres, and other influential persons, and although the great majority of the assembly appeared to coincide with them in opinion, Saint Bernard openly opposed it, and declared that he must continue to do so, until the consent of the pope should be obtained; insisting that it was his right alone to judge of all matters pertaining to a holy war, and that none deserving of such a title could be undertaken without his express sanction and command. The result of this prudent interference was an apostolic brief, directed from Eugenius the Third to Saint Bernard, authorising him to preach the crusade in France and in Germany; and thus girt with the highest authority, the wary yet devoted churchman set forth upon his mission.

His first public appearance was made at Vezelai, in Burgundy. So many people, as well of the higher as the lower orders, assembled on this occasion to hear the celebrated preacher, that he was constrained to address them from a pulpit erected

on the brow of a hill. Nothing, say the historians of the time, could exceed the eloquence of his harangue—the fervour and solemnity of his appeal in behalf of their Christian brethren of the East—the skill with which he touched every chord most excitable in the breast of his audience—the pictures which he drew of earthly glory, and the promises which he held out of heavenly favour and reward. No sooner had he concluded, than the king, rising from his seat, knelt down before the exhausted preacher, and demanded the cross which the Pope had blessed and sent by his Nuncio to bestow. This example was instantly followed by the count of Dreux, brother to the king, and by all the principal nobility of the realm; and so eager were the multitude to receive the sacred symbol from his hands, that Saint Bernard, after having distributed a vast quantity that he had by him in readiness, was compelled, for lack of other material, to tear his gown to pieces, and dole out the precious fragments to the aspirants for the honour of martyrdom. His mission into Germany was attended with like success. Conrad the Third, with his brother, the duke of Suabia, and many of the most powerful princes of the empire, pledged themselves to a new crusade; and in the spring of the following year (1147), the French and German armies were ready for the field. Unfortunately for themselves, it was determined that they should follow the route of the first crusaders to Jerusalem, and proceed by land instead of accomplishing the journey by sea. The Germans were the first to set out, and their progress was, almost

from the commencement, marked by a succession of unforeseen disasters.

This army was one of the largest that ever undertook the pilgrimage. It consisted of seventy thousand men-at-arms, besides light horsemen, and such a body of infantry as had never before been led by a German emperor to battle. Full of hope and anticipations of speedy conquest and renown—inflamed alike by religious zeal and the warlike spirit of their race—the Germans marched along the road still whitened by the bones of those who years before had gone forth on the same wild and perilous journey. Strange infatuation! These same emblems of mortality, so meaningly strewn along their path, were regarded less as a warning than as an encouragement to the new disciples to proceed, as a call upon them to avenge, by their more successful valour, the fall of the older pilgrims of the West. After having traversed in an unhealthy season the countries of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, the army encamped, upon Ascension-day, in a beautiful valley watered by the river Melas, and made their preparations to celebrate the holy feast in a manner worthy of the occasion. But scarcely had the solemn ceremony commenced, than such a furious storm of wind and rain arose, that it seemed as if the elements were combined to oppose their further passage. The tents, bearing more resemblance, from their size, number, and regularity, to a city than to a temporary encampment, were torn up or blown to tatters. The river, swollen to an unusual height by the accession of a thousand tributaries, came down in terrific floods, inundating the plain, and sweeping away before it

baggage, arms, and men. All who had the power and the presence of mind fled to the neighbouring mountains, and when the day dawned the Christian army presented rather the appearance of men who had escaped from some mighty shipwreck, and were now huddled together for shelter,—wet, weary, and disconsolate,—than of warriors armed to the teeth and marching to a field of battle. Repairing these disasters as he best might, Conrad led on his forces towards Constantinople, where he hoped to obtain a friendly welcome from the Greek emperor Manuel; but where he was doomed to experience, and in a greater degree, the perfidy and meanness which at the same place had crippled the arms and almost destroyed the enterprise of the first crusaders. Incalculable indeed were the injuries which the Christians sustained from the Greeks throughout the Holy Wars; it has even been fairly doubted whether the Moslems were more pernicious enemies to the faith and followers of the cross.

From the moment the unlucky Germans set foot in the Grecian dominions, they became the victims of this wily and unprincipled despot. Under the pretext of guiding them on their march, and of showing due honour to the emperor, who was moreover connected with him by marriage, Manuel sent some troops to meet them at the Grecian frontier. These, however, had their secret instructions, and the strangers soon learned to their cost the truth of the axiom, that a false friend is more to be feared and avoided than an open and declared enemy. The gates of every town were shut against them. Nowhere were they permitted to enter, even for the

purpose of procuring the necessary provisions. These were let down from the walls in proportions shamefully inadequate to the price which was always previously exacted, so that long before they reached Constantinople, famine stared the ill-starred crusaders in the face. Ambuscades were laid along their path, by which almost every straggler from the main body was cut off; and what was more diabolical still, the very bread which they had purchased at so dear a price was found to be mixed with quicklime and other deleterious substances, and caused a strange mortality amongst their ranks. In short, there was hardly any species of possible treason or conceivable villany that was not daily and hourly practised against this devoted army.

No sooner had they arrived at Constantinople, than Manuel, perhaps alarmed lest, enfeebled as they were, the crusaders should attempt some scheme of vengeance, urged their instant departure to the opposite shore; and Conrad finding himself in no condition to resist the mandate, although highly indignant at the insult and injury, quitted without delay the inhospitable soil of Greece, and advancing as far as Nicomedia in Bithynia, halted his army there for a season, to recruit from their late disasters, and to consider the easiest route by which they might penetrate to the Holy Land. Counting only the enemies before him, he forgot the perils he had left behind, and little dreamed that the same fiendish policy that had caused him so much annoyance in Europe, was still at work to effect his total ruin in the wild and desert regions of Asia. The perfidious Manuel, not contented with chasing the Germans

from his own dominions, had, long before they crossed the straits, conveyed secret intelligence of their coming to the sultan of Iconium; with the assurance that if he would allow the crusaders to advance far enough on their journey, he might set upon them in the fastnesses of the mountains, and annihilate the whole army at a blow. Acting upon these instructions the sultan, with the assistance of the neighbouring Moslem princes, raised an enormous army, from Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Lycaonia, and waited patiently in the further provinces in expectation of the coming of his prey. There were two roads by which the Germans might have proceeded from Nicomedia to Antioch. The one which led through the heart of the country was the shortest, but also the most dangerous; the other skirted the sea-shore and was considerably longer, but besides its greater security, it offered easier means of subsistence to the army. Misled by the statements of treacherous guides, whom Manuel had suborned for the purpose, the Germans were induced to take the former route, believing that the march of a few days would bring them into the heart of Lycaonia; a rich and fertile country, where every necessary of life was to be found in the greatest abundance. It is hardly necessary to say that they were cruelly and fearfully deceived. Instead of bringing their unsuspecting victims into this land of promise, the guides led them away by degrees from Lycaonia, left them entangled in the Cappadocian wilderness, and escaping by night conveyed intelligence of their situation to the Turkish army; who all this while had been hanging closely but unnoticed

on the skirts of the Germans. That night the Saracens with silence and precaution drew round the camp of the crusaders, like a serpent coiling round its prey, and next morning the attack began. The Turks, well acquainted with the nature of the ground, protected by the heights on which they were posted, and lightly armed, made fearful havoc among the Christians cooped up in the narrow defiles. Showers of arrows from unassailable enemies galled them on every side ; their cavalry was broken, and even had its condition been better it must here have been totally inefficient ; the weight of their armour restrained them from any active effort to beat their enemies back ; famine had exhausted their spirit, and disease enfeebled their frames. Never was there an easier victory. With the loss of all his baggage and of a vast number of his men, Conrad, himself sorely wounded, made good his retreat to Nicæa on the lake Ascanius, followed by not more than a tenth part of that magnificent army which in the preceding spring he had led from his own imperial Nuremberg.

At Nicæa the emperor encountered the French king, who, with better fortune than his confederate, had passed through the Grecian territories without encountering any of these disasters which beset the Germans on their passage. For this no thanks were due to Manuel, who did every thing in his power to harass and reduce the French ; but such was the military aspect they wore, and the haughty tone they assumed, that the Greek, no less cowardly than vicious, began to tremble for the safety of his own capital, and was fain to greet Louis as a brother and an ally. Perhaps

this assumed mask of courtesy might not have served his purpose so well as he expected, for the French nobles were much exasperated at the previous ill-treatment they had received, and were not backward in urging their monarch to seize at once upon Constantinople, and thus deprive the emperor for ever of the power to harm, had not a report been sedulously spread abroad that their precursors, the Germans, had already obtained a signal victory at Iconium, and were now marching, flushed with spoil and conquest, to join their brethren at Jerusalem. This false intelligence spread like wild-fire among the French. Every scheme which could for an hour retard their approach towards the Holy City was at once abandoned. The glory reported to be gained by the Germans was a practical reproach to them for their own idleness and delay : so profiting by the assistance of Manuel, who furnished them readily with shipping, they crossed the straits and advanced at once towards Nicæa. It was there that they encountered with consternation the wretched and dispirited remains of the German forces, that they first learned the full amount of the treachery and perfidy of the Greek. Louis, struck to the heart by the miserable plight in which he now beheld his brother prince and crusader, received Conrad with open arms, and proposed that they should continue their route together through the dangerous countries that lay between them and Antioch. Conrad, however, ill in body, sick at soul, and perhaps unwilling to march beneath the banner and safeguard of another, thought fit to decline the offer of Louis, and retired to Constantinople for a season ; preferring

rather to place himself in the hands of the author of his present misfortunes, than again to encounter the risks which beset the passage of the Eastern wilds. For once the Greek emperor seems to have belied his character, for he received the wounded and discomfited Conrad with far more hospitality than he had shown him when marching at the head of his army.

Profiting by the experience so dearly gained, the French army avoided the inland route, and bent their course towards Antioch by the sea-shore. At the fords of the Mæander, near Laodicea, they were opposed by a large army of the Turks, whom they succeeded in putting to flight after a desperate engagement. This victory, however, was terribly counterbalanced by the defeat and almost total extinction of the rear-guard, which happened a few days afterwards among the mountains of Laodicea. By a great error on the part of Geoffry, lord of Taillebourg, who that day led the first division of the French, and who, instead of halting for the night at the appointed spot, pushed forwards upon the open plain, the rear of the army, with whom was the king in person, was intercepted in the defiles, and a combat, almost as disastrous to the French as that which destroyed the Germans at Cappadocia, was instantly commenced. Louis owed his escape solely to his own astonishing personal gallantry; but although he was fortunate enough to rejoin the other division, few of those who were with him survived the onset of the Turks. Still, so great was the valour of the French, and so effectual were the cautious measures which they now adopted, that the enemy, although flushed

with their victory, and constantly hovering round them on the watch, could find no other opportunity of a successful attack, and upon the 10th of March, 1148, the toil-worn crusaders made their entry into the Christian city of Antioch.

No sooner had Louis arrived, than he received a specimen of the utter want of concord and unanimity which he was destined to find prevailing among the Latin princes of Palestine. Raymond of Antioch, though well aware of the imperious necessity of striking some important blow, in order to cripple the power of the Moslem, now increased to a perilous extent, sought by every possible inducement to prevail upon Louis to assist him in a succession of petty hostilities against his immediate neighbours; although these could be followed by no further advantage than the reduction of Aleppo, and some petty places which still remained in the hands of the Turks. Louis, however, was too sharp-sighted not to perceive the gross selfishness of the proposal, and too upright to yield. He departed from Antioch, leaving the prince behind him, mortally offended, and directed his march towards Jerusalem, where the emperor Conrad, now convalescent, was already arrived. On his approach the gates of the holy city were thrown open. Jerusalem gave out her multitudes to greet the kingly crusader; flowers were scattered in his path; triumphal psalms were sung by the priests and people; all hailed him as if he were the great deliverer who was to establish the Latin kingdom, and to render it invincible for ever.

The noblest and most illustrious assembly ever seen in Christian Palestine was speedily convened

at Acre, where the plans for future proceedings were laid before the assembled princes. The result of this deliberation was the postponement, for a time, of the recapture of Edessa, and instead of that undertaking, a general and speedy attack upon Damascus was decreed. Never, perhaps, did the cloud of war burst upon a fairer city, situated in a more beautiful region than this. Planted at the foot of Lebanon, and watered by the two famous rivers, Abana and Pharpar, Damascus well deserved the epithet "Eye of the East," bestowed on it by the emperor Julian. On the north and west quarter, the city was inclosed with a prodigious number of orchards and gardens of the most fertile and delicious kind, irrigated by means of canals drawn from the river, and so gracefully interposed, that the green lanes which intersected them formed a sort of labyrinth, wherein it was difficult for a stranger to find his way. In every one of these gardens and orchards there stood a summer-house with a little tower, and as the population was large, these pleasure-spots extended over almost two leagues, presenting to the eye the appearance of a forest of fruit-trees. The south and east sides of the city displayed a remarkable contrast to the others. Not being irrigated like them, neither bush nor tree relieved the nakedness of the plain. Walls of great height and strength, surmounted by four enormous towers, were there the defence of Damascus, and in addition to these, within the town was built a citadel or fortress, so strong as to be esteemed the most impregnable in Asia.

The Christians having determined to assail the city by the garden-side, made a vigorous attack upon

the Turks who were posted there, and succeeded, after a sharp contest, in driving them back. This was not effected without some loss; for the enemy had carefully barricaded every lane and path, and stationed troops within the houses, who galled the Christians by an incessant discharge of arrows. The valour, however, of Baldwin III., the young king of Jerusalem, and also of the emperor Conrad, who strove by feats of personal daring to efface the memory of his former disasters, triumphed over all opposition. The Turks were at last compelled to evacuate the orchards, and to coop themselves up within the walls of the city. And now had Damascus been inevitably won, had not the spirit of dissention and jealousy, which never slept in Palestine, been again aroused among the Christians. In place of pushing on their columns and making a general assault upon the walls, the Syrian princes began to wrangle among themselves who was to have possession of the new principality of Damascus, and each, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of his neighbour, set his brains at work to prevent its being taken at all. In this laudable purpose they were admirably seconded by the inhabitants of the town, who contrived, by means of bribes plentifully administered, to win over to their interest many of the native nobles in whose veins the Asiatic predominated over the European blood. The result of this union of treachery and intrigue, proved to be the abandonment of the camp on that side of the city which was first assaulted, and the establishment of a new one on the others where neither shelter nor provisions could be obtained, and where the walls

were so strong as to defy attack. The Western crusaders, who, along with Baldwin, appear to have been made the dupes of their mean-spirited allies, were highly indignant when they discovered the error they had committed. It was now, however, too late to return to their first encampment. No sooner had they left it than the Turks poured out in multitudes, and barricaded the passages so strongly as to render the success of another attack utterly hopeless. Nothing, therefore, remained for the crusaders but to withdraw their forces and retrace their steps. Discouraged and disgusted, the king and emperor both re-embarked the remnants of their shattered armies, and turning their backs upon Palestine, left the native princes to struggle with the Moslem, single-handed and alone. So ended the Second Crusade.

Had the future defence of the holy territory been committed solely to the titular rulers, there is little doubt that the Moslem, immediately on the departure of the crusaders, would have fallen successively upon each of the Latin states, and profiting by the jealousy and bickerings of the princes, have made themselves speedy masters of the whole. There existed however at this period other powers more formidable to the heathen than the weak and unprincipled rulers of the land. Those were the two great military orders, so famous in history, the knights of the Temple and Hospital—orders whose gallant achievements, not only in Palestine but in Europe, have won for them an immortal renown, and whose existence at the present day, nominal and insignificant as it may appear, is an endearing proof of the

respect accorded to those who, though partaking largely of the errors of these times, were not less the best defenders and the bulwarks of the Christian faith. As the names of Templar and Hospitaller will be frequently mentioned in the following pages, it may not be thought discursive if we should here pause for a moment in our narrative, to give a brief sketch of the origin of these remarkable orders.

For centuries previous to the first crusade, it was nothing uncommon for those whose minds were peculiarly impressed with a sense of religion, or who thought themselves bound, by a sore and weary penance in expiation of the burden of their sins, to undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and breathe their prayers and supplications at the venerated tomb of the Redeemer. Although the infidel possessors of the countries which they traversed always regarded these pilgrims with feelings of derision and contempt, they were yet fully sensible of the benefits that accrued to themselves from the peace-offerings and taxes exacted from the traveller, and if they did not encourage his approach, they at least abstained from offering personal violence. Many, especially of the poorer pilgrims, who thus reached Jerusalem, had spent their scanty means upon the way in buying the forbearance of the Turk; and on attaining the end of their journey had not wherewithal to purchase a morsel of food, or to secure a lodging for the night. This inconvenience having been made known in Europe, several of the wealthier of the devotees and clerical establishments transmitted sums to the Christian dwellers in Jerusalem, for the purpose of erecting an hospital or caravanserai

for the poorer classes of pilgrims ; nor did the Turks oppose the execution of the scheme, as it seemed to them to promise an increase in the number of travellers, and consequently an increased exaction. A number of pious and benevolent persons dedicated themselves to this charitable charge—some received and fed the pilgrims, others tended the sick and dying, and the whole of this excellent establishment was presided over by an individual, who bore the title of Master of the Hospital dedicated to Saint John the Almoner.

When the Christians under Godfrey of Bouillon achieved the conquest of Jerusalem, they found the Hospital still standing, and its inmates actively engaged in their charitable avocations. Penetrated by the kindness which those benevolent individuals showed to the wounded of his army, and reverencing the spirit of faith and of charity which had prompted them for so many years, though persecuted and reviled, to sojourn among the heathen, Godfrey bestowed upon the Hospital the revenues of a rich estate in Brabant; and many of the crusaders, admiring their example, resolved to pass the remainder of their lives within the peaceful walls of the Hospital of St. John. Thus enriched and strengthened, the institution continued to flourish, until under the reign of Baldwin the Second the nature of its duties was changed, and from an exclusively religious order it became one of a military cast. According to the ideas of the times it was no less laudable a service to contend against the enemies of Christ, than to shelter and protect his servants; and the peaceful monks of St. John the Almoner became,

by an easy transition, the mailed knights of St. John the Baptist.

This revolution in the order was effected in the year 1118, when Raymond du Puis was elected Grand Master, and the same year, memorable in the annals of chivalry, beheld the institution of another order, as honourable and as powerful as the first. Nine French gentlemen, at the head of whom were Hugo de Payence and Geoffry de St. Omer, presented themselves before Guarimond, patriarch of Jerusalem, and in his presence took a solemn vow to keep the passes of the Holy Land free and unmolested for all pilgrims from the West. They also took a vow of obedience and poverty, in token whereof their signet bore the effigy of two knights riding upon a single horse. This order was much cherished and supported by king Baldwin, who assigned to them a residence adjacent to the Temple; from which they derived their famous appellation of Templars. Distinctions were speedily heaped upon them by popes Honorius II. and Eugenius III., and rapidly increasing in numbers and renown, they more than shared the admiration of the world with their brethren of the Hospital, and continued to augment in prosperity, until the very circumstance of their greatness wrought their ruin and their downfall.

In all the engagements which took place between the Christians of the Holy Land and their enemies the Turks, the conduct and valour of the soldiers of these two great orders were eminently conspicuous. They were in fact the only real defenders of the Sepulchre, the men whose duty it was to watch it night

and day ;—and well did they fulfil their trust. Cherished by the earlier princes, they became the great support of their successors ; and long before the voice of St. Bernard was heard in Europe, calling upon the nations to rise and march to the deliverance of their beleaguered brethren, not only Edessa but Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem, would have been lost for ever, had they not been protected by the distinguished conduct and desperate valour of the knights of the Temple and of St. John.

But the day was approaching when even these stern warriors were doomed to give way before the force of the Turkish inundation. Round and round the boundaries of the Christian dominions moved the dark masses of their enemies, waiting in silence for the expected signal of attack, whilst the preparations within to repulse them were faint and few ; and little hope remained that Europe, disgusted with the results of the last crusade, and still mourning the loss of her bravest and her best, who perished in the Cappadocian desert and the mountains of Laodicea, would send new succour to her distant and doubtful allies. It is true that in Baldwin III. the young king of Jerusalem, the Christians possessed a leader of great courage, considerable conduct, and active enterprise ; but to him was opposed Nouredin, the famous sultan of Aleppo, a man who for military tactics and skill had not his equal in the East. The first aggression was made by the Turks, who under this daring leader entered the principality of Antioch in full force, routed the army of Raymond, and left that ill-fated prince dead upon the field. Shortly afterwards, Joscelyn de Courtenay, the titular count of

Edessa, between whom and Nouredin a private as well as a public quarrel existed, was taken prisoner and sent to Aleppo, from whence he never returned. An offer was made to his widow by the Greek emperor Mannel, for the purchase of her claim to the Edessene territory ; and this being accepted, the Greek soldiery were, with the assistance of Baldwin, put in possession of Turbessel, and some of the border fortresses. On this one occasion, however, it appears that the cunning emperor overreached himself, for all his perfidious services did not prevent Nouredin from obtaining entire possession in less than a year of the whole of this important territory, not one foot of which was ever afterwards recaptured by the Christians. The principal exploit of Baldwin was the reduction of Ascalon, a strong and important maritime city, which surrendered after a seven months' siege. Eight years more elapsed, during which time Palestine suffered more or less from the constant aggression of the Turks, and repaid them back in kind, without any important success being gained by either party. Had Baldwin survived his rival Nouredin, the struggle might have been still longer protracted, but his death, which happened A.D. 1163, threw the sceptre of Jerusalem into weaker hands. All the writers on the crusades have united in bearing honourable testimony to the virtues and merits of this distinguished monarch, who appears not only to have won the hearts of his subjects, but to have gained the respect and admiration of his enemies. It is stated that even Nouredin exclaimed on hearing of his decease, "that he thought it decent to have a share himself in the grief and

respect which was due to that prince, who ought by all men to be lamented, as not having left another like himself in the whole earth."

Amaury, the brother of Baldwin, succeeded him on the throne; not without some opposition on the part of the barons, who held that, as the crown had been given to Godfrey of Bouillon as the prize of superior merit, the same principle should be applied in the election of his successors; but these murmurs were speedily silenced, and the hereditary right of succession confirmed. The first act of Amaury was to make war upon Egypt; and here it will be necessary to give a short detail of the politics of that country, which led to the interference of the Christians, and unfortunately to their ultimate ruin.

Every reader of Asiatic history is aware of the great schism which, for more than two hundred years previously to the reign of Amaury, divided the followers of the Prophet. Two caliphats were established, the one at Bagdad, and the other at Cairo, both professing the Mahometan faith, yet each asserting the temporal and spiritual authority of its occupant. At the period of which we are now treating, the Fatimite caliph of Cairo was a mere cipher, never interfering in the affairs of state, beyond the nomination of a vizir, who not only exercised the powers, but even assumed the supreme title of sultan. The last vizir, by name Shower, had been deposed and was succeeded in his office by Dargham, a desperate soldier of fortune. Shower finding that the Moslem of his own sect were not inclined to move in his behalf, resolved to solicit the assistance of Nouredin the sultan of Aleppo; who

held indeed of the dynasty of Bagdad, but who was by no means likely to overlook so tempting an opportunity for his own aggrandisement. Nouredin at once consented to the proposals of the deposed vizir, and sent one of his ablest generals Shiracouch, and his nephew the famous Saladin, with a large body of troops to attack the usurper Dargham. This latter personage, suspecting the designs of his rival, was politic enough to engage the assistance of the young king Amaury, by the promise of a large annual tribute from Egypt to the crown of Jerusalem; and Amaury, whose avarice was excited by the offer, and who hoped likewise by these means to turn the tide of war away from his own dominions, made active preparations to meet the army of Aleppo on the road. Active as he was, the Turkish generals had forestalled him, for before he reached the Egyptian frontier, Dargham had been assassinated, and the old vizir, Shower, stepped quietly into his place. But contrary to the expectation of the Fatimite, although the outward object of their mission was fulfilled, neither Shiracouch nor Saladin expressed any intention of returning peacefully home. They, who no doubt had their private instructions from Nouredin, made such large demands of recompense for their assistance, as Shower was utterly unable to satisfy; and in default of payment proceeded forthwith to seize the town of Pelusium. Shower, at last awake to the baneful consequences of introducing a foreign enemy into his own territory, sought to remedy the evil by the same means which had created it, renewed the offers formerly made by Dargham to Amaury, succeeded in effecting a junc-

tion of the Egyptian and Christian forces, and laid siege to Shiracouch in the town he had recently taken. Shiracouch at last capitulated upon honourable terms, and was permitted to leave Egypt on the sole condition of delivering up his prisoners. The Latins on their part returned to Jerusalem only to find the country already in a state of war. The indefatigable Nouredin, profiting by the absence of the king, had thrown himself into the territory of Antioch, and made some progress in the siege of Harenc. On the approach of the Christians, he fell back upon Artesia, and being attacked by Amaury with more courage than conduct a desperate conflict ensued, in which the Latins were completely worsted and many prisoners, amongst whom were the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and Joscelyn de Courtenay, son of the unfortunate count of Edessa, were taken. Satisfied with this success, Nouredin did not for the present pursue his conquest farther.

On the following year Shiracouch again marched with a large army into Egypt, and Amaury being again appealed to by Shower, took the field against him. On this occasion success attended the Christian arms, and the general of Nouredin was forced to retreat. But Amaury, the leading feature of whose character was avarice, and who was, moreover, no ways scrupulous in maintaining faith with an opponent, either Christian or Infidel, was not contented with the large price which Shower paid for his assistance, but meditated the wild and extravagant project of annexing Egypt to the crown of Jerusalem, as if he had not already enough of enemies to contend with, and few or no allies to do battle in his

cause. No sooner was this project conceived than he hastened to put it into execution. Without warning or defiance he took Pelusium by storm, and enriched his soldiers with the booty. Hardly had the news of this treacherous attack reached the astonished Shower, than he beheld the Christian army before the gates of Cairo, and heard their summons to surrender. Had an instant attack been made without doubt Amaury must have succeeded, but that notable prince was no way desirous that his soldiers should share in the plunder of Cairo as they had done in that of Pelusium, and thought it better to enter into a negotiation with the vizir. He, knowing the man he had to deal with, held him in treaty, until an alliance with Shiracouch was patched up, and the Turkish army was within a few days' march of the Christians. Enraged at the consequences of his own avaricious dealing, yet not the less alive to the necessity of instant action, Amaury marched against the Turk in the hope of giving him battle before he could join his forces with the Egyptians, but Shiracouch, as politic as he was daring, moved onwards by another route and effected a junction with Shower. Shortly afterwards Amaury, baffled and disgraced, returned to his own kingdom, without the conquest he had promised to his soldiers, and even without the tribute-money he had earned.

Shower did not live long to enjoy his unmolested rule. Whether his death was caused by the intrigues of Shiracouch or by natural causes does not very clearly appear, but the history of Eastern nations affords us sufficient examples of the frail

tenure of a prince's life when under the protection of a rival. Be this as it may, Shiracouch, with consent of the Fatimite caliph, succeeded Shower in his government; but he too had but a short enjoyment of the fruits of his victories. He died within two months after assuming the reins of government, and his nephew Saladin was elected his successor.

This prince, the most illustrious of all the Asiatic warriors who reared the Crescent in defiance of the Cross, was descended from a considerable family of the Koords, a warlike race who inhabited the mountainous region to the west of the Tigris. In consequence of a private feud, then at least as common and as implacable among the Asiatic nations as they have been among the Celtic tribes of Europe, the family of Saladin were forced to abandon Koordistan, and to place themselves under the protection of the powerful sultan of Aleppo. Nouredin, always accurate in his estimate of character, soon discovered the merit of these expatriated adventurers, and promoted them to commands in his army, where, as we have already seen, they acquitted themselves with much distinction. Shiracouch, the uncle of Saladin, was undoubtedly a soldier of great merit and enterprise, but in all the finer qualities of a statesman and politician he was far inferior to his nephew, whose sagacity merits our admiration, no less than his generosity and forbearance demand the tribute of our esteem. In these latter qualities indeed he was unrivalled amongst all the warriors of his age, whether Heathen or Christian; and often when turning over the pages of the history of the crusades, so disfigured by the recital of deeds of cruelty

and wanton bloodshed, unwarranted even by the lax rules of chivalry, and grievously hostile to the spirit of the Gospel, we are forced to blush for the barbarity of those who called themselves followers of the Prince of Peace, and with shame and sorrow to contrast their conduct with the humaner and gentler dealing of the just disciple of the Prophet.

The fatal effects of the avaricious and dishonourable conduct of Amaury were severely felt by the Christians. Instead of one powerful enemy, Noureddin, they had now to contend against two. Egypt, which for many years had stood to them in the relation of a neutral power, and sometimes of an ally, was now the state from which they were threatened with the greatest danger and distress. Nouredin and his enterprising lieutenant, carried on their operations with the utmost unanimity. The former ravaged the Syrian frontier on the north and east, while the latter, with a numerous army, menaced it on the south. In this difficult position, Amaury resolved to strike one other blow at the rising power of the Egyptian conqueror. With the assistance of Manuel, who now began, on his own account, to dread the augmented influence of the Turks, Amaury succeeded in raising a formidable armament, and laid siege to the town of Damietta on the Nile. This undertaking, like most of his others, proved unfortunate in the extreme. After investing the town for fifty days, his whole navy was carried away and partially destroyed by a great inundation of the river, accompanied by violent storms; and profiting by the opportunity, Saladin advanced with his army, and took the towns of Gaza and Daroun, the keys

of the Egyptian frontier. In the year 1171, the Fatimite caliph Adhed, died, and Saladin, who by this time had outgrown all opposition, reunited the two great classes of the Moslem, by declaring Egypt a dependency of the Bagdad caliph. The cares of effecting this great revolution in his government, prevented Saladin from prosecuting the war against the Latins. Nouredin, also, found ample employment in reducing an insurrection which some turbulent emirs had raised among the distant provinces; nor were he and Amaury destined longer to conduct on either side the great national contest. Both died in the year 1173. Nouredin was succeeded by Saladin, and the son of Amaury ascended the throne of Jerusalem under the title of Baldwin IV.

This prince did not long retain the dignity which he never enjoyed. Afflicted from his infancy with that loathsome and terrible disease, the leprosy, his mind became sensibly affected by reason of his bodily infirmity, and despairing of his own capability to perform the kingly duties, he came to the resolution of committing the charge of government to others. His sister Sybilla, widow of William Longsword, marquis of Montserrat, had contracted a marriage with a French nobleman, Guy of Lusignan, a man of some personal accomplishment, but of no force of character or knightly reputation. This person was selected by Baldwin as viceroy of Jerusalem; and shortly afterwards, in order to secure the accession and relieve himself of all further responsibility, he abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew, Baldwin V., son of Sybilla, by her first marriage with the marquis of Montserrat. A more disastrous

arrangement for the Latin kingdom could not have been made. The barons and lords of Jerusalem were incensed at beholding an adventurer like Guy of Lusignan placed at their head, and openly refused to submit to his authority. A truce with Saladin was concluded by the regent, but one of his vassals, Reginald de Chatillon, lord of Karac, refused to acknowledge the right of Lusignan, and commenced a course of predatory warfare on his own account against the sultan. This so incensed Saladin, that he swore upon the Koran never to rest until he had shed the heart's-blood of the aggressor, and the sequel will show how terribly he kept his oath.

Baldwin IV. and his infant successor died in the same year, 1186. Previously, however, the inefficiency of Lusignan had become so apparent, that Baldwin was compelled to revoke his first decree, and to withdraw the unworthy governor from his office. At the same time Raymond, count of Tripoli, was appointed governor of the infant king, Baldwin V., with the stipulation, that should he die during infancy, the count was to continue regent of the realm, until the rival claims of Sybilla, and of her sister Isabella, wife of Humphrey de Thoron, should be settled by the pope, and others of the Christian potentates. On the death of Baldwin, this arrangement was utterly disregarded. Several of the influential nobles, in particular the patriarch of Jerusalem and the grand-master of the Templars, preferred to remain under the government of so weak a being as Lusignan, rather than own the austere and active count of Tripoli as their feudal lord. Their influence decided the destinies of Palestine, and Sybilla and Lusignan

were declared the queen and king of Jerusalem. The immediate consequence of this ill-advised step was a quarrel with Raymond of Tripoli, who maintained his right to the regency established by the act of Baldwin, and refused to render up several fortresses which he held. Lusignan, without further negotiation, commenced hostilities with his neighbour prince, and Raymond, for his own protection, entered into a treaty with Saladin.

The moment which the Moslem had expected with so much anxiety for so many years, seemed at last to have arrived. The symptoms of dissension and civil discord among the Latins were watched with avidity by the sagacious sultan. The weak state of the empire, and the hostility of its rulers towards each other, made the assurance positive that Jerusalem would fall an easy prey, and never was Saladin known to lose an opportunity. The mandate which called his consolidated armies into the field was issued, and already on the Syrian frontier that storm which was shortly destined to darken all the land, began sullenly to appear.

CHAPTER VI.

Advance of Saladin—Combat of the Turks and Templars—Death of Garnier of Naplouse, Grand Master of the Hospitallers—Reconciliation of Lusignan and Raymond of Tripoli—Battle of Tiberias and Defeat of the Christians—Conduct of Saladin after the Battle—His further Conquests—Siege and Surrender of Jerusalem—Generosity of the Sultan—History of Conrad, Marquis of Montserrat—His arrival at Tyre—Defence of that City—Valour of a Spanish Cavalier—Destruction of the Turkish Fleet—Abandonment of the Siege—New Crusade preached in Europe—Expedition of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa—His death—Saladin repulsed at Tripoli—Lusignan set at liberty—Refusal of the Marquis Conrad to admit him into Tyre—Commencement of the Siege of Acre—Arrival of new Crusaders—Great Battle fought before the Town—Gallantry of the Knights Templars—The Christians besieged in their Camp—Arrival of the Count of Champagne—Isabella divorces Humphrey of Thoron and marries the Marquis of Montserrat, who claims the Crown of Jerusalem—Arrival of the German Crusaders, under Frederick, Duke of Suabia—New Attack upon Acre, and Gallantry of Duke Leopold of Austria—Death of the Duke of Suabia, and Return of the Germans—Privations of the Christian Army during the Siege.

THE approach of Saladin, and the magnitude of the common danger, forced the distempered Latins to sink all minor differences, and to unite heart and hand in the defence of their territory. Lusignan, although unwilling to make the first advances, was compelled by his barons to despatch messengers to the count of Tripoli, with proposals for an amicable adjustment of their differences. For this purpose three of the most respected and influential of the nobles were selected, but before they could reach Tiberias, where the count resided, a terrible disaster befel the Christian forces. Malek-al-Aphdel, a son of Saladin, having pushed forward from Damascus

with his division of the Turkish army, craved permission from Raymond of Tripoli to pass through part of his territory. This request was by no means agreeable to the count, who, although compelled by circumstances to maintain a good understanding with the sultan, never meant to extend his complaisance so far as in any way to favour the Turks at the expense of his Christian brethren. Still, the request was of such a decided nature, that a refusal would immediately have been construed into a declaration of hostility, for which the count, not yet being reconciled to the king, was in nowise prepared, so that Raymond was in some measure compelled to acquiesce, and gave the required permission, under the following stipulations. The Moslem were to cross the river of Tiberias at sunrise and to repass it before sunset, on the same evening; neither while in the territory of Tripoli were they to enter any town, or plunder any house, or commit any ravage whatever. These terms having been agreed to, the young Saracen entered the territory at the head of his troops. Raymond took the further precaution of warning the inhabitants of all the towns and garrisons of the approach of the Turks, and entreated them all, for that day at least, not to stir from their houses, wherewith they would be as safe as in a sanctuary. Among others, the grand-master of the Templars, John Thiery, received notice of the intended incursion, and incensed at the faint-hearted policy that would suffer one rood of the holy soil to be profaned by the tread of an infidel, resolved to oppose their passage, though the result should be fatal to him-

self. It was too late to summon the brethren at Jerusalem to arms; the only available force he could muster were the chevaliers stationed at the priory of Caco, and those in garrisons at Saphet and Nazareth; when these were collected, their number amounted only to a hundred and forty knights, partly Templars, and partly Hospitallers, but they were all warriors of the first distinction; the masters of both orders were at their head, and in such a cause they reckoned as nothing the superior numbers of the foe. Notwithstanding all their haste, it was well nigh sunset on that unfortunate day, before they overtook the Turks. These had adhered scrupulously to the stipulations of count Raymond, and were about to recross the river, when they espied the handful of Christian knights advancing to the charge. It was seldom, when their numbers approached equality, that the infidels would venture to stand the terrific onset of the Templars; but on this occasion, being seven thousand strong, they instantly formed themselves in battle array, and received the charge of the knights with much firmness and intrepidity. The combat lasted long, for no quarter was asked or given, but at its close, the grand-master of the Hospitallers, Garnier of Naplouse, and all his knights, lay dead upon the field of battle; John Thiery, and two or three more of the Templars, were the sole survivors. The victorious Turks executed their usual barbarities upon the bodies of the slain. Having despoiled them of their armour, they hewed off their heads, and fixing those on the points of their lances, filed in triumph across the river in sight of the people of Tiberias,

who, with agonised feelings, had beheld the whole of this disastrous combat, from the walls.

Fearful was the consternation which spread through the ranks of the Christian army, when the tidings of this catastrophe reached Jerusalem; for ill could the harassed Latins afford the loss of even that small number of their best and bravest knights, and of a leader so wise in council, and so sagacious in war, as the grand-master of the Hospitallers. All differences between the king and the count of Tripoli were now forgotten. The disposable forces of both were immediately united, and Raymond notified to Saladin, that the truce between them was at an end for ever. The prince of Antioch also sent such forces as he could muster, under the command of his son, and the king proclaimed the ban throughout the empire, commanding all those who held their lands of the crown, to join the royal standard at Ramla. In the mean time Saladin, advancing to Tiberias, laid siege to the city, which was left almost without any garrison, under the care of the countess of Tripoli. This lady, after a spirited defence, was compelled to abandon the city, and to retire into the fortress with the few soldiers who formed her guard, and found means to make her husband, who was then at Ramla with the king, acquainted with the perilous situation in which she was placed. Upon this a great council was held, whereat different opinions were expressed by the leaders of the army. Count Raymond, with much nobleness declared that although he, of all men alive, had most reason to desire an instant attack upon the enemy, yet that he would rather sacrifice everything that

was dearest to him, than be the cause, through ill-advised counsel, of the ruin of the Christian army. He further stated, that between Ramla and Tiberias there was no water to be found, save the little fountain of Sephorim, which was quite insufficient for the wants of so large a body; that a forced march and attack under such circumstances could not but be followed by the most disastrous consequences; and that, moreover, as all the available force in Palestine was not yet gathered together, it would be more prudent to wait, even although Tiberias should be lost, until they could cope with Saladin, in a more advantageous position. This advice of Raymond was strengthened by the opinions of the great majority of the barons, and of Ermengard Daps, the new master of the Hospital. But unfortunately for all, the king was over-influenced by the representations of the grand master of the Templars, who thirsted for an opportunity of avenging his late defeat, and who moreover bore no good-will to the count of Tripoli. The order for advance upon Tiberias was given, and the army forthwith was put in motion.

On the evening of the second day, after a long and toilsome march, during which they suffered severely from fatigue and thirst, the Latin forces arrived in sight of the army of Saladin, posted on the hills which overhang the lake of Tiberias, and between them and the supply of water which they so earnestly desired. Believing that their situation could in nowise be bettered, they encamped for the night in the neighbourhood of a considerable forest, which was presently set on fire by the Saracens,

so that in addition to their former distress, a suffocating cloud of smoke, from which there was no escape, rolled over them as they lay. Early next morning they were drawn up in the field, and both parties advanced to fight that battle which was to decide the fate of Jerusalem; the Christians rather steeled by despair than nerved by courage, but the Saracens confident and exulting. On that day the Templars and the Hospitallers led the van, and for a moment the infidels appeared to give way before their desperate charge. But fresh reinforcements were instantly poured forward by Saladin. The troops under the command of Raymond of Tripoli, and of Balian, the lord of Ibelin, having cut their way through the enemy, were separated from the main body of their friends. Guy of Jerusalem was taken prisoner, and the Holy Cross, which was carried in front of the battle by Rufinus, bishop of Acre, fell into the hands of the infidel, and its bearer was slain. Along with Guy, Humphrey of Thoron, William, the elder marquis of Montserrat, Reginald de Chatillon, Joscelyn de Courtenay, and many more of the greatest Syrian barons, were taken prisoners. Raymond of Tripoli, together with the lords of Sidon and Ibelin, and the young prince of Antioch, escaped to Tyre. Raymond did not long survive this disastrous battle. He died in his own city of Tripoli, broken-hearted at the reverses he sustained. Nor does there appear to be any ground for the insinuation which some authors have thrown out, that the defeat of the Christians was mainly to be attributed to his treachery, and a private understanding with Saladin.

After the battle, the conqueror received the captive king of Jerusalem and the Christian prisoners in his tent. Guy was treated with much courtesy and consideration. Saladin himself presented him with a cup of iced sherbet, as an assurance of personal safety ; but seeing him about to pass it to Reginald lord of Chatillon, the Saracen, remembering his vow, exclaimed, that Saladin had no mercy to show to traitors and to robbers, and instantly (and, as some say, with his own hand) beheaded the unfortunate marauder. Far less excusable was his treatment of the few Templars and Hospitallers who had fallen alive into his hands ; and far better had it been for them to have perished, like the rest of their brethren, on the bloody plain of Tiberias. On the next day they were led before the sultan, and offered the choice between death and conversion to the doctrines of the Prophet. To their immortal honour be it recorded, not one of these brave men hesitated for a moment in his choice ; and all of them sealed with their blood the testimony of their adherence to the faith of their Redeemer. This wholesale murder is the greatest blot upon the character of Saladin, whose merciful disposition in other cases contrasts most strangely with his ruthless ferocity in this. Be it remembered, however, that throughout the holy wars, the feelings entertained by the infidels and the military friars towards each other, were those of the bitterest hatred ; neither while we blame the conduct of Saladin must we forget, that the Templars and Hospitallers in their turn showed little mercy to their Turkish captives*.

* Some writers on the crusades have stated, that Saladin slew all

The fortress of Tiberias was instantly rendered, and immediately afterwards, Nazareth and Acre fell into the hands of the victor. He then turned his attention to Tyre, but that city being strongly fortified and garrisoned by the remnant of the Christian army who escaped the battle, and these being likely to make a desperate resistance, Saladin resolved to delay that assault until he had reduced the capital, Jerusalem.

Alas! for the Holy City. Of all that gorgeous band of chivalry that went forth to battle with their king, scarce one returned from Tiberias to defend the sacred walls. The courts of the Hospital and the Temple were almost empty; none remained there except the sick, the aged, and the few who constituted the household. Still, however, the burghers of Jerusalem did their duty well; and though deprived of their old and tried protectors, practised such lessons of defence as the hazardous nature of the

the Templars and Hospitallers, with the exception of the grand-master of the former order, who had fallen into his hands. There is some confusion in this, which appears to me to have arisen from a mistake in the dates of the several masterships. John Thiery, or Johannes Terricus, as his name is written in the books of the order, was undoubtedly grand-master at the time of the battle of Tiberias, but was not taken prisoner, as Bernard le Trésorier and others confidently assert. I have placed in the Appendix (note A) a very remarkable letter written by Thiery, wherein he designates himself grand-master, and gives an account of the battle, and of his escape. Matthew Paris also expressly says, "Evasit etiam ab hac clade *Theodoricus* magister militiæ Templi." Immediately after the taking of Jerusalem, Thiery abdicated his office and was succeeded by Gerard de Riderfort, who fell during the siege of Acre. It is much to be regretted that the historians of the time have so often omitted to give us the names of the several commanders of the military orders.

times had taught them. They organised themselves into armed bands, increased their fortifications, and brought into the city whatever victual and forage could be collected from the surrounding country. In the midst of these preparations, Balian lord of Ibelin, a tried and respected soldier, arrived amongst them, and was elected, by unanimous consent, the governor of the city. The silver shrine which surrounded the Sepulchre was removed and melted down, and, the more to encourage the spirits of the people, Balian created fifty knights from the ranks of the hardy citizens. Meanwhile, Saladin advanced rapidly on his march of conquest. In addition to the towns which fell into his hands immediately after the battle of Tiberias, he took Gabul, Cæsarea, Jaffa, and Ascalon, with all the castles and strong-holds in the district. At Karac alone he received a partial check. The garrison of that place, although deprived of their lord, the ill-starred Reginald of Chatillon, defended themselves to the utmost extremity, and yielded only when compelled by absolute famine. Saladin, on this occasion, gave way to his natural disposition, and let the garrison go free. Tyre and Jerusalem were now the only cities that remained unconquered, and against the latter of these Saladin now advanced. Before making the attack, he offered the people of Jerusalem, if they would surrender the city, not only safe-conduct for themselves, but thirty thousand bezants in money, besides permission to settle in the surrounding country. These proposals were rejected by the Christians, who replied, that if it were God's will, they would never render up the city where the Saviour had died upon

the Cross, and shed his blood for mankind. This answer being so decided, Saladin, without further parley, commenced the siege. The defenders, notwithstanding their straitened circumstances, fought well and bravely. Their principal endeavours were directed at the enormous military engines which Saladin had advanced to their walls. Some of them shook the solid masonry to its foundation, while others flung huge masses of rock into the town. All the attempts of the Christians to destroy them proved unavailing. Day by day they saw their fortifications weakened and overthrown ; their provisions began to fail, and want to show itself in the streets of the besieged city. On the tenth day, a large breach was made on the north side of the walls, and the inhabitants called a general council to consider what ought to be done, now that the place seemed no longer tenable. Strange as it may appear, the greater part of the knights and citizens were opposed to any terms of concession, and declared that, although they knew well that Jerusalem must be taken, yet they would rather suffer death than incur the disgrace of surrendering it by a voluntary act of their own. The patriarch Heraclius, however, dissuaded them from persisting in their noble obstinacy. "It were well," said he, "for us to die, if our deaths were all ; but by so doing, we would deliver over to perdition the souls of those whom we have most interest to save. For each man in this city there are fifty women and children ; and should we all perish, the Saracens will, not slay them, but will convert them to the creed of Mahomet, and so they will be lost to God for ever. My opinion is, that we

should send some one to treat with Saladin, for a safe-conduct, and remove to some Christian country ; leaving the Sepulchre in the care of God, who, in his own good time, can redeem it from the Turkish thralldom." These arguments of Heraclius carried conviction to the citizens, and Balian of Ibelin, in person, went forth to treat with Saladin. The sultan was not obdurate, although he commented severely on the rejection of his previous offer, and could by no means be brought to renew it in its full extent. At last it was agreed, that a certain price should be put upon every person in the city, and that, if not paid within fifty days, those who failed in their ransom should be considered the prisoners of Saladin ; that the others, who were able to comply with the terms, should be allowed to leave the city, and should receive a safe-conduct to the nearest Christian state. These terms were complied with, and the necessary sum for the ransom was raised, partly from the effects of the citizens, and partly from a large sum of money lodged in the treasury of the Hospital by Henry II. of England, as the expenses of a crusade which he proposed to undertake in expiation of the murder of Thomas of Canterbury.

When the day fixed for the departure of the Christians from the Holy City arrived, there was nothing but lamentation and weeping to be heard in the streets of Jerusalem. Altogether, independently of the regard which its sanctity inspired, it was the birthplace of most of those men who were now about to leave it for ever. Its venerable temples and fanes were endeared to them, not only by historical association, but as the objects most familiar from their

childhood ; and these and their own homes were now to be delivered over to the enemy, and that enemy the scorner of their God! Mournfully and slowly the procession filed through the gates of the city with the patriarch at their head, and passed before the spot where Saladin was seated, a triumphant spectator of their departure. On this occasion, the conduct of the sultan was manly and honourable in the extreme. When the queen Sybilla approached, he descended from his throne, greeted her with the utmost courtesy, and comforted her with the assurance that her husband should speedily be set free, on the payment of a moderate ransom. He also inquired whither she intended to go ; and having learned that Ascalon was the place of her destination, appointed a special guard of honour to accompany her thither. Emboldened by these tokens of a generosity which they could not have expected, the women of Jerusalem ventured, ere they departed, to make a request to the sultan. They told him that many of their nearest and dearest relatives had been slain or taken prisoners at the battle of Tiberias, and prayed him earnestly not to deprive those who were now without house or land of the only consolation they had left, the society of their friends. Saladin, with a magnanimity which has few parallels in history, acceded to their request, and set such of his prisoners as they requested free, without exacting ransom. It is pleasant to record such gentle and merciful conduct in the person of a Moslem prince, and in an age so comparatively unenlightened. It would be still more delightful if, while glancing over the pages of history, we could find such examples

becoming more frequent as the world advanced in civilisation ; nor be compelled to turn away, loathing and heart-sick, at the tale of such atrocities as those enacted within the walls of Magdeburg and Saint Sebastian.

Thus, in the year of our Lord 1187, was Jerusalem retaken by the Saracens, after having been in the possession of the Latins for a period of eighty-eight years. The unfortunate Guy regained his freedom upon signing, along with his queen, a complete abdication of his rights. Antioch was also reduced to a state of subjection ; and but for one city, and the firmness of one champion, the Latin kingdom would have perished.

The house of Montserrat was highly distinguished among the great families of the time. They were descended from the dukes of Saxony, closely allied to the emperor Conrad by marriage, and were esteemed the strongest and most influential princes in Italy. Conrad, son of the marquis William, (who, as we have already related, was taken prisoner by Saladin at the battle of Tiberias,) was from his earliest youth remarkable for a high and undaunted courage, an active spirit, and an ambition which gave promise of the happiest results, if properly guided and controlled. In his person he was eminently handsome, perfect in all sorts of exercises befitting his station, and so skilled in the military art, that, at a very early age, he was placed in command of his father's army. Afterwards at Constantinople he did such good service to the emperor Isaac Angelus, by quelling a rebellion which Branas an imperial general had raised, that he received in marriage the hand

of the emperor's sister, and was promoted to the highest dignities in that lax and luxurious court. But a life of ease and indolence was no ways suited to the habits of the enterprising marquis. Every day he felt the bonds which tied him to Constantinople becoming more and more tightly drawn; every day he saw the field of action narrowing before him, and the news of the bloody wars that were raging in Palestine, wherein his father had no little share, smote on his ear like a stern reproof of his own indolence and disgrace. At length, finding that the emperor would by no means consent to his departure, he privately collected some troops which he had brought from Italy, and embarking these with all secrecy and despatch, set sail for the Holy Land; without taking any formal leave of the emperor or of his bride. So rapid had been the advance of Saladin, that Conrad, when he left Constantinople, was neither aware of the total defeat of the Christian army, nor of the captivity of his father. Directing his course towards Acre, he was surprised, on arriving off that city, that no bells were rung; as was the custom when stranger vessels were about to enter the harbour. This led him to suspect some error or treachery, and in consequence he lay-to; until a boat put off from the shore, and gave him the astounding intelligence, that Acre was in the hands of the Saracens. Having learned that Tyre still held out, though its reduction was confidently anticipated, the marquis at once resolved to proceed thither; to join his forces with those of the Christians in the city, if any defence was yet meditated, and if not, to land somewhere on the coast of Tripoli,

whither Saladin had not yet carried the terror of his arms and his name. Conrad arrived in Tyre just in time to save it. After the battle of Tiberias, Reginald lord of Sidon had taken refuge in the city, and being menaced with instant siege by Saladin, and seeing no prospect of speedy succour, he, along with the castellan, had come to a private understanding with the enemy, that the city should shortly be surrendered. So many chevaliers however had taken refuge there, and were determined to maintain it to the last, that further measures were postponed until the siege of Jerusalem was completed ; and this delay was the salvation of the city. Conrad on his arrival was received by the townsmen, fugitives, and garrison, with manifestations of the utmost joy. By universal consent he was named governor and (as Lusignan had abdicated his rights, and no paramount authority now existed in Palestine) seigneur of the city. This adventure was exactly suited to the enterprising genius of the marquis. He accepted their offer with eagerness, and entered immediately into the duties of his new office ; inspecting the fortifications, visiting the armoury, and taking order for the necessary supplies of provisions. In the castle he found two flags of the Saracens, which had been privately sent to Reginald of Sidon to be planted on the walls, when it should suit Saladin to advance to the subjugation of Tyre. These the marquis ordered to be flung into the ditch, and Reginald and the castellan, seeing that their influence was gone, and fearing alike the vengeance of the Christians and the Saracens, privately stole on board a vessel and departed to Tripoli. When

Saladin was made acquainted with the arrival of this new crusader, and informed of those active operations, which threatened to check, at least, the progress of the Turkish arms, he, before proceeding to oppose force to force, sought to win over Conrad to his will, by means which, on former occasions, he had found more effectual than threats. He sent a private messenger to Conrad, urging the folly of further resistance, and promising, if he would render up the city, to set his father at liberty and to pay a large sum as the price of his compliance. But Conrad stoutly answered, that he had not taken up the cross for his own advantage; that he was resolved to do battle to the last; and that even for his father, whom of all men he loved the best, he would not give the smallest stone of the city in exchange. This resolute answer roused the anger of Saladin, who instantly marched with his army against Tyre, in the full expectation of a quick and easy conquest. But the Sultan had yet to learn the powers of his new antagonist. Long before the Turks arrived before the city, Conrad had so strengthened its defences, that it appeared doubtful to the best engineers of Saladin, whether it would be possible to reduce it, without incalculable loss, so long as it was left open for the import of provisions by sea. Another attempt was made to work upon the feelings of Conrad by exposing his aged father as a prisoner before the walls, and in sight of the garrison, but this, like the former, proved utterly ineffectual; and Saladin, sending for ships from Acre, prepared to blockade the city both by sea and land. Day and night did the military engines shower stones into the town,

but the houses were so well protected that they received little injury, and the Christians made frequent sorties upon their besiegers; in which they were uniformly successful. A Spanish knight, who from the colour of his armour gained the designation of "Chevalier Vert," usually led these sallies, and was particularly dreaded by the Turks on account of his gigantic strength, and almost supernatural daring. Conrad meanwhile occupied himself with the defence of the city to the seaward, from which point he apprehended the greatest danger. The entrance to the port of Tyre was defended by a huge chain drawn across, and protected by three towers, the usual mode of securing harbours; being the same which was practised with such success at a much later period, during the celebrated siege of Malta. Fourteen galleys of the Saracens lay immediately without, to prevent any succours from reaching the town, and to gall the inhabitants with their shot. Conrad caused several flat-bottomed vessels to be constructed, with lofty fire-proof sides, and perforated with apertures like windows. These being filled with archers, and pushed out as far as the bar, so annoyed the crews of the galleys, that they were compelled to withdraw to a respectful distance, and content themselves with remaining in passive blockade. As Conrad had now reasonable expectation of speedy relief, it became of the utmost importance to him that every obstacle should be removed. For this purpose he made a feint of leaving the city, and caused his men all night to make a stir and tumult in the seaward quarter, as if the troops were embarking and about to leave the city to its fate. When

day dawned, the great chain across the mouth of the harbour appeared to have been removed, and the Saracens, falling into the snare, and believing that the Christians had departed overnight, (for not a single soldier was to be seen upon the walls,) towed their galleys into the harbour. No sooner had five of these entered, than the chain was lifted, and the Christians rushed forth from their hiding-places, and fell upon the astonished Turks, who were slaughtered without mercy. The captured vessels were instantly manned, and, along with those belonging to Conrad, were taken out to engage the remainder of the broken armament. In the naval combat which ensued the Christians were equally successful; for the Turkish vessels were either sunk or driven ashore, with the exception of two which hoisted sail and escaped to Berytus. While the greater part of the garrison were thus employed at sea, Saladin commenced a furious attack on the other side. Part of his troops succeeded in carrying the outward fortifications, but were stopped by a high and thick wall; which, as they were not able to surmount it with their ladders, they attempted to undermine. The news of this assault being brought to Conrad, he hastened with a strong body to the spot, ordered an instant sally to distract the attention of those without and prevent them from reinforcing their companions, and fell upon the Turks who were entangled among the fortifications. These were driven back after sustaining severe loss, and Saladin, finding himself completely baffled by the enterprise and energy of the marquis, and being unwilling to hazard further loss, set fire to his

military engines, and broke up the siege of Tyre. The elder marquis of Montserrat was shortly afterwards admitted to ransom.

While these operations were going forward in the Holy Land, Europe was again preparing to put forth her strength in a new crusade. After the fall of Jérusalem, emissaries, the principal of whom was the famous William archbishop of Tyre, were sent round to the different courts of Europe, to enlist the sympathies of the Christian princes in the cause of their Latin brethren. Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, was the first who responded to the call. He assembled a large army, and set out for the Holy Land, by the same road which Conrad III. had taken. After experiencing great opposition from the Greeks, who on all occasions seemed to form the outer guard of the Holy Land against the advances of the crusaders, and after repeated battles with the barbarians in the Asiatic dominions which he traversed, this illustrious emperor, who was then in his seventy-first year, died of a violent shock which he received in consequence of bathing in the cold waters of the Cydnus. His army, under the command of his son Frederick, duke of Suabia, continued their march and effected their passage to the Holy Land.

Before their arrival, William the Good, king of Sicily, despatched a fleet to Tyre with three hundred cavaliers, to assist the enterprising Conrad, who, by those means, was enabled in his turn to attack the enemy. Other martial pilgrims from Italy, France, and England, now began to arrive, and increased the numbers of his army. Saladin, alarmed at these demonstrations, proceeded to fortify Acre, one of the

most important sea-ports in his possession, and having done this in a substantial manner, marched against Tripoli, which he hoped also to subdue. Conrad, ever vigilant of his adversary's motions, lost no time in despatching the Sicilian cavaliers, under the command of the "Green Knight," whose valour was so conspicuous at Tyre, to strengthen the garrison of Tripoli. At the head of the very first sally which the townsmen made against their besiegers, the Turks beheld, with amazement and dismay, the same champion whose fatal prowess they had so often witnessed without the fortifications of Tyre, and refused to cope with one whom they firmly believed to possess not only the malignity but the power of a demon. Saladin, finding the place more strongly garrisoned than he had reason to expect, did not persist in the siege, but advanced towards the less important town of Tortosa. At the same period, in consequence of the incessant applications of Sybilla and his previous promise, he set Guy of Lusignan and others of his prisoners at liberty, only exacting from them an oath that they would not bear arms against him. But as, according to the morals of the time, an oath or promise given to an infidel was in nowise binding upon a Christian, he had soon reason to repent of his over-confident generosity. The deposed king and queen lost no time in proceeding to Tyre, which city they intended to make the rendezvous of those forces with whose assistance they hoped to reconquer their kingdom. It was, however, no part of Conrad's intention that the great labour and pains he had bestowed on the preservation of Tyre should redound to the benefit of Lusignan, whom he

regarded with supreme contempt in his double character of obscure adventurer, and pusillanimous prince; he felt that to himself alone the credit was due of having saved the Christian remnant; and moreover, as the inhabitants of Tyre had ceded their city to him, and acknowledged him as their seigneur, he was determined to submit to the jurisdiction of no other potentate whatever. Therefore, when Guy and Sybilla arrived at the city, they found the gates shut against them, and in reply to a demand for admittance, backed by the royal authority, they received this answer, "That God had committed the charge of that city to Conrad, now marquis of Tyre; that he trusted to be able to maintain it against any one who might challenge his right; that no stranger should put a foot within it, except by his permission, and that those who demanded entrance might seek for quarters elsewhere, for in Tyre they were likely to find none." So enraged was Guy at this message, that, being joined by a few of his old followers and a remnant of the military monks, he proposed, in the first transports of his wrath, to lay immediate siege to the city. Being at last dissuaded from this ridiculous scheme, he turned his steps towards Acre, and sent for reinforcements to Tripoli, announcing his intention of besieging the town.

Acre, as famous in modern as in ancient history, was the great seaport of the dominions of Jerusalem. It was taken from the Saracens by Baldwin I., aided by a fleet of Genoese, after a siege of twenty-four days. Saladin reduced it in two days only, whereas the present siege, of which we are about to speak, occupied a period of nearly three years. The city

was very strongly fortified and built in the shape of a triangle, with the base opposed to the east, while the north and south sides terminated on a rock running a good way into the sea, and crowned with a strong and lofty tower, serving both as a defence and a lighthouse to the haven, and bearing the singular designation of the Tower of Beelzebub. High walls and barbicans, with deep and wide trenches, encircled the city, and these were further strengthened by towers placed at convenient distances. A small river flowed directly through the town, and the country around was level and champaign, with the exception of two hillocks in the immediate vicinity, one called the hill of the Mosque, and the other the hill of Toron. Such was the situation and strength of Acre, the theatre of the most memorable siege recorded in the annals of the crusades.

When Lusignan commenced his operations, his army was so insignificant as to excite the ridicule of the Turkish garrison in Acre; who treated the whole demonstration as a mere bravado, and were hardly at the trouble of increasing the ordinary guard upon the walls. However, by the arrival of a large body of Pisans, and of other crusaders whose impatience had anticipated the general preparation in Europe, the Christian force increased to such a degree, that the Saracens began to fear they had under-estimated the power of the enemy, and sent notice to Saladin of the formidable appearance which the siege had latterly assumed. That prince immediately paused from his minor conquests in the territory of Tripoli, and moved towards Acre with so strong a force,

that if he had given battle at once, the Christians must have been cut off to a man. It would appear that the late successes of Saladin had taught him to regard too slightly the power of the Christians; since, instead of crushing them by a speedy movement, he thought proper to delay, until his brother Malek-al-Adel should come up, in order, as he himself said, that he should be a partaker in the victory. This delay cost him dear. Guy of Lusignan, who well knew that he durst not cope with the Sultan in the open field, on receiving tidings of his approach, posted his army on the hill of Toron, and proceeded to construct such fortifications as would be sufficient to secure him from assault, until the arrival of more European forces, which were every day confidently expected. When, therefore, Saladin came up he found the Christians so strongly entrenched, that all his endeavours to carry the camp were unavailing, and he was compelled in his turn to lay siege to the besiegers, hoping in a short time that famine would compel them to surrender.

But fortune, who had been so long hostile to the Latins, now began to incline towards their side. Before their provisions were exhausted, two large fleets were espied at sea, making towards the shores of Palestine, and these were soon recognised to be part of the long-expected succours from Europe. The first was an armament of Danes and Frisons, which also brought the vanguard of the French and English crusaders; the second conveyed the German troops, sent to reinforce the emperor Frederick, along with those of the marquis Conrad of Tyre,

who having sufficiently established himself in his newly-acquired territory, no longer withheld his aid from his Christian brethren. This reinforcement so raised the hopes of the Christians, that they resolved without delay to hazard a general engagement with the Saracens.

On the fourteenth of October 1190, the two armies drew up in the plain before Acre in battle array. The right wing of the Christians, consisting of the troops of Palestine, and France, with the squadron of the Hospitallers, was commanded by Guy of Lusignan. The left was composed of the chevaliers from Tyre, and the Italian crusaders under Conrad of Montserrat, and the centre of part of the Germans, under the landgrave of Thuringia, the Danes, English, and Pisans. The body of reserve consisted of the remainder of the Germans, and the Knights of the Temple, under the command of their grand-master, Gerard de Riderfort. Geoffry of Lusignan, brother of Guy, and James, lord of Avesnes, a most distinguished warrior, were left in charge of the fortified camp. Saladin drew up his army, which was more numerous than the Christians, into two lines, with a strong reserve. His chief strength consisted in the light Syrian cavalry, while the Latin depended upon their foot. Both parties were confident of conquest, and awaited with eagerness the signal for the onset. The battle commenced with a general charge of the Christian cavalry, which threw the enemy into some disorder, and the foot immediately advancing with levelled pikes drove back the first line of the Saracens, after a desperate resistance,

upon the second. Thèse, seeing the cavalry again preparing to charge, were seized with a sudden panic, and without waiting to receive them, turned the rein, and fled in every direction. The Christians having cleared the field, believed that they had gained a complete victory, and made a furious onset on the camp of Saladin, routed the guard that were left for its defence, and fell to plunder, without attempting to pursue the broken forces of the enemy, in order to prevent them from rallying again. The Templars alone, like worthy soldiers, maintained their ranks, and turning away from the camp, advanced in pursuit of the fugitives. The Turkish troops, however, unlike the Christians, with whom disorder was defeat, were easily rallied. Like the Parthians of old they fled only to return to the charge when a fitting opportunity presented itself, and the keen eye of Saladin instantly detected the error into which his enemies had fallen. Rallying his forces he advanced against the small body of Templars, whom he accounted the most formidable opponents of the whole, but whom from the paucity of their numbers he doubted not he could easily overcome. If these were removed, an attack upon the Christians encumbered as they were with booty could hardly fail to be successful, and accordingly the whole tide of the Syrian cavalry rolled down on the warriors of the Temple. But the knights, faithful to their old renown, bore themselves manfully and well. The first charge being over, their long swords did fearful execution among the ranks of the lightly-armed Saracens, who, drawing back for a space, began to shower their arrows against the formidable group

whom their wildest onset had failed even for an instant to shake. Saladin, maddened by the opposition which threatened to frustrate his schemes and deprive him of the victory, ordered another and more desperate charge, but again were the Saracens driven back in disorder from the front of this impenetrable phalanx. Nor perhaps would they ever have succeeded had they not received a strong and unexpected reinforcement. A body of the garrison, about six thousand strong, seeing the Christians busily employed in the Turkish camp, marched out with the intention of making an attack upon the other; but espying a small troop of knights maintaining their ground against a very superior body of Turks, they changed their first design and fell upon the rear of the Templars. Thus inclosed on all sides, and unassisted by their friends, the Templars could no longer continue the unequal struggle. They made a desperate attempt to hew their way through the swarm of Infidels, and at last succeeded, but not without the loss of their master, Gerard de Riderfort, and many brave companions. Saladin having thus removed opposition, proceeded directly to his own camp, now full of Christian soldiers, whose disgraceful eagerness for plunder was such that they had not even observed the obstinate resistance and defeat of the valiant band.

No effectual resistance could be made by men so thoroughly surprised. The whole Christian army disbanded and in confusion fled precipitately towards their camp, pursued by the Turks, who made prisoners of many during the retreat, and cut more to pieces. The consequences might have been still

more disastrous, had not James D'Avesnes and Geoffry de Lusignan, who were left in custody of the camp, collected their forces, and by making a vigorous attack upon the pursuers, again turned the fortune of the day so far as to allow the harassed Christians to enter their entrenchments in safety. So ended this memorable battle, the honour of which was claimed by both parties with some show of reason. It appears, however, that the Saracens on the whole sustained the severest loss, as a son and a nephew of the sultan, besides many of his most distinguished officers, were slain in the first attack; whereas, besides the Templars, Andrew count of Brienne was the only man of note among the crusaders who fell.

This battle made both parties so well acquainted with their relative strength, that neither felt desirous again to try their fortune in the open field. They therefore remained in a state of double siege, the Christians watching the city, and the army of Saladin hanging on the skirts of the Christians without making any general demonstration. Only, whenever the crusaders made a more active attack than usual upon the city, and began to ply their military engines, they were sure to be disturbed by a similar attempt upon their own camp by Saladin, and were compelled to turn upon the defensive. During the first winter, the crusaders suffered severely from famine. The fleets of Saladin which occupied the sea, conveyed large stores of provisions into the city; and his own army was well supplied from the adjacent country, the resources of which were utterly barred against his adversaries. So pressing at one

time did the necessity become, that horse-flesh was almost the only subsistence of the crusaders; and even this miserable shift must soon have failed them, had not Conrad, by collecting his vessels from Tyre and hazarding a naval engagement with his usual success, relieved them from their sad emergency. As soon as the passage by sea was thus re-opened, new supplies of provisions were introduced, and new reinforcements from Europe sustained the hopes of the Christians. The most important of these fresh arrivals was that of Henry the young count of Champagne, nephew of king Richard, who brought the joyful news that his uncle and the French king might shortly be expected to arrive in the Holy Land.

Meanwhile a new cause of dissention and jealousy arose. Isabella, who was half-sister to the queen Sybilla, and daughter of Amaury, by his second marriage with the princess Mary, daughter of Sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus, had been married when a mere child to Humphrey of Thoron, a weak and foolish man, who was held in less respect by his brother barons than even the vacillating Guy. This marriage, as might have been expected, proved an unhappy one, the parties being quite unsuited to each other by temper and inclination. The renown and personal accomplishments of Conrad of Montserrat at first attracted the attention, and finally gained the affections of the ambitious Isabella, in whose eyes his good qualities seemed even greater than they were, when contrasted with the humiliating inferiority of her spouse. The result of this liaison was a mutual divorce, and a marriage between

the amorous pair. Isabella alleged that she had been compelled as a child, contrary to her inclinations, to espouse Humphrey ; and Conrad, who had already deserted his Grecian bride, passed over these former nuptials as indifferently as though they never had taken place. The laxity of morals prevailing among the Franks gave countenance to this scandalous proceeding : Humphrey was a mere cipher, whose consent or opposition were equally disregarded ; and although Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, entered a strong protest against the illegality of the measure, Conrad and Isabella were publicly married by the complaisant bishop of Beauvais.

On the part of the marquis this alliance was one of policy as well as of inclination. Sybilla and her infant daughter were now both dead, and as Guy of Lusignan had only acquired the crown of Jerusalem by marriage, it was agreed by the partisans of Conrad, that the right now devolved upon Isabella, who was the sole surviving descendant of the royal family of Jerusalem. Vehement resistance was of course made to this doctrine by the friends of Lusignan, but these were few in number compared with the adherents of his rival, who was certainly in every respect better fitted to maintain the dignity and honour of the crown, especially in such troublesome times. Such being the case, there is some reason to commend the moderation of Conrad, in not instantly assuming, as he was urged to do, the royal style and authority, but in consenting to waive his claim, until the arrival and arbitration of the kings of England

and France should put an end to the dispute. Matters were on this footing when the German crusaders under Frederick, duke of Suabia, son of the late emperor, arrived at Acre. Another general assault upon the city was ordered, and a protracted struggle took place, in which duke Leopold of Austria particularly distinguished himself; for, having gained the top of the walls, and being cut off from his men, he defended himself for a long time single-handed, against a great body of the garrison, and at last, when overcome by numbers, threw himself all armed as he was into the sea; in token of which exploit, Frederick assigned him for his armorial bearings, a fez argent on a shield gules, which the house of Austria carry to this day. Notwithstanding all their endeavours, the Christians were not able to obtain possession of the city, but were again compelled to retire to their lines.

Shortly afterwards Frederick of Suabia, the valiant leader of the Germans, fell sick and died, and his troops, disheartened by the fatigues they had endured in their passage from Europe, and disconsolate at his loss, refused to remain longer, but returned to their own country. Leopold of Austria and his own particular retainers were all that remained of the numerous army of German crusaders.

The remaining history of the military operations in Palestine, until the arrival of Richard and Philip Augustus, presents no features of remarkable interest. Both sickness and famine were unusually prevalent in the Christian camp, and though the

latter was sometimes alleviated by the activity of the marquis of Montserrat, the troops were never in a condition to hazard another general engagement, or to undertake an effectual assault. They therefore contented themselves with repelling the attacks of Saladin, and the sallies of the besieged garrison, and awaited with intense eagerness the approach of the allied kings. Philip arrived first and assumed the chief command, but nothing of importance was done until Cœur-de-Lion set foot on the Holy Land.

CHAPTER VII.

Joy of the Crusaders at Richard's Arrival at Acre; and Jealousy of Philip and the Marquis Conrad—State of the Siege—Richard's Illness—Unsuccessful Attack upon the City by Philip—Death of Alberic Clement, Marshal of France—Richard continues the Siege; effects a Breach, but is repulsed—Offer by the Garrison to capitulate refused—General Assault upon the City, and final Surrender—Further Disagreement between Richard and Philip—Dispute for the Crown of Jerusalem finally settled—Departure of Philip from the Holy Land—Saladin puts to death the Christian Captives; and Richard in return causes the Garrison of Acre to be beheaded—Preparations for the Campaign—March to Caiphas—Attack of the Turks repelled—Order of the March—Arrival at Cesarea—Hardships of the Crusaders—Skirmish near Cesarea—The Army are harassed by the Saracens during their advance inland—Want of Provisions—Arrival at the River of Assur, and preparations for a general Engagement.

THE arrival of Richard was hailed by the crusaders with tokens of extraordinary joy. The fame of his prowess had gone before him, and even in Palestine, a country wherein war for a hundred years had never ceased to rage, his military operations in Cyprus were watched with no common interest, and his success was looked upon as a pledge and assurance of the victories which he, the great Achilles of this army, would gain in Palestine at the head of the warriors of the cross. The camp was that day deserted by its inmates, who all thronged eagerly to the shore to catch a glimpse of their expected champion. The French as well as the English crusaders were of course already acquainted with his person, and vaunted of such knowledge, as if the mere circumstance of eye-familiarity rendered them superior to the rest. But the Italians, Ger-

mans, Danes and Flemings, the old inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the knights of the Temple and Hospital, had never yet cast eyes upon Richard, though often and often while straining their vision to discover the distant speck of his sails upon the sea, they had discoursed together of the stalwart frame, high look, and noble gesture of the far-famed English monarch. Their expectations were more than fulfilled. The kingly bearing of Richard surpassed the pictures they had drawn, and as he set foot upon the holy earth, such a shout arose as made the walls of Acre tremble.

Two men only in the Christian army beheld the approach of Richard with dissatisfaction, although even they were forced to disguise their sentiments. These were the king of France and the marquis Conrad of Tyre. The first, until this day, had been the principal personage in the camp, the most admired and applauded of all; but he now saw that the star of his reputation was destined to wane before the brilliancy of his rival, whom he had long ceased to love, and whom he now began to hate. Conrad, on the other hand, regarded Richard as the man who was to deprive him of his influence and kingdom, to place an unworthy rival over his head, and to rob him even of the principality which his sole distinguished valour had rescued from the grasp of the heathen. This last he had indeed taken steps to preserve, by placing Tyre under the protection of the king of France, who was friendly to his interests. But who could tell how far such protection might avail against the power of Richard, if excited by the machinations of Lusignan? For

himself, he was conscious that his own talent and influence were not sufficient to enable him to cope with Richard on anything like equal terms, and he looked forward with anxiety to the time when his royal protector should depart from Palestine, and leave the conduct of the enterprise in the hands of Cœur-de-Lion alone. Nor was this event at all improbable, for Philip, the count of Flanders, had died immediately after reaching Acre; and the king of France, not content with appropriating his personal property, harboured the intent of annexing his dominions to his own, and was therefore anxious to find a pretext for abandoning the crusade, which, though it might add something to his reputation, promised, in return for his labour and cost, no lasting or solid advantages. Notwithstanding this state of feeling, both Philip and Conrad were among the first to welcome Richard, and to conduct him to the quarters allotted him in the camp. That night there was feasting and gladness among the Christians, and in the city sorrow and despair. By that unaccountable intelligence which always exists between the inhabitants of a besieged city and its besiegers, the garrison of Acre were made acquainted with the loss of the vessel upon which their principal dependence was placed, and of the arrival of one whom they hated as the destroyer of their friends, and feared as their own mighty and invincible foe.

The Christians had not made any great progress with the siege at the time of Richard's arrival. The king of France contented himself with preparing his engines, and disciplining his troops; perhaps, had he been allowed to follow his own inclination, he

would have hazarded an assault, but the majority of the crusaders preferred that this should be delayed, until by the presence of Richard their whole force should be concentrated, and Philip was compelled to yield. Richard, on his part, lost no time in preparing for the enterprise, and having landed his military stores, proceeded to erect such engines, as were then reckoned the most effectual implements for battering the walls, and for hurling missiles into the midst of a beleaguered town. While thus employed, the Pisans and the Genoese offered Richard their services during the crusade. The overtures of the first were accepted, and the Pisans afterwards fought with credit to themselves beneath the English flag, but Richard refused the Genoese, on account of their having previously made the same offer to Philip and to the marquis of Tyre.

The engines being at last erected, a day for the general assault upon the city was fixed, and the crusaders flattered themselves with the hope of an easy victory. But the time for the reduction of Acre was not yet come. Richard was suddenly attacked by one of the fevers so common in southern countries, and which was at the time peculiarly prevalent in the camp. He became so weak and languid as to be utterly unable to support the weight of his armour, and presently afterwards to stir from his couch. Notwithstanding this grievous disappointment, it was determined that the attack upon the city should be made, and accordingly Philip, once more the leader of the Christians, manned his engines, and advanced against the city. The Saracens in Acre, aware of

his intention, made the usual signals by atabals and shouting to warn Saladin of their danger, and in the mean time returned with great vigour the shower of stones which were flung against them, and endeavoured, with the Greek fire, to destroy the enormous towers, which even overlooked their walls. Saladin, always on the alert, drew out his forces, and fell upon the rear of the Christians, filling up the fosse by which their camp was protected, tearing down the palisades, and even burning some of the tents. Geoffry of Lusignan, the brother of Guy, to whom this important post was assigned, resisted obstinately the attack of the sultan, performed prodigies of valour, and finally beat his opponents back. Yet so vigorous, this time, was the onset of the Turks, that he was forced to call to his assistance some of the assailants of the city; others, hearing the noise behind, and seeing part of their own troops hastening to the rear, left their engines, and followed their example. The Saracens in Acre profited by the opportunity, and made a sally, which threw the crusaders into such confusion, that Philip deemed it advisable to abandon the assault for the present, and retired to his own quarters, in chagrin and disappointment. He was shortly seized by the same malady which confined Richard to his bed, and although the Templars and Hospitallers with the duke of Burgundy and others continued day and night to annoy the city from their engines, the walls were too strong to give way, and the wooden towers of the besiegers were one by one destroyed by means of the Greek fire, against which not even raw hides, esteemed the

best preventive, were found to be effectual. The details of the siege are so long, that we must be excused from particular mention of the exploits performed on both sides during the illness of the kings. Philip was the first to recover. As soon as he was able personally to superintend the operations, he determined to make another attempt, in order if possible to wipe off the disgrace of his former failure. For this purpose he caused part of the walls to be undermined, and on the morning fixed for the attack ordered the wooden props to be set on fire, confidently expecting to effect a breach. The work, however, seems to have been clumsily executed, for the wall, instead of falling into ruin, merely sunk into the earth, and inclined slightly outwards; enough, however, was done to terrify the besieged, and to animate the hopes of the assailants, who rushed forward with loud shouts, and attempted to carry the town by escalade. At the same moment the forces of Saladin, under his ablest general, Kahadin, fell upon the camp, but this time they were not able to penetrate further than the fosse, their manœuvre having been anticipated, and a large body of crusaders stationed to receive them. The Saracens within Acre fought desperately and well. Every ladder placed against the walls was overthrown, and crowds of soldiers dashed from the topmost rounds to the earth, where they lay crushed and helpless. Much noble blood was that day spilt in vain. No Christian foot was planted upon the battlement, until Alberic Clement, marshal of France, whose name has been rendered immortal by his prowess, swore that he would con-

quer Acre, or perish in the attempt; and calling on his men to follow him, he placed a ladder against the wall, and leaping upon the battlement, struck down the Turks who attempted to oppose his progress. Multitudes of the French strove to come to his assistance, but this very eagerness defeated their object, for so crowded was the ladder with men-at-arms, that it broke across, and all who were upon it fell heavily upon the ground. Alberic Clement, thus left alone, defended himself nobly for a time, until, oppressed by numbers, he died upon the walls of Acre. A knight more valiant, and more beloved, was not in the Christian army; and so dispirited were all the assailants, by the spectacle of his untimely end, that again they withdrew from the attack, leaving the city still unsubdued.

By this time Richard had recovered so far from his illness that he was able to leave his couch, and though still weak and emaciated applied himself to the task, which the Christians, without his assistance, seemed incapable of accomplishing. He caused a high and strong shed, the roof of which was fire-proof, to be erected, and under it he placed his engines and balistæ, thus directing his whole force against one particular tower, instead of attempting several breaches at once. The tower which he thus assaulted, was one of the loftiest and strongest of those which flanked the walls. It bore the appellation of the Wicked Tower, from a tradition current in Palestine, that it was built with the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed his master; and it had hitherto resisted the shock of Philip's artillery. Strong as it was, it began now to give way before

the blows of the ponderous missiles, hurled from the engines of Richard; some of which were stones of enormous size and hardness, specially selected for the purpose at Messina, and used in the passage to Palestine as ballast to the ships. The wall, composed of softer materials, began to crumble down, and under cover of the shed the miners advanced their operations so far as to sap the foundations of the tower. Meanwhile Richard was constantly present, inspecting the progress of the work and directing with his own hand the arbalist and mangonel. Almost every Turk who showed himself upon the wall was struck down, and one who, clad in the armour of the deceased Alberic Clement, had the hardihood to expose himself, was transfixed by a bolt driven from the cross-bow of Richard*.

At last the tower gave way and a practicable breach appeared. The English instantly sent word to the other crusaders, but without waiting for the arrival of auxiliaries armed themselves in haste, and, under the guidance of the earl of Leicester and the warlike bishop of Salisbury, rushed towards the breach. To reach this they had to climb over a vast quantity of rubbish, and found the entrance guarded by an innumerable swarm of Turks, who, knowing well that the struggle was for life or death, defended themselves with desperation. Their determined spirit became more apparent when the assailants mounted to the breach; for there even the sweep of their long and heavy swords could not dissipate the multitude, who repaid them stroke for stroke, and crowded forwards to supply the places of the slain.

* Vinesauf.

Meanwhile, from above the breach stones and lances were flung down, which the English, engaged hand to hand with other adversaries, had no means of avoiding: their number also was very small compared with that of the enemy; and although the French were well aware of their situation, such was the jealousy of Philip that he would not suffer a man to leave his quarters and join the fray. The only troops who supported the English on this occasion were the Pisans, who behaved with uncommon gallantry; but their assistance was not sufficient to crown the efforts of their comrades with success. For a long time the combat thus continued, neither party advancing nor giving way, until the Saracens betook themselves to a weapon, which in their hands was more serviceable than their stores of stone and steel. This was the Greek fire; which they brought in quantities to the top of the wall, and from thence showered it down copiously upon the struggling crusaders. It was beyond human fortitude to endure the pain of this diabolical composition, which ran down the armour of the Christians in a blazing stream, and wherever it entered a joint or rivet burned to the bone. The English fell back in confusion; some of them, rendered frantic by the pain, tore off their armour, and were instantly transfixed by the arrows of the Turks. The Pisans with extraordinary gallantry made another attempt to carry the breach, but were speedily driven back and forced to abandon the enterprise. During the ensuing night the Turks laboured diligently to repair their walls, and in spite of the continuous shot

from the engines of the English, succeeded so well as to render the breach no longer practicable from below.

Notwithstanding this successful resistance, it became apparent to the Saracens themselves that the Christians would never raise the siege, and that sooner or later they must be constrained to render the city. By sea they could expect no further supplies, because the English and French fleets blockaded the harbour; the most vigorous efforts of Saladin to break through the lines of the crusaders and relieve the garrison had proved ineffectual; their provisions were almost exhausted; and the accidents of a long and bloody siege had terribly reduced their number. Moreover, they were grievously thwarted in all they undertook by clandestine treachery of a very singular kind. Whenever any sally was meditated, or any new device for destroying the engines proposed by those in Acre, letters were shot from the walls into the camp of the Christians, giving them notice of the motion, and advising them how it might be foiled. That the writer was a person of some rank was evident, for he narrated circumstances which could only be known to the chiefs of the garrison. He stated himself to be a Christian, but never divulged his name; and what was still more extraordinary, after the reduction of the city, although the most diligent search was made, no trace of him could be found. All these circumstances combined to render the garrison most desirous of capitulating upon favourable terms, although when they considered how many of the besiegers they had slain, and how many more had died of famine and

disease before the walls, they were not very sanguine of obtaining this. Accordingly, in pursuance of the declared opinion of the garrison, Mestoc and Caracos, two of the five emirs who commanded in the town, craved a parley, and being admitted to the presence of the kings, offered to deliver up the city and all it contained, on the sole condition that the garrison should be permitted to depart free and unmolested. Philip, it is stated, was ready enough to concede to these terms, but Richard positively refused. "Do you reckon," said he, "my power so small that I cannot take by force what you now offer as a favour? Look at your shaken walls and tottering turrets, and then tell me if you require to evacuate Acre before I become master of the town." Philip at last deferred to his judgment, and the only terms upon which the garrison could be allowed to depart were stated as follows:—That the whole of the territory in Palestine occupied by the Latins at the time of the departure of Louis from the second crusade should be restored; that the True Cross, which at the battle of Tiberias fell into the hands of Saladin, should be given back, and that all the Christian captives should be set free. To these proposals, which no doubt were extravagant, considering that their fulfilment depended upon Saladin, (over whom the Christians had hitherto gained no advantage,) and not upon the garrison, the emirs replied that they had no power to enter into any such treaty without the will and consent of their master the Sultan, but that if permission were given them to lay these proposals before his feet, they would do what in them lay to urge him to compliance. This being allowed, they

proceeded to the camp of the sultan, and having stated the above terms, received a positive refusal. Saladin bewailed their unfortunate situation, but put it to the emirs themselves, if they, being in his situation, would have thought themselves entitled to buy off the garrison at the expense of the honour of the Moslem. The emirs acknowledged the justice of his decree, and, after an affecting interview, returned to the city*.

On the same night Saladin made a furious attack upon the trenches, to the intent that, whilst the crusaders were occupied in defending their camp, the garrison of Acre might have an opportunity of quitting the city, and of joining their friends by a circuitous route. This stratagem, which was as well executed as planned, would probably have succeeded, had not the mysterious correspondent of the Christians warned them of the design, so that the sultan on approaching the trenches found the crusaders on their guard; and the garrison, who did not fail to issue forth at the appointed time, were surprised to discover fresh troops upon the alert, and were forced again to betake themselves to their old quarters. Saladin, perceiving that his real object was known, presently retired. Next day the English set fire to the wooden props which they had placed in the mines, with such success, that not only the Wicked Tower, but the wall itself to the extent of a rood, fell to the ground, and left the interior of the city exposed. The English army were now drawn out and ready for the assault, when those of the garrison made a conditional signal of surrender; and Richard,

* Bohadin.

being well aware that should he persist in his design the Turks would sell their lives dearly, and would probably occasion him the loss of some of his bravest soldiers, accepted the sign and returned to the camp. The five emirs now issued forth and repeated their former offer, which was again rejected; but permission was granted them, as before, to visit Saladin, and to try what terms they could wring from him by a representation of their miserable circumstances. They returned with an offer from the sultan, that he would restore Jerusalem, the Holy Cross, and all the towns and castles which he had taken in Palestine after the battle of Tiberias, when Guy of Lusignan was taken prisoner. He offered, moreover, to set free all his Christian captives, upon the condition, that the garrison of Acre should be dismissed, and that the kings of England and France should assist him with six thousand horsemen and twenty thousand infantry, in repelling an invasion made by the sons of his predecessor Nouredin, who had already conquered his uncle Tokeddin, and possessed themselves of the greater part of Mesopotamia. This proposal was at once rejected by the kings, who, unlike Amaury, refused to make or meddle with the intestine disputes of the Saracens; and the emirs, finding their whole overtures rejected, returned in sorrow and despair to the city. On the succeeding day, which was the seventh of July, 1191, Philip of France made an assault upon the town, but was driven back, with the loss of several men. On the eighth, Saladin burned the town of Caiphaz, on the south side of the bay of Acre, which had been for some time in the hands of the crusaders, and destroyed all the vine-

yards. Two more days were spent in preparation, and on the eleventh, the English and Pisans advanced to the breach, when the garrison again signified their willingness to surrender, and the emirs having once more conferred with the kings, the following terms were arranged. The city of Acre, with all it contained, was surrendered to the Christians. The emirs pledged themselves to obtain from Saladin restitution of the True Cross, together with the payment of two hundred thousand bezants; and it was moreover agreed, that a thousand Christian captives and two hundred knights, to be selected by the kings, should be set at liberty. For the performance of these articles the whole garrison were considered as hostages, and thirty days were allowed for Saladin's performance of the same; wherein if he failed, on the tenth day thereafter the whole of the Turks were, life and limb, at the entire disposal of the conquerors.

Thus was Acre conquered, after a siege of nearly three years, though not without the loss of an infinite number of crusaders from all parts of Europe, who perished before its walls, and the expenditure of so much treasure as drained the coffers of the wealthiest countries of Europe. Such indeed is the constant result of war. When we look at the real value of the conquest, and take into consideration the vast loss of productive life, and the destruction inevitable to the acquisition, when we know that each rood has been purchased by the expenditure of a human life, and the tears and misery of thousands, how revolting to a human mind is the triumph, and how inadequate the gain! These are considerations which all would do well to ponder deeply, for the

moral may sooner or later come home to every heart ; and what would it profit a parent, to know that a distant province has been wrested from the hands of the old occupants of the soil, when he hears that the heart's-blood of his child was shed upon the battle-field by which that province was won ?

The crusaders marched into Acre immediately after the capitulation. Richard took possession of the royal palace, while Philip was lodged in the mansion of the Templars. According to an old agreement, the city was divided between them ; but the other crusaders received a share of the treasures found within its walls. In order to give a distinct and concise account of the siege of Acre, we have postponed the mention of several important circumstances which throw much light upon the reciprocal feelings of the different crusaders, and especially of Richard and Philip, and to these we shall now advert. Very shortly after the landing of the English, Philip demanded as his right the possession of half the island of Cyprus ; alleging that the agreement entered into by the kings, to share their conquests during the holy war, applied to all subjects acquired during the expedition, as well as to those recovered within the boundaries of Palestine. To this proposal Richard replied that he had not the slightest objection to agree, provided Philip would in like manner make over to him half of the territory of Flanders, and half the personal property which he had seized, or which had fallen to his lot, after the decease of the earl ; and as Conrad had formally delivered his city of Tyre to Philip, Richard put in his claim for the moiety of that also. These demands on both sides

were vexatious, and dictated by a spiteful spirit, yet Philip seemed inclined to persist, until the mediation of others put an end to the disagreement by deciding that the original contract only referred to Palestine. No sooner was this dispute ended than another arose, on account of the interfering pretensions of the competitors for the Syrian crown. Guy of Lusignan rose in full assembly, and accused Conrad of having perverted the laws and embezzled the revenue of the realm ; to which the other replied, that in exercising his authority and collecting the customs, he merely availed himself of the right which he derived from his wife, the queen Isabella. As these matters depended entirely upon the settlement of the crown, the Templars and Hospitallers were appointed to collect the revenue and take charge of the harbour of Acre, until such time as the kings should choose one of the two competitors. Hot words ensued in the assembly, and Geoffry of Lusignan, brother of Guy, started fiercely up, defied Conrad as a perjured man and a traitor to his brother, and flung his gauntlet before his feet. Conrad did not want personal courage, indeed he was one of the most accomplished cavaliers of his day, but he did not lift the gage, as by so doing, he might have compromised the character he claimed ; a sovereign being by the laws of chivalry exempt from accepting the challenge of a vassal. He eyed Geoffry with a scornful glance, and, without saying a word, left the assembly. Some of the crusaders (probably the English) began to scoff at and to call him traitor, but none dared to lay hands upon him ; for his popularity in the camp was great, and the first blow aimed at him would

have been the signal for the Templars, Genoese, and native Latins to rise to arms. Indignant at the insult, he retired to Tyre, and did not return until the siege of Acre was ended, when Philip requested his presence as a personal favour, and treated him with the most marked distinction. The pause which ensued between the reduction of the city and the day fixed for the ransom of the garrison seemed a proper time for settling the disputes for the throne, as while this important point remained unsettled no unanimity could be expected, and without unanimity the recapture of Jerusalem was a vain and hopeless attempt. After much consultation and various meetings, at which the partisans of either candidate disputed long and loudly, it was finally agreed that Guy of Lusignan should for the remainder of his life continue king of Jerusalem, but that his children, if he should marry again, could have no claim to the succession; that the reversion of the crown should remain to the marquis Conrad and his children by Isabella, and that in the meantime he should draw half the revenues of the realm, besides those of Tyre, Sidon, and Baruth, which however, were to be held of the crown; and that Geoffry of Lusignan, on the same condition, should possess the counties of Jaffa and Cæsarea. Under all the circumstances, this appears to have been an equitable adjustment; it did not, however, satisfy Conrad, who knew his superiority to his weak and unlucky rival, and waited only for the time when Richard should depart from Palestine to make himself master of the whole. These matters being so far arranged, Philip presented the marquis with his moiety of the city of

Acre, and on the same day, communicated to Richard his intention of returning forthwith to Europe, craving at the same time his assent to a step so likely to affect the interests of all concerned. Richard's reply was short and scornful. "The king of France," said he, "is my liege lord, but I am bound to say that it will be an eternal disgrace and infamy to him if he leaves Palestine before he has accomplished the work for the sake of which he came hither. Nevertheless, if he feels himself infirm and weak, or fears to die in the Holy Land, let him go!*" Philip still persisted in his resolution, which, when divulged, caused the utmost dismay and consternation among the crusaders, particularly among those who were native to the soil, and whose interests were identified with the recapture of Palestine. They considered his defection as the first of a series of abandonments which should leave them again without defence at the mercy of the Infidel; and they used every means in their power, by tears, prayers, and supplications, to turn him from his purpose. It was all in vain. A more lucrative object than the recovery of Jerusalem lured the king of France back to Europe. A larger conquest than that of the Sepulchre awaited him at home, and having satisfied his conscience by striking a single though ineffectual blow for the cause of Christendom, he now hastened to reward his virtues by spoiling the territories of his neighbours. This violent haste on the part of his rival and unfriend seemed rather suspicious to Richard, who, although in his adopted country Palestine, did

* Hoveden.

not quite forget the contiguity of Normandy, or the narrowness of the sea which separates Britain from France. Before therefore giving his consent to his departure, he compelled Philip to take an oath, that he would protect the lands and subjects of his crusading companion until the return of the latter from Palestine, and that he would neither do injury to them himself, nor suffer others to molest them in any manner whatsoever. Having thus freed himself from his first obligation by incurring a second, Philip made hasty preparations for his departure. Part of his troops he left under the command of the duke of Burgundy, who thenceforward acted as the representative of France; part he sent to the assistance of Raymond, prince of Antioch, under the command of Robert de Quiney: and on the thirty-first of July he set sail for Tyre, taking with him those prisoners of the garrison of Acre who had fallen to his share, and whom he made over to the marquis Conrad. On the third of August he left Tyre, and proceeded homewards, carrying with him the maledictions of all the crusaders, save those of his own country, and heartily despised by all for his faint-heartedness and want of resolution. Richard considered the abduction of the prisoners as a breach of the articles made with Saladin, and not without justice, since, if that prince should implement his part of the agreement, he, as generalissimo of the Christian army, was bound to set the whole of the garrison of Acre free. This he could not do whilst the marquis retained the custody of the prisoners allotted to Philip, and he therefore sent to Tyre, desiring that these might be returned without delay. On receiving a refusal, he

burst into a violent passion, and swore that he would go to Tyre in person and fetch them back. From this rash step he was dissuaded by the duke of Burgundy, who claimed and received the prisoners as the representative of his king; and Richard, finding no further obstacle in his path, awaited with stern patience the day fixed for the ransom or death of the captive Saracens, which fell upon the twentieth of August. The tenth of August came, but neither the money, the True Cross, nor the Christian prisoners appeared, whereupon a council was held, by which the garrison were sentenced to be decapitated; and their resolutions were conveyed to Saladin, in order that before the other ten days expired, he might implement his agreement and save the lives of his friends. The reply of the sultan was this, "If a hair of any of my men be harmed, I will cut off the head of every Christian in my power,"—an ominous answer, and one which was destined to be fulfilled to the letter. On the fourteenth of the same month, Richard removed from behind his entrenchments, and pitched his camp on a spot nearer the Saracen army. The same day he received ambassadors from Saladin, who offered him gifts of value, with a request that he would further prolong the day of ransom. This Richard positively refused, but returned the presents, and desired the messengers to inform their master that he would most assuredly put the sentence into execution, unless the ransom was paid and the other stipulations fulfilled by the day appointed. Saladin, on receiving this message, ordered all his captives to be led forth on the plain in sight of the Christian army, which being done, the unfortunate

victims were decapitated—a horrible spectacle, which so inflamed the indignation of the crusaders, that they instantly rushed to arms; and, the Saracens being as ready to meet them, a furious combat ensued, in which neither party gained any material advantage, but fought until separated by the approach of night. Richard, although frantic at the cruel conduct of Saladin, did not take immediate vengeance, but with scrupulous honour waited until the stipulated term had expired. That day being arrived, he also led out his prisoners in sight of the Saracens, and subjected them to the same fate as that which two days before had befallen the Christians. At the same time the duke of Burgundy slew his prisoners within the city. Five thousand are said to have been put to death on this occasion, and only a few of the emirs and other principal chiefs were spared, in order that they might be thereafter exchanged for crusaders of the highest class. So ended this scene of mutual butchery, disgraceful to both parties and to both kings, who could thus impeach the native nobility of their souls*. The atrocities committed upon the bodies of the slain are almost too shocking to be narrated†.

* It is proper to state that I have here followed the account given by the Christian writers, especially by Hoveden, who is very clear and distinct in his statements. Bohadin, the Arabian historian, throws much of the blame upon Richard. He asserts that Saladin was willing to perform his agreement, provided proper hostages for delivery of the prisoners had been given, but that the arrogance of the English was the cause of the sultan's failure. As, however, Bohadin makes no mention of the previous slaughter of the Christians, which seems to rest upon good authority, I am inclined to adhere to the previous version of the tragedy.

† See Note B.

The fortifications of Acre having been repaired, and the city garrisoned, Richard determined to pursue his march to Ascalon by the sea-shore, on account of the advantage of transporting stores for the army by his ships. It was, however, no easy matter to force the crusaders from Acre. For the first time after two years of incalculable hardship and toil, they felt themselves placed in a situation of comparative comfort and luxury. The rich wines of the East, and other more enervating temptations, combined to render the period of their sojourn there so delicious, that they had hardly courage to face the fatigues of a new campaign. The appearance of even the gravest and most temperate knights underwent a remarkable change; the bronzed face, firm step, and sinewy frame of the warrior were gradually altered into the ruddy cheek, listless gait, and loose figure of the bacchanal; the old order and military discipline were relaxed or forgotten; and the aggressions of the Turks, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, were no longer repelled with the former vigour and alacrity. It required all the energy of Richard to draw his forces from the town; nor was this accomplished without largesses, entreaties, and threats. No women were allowed to accompany the army on its march; even Richard set a salutary example by leaving his queen, his sister, and the Cypriot princess at Acre, under the charge of Bertram de Verdun. When all the arrangements were finally completed, the Christian army began their march; Richard leading the van, and the duke of Burgundy bringing up the rear. As they wound along the sea-shore they observed large masses of Turkish

cavalry gathering at the foot of the inland mountains, and at times a single mounted Arab would gallop up within bow-shot of their line, pace leisurely alongside, as if to spy their weakness or strength, and then ride off to join his companions. These indications caused the crusaders to keep as closely together as possible, and not to allow any straggling from the ranks. Order was thus preserved so long as the ground remained tolerably open; but before reaching Caiphaz, the nearest town to the southward of Acre, the road became extremely narrow and winding, owing to the inequalities of the ground, so that the line of march was considerably lengthened, and the van in some measure separated and concealed from the rear. Richard and his division met with no opposition on the road; but whilst the duke of Burgundy and his men, with whom were the baggage carts and stores, were toiling through the pass, a crowd of Saracen horsemen bore down upon them unawares. Some drove away the guard from the waggons, and commenced to plunder, whilst others, levelling their lances, made an impetuous charge upon the Christians, whose situation prevented them from acting in a body. The cries and shouts from the rear reached the ears of some of the knights who already had surmounted the pass. These came galloping back in parties of two and three, and pushed boldly into the combat. Still the Turks, being more numerous and lighter mounted, had the advantage, and more than one warrior of name lay gasping on the ground. At the commencement of the attack a messenger was despatched to Richard, but he was already so far advanced with his troops that some

time necessarily elapsed before he could hasten to the spot, and the injury to the Christians would have been very serious had not William de Barres, the same knight whose behaviour in Sicily excited the displeasure of Cœur-de-Lion, come up at this critical juncture, and by his own great prowess and exertions kept the enemy at bay, until the English monarch with some of his best knights appeared emerging from the pass. The well known apparition of Richard was the signal for the dispersion of the Saracens, who presently vanished and left the army to pursue its march unmolested. Richard paid De Barres the compliments due to his valour, and from that day sought to efface by every mark of kindness and condescension the memory of his previous harshness.

After this skirmish the army proceeded to Caiphaz without encountering any active opposition, although the cavalry of the enemy were seen at intervals approaching, as if to make another onset, whenever the narrowness or steepness of the road rendered it necessary for the Christians to defile. As, however, the utmost order and caution were preserved during the march, and as the audacity of the Turks had taught every one to keep on the alert, they reached Caiphaz in safety, and still pursuing the route by the sea-shore directed their steps towards Cesarea. The duties of acting as rear and vanguard, were performed alternately by the knights of the different nations. The English, French, Templars and Hospitallers by turns preceded the advance or guarded the rear of the army. When they encamped for the night, an officer stationed in the

midst gave the signal to the heralds, who proclaimed aloud the watch-word, "Save the Holy Sepulchre!" —a sentence which was instantly taken up and repeated by the mouths of thousands, who, falling upon their knees and raising their hands to heaven, prayed that God would vouchsafe them the victory and pardon their manifold transgressions. The fatigue they encountered on their march was great. The knights found the weight and heat of their armour almost insupportable beneath the blaze of an eastern sun. At some places they had to hew their way through woods and thickets of the densest and most intricate growth, and at night they were tormented by the attacks of insects and tarantulas, whose bite was so venomous as to cause alarming inflammation. Still the army moved steadily on, the fleet sailing all the while within sight, and in like manner the Saracens moved parallel with them, but more to the interior. At last they arrived at Cesarea, which the Turks had visited before them, and had destroyed the fortifications and burned part of the town. The crusaders therefore encamped by the side of a stream called the Crocodile river, which flows close to Cesarea, and the very same night had ocular demonstration of the propriety of its name, as two of the soldiers, while bathing, were devoured by those rapacious monsters. Here Richard remained for some time, to disembark his stores from the fleet. He also sent several ships back to Acre for reinforcements, and these arrived without any accident. The number of the Christian army, horse and foot included, amounted to a hundred thousand men, and being most of them tried and hardy soldiers were

a very effective force, and capable of any enterprise, had there existed among them a regular commissariat department. But our ancestors were better acquainted with the more practical part of war, than with the complicated arrangements which modern science considers absolutely indispensable to secure success. Thus while passing through a rich and fertile country, they fared indifferently well, feasting without much nicety on the cattle they found, and on the natural produce of the soil. But when engaged in any extended siege, like that of Acre, where they were constantly liable to delays and disappointment in their supplies, or when passing through a barren and deserted region, they were always exposed to the miseries of want and famine, and their large numbers only served to aggravate the misfortune. Hence it was a favourite practice of the Turks, as we have already seen, to burn the towns and villages, to drive away the cattle, and to destroy the vineyards on the path of the crusaders, and they often contrived by these means to embarrass their enemies more, than if they had fallen upon them sword in hand.

Whilst Richard halted at Cesarea to complete his arrangements, the Saracens having in the meantime received large reinforcements became more troublesome, and repeatedly advanced close to the Christian army discharging their arrows into the camp. This confidence on the part of the enemy created a general expectation among the crusaders that an engagement might shortly be expected, and accordingly before they had advanced far on their way to Joppa, a large body of cavalry appeared, who kept hovering on their flank, and seemed to invite the attack. The

main body of the crusaders steadily continued their march, but some squadrons were detached, and sent against the enemy in order to discover whether these manœuvres were merely a part of their constant system of annoyance, or the prelude to a general battle. The result was a short skirmish, in which was slain the emir who commanded the Saracens, a man of gigantic stature and prodigious strength, who carried a lance which is described to have been twice as heavy as the spears of the crusaders, and who although without defensive armour, had the hardihood to meet the charge of the mail-clad knights. The fall of this champion so astounded and terrified his followers, that they fled precipitately, and the Christians advanced as before. They were now compelled to deviate from their course, and pursue an inland track, on account of the innumerable thickets that grew along the sea-shore, and perpetually obstructed their progress. This gave a fresh advantage to the Turks, who could now attack them upon both sides, and accordingly additional caution was observed; the squadrons were drawn closer together, and an advanced guard sent forward to prevent the possibility of an ambuscade. The country they now traversed was bare and barren, affording neither pasture to their horses, nor provisions to themselves. Moreover the Saracens descended from the hills in larger numbers than they had yet exhibited, and plied their arrows and lances so dextrously, that a vast number of horses were killed. The Templars, who brought up the rear, suffered in this way such severe loss that they were almost driven to desperation. The count of Saint

Paul, who was with them, had hardly one horse left him, yet notwithstanding he exerted himself so much, as to gain the applause of the whole army. Richard, also, during this trying day put forth all his powers, riding from one division of his troops to another, cheering and encouraging his men, and ever and anon, whether supported or not, dashing out against the enemy, and striking down all whom he could reach. Even he did not escape with impunity, for he was wounded, although slightly, in the side by an arrow. So incessant was the discharge, that the historian affirms, on looking back at the ground over which the crusaders passed, there was nowhere a space of four feet where an arrow or a lance did not lie.* This skirmishing lasted for the whole of the day; at night the Saracens retired, and the weary Christians encamped beside a river, the water of which was brackish and unpalatable. Here they remained for two days, and were so pressed for want of provisions, that the soldiers began to quarrel for the carcasses of the dead horses. Richard on hearing this caused proclamation to be made, that he would bestow a live horse upon every one who should give up the body of his dead steed for the use of the others, and accordingly horse-flesh became the staple food of the camp; and as Vinesauf, who was probably a sharer in the banquet, quaintly remarks, "Hunger being an excellent sauce, it was pronounced not only tolerable, but delicious fare."

During these two days they received no annoyance from the Saracens, which surprised them not a little, as they had confidently expected and pre-

* Vinesauf.

pared for an attack upon their camp. On resuming their march, therefore, they advanced with the greater caution, as their course inclining towards the sea, lay through an extensive forest in which they were apprehensive of an ambuscade. No traces of such appeared, but as they approached the mouth of a river near Assur, their scouts brought intelligence that the Saracens, to the number of three hundred thousand, were encamped on a plain at a short distance, and appeared determined to make a stand. This prospect roused the spirits of the soldiers, who desired nothing more earnestly than an opportunity of measuring their force with that of the Saracens, in a fair and open battle. They entertained no doubt of the results, however superior the numbers of the enemy might be, and hoped that by striking one severe and effectual blow, they would be delivered from the daily recurrence of that system of annoyance by which they had suffered so much. With joyful alacrity, therefore, they heard the order issued, that every man should prepare himself for a pitched battle on the morrow, and their few dispositions being made, they lay down on the field, and slept until the blast of the trumpet woke them to a day of victory and blood.

CHAPTER VIII.

Battle of Assur, and Defeat of the Saracens—Death of James D'Avesnes—Arrival of the Crusaders at Joppa—Saladin destroys the Fortifications of Ascalon—Adventure of Richard—Combat between the Templars and Saracens—Negotiations of Conrad and Richard with Saladin—Quarrels amongst the Crusaders—Their advance to Ascalon—Defection of the Dukes of Austria and Burgundy—The French retire to Acre—Disputes of the Pisans and Genoese—Alarming intelligence from England and proposed Return of Richard—Conrad of Montserrat and Tyre elected King of Jerusalem—Account of the Hausassiz—Conrad murdered by the Emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountain—Marriage of Count Henry of Champagne with Isabella, whereby he acquires the Crown of Jerusalem.

EARLY in the morning Richard drew up his forces in battle array, and made his dispositions as follows:—First of all marched the Templars, under their Grand Master, Robert de Sablay. Then followed the main body, the right of which was commanded by James d'Avesnes, a most esteemed soldier, under whom were the Danes, Brabanters, and Hollanders. Richard in person led the centre, consisting of the English and Norman troops, and with him was Guy of Lusignan. The French and Germans occupied the left, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy and Leopold of Austria, and the Hospitallers brought up the rear. As the Saracens were infinitely more numerous than the crusaders, no doubt was entertained by the latter that their progress would be opposed. Much however to their astonishment, the huge masses of cavalry which darkened the plain before them began gradually to move off towards the mountains, leaving the passage free; at the same time it was observed that as the Sara-

cens took their new ground, they formed into a sort of crescent, over against the left wing, and Richard, who was more apprehensive of an attack upon this, than on any other quarter, inasmuch as he had no great opinion of the trustworthiness of the duke of Burgundy, despatched his nephew the count of Champagne with some select troops to form the extremity of the left, and watch the operations of the enemy. It was now completely evident that the Saracens intended to follow their old mode of attack, and to annoy the army on their march, without hazarding a general engagement. This Richard determined if possible to prevent; he had suffered so much since his departure from Acre, by this petty and continuous warfare, that he was resolved to strike such a blow as would effectually cripple the Saracens, and relieve himself from a torment exactly similar to that which a traveller endures, when a swarm of hornets circle round his head, buzzing in his ear, and fretting his temper by their continual attempts to sting. His scheme, therefore, was to proceed leisurely onward, as if indifferent to their attacks, until the greater part of the enemy had gathered round them, when he trusted, by a vigorous and simultaneous charge, to force the Saracens into such a position, that it would be worse policy for them to fly than to fight. In this case he thought he could confidently reckon on the result. Strict orders were therefore issued, that no one, however great the provocation might be, should presume to commence the attack, but that all should keep in their ranks until the signal was given, by two distinct blasts of the trumpet from

the van, the centre, and the rear, when the knights of each squadron were at liberty to address themselves against the nearest of the foe. The army accordingly began their march as leisurely as if no enemy were in sight, though no doubt many a heart beat fast and anxiously, and many an eye was turned to the hills whereon the dark masses of the enemy hung, fearful and threatening, as a cloud charged with the artillery of thunder.

A movement was at last descried among the ranks of the Saracens, and as precipitately as the waters rush down the channel of a winter torrent, when a waterspout has broken among the mountains, came ten thousand of the Turkish horsemen, in full career, the atabals clashing, plumes waving, and banners streaming, as they charged. The left wing instantly faced about to receive them, but it was not the wish of the Saracens to penetrate the line. When almost upon the point of the spears, they wheeled round, flung their lances and javelins into the midst of the crusaders, (whose array was so dense that, according to the historian, an apple could not have fallen amongst them without touching either man or horse,) and made way for a body of savage warriors, Bedouins, from the Arabian desert, expert archers, whose constant discharge did much damage to the horses. While these hung upon the left wing, the cavalry, now doubled in number, fell upon the rear and right wing, whilst the vanguard and main body of the Christians remained almost unmolested. The scene was most terrific. In the middle of the plain, the crusading army closely packed, and to all appearance a mere

handful when compared with their foes, stepped slowly forwards, the rear ranks retiring with their faces to the enemy; whilst on three sides thousands on thousands of Saracen horsemen rode impetuously round, brandishing their long lances, shooting their arrows, and casting their javelins against the iron phalanx. All at once the confusion ceased, the Turks fell back upon either side, and at the head of a fresh and magnificent body of cavalry, the sultan galloped into the field—

“ See where amidst the battle’s rolling tide
King Saladin comes on! Around him wheel
Emirs and princes, and the chiefest flower
Of all the Moslem chivalry, and each
Bears him as if he were a king himself
To all except the Sultan! How their steeds
Come plunging through that heavy wall of dust,
Which closes as they pass, and canopies
The rearward of the army!”

The Hospitallers bore the brunt of this new attack with that fortitude which they always displayed, although their situation was now perilous in the extreme. Many of their horses were slain, and the dismounted riders, cased in complete armour, (a most unfit garb for a pedestrian,) were forced to keep pace with their mounted brethren. Some of them attempted to use the cross-bow, but with little effect, owing to the narrowness of the space in which they moved. Indeed during the whole of this battle the crusaders received almost no assistance from their archers. A body of these were stationed on the left wing, but the first onset of the Turkish cavalry drove them in upon the main body, where they were of little service. All this while no charge had been made by any of the Christian

knights in consequence of the order issued, but the Hospitallers, now furious at finding themselves attacked so fiercely without the power to make reprisals, sent word to Richard that it was utterly impossible for them to support any longer the violence of the infidels unless they were allowed to charge. Cœur de Lion, who thought the time was not yet come, entreated them to contain themselves for a little period longer; and this they did, until the Saracens, grown bolder, advanced close to the retreating ranks, and began to interchange with the knights blows of the sword and mace, and even attempted to penetrate their array. This the Hospitallers could not endure. Never since their order was founded had they been brought to such a pass, as patiently to endure the blows of the infidels without charging them in return. A loud murmur of discontent spread through the ranks, and one of the brethren, Garnier by name, signified to the Grand Master, Godfrey de Duisson, the resolution of the rest. The Master instantly rode forward to Richard and communicated his situation. Still the king delayed to give the order to charge. His intention probably was to entice the Saracens to surround his army, in which case, no doubt, they might have been more completely routed; but if so, his plans were frustrated by the impetuosity of two knights, the marshal of the Hospital, and Baldwin de Carreo, a subject and companion of his own. These men, galled beyond endurance by the pertinacity of the Turks, set spurs to their horses and charged into the thickest of the assailants. They instantly disappeared from the view of their friends, but the

gathering crowd, and the Christian war-cry which sounded loud above the clash and clang of the Turkish music, indicated the spot where these brave hearts were contending, unsupported, amongst thousands. "Come what may," cried Godfrey de Duisson, "we must not leave our brethren to perish!" and placing his spear in the rest, he dashed into the press, followed by the whole renowned chivalry of Saint John. Almost at the same moment, James D'Avesnes on the right, and Henry of Champagne on the left wing, rushed forth against the enemy. The earl of Leicester, with part of the English, did the like, and the other troops, seeing these advance without the signal, followed their example. The first shock was tremendous. At no time could the Turks sustain the charge of the red-cross knights, which the strength of their horses, and the weight and length of their spears, rendered peculiarly formidable. The Saracens usually endeavoured, by manœuvring, to escape this encounter; but now, blocked up by multitudes of their own friends behind, they had no means of evading it. Hundreds of saddles were emptied in a moment, and the foot soldiers coming rapidly up, hewed down, or transfixed with their pikes, all who were borne to the ground. Richard, mounted on his favourite Cyprus charger, gave entire vent to his ardour, and, exerting the whole of his gigantic strength, did that day such deeds of arms as excited the wonder and admiration of those who knew him best, and inspired the Turks with the belief that he was rather an avenging demon, than a mere mortal man. Wherever he came, a wide lane was opened, through which

he rode, striking right and left, and whosoever fell beneath one of these terrible blows, never rose again. Panic-struck, and astounded by the sudden movement of the crusaders, the Saracens began first to waver, and then to fly. Even Saladin turned the rein, and then the rout became general; nor, as was usually the case when the Turks retreated, did they venture to turn again, but fled straight onward to the hills, pursued by their victorious antagonists. Such was the fortune of battle in the centre, which decided the fate of the day. On the left, also, the Christians were victorious, though some of the Burgundian troops gave way; but the Germans maintained the old reputation of their country, and routed their assailants. The first charge of the right wing was likewise effective, but the advantage so gained was burdened with the loss of that valiant soldier James D'Avesnes, who penetrated too far into the ranks of the enemy, and was separated from his followers. Alone, against hundreds, he fought with his usual gallantry and success, until he received a cruel wound on the thigh. Notwithstanding the great loss of blood, he fought on most valorously, and almost succeeded in disengaging himself from the press, when another blow brought him to the ground. It so happened that the tide of battle had carried him near the spot where Richard was fighting, but all his endeavours to reach him were in vain. While sinking from his horse, he turned towards his royal master and cried, "Brave king, avenge my death!" and having said this he dropped from the saddle. Richard heard the cry and recognised the voice; a few blows cleared him

of his immediate assailants, but he arrived too late to save his friend, though not to avenge his fall. The body of James D'Avesnes was found after the battle, quite buried beneath a heap of slain.

The charges of the Crusaders, and the flight of the Turks, had changed the place of action, which now was carried towards the hills. The royal standard of England alone stood in its former place in the middle of the plain, and was guarded by a small but select body of English and Norman knights. A squadron of Turkish cavalry, who had not been engaged in the previous contest, under the command of the emir Tokeddin, a near relation of Saladin, espied the standard thus comparatively defenceless, and made a sudden charge upon it; but, forgetting their usual cautious mode of warfare, they closed with the knights, and an obstinate combat with the sword and mace began. The English fought bravely, but they were fearfully over-matched in numbers, and the foremost of the Turks had almost reached the standard, when William de Barres, returning from the pursuit, rushed with his men to the rescue, and drove them back. The arrival of fresh succours soon forced the Turks to betake themselves to the hills for safety. The battle now seemed over, the recall was sounded, and the Christian warriors returned from the pursuit. As it was now near night-fall, they pitched their camp without the walls of Assur, in the hope of enjoying a quiet night's repose, after a day of so much anxiety and toil. Their work, however, was not yet ended, for whilst they were employed in fixing the tents, a fresh battalion of Saracens issued from the town,

and fell upon them unawares. Richard, hearing the tumult, leaped upon his horse, and attended only by some fifteen knights, spurred towards the place, and shouting the war-cry, "God for us and the Holy Sepulchre!" burst into the middle of the combatants. Every one who heard his voice rushed to arms, and after a short but sanguinary conflict the assailants were beaten off and slaughtered to the very gates of Assir.

So ended this memorable battle, the most important if not the most brilliant of Richard's achievements in Palestine. It was fought on the seventh day of September 1191, and lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until nightfall. The number of the Saracens who were slain is differently estimated by the historians, some reckoning it as high as forty and others as low as seven thousand. As, however, we are informed that the bodies of thirty-two emirs were found on the field of battle, we may conclude that their loss was immense; indeed, Richard in writing to the abbot of Clairval says, that Saladin during fifty years of warfare had never suffered so signal a defeat; and the Arabian historian Bohadin; who was in attendance upon the sultan, confesses that the result of the day was such as to strike terror into the hearts of all, and to make them tremble for the safety of Jerusalem. Very few of the Christians were slain, and of these James D'Avesnes was the only leader of distinction. It was in this battle that the prowess of Richard won for him the famous appellation of the Melech-Ric, a name by which to this day he is as well known in the East, as by that of Cœur-de-Lion in Europe. Some notion of the

terror which his person inspired may be gathered from the recorded fact, that the Saracen mothers were wont to awe their children into silence by the mention of his name; and that it was common for the Turkish cavaliers to chide an unruly horse, by asking if he saw king Richard in the way.*

On the third day after the battle, the army resumed its march towards Joppa, without encountering any impediment save at the fords of a river near Assur, where a body of Turks were posted. These, however, merely waited until the vanguard prepared to cross, and then, having discharged their arrows, rode off precipitately. At Joppa the Christians found great plenty of fruits and provisions. Their fleet also had arrived in the port, and supplied them with every necessary. In the meantime, the forces of the Saracens being collected, a great council of their chiefs was summoned by the sultan, to consider what plan of operations it were best for them to adopt. All agreed that the state of affairs was more alarming than they had anticipated, and that it was useless to attempt a series of attacks, which sooner or later must end in inevitable defeat. It was therefore proposed and carried, that part of the army should remain under the charge of Malek-al-Adel, brother of the sultan, to observe the proceedings of the

* The following is the testimony of Bernard le Trésorier :—" Le Roi Richart fū mult douté par toute païenime, et avenoit aucune fois, si com l'en dist, que quant les enfans as Sarrazins ploroient, il disoient—Tes-toi, por le roi d'Engleterre ! Et quant un Sarrazin chevauchoit cheval restif, et il veoit bien son ombre, il reculoit ariere, et quant li Sarrazin le hurtoit des esperons, si disoit 'Cuides tu que le roi Richart soit mucié en cest buisson,' on en ce dont le cheval avoit paor."—Histoire de la Conquête de la Terre Sainte.

Christians ; and that Saladin and the rest should advance to the strong city of Ascalon, and either place a garrison there or demolish the fortifications, so as to render it of little value to the Christians, should they afterwards take possession. Accordingly Saladin, with his eldest son, Malek-al-Aphdal, and the historian Bohadin, set out for Ascalon, and on his arrival there, held a long consultation as to the destruction of the fortifications. Saladin was exceedingly unwilling to take this desperate step, for Ascalon was the principal seaport that remained in his possession since Acre was lost ; but it was plain, that the miserable fate which befel the garrison of that latter town had so disheartened his troops, that they dared not stand the consequences of another siege, and Ascalon was therefore condemned. "By Allah !" said Saladin, turning to Bohadin, "I would rather see all my sons dead before me than pull down one stone of that noble city : but since it is His will and necessary for the safety of the Moslem, let it be done." So the work of destruction proceeded*.

Some of the townspeople escaping from Ascalon, fled to Joppa, and informed Richard of the sultan's design. Such an act of desperation on the part of Saladin, who, notwithstanding his late defeat, was still immensely powerful, seemed hardly credible ; but Geoffry of Lusignan was despatched in a swift-sailing galley to lie off the town, and ascertain the truth of the report. That Baron, on his return, corroborated the statement of the fugitives, whereupon a council of the princes was held to consider

* Bohadin.

what steps should be taken in consequence. Richard strongly urged the necessity of an instant advance upon Ascalon, asserted that the Saracens who were engaged in demolishing the fortifications would not venture to give battle to the crusaders, and enlarged upon the advantages to be derived from the possession of so important a town. The duke of Burgundy and others were of a contrary opinion; and argued that Ascalon was so far removed from the scene of action as to be of minor importance. Joppa, they said, being much nearer Jerusalem, was the fittest point from which they could direct their march towards the holy city; and as its fortifications also had been destroyed, they proposed to remain there for a season, and rebuild the walls. This proposition was carried by acclamation, although there can be no doubt that the suggestion of Richard was the wisest and most politic, since, had Ascalon been taken and rendered tenable by the Christians, we have the authority of the Turkish historians for saying that Saladin would instantly have abandoned great part of his conquests, and would have retired to the interior, perhaps even at the sacrifice of Jerusalem itself*. Whatever were the arguments of Burgundy, the real cause of the disinclination of the Christians to proceed to Ascalon was not the proximity of Joppa to the holy city, but the attractions and pleasures which were to be found in that town. Some of the crusaders seemed to consider the war as ended for the time, and, taking advantage of the shipping, returned to their old haunt of Acre. Others remained, but instead of applying themselves dili-

* Bohadin.—Abulfeda.

gently to the work, plunged into the midst of dissipation, and resumed their former excesses. All this was very galling to Richard, who did all in his power to recall the stragglers to their duty, and for that purpose even proceeded in person to Acre. Here, by dint of great perseverance, he collected most of the defaulters; and embarking along with some fresh troops, returned to Joppa in company with his queen and sister.

While the army tarried at Joppa, it was the almost daily custom of the king to ride out on hunting expeditions, partly from the love of pastime, and partly because in these excursions he frequently fell in with the Turks who loitered in the neighbourhood, and thus had an opportunity of indulging his passion for adventure. One day, while thus employed in hawking, he rode out further than usual, with a very small train of knights in his company, and being overcome by the heat of the day, dismounted from his horse, lay down upon the grass, and soon fell fast asleep. A body of Saracens from the army of Malek-al-Adel, who, unobserved by him, had been watching his motions from a neighbouring height, resolved to profit by the opportunity, and, if possible, to take prisoner the great enemy and scourge of their race. With this intention they mounted their horses, and by taking advantage of the inequalities of the ground and the intervening thickets, approached so near, that the Christians were scarcely awake and aware of their danger, before their enemies were upon them. The foot of Richard was just in the stirrup when the Saracens came up; nevertheless he swung himself into the saddle, and

drawing his sword, with a few strokes brought the foremost of his assailants to the ground. The others turned the rein, and commenced a precipitate flight. Richard, who desired no better sport, spurred after them with his followers; but they had not ridden far before a number of Saracens started up from the bushes, wherein they had lain concealed, and surrounding the party, attempted to drag the knights from their horses. Fortunately for Richard, these Saracens, though convinced that the king was of the party, did not recognize his person; and therefore, instead of concentrating their attack upon him, they clustered around each of the knights, trusting that they might unhorse the whole, and thus be secure of their royal prize. This was no easy matter, for the English chivalry were prepared to defend themselves against any odds, and, though fearfully overmatched in numbers, made a most desperate and stubborn resistance. Notwithstanding their gallantry, they must have been overcome, and Richard would, in all probability, have been led a prisoner to Saladin, had not William de Pratelles, a Provençal knight, divined their object, and with a self-devotion rarely if ever equalled, exclaimed in the Saracen language, "Back, ye infidel dogs! I am the Melech Ric." Instantly the whole body of Turks crowded round him, and dragged him from his saddle, and, without paying the least attention to the others, galloped off in triumph, carrying their captive along with them. Richard would willingly have attempted his deliverance, but four of his bravest knights were slain, and others wounded, so that a rescue was impossible, and he was perforce compelled to return

to Joppa. The joy of the Christians at this narrow escape of their leader and champion was unbounded ; but although some of his familiars took so much upon them as to remonstrate against the impropriety of this wanton exposure of his person, whereby the success of the common cause was endangered, Richard laughed at their entreaties, and often courted a similar danger, but happily without a similar result. It is proper, however, to state that one of his last actions before leaving the Holy Land was to procure the freedom of his brave deliverer, William de Pratelles.

Saladin, having finished the dismantlement of Ascalon, fixed his head-quarters at Ramula, thus placing himself in the way of the further progress of the crusaders towards Jerusalem. Richard, with the view of rousing the dormant energies of his followers, drew them out from Joppa, and encamped between the castles of Planes and Maey, two places of strength which had been partially destroyed by the Saracens, and which he now proposed to re-fortify. Accordingly, the greater part of his army were employed in these works, whilst the rest kept guard or rode into the country on foraging excursions, during which they frequently encountered armed bands of the enemy. On one occasion, a small troop of Templars were employed on this service, at no great distance from Maey, where Richard was ; and whilst cutting grass, and collecting it into bundles, were attacked and surrounded by nearly four thousand of the Turkish cavalry, who came upon them before they could mount their horses. The knights, though surprised, were not dismayed. They set back to

back, and protected each other from the vehement assault of the Saracens, as well as they could. At the first onset, three of the Templars were slain, and as they were not provided with spears, the others were forced to maintain a close combat, at fearful disadvantage, each man having several adversaries to contend with, and many more being ready to supply their place, even should they dispose of the first assailants. Notwithstanding all their efforts, the Templars were nearly overpowered, for the Turks had succeeded in beating down their swords and had laid hands upon them, at the moment when Andrew de Savigny, with fifteen other knights, rode up to the rescue, and repelled the foremost of the enemy. But this small reinforcement was presently surrounded also, and, had not speedy succour arrived, must have been slain or taken prisoners. The noise of the combat soon reached the ears of Richard, who, ascending the tower of Maey, saw by the cloud of dust upon the plain, and the active movements of the Turkish horse, that some part of his forces were in jeopardy. "By Saint George!" said the king, "yonder is a tough battle; who rode out this morning to protect the foragers?" An attendant replied that they were Templars, which order was then particularly obnoxious to Richard, on account of their adherence to Conrad, and the haughtiness of their manner toward the English knights, whom they affected to consider as inferior to themselves. "Templars!" repeated Richard, "I would to God they were aught else; but, Templars or no, it shall never be said that I deserted a brave knight in the hour of need." So saying, he hastened to put on his armour,

and ordered the earl of Leicester and the count of Saint Paul to take such men as were ready, and ride to the relief of the encompassed band. Very few, however, were prepared to follow these noblemen, and they failed to beat off the Turks, although the earl of Leicester, who was the right hand of Cœur-de-Lion, and as fearless as his master, performed prodigies of valour. The combat was still raging, when Richard came up and threw himself into the thickest of the press, in spite of the entreaties of his followers, who besought him not to peril his person in so unequal a contest. The result was the discomfiture of the enemy and the death of their leader, an emir of distinction, who perished by the sword of Cœur-de-Lion.

Such scenes were of common occurrence, and afforded the knights of the crusading army ample opportunity of gaining that reputation for individual prowess which was so much prized by the adventurous chivalry of the age. The names of the earl of Leicester, Henry de Gray, Peter de Pratelles, Robert Nigel, William de Barres, Robert de Newburg, and the brothers de Bruil, are mentioned by different historians with much reverence and honour; but the palm of merit, by universal consent, is given to Richard, whose superiority to all others, both as a general and a soldier, is at all hands admitted. The conduct of the Templars and Hospitallers also was worthy of their old renown; but little mention is made of the duke Leopold of Austria, and less of the duke of Burgundy, the leader of the French.

Notwithstanding all these conflicts and aggressions, the war had by this time assumed a milder

and more humane character. At its commencement no quarter was given by either party. The tragedy of the Christian captives and of the garrison of Acre engendered feelings of the bitterest rancour between the contending armies. All the prisoners taken by the Turks were beheaded—as for the crusaders, their general rule was to make no prisoners, but indiscriminately to slay all who fell in their way. This savage and brutal system was at length relaxed, either from policy or from shame. During the siege of Acre, when the kings of England and France were attacked with the epidemic fever, Saladin, with great courtesy, sent them presents of the most delicious fruits of Damascus, and other Asiatic luxuries; and this noble spirit on the part of his rival, though apparently disregarded at the time, was not forgotten by Richard, who, moreover, conceived a great respect for Saladin on account of his personal valour, which he had more than once witnessed on the field of battle. Insensibly, therefore, the English began to treat the Saracens with the same consideration that they would have extended to enemies professing the Christian faith, and this forbearance was reciprocated. The military friars, alone, retained their savage customs, and between them and the Turks no quarter was asked or given.

During the former crusades a treaty with the infidel was never either urged or contemplated; but the state of parties now rendered such a step not only highly probable but extremely judicious. Conrad, after the departure of his patron Philip, remained at Tyre, taking no active share in the enterprises of the army, but waiting for an opportunity to advance

his own interest and secure the recognition of his claims. All application to Richard for this purpose would, as he was well aware, prove ineffectual, but the present position of Saladin warranted him in the belief that by making interest in that quarter, he might secure such terms as would leave him, when the English departed, in undisturbed enjoyment of the kingdom. He therefore, sent one of his adherents to the sultan, offering, if the latter should guarantee him the possession of Tyre, along with Sidon and Berytus, to break altogether with the crusaders, and if necessary to join his forces with those of the Saracen, to drive the intruders from the Holy Land and achieve the recapture of Acre. This offer was listened to by Saladin with considerable interest, and would no doubt have been at last accepted, had not Richard also proposed terms for a general peace. The foundation of these was the restitution of Jerusalem, and all the territory between Jordan and the sea, together with the True Cross; and Saladin considered this manifestation of Richard's good-will to be of so much importance, that he despatched his brother Malek-al-Adel, or Saphadin as he was otherwise called, to treat in person with the English king. A lengthened negotiation ensued, but neither party would agree to the terms. The Turk asserted that Jerusalem was as dear to the Moslem as to the Christian, being the favoured city of God, and that as for the Holy Cross, he held it a crime to countenance a respect which savoured more of idolatry than of pure and lofty religion. Nevertheless, this meeting was not without its effect in further removing the mutual prejudices of the

princes. It is even said that Richard went so far as to bestow the honour of knighthood upon a son of Saphadin,—to the great disgust of the Templars, who regarded the proceeding as a flagrant violation of the first principles of chivalry; and the story, however strange it may appear, is entitled to some credit, as we are informed that Saladin in his earlier years solicited and obtained the same distinction from the sword of Humphrey de Thoron, a powerful baron of Jerusalem.

The treaty between Saladin and Richard was thus broken off, nor does it appear that the proposals of Conrad were formally accepted by the sultan, although the conduct of that nobleman was such as to make many believe that a very good understanding prevailed between him and the common enemy. Shortly afterwards a much more objectionable method of ending the war seems to have occurred to Richard; this was the marriage of his sister Joan, widow of William of Sicily, with the Saracen prince Malek-al-Adel, and the union of the Syrian territories in their persons: a proposition so utterly wild and extravagant, so inconsistent with the high profession of a crusader, and so unbecoming the character of a Christian prince, that were we not assured of the fact by the concurring testimony of the Asiatic and European historians, we would be inclined to dismiss it as the foul invention of an enemy. It is equally strange that Saladin was no-wise indisposed to concur in this proposal, and that his brother agreed to it at once; but no sooner was it rumoured abroad that such an extraordinary alliance was meditated, than the chiefs of both armies

expressed the strongest dissatisfaction, and Joan indignantly declared that she would rather die than temporise with her faith, or suffer the pollution of the embraces of a Saracen spouse. This idea, therefore, was speedily abandoned, and hostilities recommenced anew.

The season was now far advanced, and the rains set in, so that it became necessary to place the army in winter-quarters. The crusaders had by this time marched into Ramula, a town deserted and dilapidated by the sultan, and even penetrated as far as Bethanopolis, a place of strength situated about seven leagues to the westward of Jerusalem. Richard would fain have pushed forward and invested the Holy City, but the Templars and Hospitallers remonstrated against such a step, which would leave the army exposed to the inclemency of the weather during the winter months, without any corresponding advantage, since Jerusalem was so strongly fortified and garrisoned that the siege must have been a work of time. Yielding to these representations Richard led back his army, and took up his winter-quarters in Joppa.

The difficulty of maintaining anything like unanimity among a body of men so divided by country and interest as the crusaders, now became still more apparent than before. Whilst the enemy were hovering around them, the common danger caused the Christians for a time to forget their minor differences, but as soon as this stimulus was withdrawn, they lapsed into their former state of insubordination and jealousy. Some of their leaders, such as the dukes of Burgundy and Austria, began to weary of the

supremacy of Richard, and to cool in their enthusiasm for the great object of the enterprise. Therefore, when a general council was summoned to consider the operations of the next campaign, opinions were very much divided. The proposal of Richard for an instant advance upon Jerusalem was negatived; and with strange inconsistency, the same men who formerly argued against the expedition to Ascalon, at the time when their appearance might have prevented the destruction of the fortifications, now brought forward that measure, although the walls were razed to their foundations. This motion, however, was finally carried, and the army were ordered to prepare for their march. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by the common soldiers, when they learned that the advance upon Jerusalem was postponed for what they believed to be an interested and nugatory object. They were besides still suffering from the effects of a protracted winter, and had no inclination to recommence immediately that species of toil which they had found so irksome while engaged in repairing the walls of Joppa. The French, in particular, not only testified their unwillingness to proceed by loud murmuring, but actually deserted in great numbers. Some of them returned to Acre, and some accepted the invitation of Conrad, and journeyed as far as Tyre, where they were received with open arms. In addition to this defection, sickness was very prevalent in the camp, and provisions neither cheap nor plenty.

Richard was sensibly affected by this alarming posture of affairs, but he was too intrepid and confident to relax his efforts on account of the pusillani-

mity of others. With great pains, therefore, and difficulty, in the coldest and most stormy weather, he led the remnants of his army to Ascalon, where he arrived about the commencement of January 1192, and forthwith proceeded to repair and rebuild the fortifications, which were at least as strong as those of Acre. Saladin, understanding that his enemy was so occupied, gave permission to his soldiers, except those in garrison, to return to their families, enjoining them, however, to reassemble in the month of May; and this liberty was joyfully embraced by the Saracens, who, for a period of nearly four years, had served their sultan in the field without intermission, and with far more constancy and good-will than their Christian opponents had shown. A tacit truce was thus in some measure concluded between the armies, and it was expected that during the ensuing summer, the great attempt upon Jerusalem would be made, and the crusaders either rewarded for their toils by the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, or forced to retrace their steps to Europe with disappointment and defeat.

Meanwhile, great progress was made in the works at Ascalon. Nobles, knights, and priests laboured at the fortifications like common soldiers; nor could they well do otherwise, since Richard in his own person set them a strenuous example. One man alone, Leopold duke of Austria, refused to lend his aid, asserting that he was neither a carpenter nor a mason; for which specimen of ill-timed vanity and conceit he was so shrewdly reprimanded by Cœur-de-Lion, that he was weak enough to retire with the whole of his Germans, and lent no further assist-

ance during the crusade. This prince, whose valour during the first year of the siege of Acre we have already mentioned, had always regarded Richard with an evil eye, and, to say the truth, his dislike was repaid with interest by the bold and overbearing king. On the reduction of Acre the duke had caused the banner of Austria to be displayed on the principal tower; an instance of presumption which Richard, without any remonstrance, punished, by causing the flag to be hurled into the ditch, and the ensign of England to be displayed in its stead. This was an unpardonable insult, and Leopold studied to avenge it; unfortunately he found an opportunity, and eagerly availed himself of it, as we shall learn in the sequel. Very shortly after this a dispute arose between the king and the duke of Burgundy, with reference to a loan which the latter requested for the payment of his troops, but which Richard, who already had expended large sums for the maintenance of the French, thought proper to refuse. The result was the defection of the duke, who with the greater part of his forces marched off to Acre.

On his arrival he found that city in a state of great disorder. The Pisans and Genoese had been quartered there for the winter; an unfortunate arrangement, as these of all the crusading troops bore the strongest ill-will to each other, both on account of their native politics, and the adverse causes which they had espoused in Palestine. The Pisans were the close allies of the English, and favoured Guy of Lusignan. The Genoese on the contrary adhered to the French, and declared themselves partisans of Conrad. Such combustible ma-

terials could not long be together, without bursting into a flame ; accordingly when the duke of Burgundy reached Acre, he found them at open hostilities on the plain without the city. The sight of the French banner was greeted by the Genoese with loud acclamations, but the Pisans nothing dismayed, made a vigorous attack upon their opponents in spite of the reinforcement, struck the duke of Burgundy from his horse, and retreating into the city closed the gates and manned the walls as though they had expected a siege. Nor were they altogether wrong in their expectation, for the Genoese, by advice of the duke, sent an express to Tyre, and offered, in return for his assistance, to place the marquis in possession of Acre. Conrad desired no better terms, and assembling his forces invested the city, which the Pisans defended with great gallantry, having previously sent to Richard to warn him of their situation. Cœur-de-Lion did not lose a moment, but advanced as far as Cesarea, when, the rumour of his approach having preceded him, Conrad and the duke of Burgundy abandoned their operations and set sail for Tyre. Richard arrived at Acre, and with some difficulty succeeded in reconciling the contending parties.

Returning to Ascalon he found that the few French who still remained with the army had been invited by the marquis to join their countrymen at Tyre, and had yielded to the temptation. They now applied for leave to depart, which Richard contemptuously granted, and further assigned them a body-guard, lest, as he said, "such summer warriors might take harm by the way." As for himself he

continued the works at Ascalon, assisted by his nephew count Henry of Champagne, who through good and evil report cleaved steadfastly to his side, although he thereby incurred the displeasure of his other uncle the king of France; and, before long, they had the satisfaction of beholding their task completed, and the fortifications of the city thoroughly restored. Richard next meditated an attack upon the strong holds of Gaza and Daroun, which Saladin perceiving, reassembled his army and put himself in a posture of defence.

Before any offensive movement was made by either party, the prior of Hereford arrived from England with letters from the chancellor, William bishop of Ely, to the king, containing a most alarming account of the aggressions of prince John, and the rapid strides which he was making towards possession of the English crown. The instant return of Richard—so wrote the chancellor—was absolutely necessary, if he wished to preserve his kingdom, and even his utmost haste might fail to anticipate the dreaded evil. This was cruel news for Richard, whose confidence in his brother had been unbounded, and very perplexing, at the moment when he hoped by a vigorous exertion to conclude the war, and add Jerusalem to his other conquests. To leave Palestine at this critical conjuncture would be to sacrifice for ever all hopes of the re-establishment of the Latin kingdom; for the animosity of those in the two camps of Ascalon and Tyre was so strong that they did not only refuse to act in concert, but in all probability, as soon as his back was turned, would come to an open and violent rupture, thereby

giving an advantage to Saladin which that sagacious prince was but too ready to seize. On the other hand if he tarried longer, it appeared likely that on his return he would find himself dethroned, his brother in possession of the crown and backed by France, and his old and faithful followers stripped of their wealth and exiled. There was only one man in Palestine capable of supplying his place, and that man had shown himself throughout his most active and uncompromising enemy. This was Conrad of Tyre, whose valour and abilities were acknowledged and appreciated by all the crusaders except the English, who partook of the prejudices of their monarch, but he alone of all the princes seemed qualified to cope with Saladin. As for Guy of Lusignan, even his most intimate friends could not deny his vast inferiority to Conrad, which now became every day more perceptible, and cooled in a great measure the devotion of Richard to his cause.

The line of conduct adopted by the English monarch under these trying circumstances reflects great honour upon himself. Dismissing all memory of the past, he called a general assembly of the crusaders, and announced to them his intention of shortly returning homewards. This statement was heard by all with tokens of the deepest distress; the old warriors of the cross crowded round him, fell at his feet, and entreated him in the most affecting manner not to leave them until the Holy Sepulchre was recovered. Richard was much affected, but, mastering his feelings, declared that the imperious calls of duty and not his own inclination forced him back to Europe; and added that before he departed it was

his earnest wish that all disputes regarding the succession to the crown of Jerusalem should be ended, and the crusaders united under one head, whom they might all serve with fidelity and regard with honour and esteem. So momentous a decision, he said, should not be submitted to the nobles alone,—the meanest as well as the highest had an interest in the choice, and he, as the leader of the present crusade, now took upon himself the responsibility of allowing them the free election of their king, and pledged himself to support and maintain the man whom the people favoured. Two candidates were before them, Guy of Lusignan, and Conrad of Montserrat and Tyre, and between them they had now to choose.

No sooner was this speech concluded, than the crusaders, by acclamation, elected Conrad for their king. Richard, who had anticipated the result, heard their determination with great equanimity, and instantly despatched count Henry of Champagne, with several other nobles, to Tyre, to inform the marquis of his good fortune, and to request a personal interview at his earliest convenience, when such dispositions might be made as would ensure the success of the Christian arms in Palestine. It is difficult to say whether Conrad was more surprised or pleased, on receiving so unexpected a message. He expressed to the ambassadors his determination to prove himself worthy of the dignity he had received, and his gratitude to Richard for his candid and honourable conduct. The enthusiasm and joy of the people of Tyre, who almost adored the marquis, was unbounded. Already, in imagination, they beheld their favourite crowned in state at Jeru-

saalem, the land from Antioch to the Arabian frontier cleared of the Saraccn enemy, and the Holy Sepulchre regained. But an end was speedily put to their lofty aspirations; and never was the beautiful sentiment which Schiller has put in the mouth of Wallenstein more thoroughly exemplified.—

“Frohlocke nicht!

Denn eifersüchtig sind des Shicksals Mächte.
Voreilig Jauchzen greift in ihre Rechte.
Den samen legen wir in ihre Hände;
Ob Glück, ob Unglück aufgeht, lehrt das Ende.”

“Rejoice not yet!

For jealous are the powers of destiny.
Triumph, too hasty, trenches on their rights—
We leave the seed with them; unknowing still
Until the harvest proves it good or ill.”

The mountainous tract of country lying between Tripoli and Tortosa was at that time inhabited by an extraordinary race of people called the Hausassiz, who were governed by a sheik, or prince, known by the name of the Ancient, or the Old Man of the Mountain. Their origin was supposed to have been Persian; but they had been settled upwards of five hundred years in the country, during all which time they had maintained their entire independence against king and sultan, Christian and Infidel. This freedom they did not owe to their numerical strength, for the tribe was never estimated at a larger number than sixty thousand souls, but to the situation and character of the region they had selected for their abode, which was an extensive plain surrounded on all sides by the steepest mountains, the passes of which were so blocked up and commanded by castles, that it was utterly impossible for a stranger or enemy

to enter. The most fantastic rumours regarding this secluded region and its inhabitants were circulated through Palestine and Europe. Some believed it to be the seat of the earthly paradise, a garden still radiant with the glories derived from its heavenly Creator; others talked of a mysterious edifice within its confines—a paradise within a paradise, the wonders of which were guarded from the sight of the Hausassiz themselves, and revealed only to those who, by long and meritorious service, had deserved the favour of the Ancient, who was the castellan of this wondrous structure. One fact is certain. This prince was so implicitly obeyed by his subjects, that they hesitated not to undertake any duty he might assign, however great or perilous, and did not consider their own lives as of the slightest value when the sacrifice could further the object he sought to attain*.

It so happened, that a vessel belonging to the Ancient was compelled by stress of weather to put into the harbour of Tyre, and was instantly seized and confiscated by the marquis, as though it had been the property of Saladin. The Hausassiz had taken no part in the war, and therefore should not have been considered as enemies. Still, they professed the Mahomedan religion, or at least were infidels, and in these days enemy and infidel were nearly synonymous terms. But the devotion of his subjects to the Ancient was so well known, that few men were hardy enough to provoke a feud with a prince whose emissaries could penetrate everywhere, and therefore both Christian and Saracen had hitherto allowed the mountaineers to pass without

* See Note, C.

let or hindrance. Conrad was the first to break this neutrality, and received with scorn and derision the peremptory order from the Ancient for the restitution of his ship and crew; but dearly did he pay for his temerity.

Henry of Champagne, having concluded his embassy, left Tyre, and had proceeded as far as Acre, when he was overtaken by the startling news of the assassination of the marquis Conrad, which took place in the following manner. Conrad had dined with the bishop of Beauvais, and was returning on horseback to his palace, unarmed, and attended only by a few of his most intimate friends. When near the door of his own house, two of the Hausassiz, who by some means or other had baffled the vigilance of the guard and gained admission into the city, glided from behind a pillar, and throwing themselves upon the unfortunate nobleman, buried their daggers in his breast. One of the murderers was instantly cut down; the other, profiting by the confusion, fled to a neighbouring church, but without the thought of escape, for when the body of Conrad was brought in and placed before the altar, to the astonishment and horror of all, the concealed assassin leaped forward, and again, as if uncertain of the efficacy of his former blow, drove the weapon hilt-deep into the bosom of his victim. The murderer was instantly hurried to the rack, and subjected to the most cruel tortures in order to force confession of the instigator of the deed, but neither screw nor fire could extract one word from the lips of the zealot; he baffled the ingenuity of his tormentors, and died without a groan. The count of Champagne instantly hastened to Tyre, where he found the inhabitants in the utmost

disorder, lamenting the death of their favourite chieftain, and expressing their fears lest this unhappy event should again throw the sovereign power into the hands of the incapable Guy of Lusignan. But other claimants appeared in the persons of the French, who, to the number of ten thousand, were encamped without the city, and now sent a formal summons to the widow of Conrad, desiring her to deliver it up to them for behoof of their master Philip. Isabella, who was a woman of great spirit, immediately replied, that she would surrender Tyre to king Richard, if he should come in person to ask it, for he was the head and champion of the crusade, but to none other; neither did she acknowledge any title in the person of Philip to the possessions of her husband to or her own. Incensed at this reply, the turbulent French soldiery prepared to attack the city, and would certainly have done so, had not the arrival of the count of Champagne compelled them to pause. This young nobleman was exceedingly popular among all classes of men in Palestine, being of a frank and open manner, a generous and gentle disposition, and as much distinguished by his bravery in action, as by personal grace and accomplishments. Richard, in particular, loved him like a brother, taking the warmest interest in his renown and advancement; and this attachment was most gratefully repaid by Henry, to whom the English monarch was in all things a pattern and an oracle, and whose proudest title was that of the nephew of Cœur-de-Lion*. The citizens of Tyre received him joyfully, and proposed that, as they were now without a lord,

* Henry's mother was the daughter of queen Eleanor by her first marriage with Louis of France.

he should immediately assume the reins of government, and put an end to all dissensions by espousing the widow of Conrad, who was still young, and possessed of considerable charms. To this the count replied, that he would be proud to undertake the charge, and would do his utmost to supply the loss of the murdered marquis; but he could not take such a step without the express sanction of Richard, and the consent of the other crusaders. This was readily obtained, and the nuptials were speedily celebrated; for the exigencies of the case required that the usual form and period of mourning for the marquis should be abridged. The crown of Jerusalem was declared to belong to the royal pair, and Isabella assumed the title of queen, though Henry, with much modesty, continued still to designate himself as the count of Champagne.

It would have been singular if so remarkable a circumstance as the assassination of the marquis Conrad had been attributed only to its real cause, without malicious rumour or intentional falsification. Accordingly, with many, the Old Man of the Mountain passed as the mere instrument, and not the instigator of the outrage. Saladin, Humphrey of Thoron, and Richard, were severally suspected of a share in the bloody deed, but no doubt the charge against all of them was false. No facts were mentioned which could throw suspicion on any other than the Ancient, who indeed gloried in his revenge, and the rumour, as far as regarded Richard, would have sunk into oblivion, had it not been revived on an after occasion, as we shall presently have occasion to state.

CHAPTER IX.

The Duke of Burgundy returns to the Army—Capture of Darum—Richard makes over the Island of Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan—Advance to Bethanopolis—Skirmishes with the Saracens, and Valour of the Earl of Leicester and the Bishop of Salisbury—Siege of Jerusalem proposed—Capture of a valuable Caravan by Richard—Retreat from Bethanopolis—Final Defection of the French and Dispersion of the Crusaders—Saladin takes Joppa, whereupon Richard sails to the Relief of the Garrison—The English land and recover the Town—Desperate Engagement with the Saracens—Personal daring of Richard and final Victory—Noble Conduct of Malek-el-Adel—Proposals of Peace accepted—The Christians visit Jerusalem—Interview between the Sultan and the Bishop of Salisbury—Richard accepts an Escort from the Templars and departs for Europe—Lands near Trieste—His Adventures and Capture at Vienna by the Duke of Austria.

THE election of Count Henry to the throne of Jerusalem was so far favourable to the interests of the Crusaders, that it infused new energy into the minds of the French, who thought themselves equally honoured with the English by the exaltation of the nephew of their sovereign. The Duke of Burgundy, therefore, at the particular request of Henry, agreed to sink all former differences, and once more to cooperate hand and heart with Richard, should that monarch remain longer in Palestine, in the prosecution of the war; and even should he take his departure, the duke promised to wait until by the conquest of Jerusalem Henry was put in possession of his newly-acquired kingdom. The French troops were in consequence withdrawn from Tyre and Acre, and marched along with Henry and Burgundy towards Ascalon, where Richard still continued. The

mind of that monarch was kept in a perpetual ferment by the news which he received from England. Every week fresh messengers arrived with further intelligence of the intrigues of John, and the steps which he was obviously taking towards the usurpation of the kingdom. By way of relief from this anxiety, Cœur-de-Lion rode out oftener than before in search of adventures, and had various encounters with the Turks, wherein he proved himself such a redoubted combatant that, says one historian, "no single Christian champion, since the commencement of the crusades, ever slew or took prisoner so many of the infidels as did this athletic king*." Besides these encounters, he marched his army against the strong fortress of Darum on the Arabian frontier, and took it after a siege of four days. Other castles in that neighbourhood also fell into his hands, and were garrisoned for Henry, who shortly afterwards arrived with the French forces at Ascalon.

One cause only of dissension seemed now to exist among the crusaders, and that lay in the treatment which Guy of Lusignan had received. The Templars with some other troops still adhered strenuously to his cause, vindicating his conduct throughout, and pointing to his sole exploit, the commencement of the siege of Acre, as a proof of his courage and capacity. Richard, willing to conciliate these, and sincerely pitying the prospects of Guy, made over to him his conquered territory of Cyprus, with the title of emperor, and thereby not only received due credit for his generosity, but had also the satisfaction of knowing that he had removed the last competitor from

* Vinesauf.

the path of his favourite nephew. This matter being adjusted, a great council was held, at which the assembled nobles and knights determined with one accord to advance against Jerusalem, whether Richard remained or no, and signified to him their determination accordingly. Richard was till then in doubt what course he should adopt ; but this unanimity of the crusaders, and, as it is said, the eloquent exhortations of a certain chaplain, named William, had the effect of fixing his resolution, and he caused it to be proclaimed through the camp that he would delay his departure until after the term of Easter in the following year. This announcement was rapturously received by the soldiers, who now thought the capture of Jerusalem as secure as if they were encamped around it, or had effected a breach in the walls. The camp at Ascalon was speedily broken up ; and the army, in the beginning of June, marched onwards to Bethanopolis, where they halted to await the arrival of the remaining forces from Acre, for which the count of Champagne was despatched in order that no paucity of numbers might in any way hinder their success, and that all the crusaders in Palestine might have an opportunity of sharing in the glorious work of the redemption of the sepulchre.

Bethanopolis is situated seven leagues to the east of Jerusalem, and is separated from that city by a chain of mountains. These were occupied by the Saracens, who, at the command of Saladin, now really alarmed for the safety of his conquests, mustered in immense numbers, and commenced their old system of annoyance. Daily encounters took place between them and the Christians : sometimes the skirmishes

occurred in the plain, sometimes they were fought among the hills. Into the recesses of these, Richard took delight in driving the scattered enemy. One morning, in particular, he chased them so far that he found himself unexpectedly at the fountain of Emmaus, and in sight of the Holy City, with all its minarets and turrets gilded by the early sun. The prospect of that place, for the redemption of which he had come so far, affected him even to tears; nor was it without great difficulty that his attendants could persuade him to retire from so dangerous a vicinity. At this time, the Saracen dwellers in Jerusalem were so much terrified at the approach of the crusaders, that they left the city in great numbers. Saladin himself anticipated a defeat; and had Richard at once advanced, instead of encouraging a delay which only served to cool the enthusiasm of his men, the capital of Palestine would have fallen almost without resistance into his hands, and the main object of the crusade would have been accomplished. But a spirit of vacillation and doubt, hitherto foreign to the character of Cœur-de-Lion, seemed at this crisis to have crept into his councils, and deterred him from making the last decisive effort. It is obvious that, notwithstanding his published resolution to remain, the thoughts of the danger of his own kingdom, and of the friends in England who were hourly praying for his return, still beset him; if glory called him forward, duty, with as imperious if not so loud a voice summoned him back, and between the two, Richard remained irresolute.

The army, as on former occasions, speedily exhausted their provisions, and accordingly a line of

communication was established between the port of Joppa and the camp at Bethanopolis. A large caravan set out from the former place under the escort of a few knights, the chief of whom were Baldwin Carron and Claribald de Mont Chablun, and proceeded on their journey as far as Ramula without encountering any opposition. The Saracens, however, having received notice of their intention, placed a large body of troops under the Emir Bedroddin, in ambuscade at a very dangerous part of the road, where discovery was next to impossible. The crusaders fell into the snare, and were attacked by the Saracens on all sides while struggling through the intricacies of the defile. Many of the knights were dragged from their horses, disarmed, and hurried away to the mountains; most of those who still continued the contest were wounded and overpowered; and the whole caravan would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not the opportune arrival of the Earl of Leicester, with a considerable force, changed the fortunes of the day, and compelled the Saracens to retire. Another skirmish of a similar nature took place about the same time in the neighbourhood of Bethanopolis, wherein the bishop of Salisbury, more warrior than priest, gained great reputation by his deeds of arms, having brought off in safety the routed band of Hospitallers, whom the Count of Perche, through timidity, had failed to succour*.

It was now the middle of summer, and the army had lain at Bethanopolis for the space of a month idle, except when occupied by petty and useless

* Vinesauf; Bohadin.

skirmishes, and still undecided as to what course they ought to pursue. This state of things could not continue longer, and accordingly another council was summoned, at which, as usual, the greatest diversity of opinion prevailed. The French and others of the crusaders expressed their wish to march straight upon Jerusalem, but Richard did not approve of their proposal. Saladin, he said, was evidently informed of all their movements; every spring of water in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was destroyed, and as soon as they should encamp before the city, troops of Saracens would fall upon Ramula and Joppa, and not only intercept the stores on their way to the army, but perhaps make themselves masters of these towns. It was moreover admitted by those who knew the country best, that so great was the extent of the fortifications of Jerusalem, that all the forces which the crusaders could muster, even by withdrawing the garrisons from Acre and Ascalon, would be insufficient by one half to establish a blockade, and as for carrying it by assault, no soldier would be hardy enough to propose much less to undertake so extravagant a design. "Therefore on the whole," said Cœur-de-Lion, "if you will march against Jerusalem, you must not expect me to be your leader. I will go with you as a companion, and aid you so far as I can, but I will not undertake a charge, accompanied with so much responsibility. They of France have blamed me before for my precipitation, and have raised an outcry against me, as if I cared little for the safety of my people in the prosecution of my designs,—and I see full well that there are some who are fain to have me peril my

reputation upon this design, and whose sorrow for the failure of the cause of Christendom would be light compared with their exultation at my personal defeat. My advice is, that we should seek out some more practicable conquest; but, that no man may hereafter say that I invented reasons for abandoning the siege, let the decision of this matter be referred to the Templars, Hospitallers, and native barons, who are chiefly interested in our progress, and whose ancient possessions it is our common object to restore." This last advice was followed, and twenty men were chosen, five from the Templars, five from the Hospitallers, five from the Syrian barons, and five from the crusaders of Europe. These were solemnly sworn upon the Evangelists, to consult together as to the further prosecution of the war in all good faith and probity, and with no other object than the welfare of Christendom in their view, and their decision, whatever it might be, was to regulate entirely and without appeal the future proceedings of the army. The result of their deliberation was to confirm the judgment of Richard in so far as regarded the attack upon Jerusalem, and they further advised that an attack should be made upon Cairo, which might easily be reached by sea, before any of the Saracens now collected in Palestine could gather for its defence. The French still murmured, protesting that they would besiege no city except Jerusalem; but it was obvious that their attitude of determination was assumed more for the purpose of annoying Richard, than from any genuine disappointment they felt in turning their backs upon the Holy City. In vain did Cœur-de-Lion offer them the use of his navy,

his stores, his men, and even his personal assistance, if they would only yield to the opinion of that council whom they themselves had nominated, and proceed to Cairo—in vain did even their own friends, the Templars, entreat them to consent. The demon of jealousy had entered into the hearts of the French, and they still lingered at Bethanopolis, repeating their worthless bravadoes to the disgust of all the better portion of the camp.

Richard, whilst engaged in this fruitless negotiation, was informed by his spies that an immense caravan from Cairo, laden with the most costly wares, was on the road to Jerusalem, and might be expected in a short time to pass near Gaza, where the nature of the country was such as to render an attack not only easy but almost certainly successful. The instant that he received this intelligence, Richard departed with a chosen body of troops, and discovered the place where the caravan rested for the night. The Saracens, however, took the alarm, and departed long before day-break, so that when the Christians advanced for the purpose of attacking them, they found the fires extinguished and the enemy gone. A mounted body of archers and crossbow-men were dispatched on the track, with orders to hang upon the rear of the Saracens, and to use every means for impeding their progress, while the rest of the cavalry followed at more leisure. The manœuvre was successful. In spite of very desperate resistance the Christians succeeded in putting their enemies to the rout, and returned to Bethanopolis in triumph, with the largest and most valuable booty that had ever fallen into their hands. Some idea of the size of

this caravan may be formed, when we mention that four thousand seven hundred camels and dromedaries, besides horses, mules, and asses, all laden with the most precious products and manufactures of the East, were taken by the victors. Richard behaved with his usual generosity, and caused the greater part of the spoil to be divided amongst the soldiers, not excluding those who had remained in the camp from a participation with the rest.

The time appointed by the council for the departure of the crusaders from Bethanopolis now arrived, and the soldiers struck their tents and formed into marching order, not in hope or triumph as before, but in silence and sorrow, as exiles might begin their dreary journey from the land of their nativity and love. Many of these no doubt had assumed the cross with a keener regard to their own interest than to the advancement of the Christian faith, but there were others in that army, and their number was not small, who set sail for Palestine with no other object than that of visiting the soil of their redemption, and rescuing it if possible from the profanation of its infidel owners,—men who, in the distant countries of Europe, had felt their hearts burn within them at the mere mention of Calvary and Jerusalem—who had meditated by day and dreamed by night of the brook Cedron and the mount of Olives,—the mystical scenes of the Transfiguration, the Temptation, and the Agony in the garden,—until every other feeling was swallowed up in the strong absorbent desire to tread upon that ground and kneel upon that sward once hallowed by the foot of their Sa-

viour. And what was their situation now? After years of suffering and toil,—after enduring the terrors of shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, after braving an unwholesome climate, and contending almost daily with a subtle and pertinacious enemy, they had come so far, that only one chain of mountains, of itself an insignificant barrier, separated them from the land of promise. They looked upon the confines of the most sacred portion of the earth; the breeze that blew upon them came fresh from the gardens of Jerusalem. The Saracen sentinels, the sparkling of whose lances upon the hill-tops they could discern clearly from the camp, stood in like view of the inhabitants of the Holy City, and yet that short distance was as unachievable as if the widest and deepest chasms of the glaciers had yawned between them and the summit of the mountains. Others of the army commenced their retreat with even sorer hearts and bitterer feelings than the class we have just described. These were the old inhabitants of Jerusalem, the men who had been born and bred within the walls of Sion, who had left their homes in sorrow when the Saracen obtained possession of the land, who remembered the days of Raymond and Amaury, and the bloody battle of Tiberias. For long years they had cherished the hope of one day returning to the place of their nativity, and now they saw that hope, when its accomplishment seemed in all human probability the nearest, fade away and for ever. Never perhaps was there exhibited a more doleful spectacle than this most melancholy march. The very music was silenced and the troops wended on their way with arms reversed, for the occasion

was too mournful to admit of any manifestation of military pomp or parade.

Thus the army returned to Joppa, and no sooner did they reach the sea-coast, than the worst effects of their late disunion began to be manifested. The duke of Burgundy, with the greater part of the French, took up his quarters at Cesarea, and refused any longer to co-operate with Richard. This nobleman had always been hostile to the English and their king. At Messina, as we have already seen, he was the confidential emissary and abettor of the plots of Philip, whose unworthy policy he followed out to the fullest extent, when intrusted with the army of his master. Now his malignity was vented in scurrilous lampoons and songs against the English monarch, which he stooped not only to compose, but to distribute among his soldiers, as if there were not already sufficient elements of discord in the Christian army, without the aid and instigation of his own contemptible genius. Others of the crusaders proceeded direct to Acre and Tyre, and thus the numbers of those who remained at headquarters was so much lessened, that Richard could not but perceive the impossibility of prosecuting the expedition against Cairo, and therefore turned his serious attention to the best mode of embarking his troops for Europe, and of abandoning the crusade with honour. Saladin in the mean time was not idle. Accurate information of all that passed in the Christian army was conveyed to him, and he was far too sagacious not to perceive that the prospects and power of the Christians were ruined by their own dissension, and that the time had arrived when a

rapid and vigorous attack would recover all the losses which he had sustained, and enable him to dictate his own terms to the harassed and abandoned Latins. Therefore without a moment's delay he despatched messengers to every corner of the extensive regions over which he ruled, and in an incredibly short space of time collected round his standard at Jerusalem, a larger force of cavalry and infantry than he had ever before led to battle. Richard was not ignorant of these preparations, and although when affairs wore a different aspect, he would rather have rejoiced at the opportunity of measuring his strength in a fair field with his Saracen rival, and would have staked the fate of Palestine with confidence upon the result; yet now, knowing how little his allies were to be depended on, and how important it was for him to secure a speedy and unmolested retreat for his army, he deemed it prudent to offer terms for a truce during the remainder of his stay in the Holy Land. To these proposals Saladin would not agree, unless Ascalon were levelled with the ground; whereupon Richard being determined not to yield this point, and seeing the inutility of further negotiation, despatched the Templars and Hospitallers with orders to pull down the fortifications of Darum, as it was a place which could not be long maintained against a superior force, and also to establish a sufficient garrison for the defence of Ascalon. The wounded and sick of his army he left at Joppa, and proceeding to Acre with the rest, began to embark his stores and to make such dispositions as would enable him to quit Palestine at a moment's notice if necessary.

No sooner was Saladin aware of the motions of the enemy than he marched from Jerusalem, and descending by the plain of Ramula, invested Joppa and erected his engines against it. With such fury did he make the assault, that in five days a large portion of the walls was battered to the ground, and the Turks having effected their entrance into the city, slaughtered all whom they met. Some of the garrison, at the head of whom was the governor Alberic de Remes, a man unworthy of the high trust confided to his care, fled to the harbour and consulted their own safety by seizing the vessels and putting out to sea. Others, with more determination, took refuge in the citadel, and maintained it against Saladin, until it became obvious that resistance was useless, since the walls were fast crumbling down before the incessant battery of the engines. In this desperate situation, the patriarch of Jerusalem assumed the principal command, and having hung out a flag of truce, made offer to Saladin that the fortress should be next day surrendered, provided succour did not in the mean time arrive, and that a certain ransom should be paid for every one of the garrison. In security for the performance of these articles, he offered himself, and several of the most distinguished knights in Joppa, as hostages, and Saladin consented to the proposal.

Meanwhile Richard had embarked the greatest part of his army at Acre, and was just on the point of setting sail, when messengers from Joppa arrived with tidings of the loss of that town, and the perilous situation of those who were cooped up within the citadel. The appeal from his beleaguered brethren

was not lost upon Richard, who instantly proclaimed his intention of hastening to their relief, and invited all the crusaders who still lingered at Acre to aid him in his generous design. The French most disgracefully refused to stir one step, or to co-operate further in any way with the English; but the Templars and Hospitallers displayed their usual gallantry, and headed by the count of Champagne, instantly marched by land towards Cesarea. The king set sail in his galleys for Joppa, but a contrary wind detained him so long off Caiphaz that he did not arrive at his destination until the very day fixed for the ransom of the garrison. These had now abandoned all hope of relief, and were just on the point of delivering themselves up to the mercy of the Saracens, when, to their great joy, they beheld the vessels of England steering into the port.

It was nevertheless no easy matter for the English to disembark. The Turks, who were in possession of the town, perceived the approach of the galleys, rushed down in great numbers to the shore, and commenced an incessant discharge of arrows, darts, and stones, against the intruders. Richard was still in doubt whether the garrison had surrendered or not; and as their relief was the primary object, without which he would have judged it unnecessary to attempt the recapture of the town, he remained on board, anxiously expecting some signal or token that he had not arrived too late. While thus irresolute, a man was seen swimming towards the king's vessel, and was taken up. He proved to be a priest attached to the train of the patriarch, who guessing the cause of the delay, had resorted to this desperate expedient

of communicating the perilous state of the besieged. The garrison, he said, could hold out no longer, and were in momentary expectation that the fortress would be carried by assault, in which case every man would certainly be put to the sword. He therefore conjured Richard, as he loved his friends, to effect an immediate landing, and save the remnant of the defenders of Joppa from so miserable a fate. Cœur de Lion did not hesitate a moment: he ordered his galleys to be rowed up until their keels touched the bottom; and no sooner was this done than he leaped into the water, although it reached nearly to his waist, and followed by some of his trusty knights, struggled towards the shore in the face of thousands of the opposing enemy. At the same time the cross-bowmen and the archers from the ships shot so closely that the Saracens gave back a little, and the rest of the troops followed the example of their king. Once on land, Richard stayed not for reinforcements, but threw himself into the thickest of the throng, and after a brief but desperate combat drove back the Turks into the heart of the city. Upon this the garrison, who had eagerly watched the progress of the fight, made a vigorous sally, and uniting themselves with the English, so improved their advantage, that in the space of an hour not a Turk was left within the walls, and Joppa was once more in the possession of the Christians. The fortifications, however, were so ruinous, and the camp of Saladin was so near, that Richard did not judge it prudent to rest contented with this success. Although only three horses could at the moment be procured, he collected his men together, and once more throwing

open the gate, marched upon the Saracens before they had recovered from their panic, and actually drove them from their position. The three following days were occupied in repairing the walls; and this was done so far as to render the city defensible, though neither lime nor mortar could by any means be procured.

Meantime Saladin, angry and ashamed that a mere handful of the warriors of the West should thus have discomfited his numerous army, held a council of his emirs, at which it was determined that a general attack should be instantly made upon the enemy who remained encamped before the town, and that this should be done before any reinforcements could arrive from Acre or from Tyre*. In this last respect, however, they were disappointed, for on the third day, Count Henry of Champagne, with his little band of Templars and Hospitallers, joined his uncle. Still, even with this accession of force, the number of crusaders was insignificant, compared with that of their enemies; and the council of Saladin further determined that the attempt should be made in the grey of the morning, with the double object of taking the Christians unawares, and perhaps of seizing Richard as he lay in his tent asleep. The Saracens therefore armed themselves over night, and advanced with so much caution that they were not perceived until they were close upon the camp, when one of the Genoese, hearing the neighing of horses, looked out from his tent and instantly gave the alarm. In a moment the Christians were astir, and hurried forth in great confusion with such armour

* Bohadin.

only as came readiest to hand. Fortunately, the Saracens on perceiving that their approach was discovered, halted for a brief space, so that Richard had time to arrange his men in a square, which he did with consummate address, placing between each pikeman two archers, who that day did admirable execution. He then exhorted them above all things to remain in their places, and on no account to attempt a charge, even though the enemy should appear to fly; and having done this, he, along with ten other knights, all poorly mounted, but who constituted the whole of his cavalry, fell back behind the battalion*.

The Saracens advanced in seven squadrons; the first of which charged impetuously on the Christians, but were received on the point of the pikes, and forced to retire in confusion; the archers at the same time sent a volley after them, by which many a saddle was emptied. The second, third, and fourth squadrons were received in like manner. Nothing could break the iron front which the English resolutely maintained, so that the Turks presently desisted from the attempt to come to close quarters, and commenced their favourite mode of warfare by hurling javelins and discharging arrows into the midst of the impenetrable phalanx. This was the

* The names of these knights are well worthy of preservation, as their exploit before Joppa was what, in modern phrase, would be termed one of the most dashing actions recorded in the annals of the crusades. They were as follows:—Henry, Count of Champagne; Robert, Earl of Leicester; Bartholomew de Mortemar; Raoul de Mauleon; Andrew de Savigny; Gerald de Furnival; Roger de Lacy; William de L'Estang; Hugh de Neville; and William de Barres.

signal for Richard to appear ; and, accordingly, after he had addressed a few words of encouragement to his knights, on whom he knew that he could depend to the death, this little company deployed from the rear, and dashed at once into the crowd of their assailants. When we consider the enormous superiority of the Saracens in number, this action appears little short of actual insanity ; nor would it have been at all excusable, had there been any other way of diverting the attack upon the battalion : but such was his dilemma, that personal risk entered even less than ever into the calculations of the lion-hearted monarch. He knew his own strength, and trusted moreover to the terror which his appearance always excited among the Turks. Some of his followers, as the Earl of Leicester and William de Barrés, were scarcely less formidable or less feared than himself, and the others were all good knights and true ; so, reckless of consequences, and trusting to the goodness of his cause, he went forth against odds, which Rolando or Oliver might have shuddered to encounter.

The first line of the Turks gave way before the impetuous charge of the knights, each of whom with his lance, bore an antagonist from the saddle. The second squadron opened in like manner to let them pass ; but then closed up, so that the cavaliers were instantly surrounded, shut out from the view of their battalion, and forced to contend for their lives—eleven against seven thousand. Their situation of course precluded all concert, so each man drew his sword and addressed himself to the nearest of the enemy, who, though astounded at their temerity, pressed eagerly

forward, in the confident expectation of seizing the persons of Richard and the other terrible warriors, of whose prowess in many battles they had gained such dear experience. But it was no easy task to unseat the English cavaliers. The first who drew near for that purpose were struck to the ground, and trampled under the horses' hoofs, whilst the blows of the sabre and javelin fell harmlessly upon the steel-clad knights. Richard, in particular, distinguished himself this day, putting forth the whole of his gigantic strength, and opening a lane wherever he went through the thickest of the Saracen array. Once when the horse of the Earl of Leicester was slain, he rescued that gallant nobleman from the hands of his assailants, and helped him to a Saracen courser. At another time he cut his way into the heart of a squadron who were carrying off Raoul de Mauleon in triumph, and likewise set him free. In short whatever mortal man could do or dare, was dared and done by Cœur de Lion; and it is no exaggeration to say, that in this instance the actual truth of history far exceeds anything contained in the wildest fictions of romance. And here on the part of the Saracen we meet with a splendid example of that romantic generosity, which to those who understand not the ancient chivalrous spirit, must appear extravagant and false. In the middle of the engagement, a Turk, leading two war-horses, splendidly caparisoned, approached Richard, and informed him in the *lingua Franca* that these were a present from his master, Malek-al-Adel to the Melech-ric, and that he prayed him to make use of them in his extremity. Richard

thanked the messenger, and mounting one of these chargers, plunged again into the middle of the enemy*.

During the combat, some Saracens perceiving that there was no garrison in Joppa, entered the town by a breach which was only partially repaired, and attempted to take possession of the citadel. Richard having cleared himself of the press, drew off in haste a body of the archers, with whom he burst into the town, and speedily drove out the aggressors. He then returned to the camp where the battle was still raging, and singling out the emir who commanded in front, a tall and stalwart pagan, dealt him such a blow that he severed the head and right arm from the body. This completed his triumph. The enemy, dismayed at the loss of their leader, and dreading to encounter so formidable a champion, retired precipitately, leaving seven hundred of their number dead upon the plain, whilst not one knight, but only two of the common soldiers, perished on the part of the Christians†.

Notwithstanding this victory, it was obvious that the English, whose whole number did not amount to five hundred men, could not maintain themselves long in Joppa against the overwhelming power of Saladin, and this became still more painfully evident when, in consequence of fatigue and over-exertion, Richard was seized by another attack of his old disorder. In this situation, while they daily expected to behold the enemy advancing from Ramula, to which town they had retired immediately after the battle, Henry of Champagne, on the part of his uncle,

* See Note D.

† Vinesauf.—Bohadin.

opened a communication with the French at Acre, and again solicited their assistance. This negotiation was as fruitless as the former, but the French had now a better excuse for withholding their aid, as their leader, the duke of Burgundy, lay upon his death-bed, and many more were suffering from fever in its most malignant form. When this was told to Richard he evinced but little surprise, and expressed a wish that he might be conveyed to Ascalon, where he would make a stand for Christendom as long as one of the English or a Templar and Hospitaller remained by his side. But even his most devoted followers were now convinced of the inutility of further resistance, and conjured him so earnestly to offer some terms to Saladin by which his own retreat might be secured, and a portion at least of their old possessions left in the hands of the native Christians, that he yielded to their entreaties, and commenced a negotiation with the sultan through the medium of Malek-al-Adel, who proved himself a truer friend than many who wore the cross upon their shoulder. A truce was agreed upon between the Christians and Saracens, and its duration fixed at the term of three years, three months, three weeks, and three days, from and after the succeeding feast of Easter. The castles and fortresses taken by the Christians since the siege of Acre, especially Ascalon, were to be demolished. The country from the sea-coast to the central chain of mountains was to remain in the hands of the Christians, and the rest ceded to Saladin, with the exception of Ascalon, which it was agreed should belong to neither until the expiration of the truce, when it was to fall to the lot of that

party esteemed the strongest at the time. In the mean while, all Christians were to be allowed free passage and safe-conduct to Jerusalem, and permission to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, provided they came in small numbers and in the garb of peace. After these terms were arranged various messages expressive of the utmost good-will and consideration passed between Richard and the sultan; and although the two monarchs never met in person, Malek-al-Adel and others of the Turkish nobility were frequent visitors at Joppa, and became especial favourites with the English knights, although not with the Templars or Hospitallers, whose prejudices were far too deeply rooted to approve of any intercourse with a heathen.

After a short period Richard retired to Caiphas, for the re-establishment of his health, and as he was about to leave Palestine for ever, he begged of Saladin that he would suffer his army to visit in peace that holy city, which they had failed to reduce by the force of their arms. Saladin courteously granted his permission, which extended to all the crusaders except the French, whom, on account of their late conduct, Richard did not deem worthy of such an honour. Accordingly the army proceeded to Jerusalem in three several divisions, and after visiting all that was most remarkable and sacred in that city and its neighbourhood, retired in peace to Acre. The bishop of Salisbury, who led the third division, was received by Saladin with marked distinction, and was admitted to the honour of a personal interview, for which, by the way, it was somewhat remarkable that the worthy prelate did not incur the

censure of the head of the church ; since the “ hende soldan ” was in those days considered, by all orthodox Catholics, as a personage only inferior in wickedness and malignity to the arch-enemy of mankind. After an interesting conversation regarding the character and peculiarities of the Melech-Ric, and the reputation of the sultan with the English, Saladin, after the Eastern manner, desired the bishop to ask a boon, which Salisbury did by requesting that at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, two Latin priests and two deacons might be permitted in future to reside, and perform the ceremonies of their own religion, for the edification of all pilgrims who might come to worship at these holy places. Saladin immediately gave his consent, and the bishop returned to Acre highly gratified with the result of his journey.

No object of importance now remained which could detain Richard in Palestine. Accordingly he proceeded to satisfy his creditors in the different towns, and took an affectionate farewell of his nephew the count of Champagne, now king of Jerusalem, and of the valiant Latin warriors who had so well supported him in battle. As recent accounts from Europe led him to suspect the treachery of Philip and his collusion with John, he did not embark with the fleet, which was despatched with the two queens and the whole of his troops, but designed if possible, by a hasty and secret route, to reach England before them, and by his sudden appearance there to overturn the usurpation of his brother. None of his own knights when they sailed knew the nature of his plans. He only bade them God speed, and desired them when they reached England to

hasten to his assistance, if he should then have arrived; if not, to keep themselves in readiness and act according to circumstances. After their departure he sent for Robert de Sablay, grand-master of the Templars, with whom he was now, though lately, reconciled, and thus addressed him:—"Master, I know well that there are many who bear me but little love, and if I were to cross the sea in my own character, it might be that my enemies would take or slay me at the first port I should reach. Therefore I pray you to appoint me an escort of the brethren of your order, in company with whom, when we land in Europe, I may travel as a Templar to my own kingdom*." Robert de Sablay approved highly of the proposal, and selected a few of his trusty knights, with whom, and the following adherents of his own, Baldwin de Bethune, William de L'Estang, Philip the secretary, and Anselm the chaplain, Richard embarked on board a galley and left Palestine for ever.

Nor was it without reason that he took the foregoing precautions, since every country seemed in arms against the unfortunate remnants of the crusade. The fleet, which had sailed a few days before the king's departure, was dispersed in the Mediterranean by a violent storm; some of the ships were driven ashore on different coasts, and the crews made prisoners and forced to redeem themselves by the sacrifice of all they possessed, although their captors were nominally Christians. In fact the whole of Europe, especially the south, was at that time in a state of great barbarism; and the petty princes

* Bernard le Trésorier.

were further encouraged in their aggressions by the knowledge, that no insult or injury offered to the followers of Richard would be resented either by Philip of France or the emperor of Germany,—as for England, they were too far distant to dread any vengeance from her.

The vessel of Richard was driven by the same tempest into a harbour of Corfu, from which island he steered northwards up the gulf of Venice, and landed near Trieste, from which he proposed to journey by land through the heart of Germany, under the disguise of a merchant, which he now thought would conceal him more effectually than if he assumed the military garb of the Templars. It is said by some that his enemies found means, ere his departure from Acre, to convey on board his vessel a person charged to watch his movements, and to betray him as soon as he should set foot in an unfriendly country. They further state that this spy no sooner landed at Trieste than he apprised the authorities of the real character of the voyagers. This account appears by no means improbable; for it is certain that no sooner had the small company reached the town of Goritz in Carniola, not far from the port where they landed, than the lord of the territory, by name Meinhard, a blood relation of the marquis of Montserrat and also a kinsman of the emperor, sent to demand who the travellers were, and whither they were bound. In answer to this inquiry, they replied that the party consisted of sir Baldwin de Bethune, with his retinue, and a merchant of Damaseus called Hugo, which was the name Richard thought proper to assume. At the same

time, somewhat imprudently, the pretended trader sent by the messenger a ring of considerable value, as a present to Meinhard, and this of course served to confirm any suspicions which he had entertained as to the real character and quality of the strangers. "No," replied the German Freyherr, "not the merchant Hugo, but king Richard, has sent me this ring. But tell him that although I am ordered to detain all pilgrims from the Holy Land who may pass through my territory, and to take no gift from any, yet so much do I honour the liberality and worth of the man, who without knowledge of me, has sent so magnificent a token, that I freely return him his ring, and accord him permission to pass at liberty and unmolested." Richard perceived that he was discovered, but knowing not how far he might depend upon the secrecy of the German, thought it best without further apology or explanation to take his departure, and accordingly on the same night the little party mounted their horses and left the territories of Meinhard. It does not appear clearly whether that baron concealed a treacherous design under the appearance of disinterested kindness, and merely wished to shift the responsibility upon other shoulders, or whether he was offended at the want of confidence displayed by Richard. This at least is certain that he despatched a messenger to his brother, Frederick of Bretesow, with information of the motions of the king, and advice to secure his person as he passed through his territory, which would certainly be the case if the crusaders took the direct road to the north. Accordingly Richard and his men, having passed the river Drave,

arrived at the town of Freisach, which pertained to Bretesow, and that nobleman being made acquainted with their arrival, directed a follower of his own, who was a Norman by birth, to linger about the inn, and attempt, by drawing the travellers into conversation, to discover from their speech, or any other token, whether Richard was really of their number. The better to ensure this man's fidelity, Bretesow promised him a large reward in case the king of England should by his means be taken prisoner; but the old recollections of his native country, and the duty which he owed to the son of his former liege, though for twenty years he had not set foot on the Norman soil, outweighed the lust of such ignoble gain in the heart of the ancient retainer. He went directly to Richard, and besought him so earnestly to disclose his real character, that the king yielded to his importunity, and made the important disclosure. The old man fell in tears at his feet, and not only entreated him to consult his safety by instant flight, but provided him with an excellent horse in place of his jaded steed, and then returning to Bretesow declared, that Meinhard must have been mistaken, since he had seen the whole of the travellers and was convinced that they were no other than Sir Baldwin de Bethune and his companions, with an actual merchant of Damascus. Meanwhile Richard had profited by the hint, but not having time to wait the return of his companions who were strolling in the town, he departed along with William De L'Estang, and a boy who understood the German language, in the full persuasion that if the others were examined, they would speedily be set at liberty when

it was ascertained that the king was not amongst them.

With these two attendants he succeeded in reaching Vienna; but the rumour of his appearance in the country, and his sudden departure from Freisach, had gone before him, and the authorities of every town in the Austrian dominions were on the alert, and watched for the illustrious pilgrim. Richard and De L'Estang took up their abode in a mean lodging-house of the suburbs, where they hoped to escape observation. They would have proceeded directly on their journey, but the king felt himself so fatigued with the sea-voyage that the repose of a few days was absolutely indispensable. Neither of them ventured to go abroad, but sent the page every day to the market to purchase the necessary provisions, with strict injunctions to preserve silence as to the persons or quality of his masters, and above all things not to discover their abode. It so happened that the lad one day paid for his purchases in the Syrian coin, which fact when reported to the magistrates was deemed so suspicious that they ordered the officers, when he next appeared, to bring the boy before them, in order that they might ascertain whence he came and in whose service he was. This was done, but farther suspicions were excited by the discovery of the king's gloves, which the page thoughtlessly carried with him. He was accordingly interrogated by the magistrates, but, faithful to his trust, steadily refused to answer any question which might implicate his master. But in those days there were modes of forcing evidence from a reluctant witness which are now happily in disuse. The tor-

tures of the rack and screw were employed to wring confession from the boy—even these he bore with extraordinary fortitude, but when the barbarians threatened to tear his tongue from the roots if he still persisted in silence, human nature could endure no longer and he told them all that he knew. Instant information of this important discovery was sent to the duke of Austria, then in Vienna; and by his orders the house where Richard and his companion lodged was surrounded by an armed multitude, who summoned the pair to surrender. Although escape was thus cut off, the rascal crowd did not dare to enter the dwelling or lay hands upon the person of the king, nor would Richard yield to them. He looked forth calmly and undismayed, and desired them, if they came by order of Leopold of Austria, to fetch that prince in person, for to no one inferior in rank would he ever surrender his sword. Leopold accordingly appeared and received the formidable weapon from his captive,—an unknighly deed, which has seared the former laurels of the duke, won on the walls of Acre, and rendered him even among his own countrymen an object of detestation and scorn.

And here we must leave Richard for a while, to take a hasty review of the internal state of England subsequent to his departure for the Holy Land.

CHAPTER X.

Government of England during the third Crusade—Disputes between the Chancellor and the Bishop of Durham—Oppressive Conduct of the former, and Intrigues of Prince John—Assault upon the Archbishop of York—The Chancellor is deposed—Interference of the Pope in his behalf—Return of Philip from the Crusade—He prepares to invade Normandy—The Duke of Austria transfers the Custody of Richard to the Emperor Henry—General Excitement throughout Europe at the News of his Imprisonment—Measures taken by the English Government—Accusation and Appearance of Richard before the Germanic Diet—His Ransom fixed—John enters into a Treaty with Philip, who invades Normandy—The Ransom is raised in England—Richard arrives at Sandwich—Reduces Nottingham Castle—Is recrowned at Winchester—Receives a Visit from William of Scotland—Crosses to Normandy, and pardons his Brother John.

WHEN a monarch chooses to depart from his own dominions, and to delegate his authority to others, he makes a perilous experiment, wherein the chances of failure are much greater than those of success. For, of the many causes which combine to secure and confirm the supremacy of a king, there is hardly one applicable to a viceroy, who must be taken from a rank wherein he has many equals and rivals; these are usually offended by his elevation, and will not recognise in the shadow that "divinity which doth hedge" the person of a sovereign. However just and well-disposed a viceroy may be, he is sure to create enemies; justice itself, though a great, is not always an ingratiating quality; and sometimes the sword is required to defend the decision of the balance. Moreover, although rebellion against the delegate be equally criminal with open resistance to

the fountain of his authority, men cannot be brought to view it in the same light : for, however untenable the doctrine of divine right may be, it has, by the tacit consent of ages, acquired so strong a root in the minds of many, that it enters unconsciously into their calculation, and is, in fact, one of the principal safeguards and defences of a throne ; whereas the special favours of heaven are not supposed to be lavished upon a viceroy, opposition to him is considered as a crime of less magnitude, and sometimes, in the opinion of the least scrupulous, even resolves itself into a question of expediency. These remarks, though applicable to all ages, are particularly so to the time which now occupies our attention, as will be seen from the aspect of affairs in England and Normandy, after Richard departed on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

We have stated in a former chapter, that the government of England was entrusted in the absence of the king to William Longchamp, chancellor and bishop of Ely, and to Hugh de Pusey, bishop of Durham. These were men of very opposite characters : Longchamp was haughty and unscrupulous, with talents of no mean order, but marred by an overweening self-confidence which lost him many a friend. But though ambitious in so far as regarded his personal advancement, he maintained the strictest fidelity to his royal master, even when all others had forsaken him, and when to profess oneself a partisan of Richard was to incur almost certain penalties of banishment and ruin. De Pusey was a man of narrow understanding and little energy of character ; far fitter to preside in a convent than to

rule in a turbulent country, and no match for his acute and overbearing colleague. Indeed he owed his elevation to this dignity solely to his enormous wealth, by means of which he was enabled to advance large sums towards the outfit of Richard, when the royal coffers were exhausted; and that king, even when granting him the office of justiciary, made no scruple of expressing his mean opinion of the understanding and abilities of the bishop.

It soon became evident that the sovereign power could not remain equally lodged in the hands of persons whose characters were so opposite; and of course the bishop of Durham, being the weaker, went to the wall. Longchamp, probably not without the tacit consent of Richard, usurped the whole authority of his colleague, and compelled him to remain contented with the mere semblance of power, without the least real weight or authority in the state. Thus freed from all restraint, Longchamp proceeded to such measures as were certainly most unconstitutional, and which would hardly have been borne if carried to that length by the king instead of his officer. He doubled the imposts upon the laity, increased the exactions which Richard had wrung from the clergy, and showed so much haughtiness in his intercourse with the nobles that they left him in disgust, protesting that they would endure such arrogance from no potentate on earth, much less from a base-born and mean adventurer.

Those who felt themselves thus aggrieved, found a ready coadjutor in the person of prince John, who, regardless of all the benefits somewhat too prodigally heaped upon him, had, ever since the departure of

Richard, entertained a design upon the crown, and now watched with delight the tyrannical conduct of Longchamp, which he trusted would operate against the king, and so afford him a plausible excuse for realising the hopes of his ambition. Even in the event of Richard's decease, John was not the next in succession, for his elder brother Geoffry had left a son, the unfortunate Arthur, who was considered and proclaimed the heir-apparent to the kingdom; but a friendless and powerless infant was not likely to prove a dangerous antagonist, and the strict rule of hereditary succession had been so often departed from already, that this obstacle might be easily surmounted, without any great odium or opposition on the part of the people. But Longchamp was determined to maintain the rights of Arthur, and had even, by the desire of Cœur-de-Lion, entered into a treaty with William of Scotland, whereby that king was bound, in the event of Richard's premature decease, to support his nephew. It was therefore necessary to displace the chancellor from his situation, and that difficulty surmounted, the rest appeared comparatively easy.

The prince went warily to work, and drew up a memorial, accusing Longchamp of an unjust assumption of authority highly prejudicial to the regal interests, of oppression, speculation, and acts of the grossest tyranny. This document he transmitted to Richard, then at Messina, by a sure messenger, and awaited with impatience the effect of his insidious statement. Richard was not wholly blinded by the artifice; but, although inclined to place the most entire trust in the loyalty of the chancellor, he could

not shut his eyes to his glaring faults, and, therefore, thought it expedient to put some check upon him, lest a continued course of exaction should operate directly against himself, and force his people to seek other than constitutional redress. He therefore despatched Walter, archbishop of Rouen, to England, with a commission, constituting him and four others a council of advice on all matters of moment, and Longchamp was forbidden to act except under their sanction and authority. The authenticity of this document has been doubted, and some writers have not hesitated to pronounce it a direct forgery; but, genuine or not, it appears that the archbishop, intimidated by the power of the chancellor, delayed to produce it, and did not assume that authority and direction which was thereby placed in his hands. Longchamp, in consequence, continued for a time unmolested in his rule, and might have maintained his place in spite of the machinations of all enemies, had not his own violence contributed to hasten his downfall. Gerard de Chamville, governor of Lincoln, having by some means or other incurred his displeasure, the chancellor proceeded without more ado to depose him from his office, and appointed a favourite of his own, William d'Estoteville, in his stead. As Chamville did not yield a ready acquiescence to this mandate, the chancellor marched with the royal troops against Lincoln, and was proceeding to invest the place, when John, whose influence had rapidly augmented, called round him some of the nobles and their retainers, laid siege to the royal castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and sent a peremptory message to Longchamp, ordering him to desist from his pur-

pose, under the penalty of beholding these fortresses taken from his hands. This decided step alarmed the chancellor, who till now could not be persuaded that his enemies would have the audacity to rise against him, still less that John would become the instigator and leader of the insurrection. Had his power been equal to his will, he would have persisted in his design, and put down the rebellion, for such it was, by force of arms; but various circumstances convinced him of the impolicy perhaps the futility of such conduct, and he entered into a negotiation with the prince, by which it was agreed, that several of the royal castles should be delivered to the custody of certain nobles for the king's interest, and that in the event of the monarch's death, these should instantly be made over to John. Having carried this point, which was of the utmost importance inasmuch as his right to the succession was thereby tacitly acknowledged, John thought it prudent to pause for the present, nor make any further inroads upon the authority of the chancellor, until his vehement temper should place him in a new dilemma. This shortly afterwards came to pass, and was in its effects still more decisive than the other.

We have already stated that Geoffry, the natural brother of the king, had been chosen to the archbishopric of York; but this appointment was in a manner rendered of no effect by Richard, who forced the prelate to take an oath that he would not set foot in England until three entire years subsequent to his departure had elapsed, and at the same time orders were issued forbidding, in the most positive manner, any bishop in the British dominions

to assist at his consecration. It is very probable that John was at the bottom of this intrigue, for Geoffry had on no previous occasion manifested a turbulent spirit, and Richard was not apt to take such precautions without some obvious reason. Geoffry, as was natural, felt this restriction a sore grievance, and as he entertained doubts whether, being a prelate, he was justified in adhering to a promise which removed him from the sphere of his utility, he laid his case before pope Celestine III.; who judged proper to absolve him of his vow, and, moreover, issued the mandate for his consecration, which ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Tours. It was now confidently rumoured that Geoffry was about to cross over into England, whereupon the chancellor, whose instructions were positive, sent to warn him, that if he should venture upon such a step in manifest violation of his oath, he would instantly be apprehended. Geoffry, however, was not to be deterred by threats, but landed at Dover, where he managed to escape the vigilance of the emissaries of Longchamp, who were upon the watch, and took refuge in the church of St. Martin, where he proceeded to celebrate divine service. Whilst he was standing at the altar in full canonicals, the servants of the chancellor beset the church, and, bursting open the doors, seized upon the archbishop and dragged him to the castle, in spite of the remonstrances and execrations of the people, who revered Geoffry for his character, and saw with horror the sacrilege and the shameful insult thus offered to the person of one of the highest dignitaries of the church. Their remonstrances,

however, were unavailing, and Geoffry was delivered over to the custody of Matthew de Clare, constable of Dover castle. The news of this outrage spread like wildfire through the country, and created a very general disgust at the violent conduct of the chancellor. John, who saw his opportunity, demanded of Longchamp if this arrest was made by his order, and on receiving an affirmative answer, peremptorily insisted that his brother should be restored to liberty. Longchamp hesitated, but when the bishop of London became security that Geoffry would obey the decision of the assembly of barons and prelates, he yielded to the demand, and released his prisoner; whereby he incurred the odium of having behaved with most unnecessary harshness, since the same terms might have been made with Geoffry without subjecting him to the indignity of a public arrest. The archbishop instantly repaired to London, where he was received by John with the semblance of remarkable affection, and cordially greeted by the barons, who, with one consent, denounced the late conduct of Longchamp as injurious and intolerable. The prince expressed himself so much offended, that he proposed the chancellor should instantly be summoned to answer in person for the outrage, and for his unjust conduct towards the bishop of Durham. Longchamp, as a matter of course, refused to place himself in so degrading a position, or appear as a criminal at the bar of those who were, to all intents and purposes, his subjects for the time. On this a great assembly was appointed at Reading, in which the prince presided in person, supported by the archbishop of Rouen and

the principal nobility and prelates of the kingdom. As the chancellor did not appear, it was decided that another general assembly should be held at London, and that the chief magistrates of that city should be consulted with regard to the measures to be adopted towards the chancellor, who had shown himself so obnoxious to the welfare of the community, and so troublesome to the peace and dignity of the realm. While this league was forming, Longchamp remained quietly at Windsor Castle, in expectation that the storm would soon blow over, and that the majority of the nobles would, upon reflection, be indisposed to second the ambitious projects of John. Like most tyrannical men, he was not at all aware of the extent of the dislike and hatred which his conduct had excited, but reckoned confidently upon the support of many who were in truth amongst his bitterest enemies, for subserviency is not always to be taken as a pledge of attachment, as many an unfortunate prince has found to his cost and sorrow. However, the results of the deliberations at Reading were so ominous and alarming, that Longchamp could no longer flatter himself in the belief that the whole was an abortive project of John, but set out instantly to the capital, in hopes of anticipating the confederates. It had often been made an article of complaint against the chancellor, that he never stirred from home without the attendance of a royal escort, so that he was a welcome guest neither at hall or abbey, where the visit of one night often consumed four months of the owner's revenue. However obnoxious this assumption of state might have been to others, it was upon this occasion of essential service

to himself, for John, who was about as unscrupulous a plotter as the world ever saw, had despatched a body of soldiers to waylay the chancellor on the road, and either to bring him a prisoner to London, or deal with him in such a manner as would ensure his eternal silence. These, under the command of one Roger de Planes, fell upon the chancellor, and a desperate skirmish ensued, in which the leader of the prince's troops was slain; but Longchamp with his servants were compelled to save themselves by a speedy flight. This brutal attack convinced the chancellor that the city of London was no longer a safe residence; accordingly he took refuge in the Tower, which he had previously refortified, and where he thought himself secure from the armed ruffians of John.

Although that prince, when it suited his ends, did not hesitate to have recourse to the most unworthy violence, he yet was politician enough to affect moderation, when moderation was likely to impress the commons with a favourable idea of his character. He therefore cautiously abstained from violent measures, but having summoned the assembly, at which the chief citizens of London were present, he recapitulated the charges against the chancellor, and craved a hearing for the archbishop of Rouen, who then for the first time produced the commission, real or pretended, which he had brought from Sicily, appointing himself and four others joint guardians with Longchamp in the administration of the state. The archbishop now asserted that this document, although exhibited, had been altogether rejected, and the intention of the king frustrated by the presumption of

his haughty viceroy. This evidence appeared so conclusive to the assembly that they instantly proceeded to depose the chancellor from his rule, and substituted the archbishop of Rouen in his stead, to whom all the nobles and prelates swore fidelity. At the same time the citizens of London renewed their oath of fealty to Richard and his heir, and bound themselves, in case the king should die without issue, to receive his brother John as their lawful sovereign. Even Longchamp was forced to succumb, and purchased his individual safety by the relinquishment of his offices, and the delivery of the greater part of the royal castles. Some of his enemies were scarcely disposed to remain content with this victory and would have wreaked their vengeance upon his person, had not John more prudently interfered and suffered the ex-chancellor to retire unmolested into Normandy. A remarkable letter from Hugh bishop of Coventry, a staunch partisan of John, narrating the circumstances of Longchamp's retreat, is still extant, and is wholly without example in its tone of coarse and vehement abuse. It produced a reply from Peter de Blois archdeacon of Bath, wherein he defends the conduct, and pronounces a warm eulogium upon the character of his banished patron, and with great vehemence rebukes Hugh of Coventry for this malicious and cowardly attack. Yet in spite of the powerful advocacy, Longchamp continued to suffer not only the persecution of the civil, but the censure of the ecclesiastical power, for by order of his successor, the archbishop of Rouen, he was held through Normandy as an excommunicated man, and in every place through which he passed, divine

service was suspended for the time, as if his mere presence were enough to taint the sanctity of that holy rite.

In addition to the high office of chancellor, Longchamp was also papal legate, but this latter dignity had fallen by the death of the pontiff Clement VII., who bestowed it, and was not yet ratified by his successor. The new pope Celestine III. was a man of considerable ability, who interested himself much in the success of the Latin arms in Palestine, and was therefore disposed to exert his influence in behalf of Richard, who at the moment was fighting the battles of Christendom against the unbeliever. To him, therefore, Longchamp resolved to appeal against the violence of John, and made such a representation of the state of affairs in England, and the danger to which the cause of the king was exposed, that Celestine was wrought upon to take a warm interest in the matter, and issued a bull renewing the legatine power in favour of Longchamp, and giving him full authority to subject all those who had plotted and achieved his ejection, to the heaviest censures of the church. Armed with these powers, the chancellor despatched letters to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, desiring him instantly to put the prohibition of the pope in force against all who had shown themselves most active in the late disturbances, and also announced his speedy intention of returning to England; but the tide of popular opinion was yet too strong to admit of his carrying this resolution into effect, and the sentences of excommunication do not seem to have been formally pronounced.

About the same time Philip of France returned

from the crusade, and thought it necessary for his own justification to appear before the pope, and explain the reason why he had so speedily relinquished the undertaking. This he partly attributed to the precarious state of his health, but more to the arrogance of Richard, who, as he said, had driven him from the Holy Land, and disgusted the whole of the crusaders by his violence and reckless conduct. These assertions, however, did not impose upon Celestine, who was well acquainted with the true character of Philip; but as remonstrances were obviously useless, he refrained from expressing any opinion upon the matter, and entertained the king for eight days with great courtesy and honour. Shortly afterwards, Philip had a personal conference with the emperor Henry, and, as it is reported, entreated him to seize upon the person of Cœur-de-Lion, should that monarch, on his return, pass through any part of the imperial dominions. Such a request covers with eternal infamy him who made it, and also, though in a less degree, the man who was weak and base enough to listen to such unworthy counsel. After this Philip returned to his own country, and commenced a series of plots with the view of freeing himself of his engagements, and of finding a pretext to carry war into the territories of his absent neighbour.

Meanwhile John began to suspect that the archbishop of Rouen and several others who had joined him, heart and hand, in effecting the expulsion of Longchamp, were not likely to assist him in the prosecution of his ulterior plans for setting aside Richard and usurping the crown. So long as the

prince professed to be actuated by a desire for the public good, those nobles and prelates followed with alacrity in his train. They were ready enough to join in any scheme which might unseat the chancellor, but rebellion against their monarch was a crime which they never contemplated; for with all his faults they were fondly attached to Richard, and would have preferred him, had these been ten times greater than they were, to the fickle and perfidious John. The queen-mother, Eleanor, began to suspect the designs of her youngest son, and being an active and sagacious woman she espoused the party of the archbishop of Rouen, and caused the prelate of York and the other magnates of the realm to take anew the oath of fealty to Richard and his declared successor, against all men whomsoever. John perceiving that those measures were levelled against himself, and almost without hope of gaining over his former confederates to his purpose, bethought him of the absent chancellor, who, having many injuries to revenge, might, as he conceived, be persuaded, first to avail himself of his assistance, and afterwards to repay him in kind. With this view he invited Longchamp to England, but the confederated government were still strongly opposed to his return, so that after remaining a few days at Dover, the disappointed minister was fain to retrace his steps, and await in Normandy the return of his ancient master. In the mean time the king of France, by way of breaking ground, sent to the seneschal of Normandy demanding the restitution of his sister Adalais and the delivery of Gisors and its dependencies, as stipulated by the treaty of Messina.

The stout-hearted Norman replied that he had received no orders to that effect from his king, and that he would cede nothing of his charge without the positive royal commands. Philip seized upon this refusal as a ground for commencing the war, and levied a great army for the purpose of invading Normandy; but his nobles refused to countenance him in this open violation of his oath, and Celestine when he heard of his preparations, fulminated forth his anathema against all who should bear arms against the absent monarch; so that Philip, baffled of his purpose, forbore his design until the return or capture of Richard should afford him an opportunity of again commencing hostilities. Nor was he long without such an excuse, for immediately afterwards he received the welcome tidings that Richard had been seized at Vienna by the vindictive duke of Austria, and was now a prisoner without the means or prospect of release.

During the first few weeks of his captivity, Richard was treated by the duke with considerable courtesy, for Leopold was probably ashamed to heap personal indignity upon the prince whom he had already robbed of his freedom. But the emperor Henry, whose interest was closely leagued with that of France, did not think it prudent that the royal captive should be permitted to remain in the custody of his vassal, and for the sum of sixty thousand pounds obtained possession of his person. For greater security he confined him in the strong but sequestered castle of Durenstein upon the Danube, under such circumstances of concealment, that few even of his own subjects knew the exact spot where Richard was

immured; nor would the secret have been discovered, had not a letter from the emperor to Philip of France fallen by some means or other into the hands of Longchamp, and made that prelate aware of the exact situation of his master. Richard was not entirely alone, for, in order to stifle their report, the companions of his voyage had also been seized, and were permitted to share his bondage during the day. At night, however, they were guarded in separate apartments, for the terror of Richard's personal strength and audacity was such, that his gaolers were in constant alarm of some desperate attempt to escape, in spite of the solid walls and armed soldiers who surrounded the impregnable fortress. Doubtless, had there been the slightest prospect of success, Richard would have made the trial, but his situation was so utterly hopeless, that he resigned himself cheerfully to his lot. Fortunately he possessed within himself mental resources, which prevented him from falling into that state of listlessness so common among prisoners, and so pernicious in its effects; and Schloss Durenstein will ever be memorable in the history of poetry, as the spot where our English monarch found leisure to turn to account the lessons he had formerly received from Blondel de Nesle and others of his favourite Troubadours, and proved himself as expert an adept in "the gaye science" as many of the renowned minstrels whose lays were sung in every court of Europe*. Even with the soldiers whom the emperor had placed around his person he became a favourite, entering with zest into their rude sports, and was never so happy as

* See note E.

when he could persuade any of the tall Germans to measure their physical strength against his own.

It was impossible, notwithstanding the barbarous laxity of the time, that so flagrant an act of injustice as the detention of Richard could take place in the heart of Europe, without exciting very general indignation. All the princes of influence, even those who had no interest in the matter, were loud in their expressions of anger against the emperor and the duke. Such conduct, they said, was most unworthy of noblemen and knights, subversive of the honour of nations, and contrary to the laws of chivalry. Frederick Barbarossa would never have lent his countenance to such a proceeding—and unfavourable comparisons were drawn between that distinguished warrior and the present occupant of the throne. In England the news was received with sorrow, and at first with threats of vengeance. But as it was no easy matter to march a British army into the heart of Germany, especially when the forces of France were prepared to fall upon the rear, all such extravagant ideas were abandoned, and the nobles began to take the most prudent as well as effectual steps to recover the freedom of their monarch. At the instigation of Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen, pope Celestine denounced all who were concerned in the capture or detention of Richard, and threatened to interdict the whole territories of the emperor. Two abbots were next despatched from England with orders to travel throughout Germany, and discover, if possible, the spot where the king was lodged; for John, who saw that his brother's imprisonment was not likely to tend to his own advantage, had set a

report in circulation to the effect that Richard was actually dead.

This feeling so universally expressed made the emperor somewhat ashamed of his sorry conduct, and compelled him to adopt more open and manly proceedings. He summoned Richard to appear before an assembly of the states at Hagenau to answer certain charges, and ordered him to be conveyed to that city under a strong military escort. By a curious coincidence it happened that the abbots, of whose mission we have just spoken, after having traversed the greater part of Germany in vain, met Richard at the confines of Bavaria. The greeting, as may well be supposed, was cordial in the extreme, and the churchmen, joining themselves to his company, communicated all the late events in England, of which the king was wholly ignorant. Having assured himself of the fidelity of his subjects, and the continued friendship of William of Scotland, whom he termed his most worthy ally, Richard made inquiries regarding the conduct of his brother John, and appeared neither shocked nor surprised at the narrative of his manifold treasons. "John," said he, "is not the man to win a kingdom by force of arms, if he meets with the slightest resistance."

The assembly met, as appointed, and the following charges were preferred against Richard, and to these he was directed severally to reply:—

1st. That when in Sicily he had aided and abetted the pretensions of Tancred in that island to the detriment of the emperor, whose inheritance it became after the death of William the Good; and that he had also entered into a league with the usurper in opposition to the interests of the realm.

2nd. That, without any just cause or declaration of war, he had taken possession of the island of Cyprus, dethroned and imprisoned the emperor, and carried off his daughter, who was niece of the duchess of Austria.

3rd. He was required to clear himself of all participation or share in the murder of Conrad, marquis of Montserrat, who was the emperor's near relation.

4th. He was accused of a treasonable conspiracy against his feudal lord, the king of France, and also of having broken, on various occasions, the mutual treaty made before their departure to Palestine.

5th. That he had plucked down the standard of Austria from the walls of Acre, and thereby insulted the national colours.—Other charges of a similar nature were preferred; but these are sufficient to show how eagerly the emperor sought for a pretext to justify his conduct; nor was it explained in what manner an assembly of the German states was competent to try an independent sovereign for alleged offences in which it could not exhibit the shadow of a national interest. Still Richard was called upon to answer the various articles of indictment, and this he did in so clear and convincing a manner, with such eloquence and judgment, that the assembled princes were struck with admiration, and expressed their conviction of his perfect innocence of the death of Conrad, and the more serious portion of the charge. Even Henry was so much moved by the noble demeanour of Richard, that he rose from his seat and embraced him, thereby adding his testimony to the opinion of others. After this, say

the historians, Richard was treated with much consideration and respect.—It is difficult to imagine why he was not set free.

If the generosity of the emperor had been equal to his avarice, this assembly could have had only one result,—the instant liberation of Richard. Had this honourable course been pursued, posterity would have forgotten all the previous aggravating circumstances, and would have regarded the German emperor as a just and upright man. Unfortunately for his memory, he would not relinquish the possession of his captive, even although his innocence was established, but detained him as a prisoner of war; most unjustifiably, surely, considering the circumstances under which Richard had entered Germany, and the part which Frederick Barbarossa and his son had taken in the advancement of the crusade. By purchasing from the duke of Austria the person of the royal prisoner, Henry had certainly not bought his quarrel also. Leopold might have detained the king under the pretext of reprisal for the insult offered to him at the siege of Acre, though even such revenge would have been scandalous; but that excuse was not transferred to Henry, and, therefore, he must always stand in the light of an imperial pedlar, a trafficker with misfortune, without true nobility of soul, and without even such an excuse as the vague and indefinite laws of chivalry could afford. The first advantage which he took was to force Richard to resign the kingdom of England into his hands as sovereign lord, and then reinstated him in that dignity, as vassal, but under the burden of a yearly payment of five thousand pounds; in return

for which complaisance, Richard was honoured with the obsolete title of king of Provence, a gift of no value, except that it conferred upon its possessor the right of voting at the Germanic diet, which privilege Richard, after the death of Henry, was summoned to exercise, but wisely refused. This partial subjection did not content the emperor, who, besides his own expectations, had yet to be repaid the large sum given to the duke of Austria for the cession of his prisoner; and some time elapsed before the definite amount of the ransom could be determined. In the meantime Richard was gratified by the appearance of his old chancellor and devoted friend Longchamp, who was no sooner aware of the assembly, than he set out to join his master; and not less by the advent of Hubert, the warlike bishop of Salisbury, who, when at Messina on his return from the Holy Land, had learned the particulars of Richard's captivity, and, as faithful in misfortune as he had shown himself when the brighter star was in the ascendant, hastened to offer his services to the oppressed and injured monarch. Such demonstrations of attachment could not fail to be most gratifying to Richard, who requested his old servant to remain near his person, and despatched the bishop of Salisbury to England, there to negotiate the sum fixed for his ransom. This amounted to a hundred and forty thousand marks of silver, according to the standard of Cologne—an immense sum at that period; and Richard also engaged to set Isaac, the late emperor of Cyprus, at liberty, and to restore his daughter to the custody of her uncle the duke of Austria. These conditions of course could

not be fulfilled at the moment, so that John, still indulging in the vain hope of sovereignty, took advantage of the delay.

Up to this time his intercourse with Philip had been rather concealed than avowed, for even such of the English nobles as favoured the prince's party were exceedingly averse to an alliance with the French king, and would not countenance any procedure which might lead to an invasion of the Norman or British territories. But John now saw, that if he hoped to prevail, it was absolutely necessary to fling aside the mask, and make common cause with Philip, since all his arts and blandishments had failed to shake the allegiance of the great body of the people, and many of those whom he had confidently looked to for support were now among the most zealous for procuring the freedom of his brother. Accordingly he resolved to leave England, and to hold a personal conference with Philip, and for this purpose passed over into Normandy, where he found the seneschal and others busily engaged in raising their proportion of the sum required for Richard's ransom. The Normans believing that John was equally interested with themselves in this labour of love, craved him to attend a great meeting summoned at Alençon, and to afford them his assistance and advice. To this John replied that if the Normans would acknowledge him as their liege lord, and take an oath of fidelity, he would assist them in all things, and be their defender against the king of France, but on no other condition. The astonished and indignant Normans rejected his proposal with contempt, and John proceeded to the court of Philip. As

robbers seldom quarrel with regard to a prospective division of their booty before it has fallen into their hands, whatever they may do afterwards, the bargain between Philip and John was speedily concluded. The French king promised to render every assistance in reducing the Norman provinces and England for behoof of his confederate ; and John in return engaged to cede Gisors and the Vexin in Normandy to France for ever, and proposed to rivet the union by a marriage with Adalais, to which there was no obstacle except the existence of his present wife.

These matters being finally arranged, John returned to England with a large body of foreign troops, took the castles of Wallingford and Windsor, and sent an imperious message to the archbishop of Rouen and the justiciaries of the realm, repeating the false story of Richard's decease, and commanding their allegiance to himself. This message was of course treated with the contempt it deserved, and the treason of John being now apparent, forces were marched to every part of the kingdom in order to prevent the anticipated influx of foreigners from France and Flanders ; moreover an army was despatched to cope with the levies of the traitorous prince. In the mean time Philip was not idle, but advanced into Normandy at the head of a numerous body of men ; ravaged the country, took several fortresses, and advanced as far as Rouen, to which he laid siege ; but the brave earl of Leicester, who had just returned from the crusade, happened to be in the place, and made such a vigorous defence, that the French were compelled to retire. In England, castle after castle fell into the hands of the royalist party;

until John, perceiving that his efforts were useless, abandoned the idea of conquering the country, and once more returned to France. If the rumour of Richard's decease had gained any ground amongst his people, they were speedily undeceived by the arrival of the bishop of Salisbury with letters from the king, thanking his friends for their fidelity to his cause under such trying circumstances, and urging them to make every possible exertion to raise the sum requisite for his ransom.

This was done in the following manner. A tax of twenty shillings was levied from every knight's fee; one-tenth of the tithes was taken from the parochial clergy, and a similar collection made from the burgesses of the towns; the bishops, abbots, and nobility, contributed a fourth of their yearly revenue; the Cistercians gave up for one year their income upon wool, and the plate of the churches was pawned or sold. All classes of the community thus bore their share, and made the sacrifice willingly, for notwithstanding the inconveniences necessarily produced thereby, they would have done even more to rescue themselves from the state of anarchy and confusion into which they were thrown, by the dissensions among the nobles and the repeated attempts of John. Two-thirds of the sum required were thus immediately raised, and as it had been settled by the diet of Worms that on payment of this proportion Richard should be set at liberty, provided he gave hostages for the remainder, the queen mother Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen proceeded to Mentz, where the ransom was appointed to be paid.

Philip of France was too inveterate an enemy, and

John too subtle a traitor, to permit the conditions of the late treaty to be kept, if any art of theirs could throw an obstacle in the way. The former, therefore, wrote a most pressing letter on the part of himself and his confederate to Henry, wherein he did not seek to conceal the personal advantages which they expected from a prolongation of Richard's captivity, but offered, if the emperor would only delay for a year the fulfilment of the treaty, to pay the same sum stipulated for the ransom, independently of all which might afterwards be exacted from the English. In making this proposal Philip showed that he perfectly understood the cold and selfish character, so unlike true German candour, of the man with whom he had to deal*; nor was it without its due effect, for when the day appointed for the negotiation arrived, the emperor hesitated for a long time to receive the ransom, and finally, taking Richard aside, exhibited to him the letters of Philip and his brother John, and plainly hinted that he was more than half inclined to follow their advice. Richard almost began to despair of his liberty. This last declaration of the emperor showed that he regarded his honour little in comparison with his interest; and if, as seemed very likely, these letters were shown to him in the hope that when he saw how high a value Philip placed on his captivity, he would offer an augmentation of his ransom, how was it possible to expect that the people of England, whose exertions and sacrifices were

* Henry's character may be summed up in the few words of Menzel. "Der neue Kaiser besass die ganze Thatkraft seines Vaters, scheute aber auch unedle Mittel nicht (wie gegen Richard Löwenherz,) und übte kaltblütig Grausamkeiten."—Geschichte der Deutschen.

already so great, should rob themselves of more to glut the covetousness of a greedy foreign potentate? But there were, among those assembled at Cologne, others besides the emperor who had a deep interest in the honour of the German nation, and these were not willing that their country should become in the mouth of Europe a by-word of infamy and reproach. The dukes of Suabia and Louvain, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and most of the principal clergy, made so strong a remonstrance to the emperor, that he dared not any longer delay the fulfilment of the treaty, but on payment of the stipulated sum declared Richard free; and received the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Bath, and several noblemen, as hostages for payment of the remainder, and for Richard's observance of peace and amity towards Henry and the German empire. From the moment when Richard received his dismissal, all bad feeling between him and his captors seems to have expired. The emperor and German dignitaries instantly despatched state letters to Philip and prince John, ordaining them upon receipt thereof to surrender all towns, castles, and others, which they had taken in England or Normandy during the king's captivity to the rightful owner, apprising them at the same time that if they should refuse or delay to do so, they, the heads of the empire, would, in pursuance of their treaty with Richard, combine to assist him by force of arms. At the same time, Cœur-de-Lion promised, in the event of such a war, large revenues to the princes who might aid him in recovering his rights, and therefore the majority of those present did homage to him under the usual reservations.

From Mentz Richard proceeded under an imperial escort to Cologne, where he was affectionately received by the archbishop of the place, and after a short stay at Antwerp he embarked at Swyne, and amidst the acclamations of his subjects, landed at Sandwich on the thirteenth day of March, 1194, after an absence of more than four years.

In return for the services and attachment of Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, Richard while at Hagenau nominated him to the see of Canterbury, vacant by the death of archbishop Baldwin, who died in the Holy Land. On the return of Hubert to England, which event some time preceded that of his king, his nomination was confirmed, and he took a very active share in raising the ransom. It so happened that a certain churchman, by name Adam, of the establishment of Saint Edmund, a noted intriguer and confidential emissary of John, arrived in London a short time before the liberation of the king, and waited upon the archbishop, to whom he was personally known. As the limits of hospitality in those days were not very accurately defined, it is probable that the good cheer of the prelate overmastered the prudence of the diplomatist; for Adam communicated without reserve the plans and projects of his master, stated that the king of France had delivered to him the castles of Driencourt, and the Arches in Normandy, both of which were previously in the custody of the archbishop of Rheims,—and that he would have put him in possession of more, had there been enough tall fellows in Normandy to maintain them against the forces of the king. He also threw out hints of the nature of his present expedition, and

said enough to convince the archbishop that, in spite of the apparent inactivity of John, a formidable plot was in progress, which might prove of the utmost detriment to England unless it were immediately checked. The situation of Adam, as his guest, prevented him from arresting his person, but on the next day, the mayor of London took the garrulous churchman into custody, and delivered over his papers to the archbishop of Canterbury, who immediately laid them before the council. These documents established so clearly the existence of a dangerous conspiracy in England among the friends of John, that the council with one consent determined to dispossess him of all his territories, and to lay siege to the castles which still remained in his hands; and this was accordingly done. The bishop of Durham invested the castle of Tickhill, whilst David, earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Ferrers, marched against Nottingham. These two places alone held out when Richard landed at Sandwich; the other castles, being those of Lancaster, Albemarle, and Saint Michael, surrendered after a feeble resistance. So soon as the governor of Tickhill castle, Robert de la Mare, heard the rumour of the king's arrival, he craved permission of the bishop of Durham to despatch two messengers in order that he might ascertain the fact, and immediately after surrendered at discretion. The garrison of Nottingham made a more desperate resistance, and refused to yield even when Richard appeared in person before the walls; but a vigorous attack, under the superintendence of the martial king, soon convinced them of their folly, and they also delivered up their charge.

The faction of John being thus rendered harmless in England, Richard proceeded to punish the leading men who during his absence had proved false to their oaths and allegiance. This vengeance fell most heavily upon the bishop of Coventry, and upon Gerard de Camville, and Hugo Bardolph, who were deprived of their respective charges in Lincoln and York; and in respect of the oath unwarily taken by the nobility, and recognising the succession of John to the throne, that prince was declared, on account of his late treasons, incapable of succeeding, and the destination reverted to the young prince Arthur of Bretagne. Richard found himself compelled immediately after his return to resort to a step, which, had he been less popular with his subjects, must have caused the greatest dissatisfaction. The royal treasury was of course entirely exhausted, and it was absolutely necessary by some means or other to raise funds for the prosecution of the war with France, which now appeared inevitable. This could only be accomplished by further taxation, and the sale of public offices. No tax was probably ever levied in such extreme haste, for Richard was anxious to be gone; but, singularly enough, even when every hour was the most precious, it was deemed advisable that the ceremony of the coronation should be repeated; and this was performed at Winchester, by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of most of the prelates and nobility*. William king of Scotland also

* Geoffry archbishop of York would not attend upon this occasion, on account of a dispute with the archbishop of Canterbury regarding the right of the former to have a cross carried before him out of the bounds of his own diocese. This squabble is repeatedly mentioned by Hoveden, and seems to have excited no little interest among the churchmen of the day.

paid a visit of congratulation to his brother sovereign upon this occasion, and was received with remarkable kindness, which indeed he well merited, as his conduct during the absence of Richard had been most pure and blameless. He was further desirous to obtain a grant of the northern counties of England on the same terms on which his father had held them; but this request was negatived by Richard, who represented that even although the claim were just, this was a most improper time for England, menaced as she was from different quarters, to cede any of her territories, as such a concession would certainly be considered as the dictate of fear, and not of justice or affection.

Richard now hastened to join his army, which rendezvoused at Portsmouth, and on the second of May set sail; but the weather proved so tempestuous that he was forced to put back, and did not land in Normandy until a fortnight afterwards. One of the first persons who greeted him on his arrival was the arch-traitor John, who, as his brother truly remarked, might succeed by intrigue, but could neither win nor keep a kingdom by force of arms. This proceeding of John was a bold though, strictly speaking, not a dangerous step; for Richard had never shown any symptoms of a revengeful nature, particularly towards those who trusted to his clemency, and Eleanor the queen-mother had promised to use her powerful intercession in behalf of her guilty son. John was accordingly pardoned; but neither the broad domains nor the castles which he formerly possessed were restored to his keeping. It is likely that Richard attributed his ambition to the possession of undue authority, and resolved in future to prevent so convenient a plea for trespass.

CHAPTER XI.

Military Operations in Normandy—Defeat of the French—Tournaments first established in England—Disputes of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York—Richard's conduct towards his Brother and Nephews—Proposed Marriage between Otho of Saxony and the Daughter of William the Lion—Policy of the Church of Rome—Negotiations with the Emperor—War with France continued—Letter from the Old Man of the Mountain—Its Authenticity discussed—Scandalous Behaviour of Philip to the Danish Princess—Riot in London—History and Death of William Fitzosbert—Character and Conduct of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury—and of Hugh Bishop of Lincoln—Dispute with the Archbishop of Rouen, and Fortification of Andeli—Marriage of Richard's Sister Joanna, and Succession of William Longespee to the Earldom of Salisbury.

PHILIP was engaged in the siege of Verneuil at the time when Richard landed in Normandy. The king of France, although previously aware of the great diligence and activity of his rival, presumed that after so long an absence he would find sufficient occupation to detain him in England for a considerable period, and would be forced to leave Normandy to its own resources. In this expectation, however, he was sorely disappointed. Cœur-de-Lion, burning with eagerness to pay back some portion of that heavy debt of injury which he owed to the author of his misfortunes, advanced from Barfleur by forced marches, and encamped near the castle of L'Aigle, at no great distance from the enemy. His sudden apparition so confounded the French, that they thought it prudent in the mean time to retire from Verneuil. Richard accordingly entered that town, and, after giving directions for the repair of the fortifications, hastened

to Loches in Touraine, which still held out for Philip, and had been for some time invested by the troops of Navarre, under command of the brother of Berengaria, but without success. A vigorous attack, directed and led by Richard, soon forced the garrison to surrender; and several places of lesser note presently fell into his hands. In the mean time Philip advanced upon Rouen, and took a castle at no great distance from that city; but he must either have considered his forces inadequate to its reduction, or been apprehensive that, if he advanced too far, the king of England might fall upon his rear, for, after remaining for a day or two in a menacing attitude, he drew off towards Evreux. Although Rouen was thus freed from impending danger, it sustained a severe loss in the capture of its bravest defender, the earl of Leicester, who, riding out without attendants as was his wont, fell unawares into an ambuscade of the enemy, and was made prisoner after a desperate resistance. Philip was too well aware of the value of his prize to part with him on easy terms; and it was not until he had endured a lengthened imprisonment, that the earl, by payment of an extravagant ransom, regained his personal liberty. Evreux was the next city which the French king terrified by his approach; it was taken, plundered, and burned. In revenge for this injury, Richard set upon the French army near Freteval, and forced them to take flight, with the loss of many men, and their whole baggage and stores, besides the military chest, which was said to contain many important records of the kingdom. This was certainly a strange charter-box for such documents; but French authors have since

not scrupled to assert that the principal materials for that period of their country's history were lost upon this occasion ; and the report is so singular, that it could hardly have arisen without some foundation upon fact. In the flight which followed this engagement Philip made a narrow escape, for Richard was determined if possible to seize upon the person of his rival, and followed hard after the fugitives. It was only by separating from his men and slipping unperceived into a church, that the French king saved himself from captivity. Richard on that day tired out two horses, and pursued the enemy over the borders of Normandy and into the territory of France. After this a truce was concluded for the space of a year ; but as war again broke out after the expiry of the term, it is needless to tire the reader with a detailed account of the articles.

In England tournaments or passages of arms had been entirely suspended since the days of king Stephen. Henry II. was too constantly engaged in war and state affairs to have leisure to patronise these gay and glittering shows, and perhaps he was too politic to allow of any such excuses for the mustering of his turbulent nobility, whose ambition he could scarcely bridle when they stood unsupported and alone. Moreover pope Alexander had prohibited under severe penalties all such martial meetings, denouncing them as savage and profane in the extreme, and forbade that any one who might be slain on such an occasion, even though he died confessed, should participate in the privileges of Christian burial. But this severe mandate was not confirmed by the successors of Alexander, and consequently

became a dead letter. Tournaments were repeatedly held at various places on the Continent, and were the favourite amusement of Henry the elder brother of Richard; and the English knights, who were debarred from these magnificent pageants at home, eagerly embraced the opportunity of attending them abroad, and signalized themselves by prowess and dexterity. It had not escaped the keen eye of Richard, that his own knights, although as brave in battle as any whom the world could produce, were nevertheless inferior to the French in the management of the horse and conduct of the lance. This he attributed mainly to the want of such constant training as the tournament alone could afford; and he therefore resolved to revive the obsolete custom in England under certain restrictions. No person was qualified to enter the lists unless he could produce a licence, for which the following sums were exacted; an earl paid twenty marks, a baron ten, a landed knight four, and all others were rated at two. This enactment was very popular, and moreover contributed in some degree to fill the royal coffers*. But another ordinance which Richard issued about the same time gave far less satisfaction to the community. The seal of the kingdom had been lost when the vice-chancellor perished by shipwreck off the island of Cyprus, and William Longchamp had used the one entrusted to his charge with so little discrimination, that Richard, partly impelled thereto by his own necessities, directed a new seal to be made, and ordained all those who held lands from the crown to apply for a renewal of their charters, and to pay the customary

* Hoveden. Gulielmus Neubrigensis.

fine. This was a most reprehensible exaction ; but the necessity of raising money became every day more pressing, and the sovereign was compelled to try all expedients for which he could show even the colour of an excuse.

In this year, 1194, Tancred king of Sicily, whose name has been already mentioned in this history, died, leaving a son called William, who succeeded to the crown. Tancred was himself a usurper ; for the real right to the throne, after the decease of William the Good, was vested in the person of Constance, sister to that king. This princess was married to Henry, then emperor of Germany, who, determined to seize this opportunity of securing new possessions to his family, marched a large army into Apulia, and finally conquered Sicily. This triumph was stained by an act of the most cold-blooded atrocity, for he took the boy William, and, in spite of the tears and supplications of his mother Sibylla, who offered in the name of her son to resign every dignity which he held, except the countship of Lecce and Tarentum, the patrimonial possessions of the family, put out his eyes and mutilated him so that the house of Tancred was extinct for ever. Thus the lordly race of Hohenstaufen gained possession of Sicily ; but God did not forget the cruelty of Henry to that child, though the retribution fell upon the head of another generation.

By the treaty of Worms forty thousand marks of Richard's ransom-money were payable to Leopold duke of Austria ; and it was moreover agreed that he should have the custody of the Cypriot princess, and that the sister of Arthur of Bretagne should be

married to his son. Notwithstanding the time which had elapsed since the conclusion of the treaty, and the large collection made, neither was the money yet paid nor the other stipulations performed; whereat Leopold, losing patience, declared that he would cause all the hostages of the king of England to be beheaded, unless a speedy settlement of his claim was made. Baldwin de Bethune, the sharer of Richard's captivity, and still a pledge for his faith, was the bearer of this message to England, which, as may well be conceived, was exceedingly ungrateful to the king, whose reluctance to enrich the avaricious duke at the expense of his subjects was, most naturally, notwithstanding his obligation, particularly strong. But the threat with which the demand was accompanied admitted of no compromise. The young princesses, with the necessary sum, were in consequence entrusted to the care of Baldwin de Bethune, who after a short stay in Normandy departed with them for Vienna; but even that delay was sufficient to frustrate the purposes of his embassy. So far from any feeling of shame in owning himself the cause of Richard's imprisonment, Leopold gloried in it, as though it had been a brave and meritorious action. He even celebrated as a high festival the anniversary of the day on which the English monarch fell into his power. But shortly afterwards, while riding in the lists, his horse fell with him, and in the fall his leg was fractured near the ankle. Next morning symptoms of mortification appeared, and it was judged necessary to remove the foot by amputation; but so unskilful were the surgeons of the time, or so serious did they consider the responsibility,

that no one could be found to perform the operation; so that at last Leopold, who was not deficient in a certain kind of courage, seeing that his life could be preserved by no other means, held with his own hand a broad axe across the limb, and forced his chamberlain to strike it through with a hammer. The sacrifice was unavailing, for the patient became manifestly worse, and it was soon apparent to all, and felt by himself, that his end was rapidly approaching. Therefore, like a good catholic, he sent for his prelates, and craved absolution from his sins, before surrendering his soul into the hands of his Creator. The churchmen, more conscientious than himself, and coinciding in opinion with the pope, refused to allow him this comfort unless he made reparation for his fault in seizing upon the person of a crusader, not only by remitting the ransom and setting the hostages free, but by binding his heir and successor along with the magnates of his duchy to the performance of the same after his own decease. Few men remain stubborn when death stares them so closely in the face. Leopold either felt or affected to feel a late contrition, and, having complied with the desire of the clergy, received absolution and died. His son was inclined to revoke the orders given under such circumstances, but the prelates adhered firmly to their point, and refused to sanction the burial of the body until every article was fulfilled. After ten days' delay, during which time the funeral was suspended, the new duke yielded a reluctant consent. The hostages were set free and the arrears of ransom remitted; and this intelligence having been communicated to Baldwin de Bethune, before

he entered the Austrian dominions, that knight considered his mission at an end, and returned to Normandy with the princesses still in his charge.

In the year 1195, Hugh bishop of Durham, formerly grand justiciary of England, died, and a grievous dispute broke out between Hubert the primate of Canterbury, and Geoffry archbishop of York, regarding certain matters of church polity. The latter prelate was also embroiled with the clergy of his own diocese, whose privileges he treated with little ceremony; but these questions are of small interest to the modern reader, although, judging from the space they occupy in the pages of the monkish historians, they must at the time have been considered of almost equal importance with the advancement of the power or the maintenance of the national honour. We need not particularise further than merely to state that Geoffry, throughout the whole of the discussion, whether from wilfulness, or from a conviction that the papal power was too readily acknowledged and its mandates too servilely followed by the independent states and clergy of Europe, pursued such a line of conduct as brought him frequently within the pale of censure, and drew down the strongest manifestations of displeasure from Rome. In spite of all these, he maintained his point with a firmness that might have done credit to any of the early reformers; and had his immediate antagonist been any other person than the experienced and sagacious Hubert, he would in all probability have prevailed.

If any proof of Richard's open and confiding disposition were required, we might instance his generous

behaviour towards his brother John. That prince, as we have stated in the preceding chapter, received the royal forgiveness in spite of his repeated treacheries, but did not obtain restitution of the lands which the council during the absence of the king declared to be forfeited. It is difficult, judging from the tenor of his character, to suppose that John was in any wise struck with remorse for his ungrateful conduct. For cold and selfish calculators there is usually no repentance; they may indeed act as if they wished to make amends for their fault, but a little scrutiny will always disclose some interested motive beneath the veil of hypocritical profession. And so it was in the present instance. The return of Richard—the triumphant shouts of the people at the sight of their king and champion—the universal joy which that occurrence diffused through England and the Norman provinces—and lastly the discomfiture of the French, soon convinced John, at no time a decided visionary, that his splendid day-dream of wresting the sceptre from the hands of his brother, and founding a dynasty of his own, albeit at the expense of half the Norman territory, was a vain and hopeless illusion. Still, though less near, he beheld the image of a crown, which might be his hereafter by the more legitimate mode of succession, and to this only one obstacle, the boy Arthur, was opposed. *He* could be removed at a more convenient season; but in the mean time, as Richard was neither to be overthrown by force or circumvented by treachery, it was necessary for John to regain his lost confidence, and this he strove to do, by exerting his peculiar talents against Philip, his old ally, as strenuously as

he had ever used them to supplant his absent brother. No one was now more devoted to the English cause than John—no one more ready to suggest expedients by which the power of the French might be crippled, or to teach his countrymen how to profit by the knowledge acquired during his long intimacy with the enemy. It is the possibility or rather the probability of such tergiversation that makes an unprincipled ally ten times more dangerous than an open and determined foe.

Richard's character could not be termed easy, in the common acceptation of the word. Nevertheless, like most men of a sanguine temperament, he became habitually attached to those who moved around his person, and seldom allowed any injury to rankle long in his mind. No schemer himself, he did not attempt to account for the alteration in the conduct of his brother by searching for hidden reasons. It was enough for him that John had returned to his allegiance, nor did he seek to canvass his motives further, but, carrying the accorded forgiveness to the furthest degree, reinstated him in his former honours, restored the earldoms of Gloucester and Mortaigne, with the exception of the castles, and, in lieu of these and some lands which were otherwise disposed of, assigned him an annuity of eight thousand pounds. Some of Richard's older followers murmured at this excess of bounty towards a convicted traitor, but the king had long since forgotten the treason of his brother.

This is but one instance of the affection which Richard displayed towards his kinsmen, nor ought his early disputes with his brothers to be considered

as proofs to the contrary. These arose from circumstances of domestic dissension which cannot now be thoroughly understood; and it must be recollected that the position of the sons of Henry toward each other was, through their father's strange conduct and improper partiality, so unfavourable to the growth of brotherly attachment, that we need not wonder if each used the power committed to him at so early an age without much reason or discretion. We do not seek to vindicate Richard from the common blame, but we are amply borne out by the earlier historians in the assertion, that in his private character he was ever warm-hearted, attached, and generous to all his friends, and more particularly to those who were connected with him by the ties of blood. We have in a former part of this narrative had occasion to notice his attachment to his nephew, count Henry of Champagne. His affection to John manifested itself in spite of so many ungrateful returns; and to his other nephews, Henry and Otho, sons of the celebrated duke of Saxony, he fulfilled the office of a father. The younger of these princes, afterwards emperor of Germany, was Richard's especial favourite; and all his thoughts were bent to effect a marriage between him and the eldest daughter of William king of Scotland. The Old Lion was by no means averse to the match, and even went so far as to propose Otho for his successor to the assembled nobility. The Scotch, however, have always shown themselves to be a people most jealous of intrusion, and unwilling to own allegiance to any dynasty except their own. They considered such an arrangement as derogatory to the national

honour, and flatly refused to receive a foreign master from Germany, even although married to the daughter of their king, so long as the blood-royal of Fergus ran in the veins of a Scottish prince, and he so gallant and beloved as David the earl of Huntingdon and Garioch. In spite of all opposition William was inclined to press the point, and would have done so, had not the unexpected pregnancy of his queen at this important crisis given him new hopes of an heir-male, and these were subsequently confirmed by the birth of Alexander II. In order to compensate for this disappointment, Richard presented Otho with the county of Poitou, which he held until the general voice of Germany raised him to the imperial throne.

On account of the exactions which he was forced to levy from the clergy, who at that time were by far the most wealthy portion of his subjects, and also from the dissensions which arose among the different prelates during his reign, Richard has been sometimes represented as an enemy to the church. According to extreme Protestant notions, this might rather be considered as a favourable trait in his character than the reverse—as a first commencement of that resistance to the Roman despotism which eventually, and after the lapse of centuries, succeeded in shaking off the yoke of spiritual bondage, and advanced the true doctrines of Christianity without any of the superstitious dross which the lapse of ages had suffered to accumulate. This may be a gratifying view to some, but it is essentially erroneous. No resistance to the authority of the pope was then contemplated on spiritual grounds; nay more, we

are forced to admit, that although abuses in the church did then certainly exist, the clergy, as a body, and particularly the court of Rome, were far in advance of the population of any country in Europe both in morals, learning, and high religious principle, tinged no doubt with error, but still exemplary and good. And (if we may be pardoned the digression) had the Roman church still continued to keep ahead of the social and intellectual improvement of the people—had she gone forward with a steady pace in the van of popular opinion—trying all things, proving all things by the standard that was entrusted to her charge—applying herself as sedulously to self-examination as she did to the suppression of heresy, and candidly reforming her errors as the daylight of truth flashed more vividly on the world—instead of standing still when all other institutions were progressing, and attempting to bar the torrent when she ought to have directed its course—who shall say that the church of Rome might not now as then have retained her spiritual supremacy, and, without provoking a schism that has torn half the Christian world from her sway, have worn as pure and spotless robes as those churches who uphold the creed of Luther or of Calvin? The truth is, that Richard received more countenance from the church than any other monarch of his time: The pope expressly forbade Philip to enter the territories of his absent rival, and enforced his decree by suspension. The thunders of excommunication were launched against all those who had any share in the imprisonment of the Christian king and crusader; and, as we have seen, the body of the duke of Austria

was not allowed to be buried in hallowed ground until satisfaction was made for the outrage he committed. Nor was this support of Richard confined to Rome alone. The prelates and clergy of England were the principal instruments in restraining the ambition of John, and bridling the contumacy of other nobles—they were the men who advanced the largest share of the expenses of the crusade, and contributed the most towards the royal ransom; and this assuredly they would not have done had Richard been an enemy of religion, or a rebel to the authority of the pope. Nor did the king repay their support and countenance with ingratitude; for one of the first uses he made of his replenished exchequer was to restore to the different churches the plate and ornaments sold or pawned for his delivery, and to grant the clergy such additional privileges as in the end effectually reimbursed them for their sacrifices.

The arrears of ransom due to Henry still remained unpaid, and Richard became apprehensive that some such message as that which he had received from the duke of Austria would be sent, and even the lives of his hostages perilled by his involuntary delay. But, to his great astonishment, the emperor, instead of assuming the character of an urgent creditor, professed the utmost good-will and friendship towards him, prayed him to consult his own convenience as to the payment of the money due, and sent a magnificent golden crown as a testimony of his sincere attachment. This altered conduct was altogether inexplicable, until a second message from Henry arrived and cleared up the mystery. After

passing some severe reflections on the conduct of Philip, the emperor offered to enter France at the head of a powerful army, and for the purpose of co-operating with the English forces, and should their efforts be crowned with success, to share with Richard the most fertile conquered provinces. Cœur-de-Lion was well aware that the junction of France with Germany had been long a favourite project with the emperors, and the present seemed an excellent opportunity for carrying it into execution. By uniting with Henry he might, indeed, have the gratification of humbling his inveterate enemy, and enriching himself at his expense; but there were other and posterior considerations attendant upon such a step, and these it was impossible to overlook. The doctrine of the balance of power was even then tolerably understood, and the attention of the pope, as master-diplomatist of Europe, had been repeatedly drawn to the increasing growth of the German power, and means had been devised to prevent its further extension. This was a salutary precaution, since Italy had been ere now inundated by the irruption of the northern hordes, and neither England nor France, in former ages, had been able to withstand the flow of that terrible invasion. Still more was it essential for the pope, as the possessor of Peter's chair could only maintain his supremacy by playing off one state against another, and so maintaining something like a reasonable equality. The temporal princes often grumbled, and sometimes even rebelled against the interference of their spiritual lord; but in the end the church always carried her point; and however odious such an assumption of power may appear to

us, there is no doubt that it had a most salutary effect in maintaining order among the European nations, hardly yet civilised; and it may further be doubted whether at the present day we have succeeded, in spite of our congresses and quadruple alliances, in discovering an effectual substitute.

Such were the feelings of the court of Rome, and even Richard, though no diplomatist, understood enough of political relations to divine that if the emperor succeeded in his design of incorporating France with the German states, England must in the long-run be the severest sufferer. Against Germany and France singly she could maintain her own independence, as she had done successfully before, but if by any means the united forces of the two countries could be brought to bear upon her, the least she could expect would be the loss of her continental possessions, followed perhaps by an attack upon her own insular fortress. The lure offered by the emperor of an additional province or two, which in all probability would hardly be united to the English crown before severed from it again, was too worthless to be considered; and however anxious Richard might be to prosecute his quarrel with France, there is reason to conclude that he would far more readily have agreed to a binding peace, than united with an ally whose success would prove more dangerous than if he sustained a defeat, without interference, at the hands of his hostile neighbour. However, considering the peculiar situation in which he stood with the emperor, it was necessary to avoid every appearance of suspicion, and even to testify some acquiescence in the general principle contained in

his proposition. As an experienced and wary negotiator was absolutely indispensable for the conduct of this important matter, Richard despatched his chancellor, Longchamp, to the emperor, with full powers to treat, but with private instructions to make such demands as the German would be likely to refuse, and so to break off the proposed alliance in a manner that could give no offence to the author of the scheme.

Philip having learned that Longchamp was about to pass through the French territories on his way to Germany, presently divined the nature of his mission, and resolved if possible to prevent it by seizing the person of the ambassador. The chancellor, however, found means to elude the vigilance of the French, and crossed the border unmolested; whereupon Philip declared that such proceedings were nothing less than a gross violation of the truce, and again had recourse to arms. The campaign which followed exhibits no features of particular interest, as the operations on both sides were confined to the storming of some insignificant castles, and mutual devastation of the country, which lasted for several months and would probably have continued much longer if the alarming news from Spain, of the invasion by the Moors, had not caused both monarchs to cease from their hostilities for a while, and led them to reflect seriously whether the blood and treasure they were squandering in the prosecution of their private quarrels, could not be made more available in repulsing the common enemies of Christendom. Another conference, therefore, was held at Gisors, when terms for the foundation of a lasting peace

were proposed and favourably regarded on either side. Besides the adjustments of territory which formed the principal part of the negotiation, a marriage was negotiated between Louis the eldest son of Philip, and the princess of Bretagne; and Richard, ashamed of the long detention of Adelais, restored her without any conditions to her brother. Philip, apprehensive lest some new accident should arise again to mar her nuptials, married her without delay to John count of Ponthieu. It would have been well for England and France if the kings had in all sincerity proceeded to carry the above arrangements into effect; but an obstacle presented itself in the person of Henry, who, in consequence of the arrangements made at the diet of Worms, was necessarily a party in every treaty between Richard and Philip. It was by no means the interest of the emperor that peace should be concluded on any terms whatsoever, as in that event his designs must have been totally frustrated, and perhaps more notice taken of his late proceedings in Sicily than he was at all desirous to permit. The reply which he sent by Longchamp in answer to a communication from Richard, was decidedly unfavourable to the proposed treaty; but as he could not, of course, disclose his real reasons for withholding his consent, he affected to have a most paternal regard for the honour of England, and assured the king that such an arrangement with Philip would be construed by every court in Europe into an admission of French superiority. He counselled Richard most strongly to persevere in the contest, and as he owned that his detention in Germany had certainly encouraged the French in

their aggressions, he forgave the sum of seventeen thousand marks which still remained unpaid out of the balance of the ransom. Richard, however, was not so simple as to place implicit credit in the words or motives of the emperor; and in spite of this appeal to his passions would certainly have come to an amicable arrangement with Philip, had not some misunderstanding upon a trivial cause arisen, which by the mutual jealousy of the kings speedily swelled into a quarrel. The negotiation ended by an arrogant defiance on the part of Philip, pronounced by the bishop of Beauvais, a fierce member of the church militant upon earth; and all attempts at accommodation having proved fruitless, the kings returned to their own dominions, again to prepare for a longer and a bloodier campaign. The first incursion was made by the French, who ravaged Normandy as far as Dieppe, burned that town with all the shipping in the harbour, took the town of Issendon and laid siege to its fortress. Richard instantly marched to its relief, but no sooner did his army appear in the field, than the French, who were inferior in number if not in valour, thought proper to desist from their undertaking, and under cover of the proposal for a truce effected a safe retreat. Richard was by no means disposed to listen to any such proposals, but his nobles and prelates, who were tired of the war, and willing to accede to almost any terms which should free them from the bondage of arms, wrought upon him so far as to gain his consent to a temporary cessation of hostilities. Under cover of this agreement the French withdrew; and here we cannot but notice how much the power of the king

was circumscribed, and how dependent he was upon the fiat of his vassals; for had the scene of action been Palestine instead of Normandy not one of the invading army would have found their way home, unless by the exertion of such supernatural valour as the Saracens, who were by no means to be undervalued for their military talents, had never on any occasion exhibited.

About this time there was circulated throughout the courts of Europe a very curious document, which is well deserving of our attention; viz., a letter from the sheik of the Hausassiz or Old Man of the Mountain, regarding the death of the marquis Conrad, on account of which unfortunate occurrence Richard was impeached before the Germanic diet. We are not informed of the proof which he brought to clear himself of this grievous accusation, but it was no doubt satisfactory to his judges, as they declared him innocent of that as well as of the other offences laid to his charge. Only one man in Europe persisted in maintaining the calumny, but as this accuser was Philip, the bitterest personal enemy of Cœur-de-Lion, an opinion coming from such a quarter carried little weight and found no supporters. A tolerably accurate account of the proceedings at Worms seems to have been transmitted to Palestine, where of course it was received with the greatest eagerness, as indeed a matter of far less importance would have been if connected with the fate or fortune of Richard. Saracen as well as Christian listened with avidity to the tale of the wanderings, imprisonment, and trial of the Melech-Ric, and in the course of time it found its way even into the country of the shun-

ned and isolated Hausassiz. From that mysterious region a circular letter written in Arabic, Greek, and Latin, was sent to the court of every sovereign in Europe, acquitting Richard of all concern in the death of the marquis, and claiming the honour of that act of murder or justice for the Old Man of the Mountain alone. This epistle (which we have given in the Appendix*) has been rejected by various authors as a forgery, chiefly on account of the designation of the sheik, "Vetus de Monte," as this was merely the name by which he was known amongst the Franks, and not his proper title. This objection appears to us of very little moment, as nothing could be more natural for the sheik, in addressing Europeans, than to use the only designation which they knew or could recognize. Neither the Arabic nor Greek version of the letter are now extant; but we are convinced that if they were, the former at least would be found to contain the Asiatic title. The period also when this letter was produced argues favourably for its authenticity. If it had been laid before the Germanic diet there would have been a strong presumption against it, but as it arrived at a time when subsequent and more important events had almost obliterated the recollection of Conrad and his tragical end, we are not entitled to refuse it on a mere technical objection, even were it no otherwise remarkable than as a literary curiosity. It is also recorded that even Philip of France, after the perusal of this letter, declared himself perfectly convinced of the innocence of Richard, not only in so far as regarded the marquis, but also of the alleged conspiracy

* See Note, F.

against himself; and added that his principal objection to a lasting peace with England was now removed*.

It is said that at this period Philip was desirous of forming an alliance with England, by marrying Joanna, widow of William of Sicily and sister of Richard, but that his views were frustrated by the obstinate refusal of the lady. It is well worthy of attention, as illustrative of the feeling of that age, that Philip, who was by no means deficient in personal accomplishments, and certainly the most conspicuous widower in Europe, had the greatest difficulty in finding any princess who would consent to be his bride. This unusual reluctance to a royal alliance on the part of the fair sex generally, arose from the wanton and ungenerous behaviour of the king to Ingeburga, sister of the Danish monarch, whom he married one day and divorced on the next, from mere caprice, and added insult to injury by ordering her to leave France immediately and return home with the whole of her attendants. The king of Denmark was not powerful enough to resent this brutal behaviour as he otherwise would have done, but the cause of the slighted Ingeburga was taken up with all the fervour and passion of chivalry by every manly heart in Europe, and Philip's unpopularity increased to such a degree, that proposals which he made to the daughter of the count Palatine and other princesses were rejected, and his third marriage with Agnes de Meranie was, on the part of the lady, rather one of compulsion than of choice.

* Guil. Neubrig. Hemingford.

Notwithstanding the failure of this more intimate alliance, the harassing wars between France and England were for some time discontinued, and both monarchs had more leisure to superintend the arrangement of their civil affairs, but in the following year, (1196) the truce was again broken, and hostilities commenced anew. It would be useless and tedious for us to recount every movement of the hostile armies, especially as no one battle was fought decisive of the contest, or worthy of a prominent place in the pages of history. In the reign of Richard, daring warrior as he was, the arms of England did not strike terror into the heart of France, and paralyse the energy of her chivalrous sons, as afterwards when Harry the Fifth and the Black Prince stood triumphant on the fields of Agincourt and Cressy. The oath of the crusader was still upon the soul of Cœur-de-Lion, and the terrible sword that had so often cloven the ranks of the Saracens in Palestine, fell but lightly upon a Christian head. We have therefore only touched slightly upon the events of these campaigns, trusting that we shall still be able to give an idea of their general effect, without confusing the reader by entering into particular detail.

About this period the first popular disturbance which can be called a rising of the English mob, broke out in London, and for the time wore an alarming appearance. As these exhibitions of popular ire are now by no means uncommon in our larger cities, it may be interesting to know how the first such demonstration commenced, and how it was regarded and suppressed by the existing authorities.

The imposts levied by Richard, for his ransom and the maintenance of the war with France, fell, as we have already stated, very heavily upon the shoulders of the people. In short "the rogues" began first to grumble, and from grumbling they naturally proceeded to that species of resistance sometimes termed passive, but which in the eye of the law, as it then stood, was nothing short of actual rebellion. The nobles and the clergy who held their lands of the crown, and were entitled to expect further benefits, paid their quota without reluctance; as did also the principal citizens and trades in the towns who enjoyed certain privileges and immunities denied to the lower classes. But the bulk of the people, upon whom the rays of royal favour never shone, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, however willingly they might have contributed their pittance to procure the liberation of their king, objected, with some reason, to allow a further portion of their hard-earned gains to be wrung from them in order to support wars from which they could not derive the remotest benefit, and to pay Brabanters and mercenaries, a force alien to English feeling, and obnoxious to the country at large. It must also be kept in mind, that the period of the Norman conquest had not so long gone by, as to reconcile the commons, who were chiefly Saxons by birth, to the domination of their foreign lords, or at least to effect such an amalgamation as to make the old national names forgotten, and blend the two races into one. No doubt the first strong feeling of dislike had gradually died away, but there still remained such lingering jealousy as needed only opportunity to resolve itself into something

stronger, in fact to make the distinction between the Norman and Saxon as broadly defined as it was after the celebrated battle of Hastings.

Whether justifiable or not, there is little reason to doubt that the taxation fell fairly and equally upon all classes of the community ; but when were the people of England or of any other country dissatisfied with the state, that they could not find specious reasons for resisting its authority ? The mob took umbrage at some resolutions for the collection of the tax proposed and carried by the mayor and aldermen of London, whereby it was supposed that the richer part of the citizens were assessed equally with the poor, instead of paying proportionally to their wealth and income. This matter was taken up by William Fitz-Osbert, a citizen of London, one of those democratic champions who are always ready in times of excitement to espouse the popular cause, and who raise themselves to a temporary notoriety by the freedom and intemperance of their language. This English Gracchus was of Saxon origin, a bitter enemy and contemner of the Normans, whose manners and customs he scorned to use. In London he was well known by the epithet of William with the Beard, on account of his adherence to the peculiarities of his ancestors, in preference to the fashion of trimming and shaving adopted by all persons of his quality. This man finding that his representations and speeches had no effect in changing the line of measures proposed by the mayor and aldermen, had recourse to the dangerous expedient of assembling the people themselves, and harangued them in such inflammatory terms, that the mob with-

out premeditation or purpose took up arms and threatened to set the city on fire. But the well affected part of the citizens, united by the prospect of common danger, took such effectual means to prevent the consummation of so mad an action, that the supporters of William, after the first moments of excitement had gone by, became ashamed of their precipitancy, and retired, leaving their leader to avert, as he best could, the punishment due for his rashness. The archbishop of Canterbury, as grand justiciary, issued his warrant for the apprehension of Fitz-Osbert, who, alarmed for the consequences, took refuge in the church of Saint Mary of the Arches, and claimed the protection of the sanctuary. This was usually extended even to the most grievous criminals, but in the case of Fitz-Osbert it was thought more expedient for once to depart from the general rule, rather than permit so notorious a disturber of the public peace to escape. Moreover, the citizens themselves were exceedingly incensed, and peremptorily demanded that a public example should be made of the man, whose folly and presumption had so nearly annihilated their property and destroyed the capital. Orders therefore were given to seize upon the person of the offender, but he, rendered desperate by the imminency of the danger, fled to the church tower, which he barred against his pursuers. The rest of his story very much resembles that of Jacques Van Artevelde, in later days. The tower was set on fire, and Fitz-Osbert compelled to descend amidst the shouts of his adversaries, who seemed to consider his capture as ample compensation for the loss of a great part of the sacred building.

Once in their hands his fate was decided. After the hasty semblance of a trial, he was dragged at the tail of a horse to the elms at Tyburn, and hanged in chains, along with some of his followers of whom it was judged necessary to make an example for the edification of the rest. So perished William Fitz-Osbert, whom some have honoured with the venerable name of martyr, and others branded with the infamous designation of traitor. As such characters have been and always will be viewed by the majority of mankind though the glasses of their own prejudice, we shall not venture to decide which of these terms is the most veracious*.

Richard, after his release from captivity resided exclusively on the Continent, visiting the different provinces in succession, and repairing the injuries which each had sustained from the French. In England the sole management of the public affairs was entrusted to the archbishop of Canterbury, who displayed remarkable prudence, and devotion to the cause of the king, at the same time cautiously regarding the interests of the commons. Longchamp still continued to hold the office of chancellor, but was not allowed to exercise it in England, for Richard, who loved the man for his personal qualities and unflinching fidelity, was quite sensible that the great body of his subjects were thoroughly disgusted with his pride and arrogance, nor had he any wish to be represented in his most important dominions by so unpopular a deputy. But the burden thus laid upon the archbishop proved almost too heavy for a prelate so high in office, who had many im-

* Mat. Paris. Hoveden. Guil. Neubrig.

portant duties of his own to perform. Like Wolsey, Hubert perceived that it was a hard task to serve with equal devotion both his God and his king—that the press of secular business, and the accumulation of worldly affairs had the effect of making him in some measure neglect the condition of the church generally, the regulation of his own diocese, and the welfare of his soul. Unlike most churchmen who have sunk their sacred character in that of the politician, Hubert was a strictly honourable and conscientious man, not lured from his original office by any desire of personal aggrandisement, but solely influenced by attachment to his king. The time had now arrived when he felt it his duty to entreat Richard that the load of government might be handed over to younger and more active men, so that in future he might devote the whole of his attention to his own peculiar functions and jurisdiction. But the king, although quite sensible of the justice of this request, positively refused to accept his resignation, alleging that he could not, in the whole of his dominions, find another man so well qualified to act as governor in his absence. This was no empty compliment, for it appeared from the archbishop's accounts that he had raised in England, during the two last years, the large sum of eleven hundred thousand marks, which had gone to defray the expenses of the war, and Richard could on no terms afford to lose the services of so able and honest a treasurer. Still it must be admitted that Hubert did not sufficiently exercise his influence over the king by restraining his lavish expenditure, and directing his attention to the internal state of England, which

far more required the fostering of a kind and paternal governor, than the exactions of an urgent taskmaster. In this respect his character is placed in an unfavourable point of view when contrasted with the conduct of Hugh, the excellent bishop of Lincoln, who, on more than one occasion, peremptorily refused to assist in levying the subsidies in his diocese, and thereby incurred the severest displeasure of the king. But Hugh, being well acquainted with the peculiarities of his sovereign, cared little for his anger or his threats, and had even the hardihood to present himself before Richard in Normandy, whilst the clouds of resentment were still lowering on the royal brow. Instead of excusing his conduct, he expostulated boldly against the repetition of such odious taxes, and exposed their injustice. This he did with so much frankness and good-humour, that the king, who at first received him very coldly, dismissed all vindictive feeling; and even took in good part a lecture on the subject of conjugal infidelity which the worthy bishop, in consequence of some rumours prejudicial to the happiness of Berengaria, thought necessary to inflict upon him*.

The bishops, in fact, took far greater liberties with Richard than his nearest friends durst venture, and sometimes made such opposition to his will, as in the case of a lay subject would have amounted to rebellion. For instance, in the course of these wars between England and France, the king thought proper to occupy the island of Andeli in the Seine, and laid the foundation of that castle which, under the name of Chateau-Gaillard, sustained a memorable

* Vita S. Hug.

siege in the course of the ensuing reign. This island was situated a few leagues above Rouen, and belonged in property to the archbishop of that place, a great friend and supporter of the king, as was testified when the affairs of England were entrusted to his charge, but also very jealous of his own rights and those of the portion of the church over which it was his fortune to preside. Although the fortification of Andeli was manifestly of the utmost importance to Normandy; and although Richard offered ample compensation for the small spot he had occupied, the archbishop would not consent to cede one foot of the church lands for secular purposes, or even to sanction their alienation by accepting an equivalent. Richard was equally determined to prosecute his purpose, and the immediate consequence was, that the archbishop laid Normandy under his interdict, and appealed the question to the pope. This power of interdict was certainly one of the most objectionable and cruel parts of the papal system, inasmuch as it deprived the people, though innocent of all offence, of the benefits of the church. Marriages were suspended, baptism forbidden, even the burial of the dead was not permitted until the interdict was removed; and on this occasion it is recorded that corpses were left lying exposed for weeks at the gates of the cemetery of Rouen, because no priest dared perform the funeral ceremony, or hallow the grave for the deceased. It is impossible to say how this dispute might have ended, or what advantage France might have taken of a quarrel so opportune as this, had the pope been as scrupulous as the archbishop. Fortunately for England,

Celestine was not merely an ardent churchman, but a cool and decided politician, who never permitted his judgment to be warped by one-sided or precipitate views. After a full hearing of the contending parties, he decided in favour of Richard, and the archbishop was wise enough to submit without murmuring to the decree of the pontiff (not without credit to himself, as some of his brethren, for example the archbishop of York, had on previous occasions refused to conform to that supreme sentence), and received from Richard in exchange for Andeli, the towns of Dieppe and Louviers, which, in point of value, were far more than an equivalent for the little property in dispute.

About this time Joanna queen dowager of Sicily, and sister of Richard, was married to the count of Saint Giles, a nobleman who had served with much distinction in the Holy Land; and William Longespée, the natural brother of the king, succeeded to the broad estates of his father-in-law, and received the title of earl of Salisbury. This nobleman was, next to Richard, the most distinguished of the sons of Henry in warlike exploit, and at a subsequent period occupies a distinguished place in the pages of history, having taken an eminent lead in the operations of the next crusade. The earl has by some early writers been confounded with the martial bishop, but the exploits of the latter have, in point of time, the precedence. Longespée's reputation was not earned until after the decease of Richard.

CHAPTER XII.

State of Bretagne—Prince Arthur—The Earl of Flanders enters into an Alliance with Richard—Military Operations in France—The Bishop of Beauvais taken Prisoner—His Letter to the Pope, and the Reply—Laws for the Encouragement of Manufactures, &c. in England—Its State at the Time—Death of Saladin—New Crusade from Germany—Death of Henry of Champagne—of the Emperor Henry—and of Pope Celestine—Otho elected Emperor—New War with France—The French routed at Gamages and Courcelles—Peace concluded between the two Countries—Philip accuses John of Treachery, which is disproved—Richard in Aquitaine—Demands a Treasure found by the Viscount of Limoges—Besieges the Castle of Chaluz—Is wounded by an Arrow from the Walls—His Death and Character.

THE year 1197 was marked by several important events. Constance, the widow of Geoffry and mother of prince Arthur, had wedded Ralph Blondville earl of Chester, and retained until now the guardianship of her son, and the administration of the affairs of his province. Richard considered Bretagne a territory too important to be left to its own resources when so vigilant an enemy as Philip was moving in its vicinity, and proposed to assume the guardianship of Arthur, to which office he had undoubtedly a right both as the sovereign and as the uncle of that prince. Constance, however, was suspicious of his intentions, and never having been on very friendly terms with her brother-in-law, thought fit to refuse his demand, and to call upon the barons of Bretagne for support against him. Richard had never entertained the most distant idea of separating Constance from her son, nor did he wish to deprive her of her just autho-

riety ; his sole object was to prevent Bretagne from becoming a province of France ; but actual resistance on the part of his vassals was more than his fiery spirit could endure. Some of the barons to whom Constance appealed for support were notoriously in the French interest, and they, too glad of any pretext for revolt, conveyed the young prince to St. Paul de Leon in the Lower Province, and sent to solicit the assistance and protection of Philip. Richard instantly despatched his Brabanters, under the command of their captain Marchades, to check the rising rebellion, which, after some bloodshed on either side, was effected, and Bretagne placed under the protection of the king. As for Constance, she was permitted, though not without a severe reprimand for the injustice of her suspicions and the folly of her conduct, to retain the personal guardianship of her son.

As we shall not again have occasion to speak of Arthur, whose most tragical end is well known, we ought not to pass over without notice the brilliant promise of future excellence given by his childhood, or the fond expectations entertained by the people of Normandy and England. Arthur, though constitutionally delicate, was possessed of an understanding and intelligence far beyond his years ; he was the darling of his mother and the idol of the little court of Bretagne, from whence his praises were spread over all the wide country that ought to have been his inheritance. But it was not alone the rumour of so rare a character that endeared him to the English hearts : the prophecies of Merlin were then universally known and believed ; and by that old

soothsayer it was foretold, that although when the star of the first Arthur should have set, and the hero of the round table perish by domestic treachery, darkness and woe for a time must prevail in the land; yet, that a second Arthur, more glorious than the first, would appear and raise England to a place of proud dominion far above the reach of any other nation of the world. In the son of Geoffry the English fondly hoped that they beheld the child of promise, and exulted in the anticipation of a long and prosperous reign. How these hopes were blighted in the bud is known to every student of history; and, possibly, considering the spirit and immature growth of the age, had Arthur survived the period of boyhood and succeeded to the English crown, his reign might not have been more distinguished than that of John. It is not unlikely that his mild and ingenuous character might have postponed for many years the grant of the Magna Charta, from which we date our earliest impressions of constitutional liberty. Vain it is at all times to speculate upon what *might* have happened. What *has* happened, we know, and with that alone can we practically deal. Yet this one observation we may make as a conspicuous truth in world-history, though paradoxical, that a bad prince or vicious ruler is oftener the cause of ultimate good and regeneration to his people, than one more blameless. Virtue in kings is usually a passive, not an active quality. Whole generations have dreamed out their lives under such inoffensive sway, nor advanced one step in a world where to stand still is to recede. But vice is rarely passive. It attracts observation, excites resistance; is combated, overthrown,

and one dogmatic stumbling-block is removed from the path of moral progression.

Up to this time Richard had maintained the war in Normandy single-handed: the only foreign force engaged in his service was the troop of Brabanters, a mercenary body of Free Companions, who sold their duty and their blood to any monarch in any quarrel whatsoever. The Germans, as we have already seen, did not interfere in the contest further than by an offer of their services; but other states now began to take some interest in the war. Baldwin count of Flanders, whose vicinity to France made him very jealous of the aggrandizement of Philip, entered into a league with Richard, marched his forces into the territory of Artois, and laid siege to Arras. On the advance of Philip to the relief of that place, the count retired slowly upon his own country, and manœuvred so effectually, that he drew the French forces into a position where they could not advance, except in the teeth of a hostile and martial population who were all up in arms, nor in any way effect their retreat, as by a preconcerted plan every bridge was broken down behind them. In this dilemma, Philip was fain to offer any terms to Baldwin, and was at last permitted to retire unmolested, on promising to restore to the count that part of Flanders and Hainault which the French had occupied after the decease of his predecessor in the Holy Land. The princes also of the house of Champagne declared their adherence to the cause of England, and other nobles of France seemed ready to follow their example.

Amongst the partisans of Philip, there was none more active or more conspicuous in the council of the

field than Philip bishop of Beauvais, whom we have already noticed as the only prelate unscrupulous enough to officiate at the scandalous nuptials of Conrad of Montserrat with Isabella wife of Humphrey de Thoron. This bishop was a near relative of king Philip, and a personal enemy of Richard, whom he hated on account of some former passages in Palestine, and whose captivity he had managed to prolong by his secret negotiations with the emperor. It was to his influence and machinations that the failure of the various treaties proposed from time to time between France and England were mainly to be attributed; and once, at a public conference, he had the audacity to revile Richard as a traitor in presence of his king, who heard the vituperation of the foul-mouthed prelate in silence, nor thought it necessary to interfere.

Baldwin of Canterbury and Hubert of Salisbury had set the example to churchmen by personally bearing arms in the holy wars. This practice was not only suffered, but highly approved of by the pope, who conceived that such instances of spiritual enthusiasm on the part of the dignitaries of the church could not fail to have a strong effect in rousing the energies and increasing the devotion of the army to the Christian cause. It was usually understood that in a war with the Saracens, a prelate might without reproach or derogation to his sacred character exchange the mitre for the helmet, and the crosier for the spear; but this licence was not extended to the case of wars waged between two Christian nations. It was, therefore, considered a scandal and disgrace to the church, when the bishop of Beauvais, armed to the teeth, rode forth to battle

against the English; and even the French prelates felt themselves bound to remonstrate against such an indecorous exhibition, but without effect—Philip was too glad of the assistance and talents of his kinsman to dissuade him from his present course. Since the priest thus belied his sacerdotal character, Richard resolved to treat him as a common but most virulent enemy. He despatched a considerable force under his brother John and Marchades, with orders to besiege the city of Beauvais, where the bishop resided in person, and if possible, to make him prisoner. A siege was not necessary. No sooner was the prelate aware of the approach of the English, than he summoned his men, and came out at their head to give battle to the intruders. After a sharp but short conflict the French were beaten off, and the bishop, along with William de Merlou, a distinguished soldier and old crusader, was taken and led to Richard at Rouen. All due respect and consideration was shown to the other prisoners, but the bishop did not receive any courtesy at the hands of the king: on the contrary, Richard upbraided him severely for his insolent conduct on a former, and his unclerical appearance on the present occasion, and finally ordered him to be strictly confined and even loaded with fetters. This was a bold step on the part of Richard, but it seems to have met with the general approbation of the church, as not one application was made from any quarter for the release of the bishop: on the contrary, it was deemed a matter of rejoicing that so turbulent and haughty a character was deprived of the power of fixing further scandal upon his order.

No one denied that the punishment was a sort of retributive justice. The bishop had notoriously done all in his power to prolong the captivity of Richard, and now that he had fallen into the hands of his exasperated foeman, he had little right to complain if subjected to similar treatment. "I had more chains upon me in Germany," said Richard, "than a horse could carry, and all through this unlucky bishop—let us see how he will like to wear them himself." Ten thousand marks was fixed for the ransom; but this was not paid until the bishop tried the effect of an appeal to the pope. The letter which he wrote, seconded only by the representations of his brother the prelate of Orleans, is still extant, and is one of the best specimens of jesuitical pleading upon record. It is interlarded with pious saws and texts from Scripture, represents the writer in the light of a shepherd who is suffering on account of his exertions to keep his flock from harm, and ends with a request that the pope would interfere to procure his enlargement, and place Richard under sentence of excommunication. But Celestine was well acquainted with the real character of his correspondent, and returned him an admirable answer, wherein he enlarged upon the true character of the priesthood, and rebuked the bishop for meddling with affairs so foreign to the nature of his duties. "Nevertheless," so runs his letter, "I will intercede for you with the king of England—I say intercede, because under such circumstances as yours, I neither can nor ought to ask your freedom as a matter of right, but only as a personal favour." Celestine kept his promise and interceded with

Richard; but that monarch, though exceedingly attached to the pope, and grateful for the favours and support he had uniformly received from him, was not disposed to part with his prisoner on such easy terms. His answer to Celestine is remarkable. He sent by a messenger the coat of mail which the bishop of Beauvais had worn on the day of his capture, and craved the pontiff to say if that was the garment of his son, or no. Celestine replied with a smile—"The owner of that coat is no son of mine or of the church, but a child of Mars—let Mars deliver him if he can." The bishop of Beauvais did not recover his freedom until after Richard's decease, when John reduced the ransom from ten to two thousand marks.

The threatening attitude assumed by Baldwin of Flanders and the house of Champagne induced Philip to sue for a truce, which lasted for another year. Profiting by this short period of repose, Richard sent for Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and at his suggestion enacted some salutary laws for the internal administration of England. One of these was for the encouragement and improvement of the woollen manufactures, at that time a most important branch of industry; and another was for the establishment of standard weights and measures throughout the kingdom. These, and one other enactment to mitigate the severity of forfeiture upon wrecks, which in former times were held in all cases to belong to the crown, are the only legislative improvements of any consequence that were made during this reign;—a small recompense, indeed, to the people whose treasures were so lavishly squan-

dered upon wars from which they did not reap the remotest benefit.

It is not until the moral influence of the middle classes rises to at least an equality with that of the aristocracy, that any country can attain a state of commercial prosperity. The mechanical improvements, the economy, the energy and perseverance, which are required to develop the national resources, always originate with the unprivileged many. In the reign of Richard, the influence of this class was altogether insignificant. Peaceful pursuits were considered incompatible with the character and pretensions of knighthood and gentility. War was the only profession which the descendants of noble houses could adopt as their own, and, therefore, we need not be surprised to find the history of the times rather a chronicle of battles lost and won, than a sober record of the progress of civilisation. To Europe, thus teeming with the elements of discord, a convenient field for those fiery spirits who could not have remained contented at home was found in Palestine. The superfluities of each generation of young and ambitious soldiers were despatched to fight the battles of the cross against the Saracens, to gain, if they could, both laurels and land in the heart of the holy territory—to ravage Asia and Africa, but not to return home. The crusades have often been designated as the most remarkable instances of human folly and fanaticism upon record, but, as we think, erroneously. There was as much diplomacy in Europe then as now; only, perhaps, the old views were broader and their operation less intricate than the new. Following out this view of the question, it will

not excite wonder that the stipulated treaty for three years between the Christians and Saracens was rather an unpopular than a favourite measure, and that in a great degree it deranged the calculations of the Roman court, who, as we previously remarked, held the strings which could set every kingdom of Christendom in motion. No excuse, however, could be found during the first year for its violation. Both Saladin and Henry of Champagne adhered scrupulously to the conditions of the treaty; and this mutual good understanding might eventually have ripened into a lasting peace, had not the death of the sultan intervened. This greatest of the Eastern princes expired at Damascus within a year after the departure of Richard, having previously divided his enormous territories among his twelve sons. This was a most unfortunate partition, as it metamorphosed one mighty empire, powerful enough to have set the world at defiance, into twelve petty states, liable to the attacks of every enemy, and also to dissensions among themselves. The military Saracen chiefs were not blind to the probable consequences, and the great majority declared themselves in favour of Malek-al-Adel or Saphadin, who was only second in conduct and valour to his illustrious brother. This movement, of course, was followed by a civil war, in which, however, Henry of Champagne took no part, from feelings highly honourable to himself. But the princes of Europe, who cared not one straw for treaties, thought this an excellent opportunity to overrun Palestine, and accordingly, with the sanction of the pope, a great expedition set out for Germany. This crusade was honoured by the presence of queen

Margaret, first the wife of prince Henry, Richard's eldest brother, and afterwards of Bela of Hungary. She announced her intention of passing the remainder of her days in Palestine, and kept her word. With the exception of some few Italians, this crusade was confined to Germany, and neither the French nor the English were engaged: Philip thought it useless, considering his former precipitate retreat, to affect any desire to join; and Richard, though he still continued to wear the cross, had not yet forgotten the dissensions of his old army, and his unfortunate journey home. To the entreaties of the emperor Henry, who addressed him on the subject from Messina, he replied in a direct negative, excusing himself on account of the unsettled state of his affairs in Normandy; but his remark to a friend was more significant: "The emperor is my very good friend, but I care not how little more I see of his housekeeping."

The entrance of the Germans into the Saracen territory put an end to the truce, and Henry of Champagne found himself compelled to head an army whose assistance he neither asked nor required. But ere a blow was struck, this young and excellent nobleman was no more. The balcony on which he stood to review the Christian forces as they marched out of Acre gave way, and Henry was killed by the fall. His death was followed by that of the emperor at Messina. While on his death-bed, he sent to Richard, with an offer of compensation for the sum exacted in the name of ransom, either in land or money; but before the messenger, who happened to be the bishop of Bath, could communicate with the king, the emperor died. As he had been so-

lemnly excommunicated on account of his iniquitous behaviour, Celestine, in spite of the representations of the clergy of Messina, refused, in pointed terms, to allow the body to be placed in hallowed ground, until Richard should signify his assent, and unless the whole amount of the ransom were repaid. This last article was never fulfilled, though no doubt promised by his family, as the burial at length took place. Frederick, his son, was crowned king of Sicily, an island rather conquered by English gold than by German valour, and with help of the same material the duke of Austria constructed the walls of Vienna. The succession to the vacant imperial throne was a subject of much interest. Two competitors came forward, in the persons of Otho, nephew of Richard, and Philip of Suabia, brother of the late emperor. The king of France, out of enmity to the house of Plantagenet, used all his influence to secure the election of the latter; but the pope sided with Otho, and gained the support of most of the German princes. Richard was summoned, as king of Provence, to attend the diet at Cologne, but did not appear in person; nevertheless Otho was elected emperor.

The obituary of distinguished individuals in this year was very great. Pope Celestine, the best of Richard's friends, and a man of excellent character, died at the advanced age of ninety years, having retained his faculties to the last, and was succeeded by Innocent III. The influence of the new pontiff was first employed in England to remove the archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he was jealous, from his office of justiciary. This he did by admonishing

him that the tenure of such a temporal dignity was incompatible with his duties as a churchman, and Hubert resigned without a murmur. His successor was Geoffry Fitzpierre, formerly justice of the king's court, under whose administration the burdens laid upon the people were grievously increased. Under him, too, the Forest-laws, with all their terrible penalties, which Henry II. had mitigated, were revived and put in force. The new justiciary, however, was by no means deficient in ability or valour, of which he gave a signal proof by suppressing a dangerous insurrection in Wales, headed by Gwenwynwyn, lord of Powis.

The truce between England and France expired in the course of the year 1198; and for some time previous, both kings made active preparation for the renewal of hostilities. Richard felt that a protracted war was far more injurious to him than to his rival, and that his authority in Normandy was sapped by these perpetual disturbances. He, therefore, was most desirous to strike some decisive blow which might cripple the energies of France, and force her king to agree to the terms of a general peace. This he expected to do by the assistance of his allies, the counts of Flanders and Champagne, to whom he was extremely liberal; and some of the French nobility now followed their example, and entered into a league offensive and defensive with him. The principal of these were the duke of Louvaine, and the counts of Bologne, Perche, and St. Giles, all powerful and esteemed noblemen, whose defection was in every way an irreparable loss to Philip. The count of Flanders began the war by

marching into Artois, and reducing St. Omer. Philip did not attempt to arrest his progress, but made reprisals, by ravaging the frontiers of Normandy. The hostile armies met in a plain between Gamages, a castle of Richard's, and Vernun, which belonged to his adversary. After a short engagement, the French army were entirely routed, and fled to Vernun, pursued by the victorious English. From Vernun Philip retired to Mantes, where he collected his scattered forces, whilst Richard, following up his good fortune, invested and took the important fortress of Courcelles. Before the news of its capture was communicated to Philip, he had advanced to its relief, and most unexpectedly was met by the English army on the way to Gisors. The field was fair and open, the parties well matched in point of strength and numbers; so that a better opportunity for deciding the great national quarrel could not have been found. The conflict was maintained for a long time with exceeding obstinacy; both kings were there in person, and encouraged their followers by word and example; but an impetuous charge, led by Richard, who bore three knights from their saddles with a single spear, threw the French into confusion, and finally into flight. The routed army, with the victors at their heels, took the road to Gisors; but the bridge over the Ethe was not strong enough to sustain the weight of the fugitives, and broke down in the midst. Philip, with many of his knights, was immersed in the stream. The devotion of his followers saved the life and liberty of their monarch; but all the French chivalry were not so fortunate. Upwards

of thirty nobles and knights perished in the waters, a hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, besides an immense number of inferior rank. The whole stores and baggage of the French likewise fell into the hands of Richard.

This was the most important action of the whole war, and may be looked upon as the decisive battle; for although hostilities were not immediately ended, and some places of minor importance were afterwards taken on the bounds of Normandy and France, such demonstrations were made merely in the way of petty reprisal, and seem to have been, so far as England was concerned, a kind of private speculation of Marchades, captain of the Brabanters, whose genius was peculiarly fitted for such predatory excursions. The nobility of both kingdoms were earnestly desirous that peace should be concluded; and the new pontiff, Innocent, ambitious of more fame than his predecessors by the establishment of another crusade, which this time should fix the boundary of the Latin empire, not at the Jordan or the mountains of Bethanopolis, but at the Euphrates and the Arabian frontier, despatched his cardinal legate, Peter of Capua, to mediate between the contending powers, and engage, if possible, their aid in the accomplishment of so glorious a work. It was not difficult to persuade Philip and Richard to yield their consent to a peace, of which the principal terms were these, that all the Norman possessions held by the former should, with the solitary exception of Gisors (and for that an equivalent was granted), be restored to England. That the treaty should be cemented by the union of Louis, the

dauphin, with Blanche, daughter of the king of Castille, and niece of Richard; and that Philip should cordially join in supporting Otho, whose right to the throne of Germany was still disputed by another competitor. But even on this occasion, when all past animosities ought to have been forgotten in the dawn of the newly-riveted peace, the king of France was malignant enough to revive the domestic jealousy which formerly existed between Richard and his brother, but which subsequent events and the amended behaviour of John had gone far to obliterate from the recollection of both. Philip declared that the prince had privately entered into a league with him for the separation of the Norman provinces from England—that during the whole of the late wars they had maintained a secret correspondence; and in proof of this allegation, he exhibited a document, by which John owned the king of France as his feudal superior, in case the disunion of the Continental territories should be effected by his means. Richard was poignantly mortified at this cruel intelligence, and, acting on the first impulse, deprived his brother of all the lands in England and Normandy which he held of the crown. John, who in this instance was certainly guiltless, although his former conduct had been such as to give a strong colour to the accusation, demanded to know the cause of this disgrace and injury, and on being informed of the particulars disclosed by Philip, not only denied them utterly, but sent a challenge to the king of France, claiming to be allowed the proof of his own innocence and the falsehood of the other, by combat, either in person

or by deputy. As Philip did not venture to comply, or even to notice the message, which by law and custom he was bound to do, Richard became convinced of his treachery, and restored the forfeited estates to John, with the assurance of more confidence than before.

Immediately after this event, Richard was called into Aquitaine, and from that province he never returned. It has been the fate of many of the greatest warriors in ancient and in modern times to perish in such causes as we, enamoured of their former glory, would call unworthy and vile. Alexander died of a drunken debauch; Hannibal, a hunted fugitive, by poison; Pompey, by the dagger of the assassin. Even so did Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the greatest monarch, as well as the bravest soldier of his age, who had ridden unharmed and always victorious through a hundred fields of battle—whose opponents were sultans, emperors, and kings,—perish at last in an obscure brawl with an obscurer vassal, and by the hand of a common peasant. The manner of his death was this.

Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, had discovered a buried treasure of gold and jewels within his own land, and on this being claimed for the king, to whom such waifs of right belonged, refused to part with more than a very small share. The deposit was probably considerable, else Vidomar would hardly have ventured to dispute the orders of his sovereign; but whether it was so or not, Richard determined to make himself master of the whole, and to establish his rights by force. From the report of the country, he was led to believe that the trea-

sure was lodged within the castle of Chaluz, a fortress belonging to Vidomar, and thither he marched along with the Brabanters. It is said that the garrison offered to surrender the place on condition that they should be allowed to retire unmolested, and that Richard replied he would grant no terms to thieves and rebels, but would take the castle by storm and hang every man of them above the gate. There is no doubt that he was much incensed against the people of Limoges, who had rebelled against his authority before; and it is quite possible that he used such a threat, and even intended to carry it into execution. The garrison, thus cut off from hope, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost, and mounted such engines as they possessed upon the walls. As Richard, accompanied by Marchades, rode round the fortress in his usual fearless manner to spy out the weakest point for the assault, he was marked from the battlement by a young archer whom some call Bertrand de Gourduin, and others Peter Basil. This man watched his opportunity, and, selecting a moment when the king was dismounted and directly opposed to his aim, discharged a bolt from his cross-bow, and transfixed the left arm of Richard just beneath the shoulder. The injury was so serious, that Cœur-de-Lion, finding himself waxing faint, regained his horse with difficulty and rode back to his tent, previously, however, enjoining Marchades instantly to commence the assault. This commission the stout Brabanter was not slow to execute; for in the course of a few hours the castle was taken, when every man of the garrison except Bertrand, who shot the fatal bolt, was hanged over

the gate. While the conflict lasted, Richard would not permit his wound to be examined, but lay on his couch listening with savage sternness to the cries of the combatants and din of battle. When all was over, he allowed the surgeon of Marchades' band, a rude operator at best, but the only one near, to proceed to the extraction of the arrow. This was so clumsily done, that the shaft came away, leaving the iron head buried in the flesh: an incision became necessary, which caused the royal patient much pain, and brought on speedy gangrene. Richard felt that his last hour was come; but as he never had dreaded the face of living man, so now he quailed not at the approach of death. With the utmost calmness and composure he proceeded to settle his worldly affairs; nominated his brother John as his successor in preference to Arthur, whose tender years and inexperience were not adequate to the task of ruling England and Normandy in such perilous times and when menaced by so formidable a neighbour as Philip, and he further ordered all present to take an oath of fealty to him who in a few hours must be their king. Three fourths of his treasure, likewise, he bequeathed to John, and ordered the remainder to be distributed among his old servants and the poor. To Otho emperor of Germany he left his jewels. These dispositions being made, he sent for a priest and confessed himself with much devotion, and then ordered Bertrand de Gourdon to be led into his presence. The young man, who expected no mercy and had resigned himself to his fate, bore an intrepid front, and boldly met the still keen glance of the dying monarch.—“What harm had

I done to thee," said Richard, "that thou hast taken my life?" "You slew my father and my two brothers with your own hand," replied the youth; "and you would have slain me also. Do your worst, and put me to what tortures you please. Willingly would I suffer far more than you can inflict, since you, the cause of so much misery and wretchedness, have received your death-blow from my hand." Intrepidity, even in his bitterest foe, was never lost upon Richard: "Young man," said he, "I forgive you my death; let him go, but not empty-handed;—give him a hundred pieces, and free him of these chains." Bertrand de Gourduin left the tent; but ere he had taken ten steps, a heavy hand was laid upon his shoulder, and the deep voice of Marchades whispered the death-warrant in his ear. The generosity of Cœur-de-Lion was in vain; for no sooner had his brave soul gone to its account, than the Brabanters seized upon their victim, and put him to a cruel and ignominious death. Meanwhile those stern warriors stood around the bed and saw their chieftain die. No wife, no sister, no brother, was there to do the last kind offices and close the eyes for ever. Far away from all whom he had loved in life, surrounded only by a band of rude and savage mercenaries, the lion-hearted Richard expired.

The day of his death was the sixth of April 1199, the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age. In compliance with his last instructions, his heart was sent to Rouen, and his body laid beside his father's at Fontevraud.

It is a serious task to meddle with the character of the dead. To heap indiscriminate eulogy upon them is worse than to flatter the living—to slander them without a cause is cowardice without compare. We should therefore feel much inclined to leave the character of Richard as it stands in our pages, illustrated by the detail of his deeds without comment, were it not—we speak with all humility—that many men are too apt, in forming their judgment of personages who, like Richard, belonged to an early age, to expect an individual perfection far ahead of the social and moral condition of the world as it then existed, and to advance a more exalted standard than was compatible with the limited opportunities of the times. There can be no doubt, for the experience of every year demonstrates it, that the highest degree of such perfection can only be attained by man, both in his general and individual capacity, through a close observance of the doctrines of the Christian religion. One book we have, which, if accurately followed, would be found a far surer guide even to the statesman than the most subtile maxims produced by mere human intellect; and it is truly satisfactory for all who believe in the purity of these tenets to remark, that in every state where religion is cultivated on the broad basis of such principles, the people are not only sure to advance in intellectual attainment, but also to acquire an actual supremacy over others who suffer their light to be obscured by the clouds of bigotry and superstition. We assign, as is most fitting and proper, the highest place in intellectual dominion to those who first broke the chain of spiritual thralldom, and revealed to a portion

of Europe the long-forgotten truth, that simplicity is the largest element in the composition of mental greatness, and that priestcraft is, and ever must be, the worst enemy of freedom. But we would no more, on that account, think it necessary, in discussing the characters of such men as Eugenius, Innocent, or Celestine, to bring them into comparison with Luther or Melancthon, than we would judge it necessary to apply the Christian principles as a test to the conduct of Brutus or of Cicero. We cannot expect that every man should be in advance of his own age. The pioneers of civilisation must necessarily be few; they rank amongst the exceptions of the exception, not of the generality of their race; and therefore, whilst we accord to them their full meed of honour, let us not put their supremacy to so base a use as to darken the lustre of their contemporaries, and still less of their predecessors.

Let us be fully understood. We have no right to apply a higher standard to the character of any man than that of the age in which he lived. Every age has its faults. Want of early training and command of the passions, pastimes which tended to encourage a barbarous and savage feeling, laxity of morals by example if not by precept, bigotry of the worst kind, and revenge glossed over by the sophistries of honour—all these did, more or less, brutalise mankind during the existence of systematic chivalry, and even its virtues were at best of a questionable nature. It was therefore obviously impossible that men who were brought up under such a system, whose very civil conduct was regulated by loose and pernicious laws, could attain to any high degree of perfection;

all that could be expected from them was abstinence from excess, and such an adherence to their own principles and faith as would prove their sincerity.

Following out this doctrine, we shall as shortly as possible make a few remarks upon the character of Richard: and first let us premise, that no historical personage has been more praised and blamed by writers of different nations and different creeds than Cœur-de-Lion. The early English authors represent him as a model of manly bearing—as faithful to his word, true to his friend, open-hearted, generous, and brave. Such is the opinion of those who had the best opportunities of ascertaining and observing his character; but some subsequent historians, acting as we think in diametrical opposition to the principle we have endeavoured to explain, have stigmatised him as cruel, deceitful, and treacherous; and one even goes so far as to say, that “his vices, which were numerous, undisguised, and prominent, flowed in a ruffled stream from their source; and if he had any seeds of virtue, overwhelmed in the current, they never sprang into life*.” These are hard words, and are, in fact, nothing else than the quintessence of such abuse as the French historians have always heaped upon Cœur-de-Lion. It is possible that the fault may be common to every nation, and, indeed, inseparable from humanity; but we cannot help remarking that the French on all matters which regard their country in the remotest degree, do testify a singular share of self-complacency and disingenuousness. Opposition to France, even when France was in the height of

* Berington.

her wildest frenzy, has always been considered by them as an enormous and unpardonable offence. The enmity between Richard and Philip was of itself sufficient to blacken the English monarch in their eyes; and if we are to believe their testimony, he was everything that was vicious, intolerant, and bad. Not so the Germans. That people, more allied to us in sentiment than the other, though not less strictly national, do not so readily permit their prejudices to warp their judgment. Their historians have freely blamed the emperor Henry and the duke of Austria for their unmanly and treacherous conduct; nor does any historical personage figure in their pages with more renown than "Richard Löwenherz," the royal prisoner of Durenstein.

Human characters may not unaptly be compared to pictures whereon various masses of colour are disposed. Some, though not the most vivid, are blended together so as to produce exquisite harmony—some are made up of the extremes of light and shade, and these dazzle the eye of the spectator. *Cœur-de-Lion* belonged to the latter class. In him there was no medium. From his father he inherited a hasty temper, which early independence served rather to increase than restrain. Hence he was essentially the child of impulse, proud and passionate of control; yet at the bottom of all his vehemence there lay a fund of excellence and good sense which ever and anon appeared, and which needed only circumstance to be more fully developed. There was nothing mean or vindictive in his character. We have seen, in the course of the preceding history, how readily he yielded to the wishes of the cru-

saders, and offered his cordial support to Conrad, when experience had opened his eyes to the inefficiency of Lusignan;—we have seen how, in spite of repeated provocation, he lavished his love and favour upon his brother John, and forgave his manifold offences almost as soon as committed;—we have likewise seen in what good part he took the remonstrances of the bishop of Durham, and even pardoned the man from whom he received his death-blow: and these surely are not the traits of a revengeful tyrant. The case is very different as regards Philip of France, with whom the enmity was mutual; neither is a national quarrel to be confounded with the actions of a king in a merely private capacity.

The conduct of Richard towards his father is a far more serious charge, inasmuch as it involves the double question of disobedience towards a parent and rebellion against a sovereign. We have already, in that part of our narrative which treats of these domestic dissensions, ventured to indicate an opinion on this difficult subject; and we may here again remark, that the very best-informed of the writers of the time touch so mysteriously upon the causes of those disputes, that the real truth, and consequently the amount of blame attributable to each party, cannot now be correctly ascertained. Enough, however, is said to convince us that neither father nor sons were guiltless; and by following out a very just and natural rule, we are inclined to bestow more censure upon the latter, since no errors which the first could commit in his private capacity ought to justify a crime like rebellion, especially in those so nearly connected

with the crown. There was, however, this difference between Richard and his brothers,—that the conduct of the last was wholly unprovoked, and arose from their own uncontrolled ambition; whilst Richard had certainly some show for his resistance, in the refusal of Henry to deliver his affianced bride, even though that refusal should be ascribed to some other cause than the suspected one, and in the attempt to set aside his succession to the throne in favour of a younger brother.

Richard has been often and justly blamed for his inattention to the interests of his subjects. But we must remember, while we fully concur in the doctrine that a monarch holds his authority merely for the good of his people, and is not justifiable for using it in any other way than that most calculated to promote their prosperity, that such ideas, if they ever prevailed before, were materially affected by the Norman Conquest. That great event in the history of our country was not a revolution, but an invasion, in the strongest sense of the word. The new dynasty were compelled to maintain their place by force of arms; and in such circumstances it was not to be expected that the reciprocal kindly feeling of constitutional king and loyal subjects, essentially based upon mutual support, could be either strong or cordial. In fact, society was then in a very singular state. The feudal power of nobility was not broken; but the crown, as in the case of Henry, was aware of the absolute necessity of restraining it, and had accordingly struck some shrewd blows at its foundation. So this huge phantom of

authority stood tottering between the king and the people, menacing each by turns, and yet acting as an effectual barrier between them. Richard was undoubtedly exorbitant in his demands upon the public purse. Personally he was not a spendthrift, and did not waste the money so acquired upon empty pageantry or mere sensual indulgence; but the wars with France, to which he was constantly challenged by his restless and envious neighbour, rendered such exactions necessary; unless Normandy, at that time the brightest jewel of the British crown, was to be ceded without a struggle to a foreign power. Even if Richard had the wish, it is doubtful whether he could have done much, at least in person, to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. All internal changes in the administration of a country should be approached with extreme caution; for though it is easy to launch a stone from the top of a precipice by the mere exertion of a finger, it may baffle human strength to arrest its progress when once set in motion. Had the barons combined against Richard as they did against his successor when the granting of Magna Charta was the result, how would such a movement have affected England, except to cause the probable loss of Normandy, and possibly an insular invasion? No one but a fool will deny that change is sometimes necessary; but it is only in peaceful seasons and prosperous times that such a task can be attempted with safety, or brought to conclusion without the chance of disastrous failure.

As a warrior Richard is certainly entitled to rank amongst the most distinguished of ancient or of

modern times. The field of his exploits was indeed circumscribed when compared with that of others; but such as it was, it offers to our view as dazzling a train of splendid successes as ever fell to the lot of king or chieftain to achieve. We cannot—we dare not bestow an unqualified eulogy upon the warrior, whose highest trophies ought, if men were more perfect than they are, to be regarded as the monuments of human folly and crime—the sepulchres reared above a field of battle, to remind the passer-by how much that was fair and beautiful and young perished in one hour in the full bloom of their existence, and were laid in their mother earth ere yet her arms were ready to receive them. But yet, while we grieve that so dark an infatuation should have existed, and that men should so far have darkened the light of reason as to rival—nay, to exceed the beasts of the forest in insatiable appetite for blood, let us not forget that we, in modern times, are not wholly exempt from the same grievous stain, and that our wars, when the full blaze of heavenly light is streaming around, will, if there be any truth in the Gospel, be visited with a severer retribution than those which originated from error, and professed, like the crusades, some motive which might be attributed to a fond but devotional error. We are not Utopian in our own views; nor do we think that as society is presently constituted, with so many conflicting interests abroad, that an appeal to arms will never more be made; but we do trust and believe that, in his own good time, the great Father of all will

so dispose the hearts of his children, that the reign of love and peace will descend upon earth, and that the contests of nations, and all their consequent misery and woe, will be, to the then purified world, as much a subject of wonder and of pity, as the crusades are now to us, who live beyond the sphere of religious fanaticism and folly.

NOTES.

NOTE A. Page 146.

Letter of John Thiery, eleventh grand-master of the Temple, written after the Battle of Tiberias, A. D. 1187, and addressed to the absent Brethren.—Translated from the Latin.

“ Brother Thiery, styled grand-master of the poor-house of the Temple, and the reduced and almost annihilated convent of the Brethren, to all preceptors and others of the order to whom these letters may come—health and grace in Him whom sun and moon adore. Brethren ! neither by letters, nor by words, is it possible for us, in full, to express to you the terrible calamities, which the wrath of God, kindled by our sins, hath at present heaped upon us.

“ The Saracens being collected in prodigious numbers, began to enter the territories of our Christian people. We, with the intent to drive them back, assembled our troops, and marched against them on the eighth day after the feast of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and directed our course towards Tiberias, which place, with the exception of the castle, they had already taken.

“ There the enemy encountered us amongst the rocks, and fell upon us so fiercely, that they took our king and

the sacred Cross, and slew the whole of our army. Of the Brethren we are firmly assured that two hundred and thirty were beheaded on the same day, beside those sixty who fell on the first of May. The count of Tripoli, the lord Reginald of Sidon, the lord Balian and ourselves, escaped with difficulty from that most disastrous field.

“After this the Heathen, being drunk with the blood of our Christians, straightway marched with their whole force against Acre, which city they took by storm, and ravaged the whole country around; Jerusalem, Ascalon, Tyre, and Berytus, are now the only cities left to us and to Christendom. Nor, since almost all the inhabitants are slain, can we, in anywise, preserve even these, without God’s assistance and yours, and that right speedily. Even now the Saracens are encamped before Tyre, and cease not by day or night to attack the walls; and so great is the number of their swarms, that like ants they cover the whole surface of the earth from Tyre to Jerusalem, and even as far as Gaza.

“Therefore, brethren, we charge you that with your utmost speed, ye hasten to the relief of us, and to the aid of the Christian cause in the East, which at this moment is in the utmost jeopardy; so that by the help of God, and by the valour of your brotherhood, we may yet sustain and preserve our remaining cities. Farewell.”

Dupuy—Histoire de l’Ordre Militaire des Templiers.

NOTE B. Page 190.

The crusaders, after this wholesale murder of their captives, ripped the dead bodies open, in search of gold and jewels which might have been swallowed. Hoveden states that the disgusting quest was successful:—“Numerus autem interfectorum erat quinque millia Paganorum, quos

omnes Christiani eviscaverunt, et aurum et argentum multum invenerunt in visceribus eorum." But this was not their only object, for he adds, immediately, that they extracted the galls of the Saracens for medicinal purposes,—“et fel eorum usui medicinali servaverunt.” The effects of this heathen medicine upon the Christian constitutions are not stated, but it is possible that it acted with the same potency as mummy, a drug which, so late as the times of Sir Thomas Browne, was in high repute among the learned faculty. This singular attention on the part of the crusaders to the interests of science, no doubt gave rise to the report that Richard and his followers were a legion of cannibals, who, failing the supply of their favourite provision at home, had projected an expedition to Palestine for the purpose of battenning upon the Saracens. True, there is no proof that Saladin or his followers evinced much terror for the Christian jaws; it was reserved for a troubadour to discover and celebrate this notable appetite of his countrymen. There exists among the old romances one entitled the Gestes of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, which professes to give a full and particular account of the achievements in the Holy Land. This work is a singular mixture of superstition, absurdity, falsehood, and fact; and is otherwise remarkable as referring to a period of history far posterior to that of the other romances, wherein king Arthur, Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hamptoun, sir Triamour, sir Eglamour of Artoys, and such like fabulous heroes, are celebrated. It is to be hoped that Homer is more veracious in his chronicle of “Troy town,” than the author of this romance, else Achilles and Hector, Priam and Agamemnon, in whose identity we have been accustomed to believe, must fade away into phantoms of mere conjecture.

According to this romance, Richard was twice in Palestine, and it was upon his return from the first of these

expeditions that he was captured by the "king of Almayne." The account of his second voyage to the Holy Land is tolerably accurate, and not glaringly inconsistent with history ; but so soon as he lands at Acre, all truth is discarded, and the poet revels in the wildest creations of fancy that ever emanated from the brain of a troubadour. Richard fell sick at Acre, and his first sensation on recovery from the fever, was an irresistible longing for pork. But neither pork nor pig were plentiful in Palestine, and Richard might have died unsatisfied, had not a sufficient substitute been discovered. In the words of the romance,—

An old knight with Richard biding
 When he heard of that tiding,
 That the kingis wants were swyche,
 To the steward he spake privilyche.
 " Our lord the king is sick, I wis,
 " After pork he a-longed is ;
 " Ye may finde none to selle ;
 " No man so hardy as him to telle !
 " If he did, he might dye.
 " Now behoves to done as I shalle saye.
 " That he wete nought of that,
 " Takes a Saracen yonge and fatte ;
 " In haste let the thieffe be slayne,
 " Opened and his hide off flayne ;
 " And sodden, full hastily,
 " With powder and with spicery,
 " And with saffron of good colour.
 " When the king feels thereof savour,
 " When he has a good taste,
 " And eaten well a good repast,
 " And supped of the brewis a sup,
 " Slept aftere, and swet a drop,
 " Thorough Godis help and my consail
 " Soon he shall be fresh and haill."
 The sooth to say, at words few,
 Slain and sodden was the heathen shrew.
 Before the king it was forth brought—
 Quod his men, " Lord ! we have pork sought ;

"Eates and suppis of the brewis sweete
 "Through grace of Godde it shall be your boot!"
 Before king Richard carff a knight,
 He ate faster than he carve might,
 The king ate the flesh and gnaw the bones,
 And drunk well after for the nonce,
 And when he had eaten enough,
 His folk them turned away, *and leuch!*—
 He lay still and drew in his arm,
 His chamberlain then wrapped him warm.
 He lay and slept and swet a stund*,
 And became whole and sounde,
 King Richard clad him and arose
 And walked about him in the close.

Although boiled Saracen agreed so well with the royal stomach, his followers thought it advisable to keep the jest to themselves, and Richard would in all probability have remained ignorant of his kitchen economy, had not a skirmish with Saladin again awakened his appetite.—

"Bring me," said Cœur-de-Lion,

"The head of that ilke swine
 That I of ate!"
 Quod the cook, "That head I ne have."
 Then said the king, "So Godde me save,
 "But I see the head of that swine
 "For sooth thou shalt lesen thine."
 The cook, save none other mot be,
 He brought the head and let him see:
 He fell on knees, and made a cry,
 "Lo here the head! my Lord—mercy!"
 The swarte face when the king seeth
 His black beard and white teeth,
 How his lippes grinned wide—
 "What devil is this?" the king cried,
 And 'gan to laugh as he were wode,
 "What! is Saracens flesh thus good?
 "That never erst, I not wist.
 "By Goddes death, and his up-rist,
 "Shall we never die for default,
 "While we may, in any assault,

* Hour.

" Slee Saracens, the flesh may take
 " And seethen, rosten, and do them bake,
 " And gnawen their flesh to the bones!
 " Now that I have proved it ones,
 " For hunger ere I be woe
 " I and my folk shall eat moe."

This discovery was far too valuable to be neglected. The other crusaders thought with much reason that the food which their monarch relished so well would not disgrace meaner mouths, and when the garrison of Acre surrendered, the victors gloated upon their captives with the eyes of natives of New Zealand. The only restraint upon their appetites was the promise of a large ransom from Saladin, but as this was not forthcoming at the appointed time, Richard again gave way to his passion for the substitute of pork. He courteously invited the ambassadors of the sultan to dinner, and gave private orders that the heads of the principal prisoners should be struck off, cleansed, boiled, and placed as a particular delicacy before each of his guests. The horror of the Saracens at this new display of viands was great, but greater still was their astonishment when they beheld Richard fall furiously upon the head placed before him.—

Every man then poked other ;
 They said, " This is the devils brother
 " That slays onr men and thus them cats ! "

Richard at last condescended to enter into the following explanation, and defence of cannibalism :—

King Richard spake to an old man,
 " Wendes home to your soudan !
 " His melancholie that you abate
 " And sayes that ye came too late,
 " Too slowly was your time yguessed ;
 " Ere ye came the meat was dressed,

" That men shoulde serve with me
 " Thus at noon and my meynie.
 " Say him, it shall him nought avail,
 " Though he for-bar us our vitail,
 " Bread, wine, flesh, fish, salmon and conger
 " Of us none shall die with honger,
 " While we may wenden to fight,
 " And slay the Saracens downright,
 " Wash the flesh and roast the head.
 " With one Saracen, I may well feed
 " Well a nine or a ten
 " Of my good Christian men,
 " King Richard shall warrant
 " There is no flesh so nourissant
 " Unto an Englishman,
 " Partridge, plover, heron ne swan,
 " Cow, ne ox, sheep, ne swine,
 " As the head of a Sarezyn.
 " There he is fat, and thereto tender ;
 " And my men be lean and slender.
 " While any Saracen quick be,
 " Livand now in this Syrie,
 " For meat will we nothing care,
 " Abouten feast we shall fare,
 " And every day we shall eat
 " All so many as we may get,
 " To England will we nought gone
 " Till they be eaten every one."

No wonder the Saracens were shy of approaching Richard !

Reference has been made in the text to the unprovoked slaughter of the Christian captives by order of Saladin, as the only excuse for the decapitation of the garrison. Even if the testimony of Hoveden and others should be considered as sufficient to establish this fact, we might furnish a further apology by referring the reader to the cold-blooded massacre of the knights Templars after the fatal battle of Tiberias, detailed at some length in the sixth chapter of this volume, but it is far from our wish to extenuate unnecessary cruelty. The cru-

saders themselves had afterwards ample cause to regret their own barbarity, for until a negociation was opened between Richard and Saladin, every Christian captive who fell into the hands of the enemy was put to death, unless his rank was such that he could be exchanged for an emir. Bohadin, who kept a regular journal of events during this war, notes down the daily occurrence of these executions, and bears honourable testimony to the courage and devotion evinced by several prisoners at the moment of their deaths. Possibly the extreme valour which we have noticed as displayed by the knights, when surrounded by overwhelming numbers, may be attributed to their knowledge that, if taken, they would be led to instant death, and that their only chance of escape lay in continuing the combat to the last. On one occasion, according to Bohadin, a Christian female was taken prisoner, and immediately transferred to the harem of the sultan.

NOTE C. Page 228.

The Old Man of the Mountain has passed from the pages of history, and figures in those of romance almost as frequently as the Wandering Jew. Purchas, Mandeville and others have given long and detailed accounts of his singular territory and power, and modern poets have made him the frequent hero of their tales. So far as I know, there is no account extant of the extinction or dispersion of the Haussassiz, which probably occurred during some of the intestine convulsions which shook the Saracen empire in the East; and so this extraordinary dynasty vanished from the sight of Europe as suddenly as it appeared. As I have mentioned in the text the authority which the Ancient exercised over his

tribe, I shall here give an illustration in the narrative of a visit which Henry of Champagne, when king of Jerusalem, paid to the sheikh at his own particular desire. I quote from the pages of Bernard le Trésorier, a fluent and ingenious, though sometimes inaccurate author:—"Le sire des Hassesis oi dire que le cuens Henri estoit en Erminie, si li manda en priant que au repairier d'Ermenie s'en venist par lui, et il lui en sauoit bon gré; car il le desiroit mult à veoir. Le cuens li manda qu'il iroit volentiers, et il si fist. Quant le sire des Hassesis sot que le cuens venoit, il ala à l'encontre et le receut mult liement et à grant honor, et le mena par sa terre et par ses chastiaus, tant qu'il vint un jor devant un chastel. En cel chastel avoit une haute tor; sur chacun crenet avoit deux homes tous blans vestus. Li sira des Hassesis li dist: 'Sire, vos homes ne feroient por vos ce que li mien feroient por moi—Sire, dist-ilcc puet bien estre.' Le sire des Hassesis s'ecria, et deus de ses homes qui sus les creniaux estoient se lancierent à val, et se bruissierent les cous. Le cuens s'en merveilla mult, et dist vourment n'avoit-il home qui ce fist por li. Cil dist au conte: 'Sire, sc vous volés, je ferai tous ceus que vous vées là sus saillir à val.' Le cuens responde ne nul," &c.—"The lord of the Haussassiz having heard that the count Henry was in Armenia, sent to him with a request, that on his return from that country he would visit his dominions, assuring him of a good reception, as he had long wished to behold him. The count replied, that he would willingly do so, and went accordingly. When the lord of the Haussassiz heard of the count's approach, he went to meet him, received him with great affability and honour, and conducted him through his territory and fortresses, until one day they arrived before a castle. This castle was surmounted by a large tower, and at each embrasure stood two men clothed all in

white. Then said the lord of the Haussassiz:—‘Sir count, your men will not do for you what my men will do for me.’—‘Sir,’ said the count, ‘that may well be.’ Whereupon the lord of the Haussassiz gave the word, when two of the men who were upon the tower leaped down, and their necks were broken. The count was much amazed at this, and said, that in truth he had no men who would do the same for him. Then said the other, ‘Sir, if you desire it, I will make every one of those whom you see upon the tower leap down in like manner.’ The count refused, and when he had tarried so long as he listed in the country of the Ancient, he took his leave. The lord of the Haussassiz made him a magnificent present of jewels, appointed him an escort to his own country, and told him, that in return for the honour he had conferred by this visit, he would always be his ally; and if any nobleman did aught to displease him, he prayed the count to inform him thereof, and he would cause the offender to be slain.” This is a remarkable anecdote, but by no means improbable, for Henry of Champagne was both with Christians and Saracens the most popular monarch that ever reigned in Syria, and the fact of his visit to the Ancient is otherwise established.

NOTE D. Page 251.

This chivalrous anecdote of Malek al Adel is recorded by almost every historian, but Bernard le Trésorier tells it “with a difference:”—“Salahadin demanda à ses homes pourquoi il fuioient. Il distrent que le roi d’Engleterre estoit arrivé à Jaffe, mult de ses homes occis et pris, et le chastel rescous. Salahadin lor demanda où il estoit. Il respondirent, ‘Sire, véés le là sus ce tertre tout à pié avec ses homes.’—‘Comment,’ dist Salahadin, ‘est roi à

pié entre ses homes? il n'afiert pas.' Lors li envoya Salahadin un cheval, et encharja au message que il li deist que tel home com il estoit ne deust pas estre à pié entre ses homes en tel peril. Le serjant fist le commandement son seignor. Le roi l'en mercia. Lors fist monter desus le cheval un sien serjant et poindre devant li. Quant cil out esperoné le cheval, et il cuida retourner, ce ne fust james, ains l'emporta le cheval maugré sien en l'ost des Sarrazins. Salahadin fu mult honteus de ce. Il fist un autre cheval appareillier."—"Saladin inquired of his men the cause of their flight; they replied that the king of England had arrived at Joppa, taken and slain many of his people, and rescued the fortress. Saladin asked them where he was, and they replied—"My lord, you see him there upon the hillock with his men.' 'How!' cried Saladin, 'the king on foot among his soldiers? That ought not to be.'" Whereupon Saladin sent him a horse, and charged the messenger to tell him that such a personage as he should not remain on foot among his soldiers, and in such jeopardy. The messenger fulfilled his lord's command, went to the king and presented him with a horse on the part of Saladin. The king thanked him for the courtesy, but desired one of his men-at-arms to mount and pass on before him. The rider did so; but when he spurred the horse and attempted to turn back, he could not, but in spite of his exertions the horse carried him into the camp of the Saracens. Saladin was much annoyed at this, and ordered another horse to be sent." The author of the romance of Richard Cœur-de-Lion has fallen in with this anecdote, and with inimitable absurdity has converted it into a necromantic legend. He makes Saladin by aid of a magician summon up two fiends in the likeness of a mare and her colt. The mother is reserved for the sultan, but the colt is presented to Richard, who

it was thought would ride the infernal charger in the field. Now be it known, that the colt had received instructions to kneel down and suckle its dam, so that the king would in a manner be placed in the sultan's power, and either slain or taken prisoner before he could disentangle himself from this awkward position. But the heavenly powers keep watch over Richard, and the night before the battle an angel appears, who reveals the treachery of the sultan, and suggests the means for defeating it. Richard stops the ears of the fiend-horse with wax, so that he cannot hear the neighing of the dam, and having fixed across his saddle-bow a tremendous beam of wood, forty feet long, rides straightway into the middle of the combat, where he unhorses Saladin, and bears down with the beam twenty of the infidels on each side of his saddle. If the reader should feel any curiosity to peruse more of this extraordinary romance, he is referred to the Specimens by Mr. Ellis, wherein an excellent abridgement of the whole is given.

NOTE E. Page 276.

The passion of Richard for minstrels and minstrelsy is well known. Amongst the Troubadours who waited upon his person, Bertrand de Born and Blondel de Nésle were the most conspicuous. The name of the latter will always be associated with the history of his master's imprisonment, so universal is the belief even to this day, that it was by means of a song chaunted beneath the windows of Schloss Durenstein, and answered by the royal captive, that the place of his detention was discovered. I will not venture to pronounce this story an entire

fabrication, as there is nothing improbable in the circumstances usually stated; but as I have been unable, after the most minute investigation, to find it corroborated by the testimony of any veracious author, I have not thought proper to allude to it in the text. Two of the poems attributed to Richard have been handed down to our times, and certainly display considerable poetic power. The most famous of these, the "*Sirvente*," which he wrote in prison, has been twice at least translated into English; but as both versions, though otherwise elegantly executed, appear to me too free to give an adequate idea of the original, I have attempted another, and prefix the two first stanzas in their oldest Provençal dress, in order that the reader, if curious in such obsolete lore, may peruse that part of the poem as it probably came from the pen of Cœur-de-Lion* :—

I.

Jà nul hom prèns non dirà sa razon
 Adreitamen, se come hom doulen non;
 Mas per conort pot el faire canson.
 Prou ha d'amiez, ma paùre son li don!
 Honta y auran se por ma rehezon
 Souy fach dos hivers prez.

II.

Or sachan ben mos homs e mos barons
 Anglés, Normans, Peytavins e Gascons,
 Qu'yeu non hai ja si paùre compaignon
 Que per avé, lou laissezse en prezon;
 Faire reproch, certas yeu voli non,
 Mas souy dos hivers prez.

* Since writing the above, my attention has been drawn to an admirable version contained in an article in Blackwood's Magazine for February, 1836, entitled "A Chapter on the Troubadours." A more valuable or scholar-like treatise on the compositions of this period has nowhere else appeared.

Lament of Richard during his Imprisonment.

I.

If one in prison may not tell his wrong
 Without derision or the chance of blame,
 For his own comfort let him speak in song.
 Friends have I store, and yet they leave me long!
 If ransom comes not, let them look for shame.—
 Two years—and still not free!

II.

For well they know, my barons and my men,
 Of England, Normandy, Poitou, Guienne,
 That not the poorest should in chains be set
 If all my wealth could buy him back again.
 I will not call them false or treacherous—yet
 Two years—and still not free!

III.

The captive hath nor friends nor kindred left,
 For gold is dearer than the dearest tie.
 Alas! I feel myself of all bereft;
 And if within this cell I chance to die,
 Shame be to them who let their monarch lie
 So long, nor set him free.

IV.

'Tis little wonder if I grieve and pine,
 When he, my lord, invades these lands of mine;
 But if he thought upon the sacrament
 We took together at the sacred shrine,
 I would not be this day in prison pent,
 But ranging wide and free.

V.

O ye of Anjou and of stout Touraine!
 Brave bachelors and knights of warlike deed,
 Did you but know the place where I remain,
 Would ye not aid your sovereign in his need?
 Would ye not rescue him?—Alas, in vain!—
 Ye cannot set me free!

VI.

And you, companions whom I loved so well!
 Of Pensavin and Chail, O speak for me!
 And let your songs thus much of Richard tell,
 That, though a prisoner in a foreign coll;
 False was he never yet, and shall not be,
 Whether in chains or free.

 NOTE F. Page 311.

Letter from the Old Man of the Mountain, exculpating Richard from all share in the assassination of Conrad, Marquis of Montserrat and Tyre.

“Vetus de Monte, principibus et omni populo Christianæ religionis, Salutem. Quoniam audivimus illustri Anglorum regi Ricardo necem Marchionis de Monte Ferrato a pluribus imputari, tanquam ejus machinatione ob quandam inter eos exortam simultatem interfectus sit, cum uterque esset in Orientis partibus constitutus: nostræ honestatis interest ad purgandam ejusdem Regis famam falsi criminis suspicione denigratam, hujus rei veritatem, quæ hactenus penes nos latuit, declarare. Nolumus alicujus innocentiam nostri operis occasione laborare, cum nulli immerito et insonti mali quippiam irrogemus, eos vero qui in nos deliquerint, Deo auctore, non patimur diu de illatis simplicitati nostræ injuriis gratulari. Significamus igitur universitati vestræ, ipsum testantes, per quem salvari speramus, quod nulla memorati Regis machinatione Marchio ille interfectus sit: qui profecto, pro eo, quod in nos deliquerat, et admonitus emendare neglexerat, nostra voluntate et jussione per satellites nostros juste interiit. Consuetudinis quippe nostræ est eos, qui nobis vel amicis nostris in aliquo injuriosi extiterint, primo ut nobis satisfaciunt

commonere ; quod si contempserint per ministros nostros, qui tanta nobis devotione obtemperant, ut se a Deo gloriose remunerandos esse non dubitent, si mandatum nostrum exsequendo occumbant, severitatem ultionis expetere. Audivimus etiam de prænominato Rege vulgatum, quod nos tanquam minus integros et constantes induxerit, ut de nostris aliquos Regi Francorum insidiaturos emitteremus. Quod procul dubio falsum et vanissimæ suspicionis commentum est ; cum nec ipse, Deo teste, tale aliquid circa nos attentaverit, nec nos homini immerito malum moliri respectu honestatis nostræ sineremus. Bene Valetē.”

THE END.

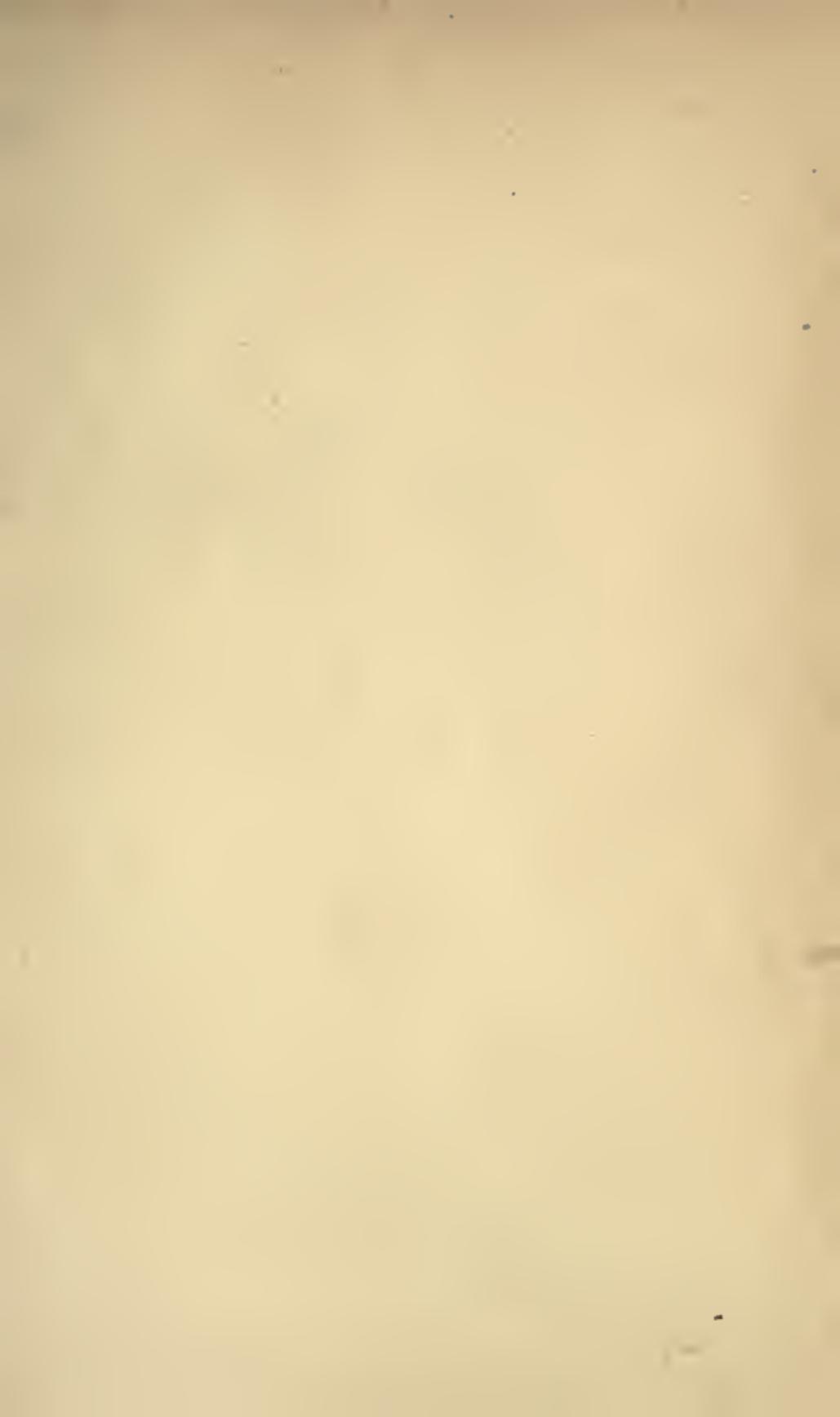
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