A

CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND.
A CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND

B.C. 55—A.D. 1485

WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED

BY

JAMES E. DOYLE

THE DESIGNS ENGRAVED AND PRINTED IN COLOURS BY EDMUND EVANS.

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LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.

1864.
THE following Chronicle, as originally written, was not intended for publication. It was undertaken during the author's youth, partly as a historic exercise, and partly as a simple and continuous narrative of the principal events of English history, with a view to pictorial illustration. The work, as it proceeded, but more particularly when it had reached the dimensions of a complete volume, attracted attention, and was honoured with approval in circles far beyond the author's own limited sphere and aspirations; and from none did it receive more indulgent commendation than from His late Royal Highness, the lamented Prince Consort. At a comparatively early period it was accidentally seen by the Messrs. Longman, and the idea of publication was then for the first time started; but the expense of reproducing the illustrations in fac-simile with the means then available, was found, on calculation, to be too great to warrant the undertaking. Subsequently, however, an improvement which had in the meantime taken place in the process of printing in colours, and its effect upon the cost of production, caused the question of publication in the matter to be revived, and the measure itself was at length determined upon. The literary portion of the work, as it stood, was approved of by those to whose judgment it was submitted; but the author himself was not satisfied with his early performance, more particularly as he had, generally, been obliged to rest his statements on secondhand authority. He, therefore, voluntarily undertook, not only to revise, but to rewrite the entire of his text, which he has
accordingly done; drawing his facts in all cases from the original sources, and where these appeared conflicting, carefully weighing the evidence. Into general questions regarding religion, laws, and social customs, he has not entered; nor has he given expression to any opinions or reflections of his own. Relinquishing the higher functions of the historian, he has been content to fulfil the humbler part of the painstaking chronicler. Even with these limitations, his greatest difficulty was to compress the matter within the prescribed space.

In the illustrations, the intention has been rather to express with clearness the action of the various scenes under description, than to give a series of attractive pictures; and whatever might contribute to the truthfulness of the representation,—costume, architecture, local scenery, and other accessories, and even personal portraiture, so far as authorities existed,—has been carefully studied.

With the copying of his works, it is sufficiently known that an artist is seldom quite satisfied, even when he is himself the manipulator. But considering the greater difficulty of the engraver in this case—the difficulty of copying, by means of block-printing, the tints of original drawings—the Author feels bound to acknowledge with thanks the creditable manner in which Mr. Evans has performed his part of the task.

JAMES E. DOYLE.

London, October 9, 1863.
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In the century before the commencement of the Christian era, Britain was inhabited by a population for the most part of Celtic origin. This population was composed of about forty tribes, varying greatly in numbers, power, and civilization. Those dwelling near the southern and eastern coasts were superior in all the arts of life to the rest of the inhabitants of the island. The Britons who occupied the western promontory (now called Cornwall) and the isles adjoining it, had been for centuries resorted to by foreigners for the sake of the metals with which their country abounded. They were skilful in working their mines, very hospitable, and their manners, from their long intercourse with strangers, had attained a certain degree of refinement. The maritime districts opposite Gaul and Germany were held by the descendants of Belgic and other invaders, who had at no remote period dispossessed the former owners of those regions, driven them into the interior, and established colonies, which nearly all retained the names of their parent states. Thus in Britain, as on the Continent, were settled in organized communities tribes of
Civilization

The Belgae, the Atrebates, the Hedui, the Morini, the Cimbri, the Parisii, the Senones, and other nations of the Gauls. The inhabitants of the maritime states, and especially the Cantii (or people of Kent), who were by far the most civilized of them, maintained a continual intercourse with their kindred in Gaul, and differed but little from them in dress, manners, dwellings, and mode of life. They understood the advantages of commerce. They had some manufactures and handicrafts amongst them. They were not unskilful in agriculture; and they raised more corn than was needed for their own use. They bred and employed the horse. In the south-east the population was dense, and the country thickly studded with buildings and herds of cattle. But beyond the limits of the maritime states every sign of civilization gradually disappeared. The tribes of the interior knew little or nothing of husbandry. They lived upon the produce of their flocks and herds, and their clothing was composed of the skins of beasts. Even this degree of advancement was unknown to the savages of the northern regions of the island, who wandered amongst their hills and morasses with but little defence against the severity of the climate, and depended for existence upon what they could obtain by hunting or fishing.

The government of the various British tribes was, for the most part, monarchical in form. The authority, however, of the “kings” was in general very limited, the real power being in the hands of the sacerdotal order, and in those of the multitude, which they swayed at will. The priests, (who were called Druids,) were the sole legislators; they decided almost all causes, whether public or private, civil or criminal; they decreed both rewards and punishments; they were exempt from military service, and from all public burthens; and they had power to strike the disobedient, (even the highest,) with a sentence of interdict and outlawry. The kings were but the ministers for executing their commands; and the most dignified function of these petty princes was to lead the warriors of their tribe when they took the field.

The British armies consisted of infantry, cavalry, and charioteers. The infantry formed the great bulk of their forces. They were rapid in their movements, practised swimmers, and expert with their weapons, but badly armed. Their axes, clubs, swords, and lances were fashioned of bronze, flint, or bone; and their only arm of defence was a small
light target. It was their custom, indeed, before engaging, to throw off everything that could impede their freedom of action; on which account, perhaps, it was, that in order to render their aspect more terrible to their enemies, they were accustomed to stain their bodies of a ghastly blue or green colour. The cavalry, provided with small but hardy and docile horses, and armed with swords and lances, were ready to fight on foot when occasion required. The charioteers were of two classes—the one using heavy cars, with scythes at the axletrees; the other, a lighter kind. Both combined the solidity and steadiness of infantry with the mobility of cavalry, and charged or fled with wonderful speed and dexterity.

The Britons of Celtic race observed the religion taught by the Druids. This was supposed to have had its origin in the island, and to have been preserved there in the greatest purity; insomuch, that those among the Gauls who desired to be more profoundly imbued with its doctrines, were wont to resort to Britain for the sake of study. Their gods, under other names, were those of the rest of mankind in that age. Mercury, as the inventor of the arts of life, was the chief object of their worship. His idol was the most common among them; and, after him, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, were held in deepest reverence. Beside the superior gods, every mountain, hill, spring, and river, was worshipped as a deity. They venerated all trees, but especially the oak. To propitiate their divinities, the Britons were accustomed to offer up the choicest fruits and products of the earth, to sacrifice animals, and even human beings. Criminals taken in the act were deemed the most acceptable offerings to the gods; but, if these could not be procured, the innocent were committed to the flames without scruple. Prisoners of war, however, furnished the most ample and the most unfailing supply. Nor were these human sacrifices rare. Whoever was in any imminent danger, whether from sickness, in war, or from any other cause, would devote a victim to the gods, for they thought that a life must be given in return for a life. In all religious rites the ministry of the Druids alone was employed; and it was part of their office to declare, from the posture and convulsions of the victims, and the flow of their blood, the good or evil fortune that was at hand for the nation.

The sacerdotal order was divided into at least three classes: the
Draids, the Bards, and the Ovates, who differed in rank, function, and dress. They were priests, soothsayers, astronomers, physiologists, poets, and musicians. To obtain admittance, a long probation was necessary, extending sometimes as much as twenty years. Their peculiar tenets were shrouded in mystery, communicated only to the initiated, and never committed to writing. Two doctrines, however, they were careful to impress upon the multitude:—the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration after death into other bodies; for this belief they held to be the greatest incitement to heroic valour in war.

Such was the people which Julius Cæsar, having apparently effected the conquest of Gaul, resolved to reduce under subjection, because, as he said, they had afforded secret aid to the enemies of Rome throughout nearly all the late campaigns. It was in vain that many of the British states, deprecating his wrath, offered hostages and obedience, hoping thus to prevent the invasion. The pro-consul was not to be turned from an enterprise which promised so easily to gratify his rapacity and his love of fame. He dismissed the envoys, however, with liberal promises, and exhortations to continue in their dutiful sentiments: and he sent back with them a Gaulish chief, named Commius, whom he had lately made king over the Atrebates (or people of Artois), and whose authority in the island was great. This man was to announce the speedy advent of Caesar, and to dispose as many as possible of the British states to receive him as a master. Commius proceeded on his mission; but he had no sooner landed, and revealed his object, than the Britons seized and cast him into chains.

Having completed his preparations, Cæsar set sail from the territories of the Morini on the 26th of August, 55 B.C., with the infantry of two legions. On approaching the British coast, he saw the high cliffs of that part of the island everywhere guarded by the armed forces of the natives. He therefore sailed along for about seven miles, until he came to an open and level part of the shore, and there he ordered his troops to land. The British cavalry and war-chariots, however, had followed the movement of the Roman fleet, and now appeared, ready to oppose the descent of the invaders. While the main body of the natives lined the strand, numbers rode out into the sea, and hurled their darts against the ships. The Romans, intimidated by the prospect of encountering at once the waves

Cæsar.
and enemies so bold and active, showed no desire to quit their vessels and commence the attack. Seeing this, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, after invoking the gods of Rome, cried with a loud voice:—"Leap down, comrades, unless you wish to betray the Eagle into the hands of the enemy. I, at least, will surely do my duty to the Republic and to my general." So saying, he threw himself into the waves, and began to bear
the standard towards the shore. The legionaries, shamed by his example, followed him in numbers; and, after a sharp contest, the beach was finally gained at all points. The defeated Britons then retired into the interior, whether the invaders did not think fit to pursue them.

Discouraged by this reverse, the islanders immediately offered to submit to the Roman general, and promised to give him hostages. But before these arrived, a violent storm shattered the fleet of Cæsar, cut off his communication with Gaul, and rendered his position extremely critical. The Britons, observing the slender force of the invaders, recovered from their first alarm, and suddenly recommenced hostilities. The seventh legion, while foraging, was taken by surprise; and a great disaster was averted only by the arrival of Cæsar himself with the rest of the army. The Britons followed up their advantage by a bold attack on the Roman camp; but having failed, they again sued for peace, which Cæsar readily granted, and hastened back into Gaul, without waiting for the hostages whom he had demanded. The proconsul had not accomplished much in this expedition; but the effect produced at Rome by his despatches was very great. The senate ordered that thanksgivings to the gods should be offered up for twenty days.

The next summer Cæsar returned to Britain at the head of five legions of infantry and four thousand cavalry. In anticipation of the danger, the natives had elected Cassibelan, king of the Cassi, to the supreme command of their armies. This prince resisted the invaders with skill and determination; but the genius of Cæsar, and the well-disciplined valour of the Romans, bore down every obstacle that could be opposed to them by the natives. Cassibelan was soon compelled to abandon the country south of the Thames; and the line of that river, which he attempted to defend, was forced. Unhappily for the Britons, they were not united amongst themselves at this juncture. The Trinobantes and other tribes had borne with impatience the ascendancy of the Cassi, and they now, in the hour of misfortune, deserted the common cause, and offered to submit to the Romans. Conducted by their new allies, the invaders advanced against the chief stronghold of Cassibelan, “a place,” says Cæsar, “strongly fortified both by nature and by art.” It was, however, at once carried by assault, and in it were captured a great multitude of cattle, the principal wealth of the British king. But Cassibelan was not
yet conquered. Whilst Caesar was pressing forward towards his capital, he had prepared a counterstroke, which, if successful, might have been fatal to the invading army. He had ordered the four “kings” of Kent, Cingetorix, Carval, Taximagul, and Segonax, to unite their forces, and storm the camp which guarded the Roman shipping. The assault was gallantly made, but the Kentish tribes were defeated, upon which Cassibelan gave up the contest. Caesar, having appointed a tribute, and received hostages for its payment, returned to Gaul. He had not discovered in Britain the treasures of gold, silver, and pearls which had been anticipated, but he contrived to obtain what was probably a chief object with him in undertaking the expedition—the fame of having added “a new world” to the dominion of Rome. This fame Caesar was careful to keep alive in the capital, by presenting to the Temple of Venus the Victorious the offering of a breastplate, richly ornamented with pearls, which he wished it to be understood that he had collected in Britain.

After the departure of Julius Caesar, the Britons enjoyed immunity from foreign invasion for nearly a century. The civil wars of the Romans, the necessity for consolidating the new empire, and the particular dispositions of the first three emperors, proved favourable to the independence of the island, which seems to have advanced rapidly in prosperity during this period of its freedom. Augustus, indeed, at times talked of completing the conquest begun by his uncle, but was diverted from his purpose on one occasion by a submissive embassy from the natives, and on another by a sudden revolt of the Salassi. In the end, he contented himself with levying moderate duties upon the British trade with Gaul and the Rhenish provinces. Tiberius, sunk in sloth, and fearing a rival in every successful military commander, repeated with affected veneration a saying of his predecessor, that the empire was already too extended, and made no attempt to enlarge its bounds. The mad Caligula, after making vast military preparations for the conquest of Britain, confined his exploits to a short excursion on board the imperial galley, to the collection of shells upon the Gallic coast, and to the erection there of a lighthouse, to commemorate “his victory over the ocean.”

The Britons might long have preserved their independence, had it not been for their quarrels amongst themselves. It was a son of Cunobeline, one of their greatest princes, who besought the intervention
of Caligula. And now, ninety-seven years after the second invasion of Julius Cæsar, the emperor Claudius, at the instigation of a British exile named Beric, determined upon invading the island; and he directed the senator Aulus Plautius to bring it under the imperial dominion. The Britons, under Caractacus, one of the sons of Cunobeline, made a vigorous resistance to the invaders; but Plautius, by the aid of light-armed German auxiliaries, quickly drove the natives over the Thames; and the emperor, who himself paid a short visit to Britain, gained a victory, and received the submission of the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, the tribes inhabiting the south-east corner of the island. Claudius then hastened back to Rome to enjoy a pompous triumph and the title of Britannicus, while he left the work of conquest to be pursued by his lieutenants, Plautius and Flavius Vespasian. The work, indeed, was scarcely yet begun. Vespasian had to fight no less than thirty battles before he subdued the Belgæ and the Durotriges, two nations which occupied the limited territory now forming the counties of Hampshire and Dorset, with the Isle of Wight. In one of these battles he nearly lost his life, and was saved only by the devoted courage of his son Titus, the future conqueror of Jerusalem.

In the meantime, Caractacus, and the Britons to the north of the Thames, opposed to the invaders a resistance equally obstinate; and, at the end of five years, the able Plautius, although constantly victorious in the field, was compelled to leave to his successor, Ostorius Scapula, the task of bringing the king of the Silures under subjection. At last, however, after Caractacus had maintained the unequal contest for three years longer, he was defeated by Ostorius in a great battle at the place now called Caer-Caradoc, in Shropshire. The wife and daughter of the British prince were captured; his brothers surrendered themselves; and finally, he himself was betrayed by his step-mother, queen Cartismandua, into the hands of the victor, who sent his illustrious prisoners in chains to Rome. Great was the interest felt in Italy, and in the metropolis of the world, to gaze upon the man who had for nine years held at bay the arms and the ablest generals of the empire. Caractacus in his adversity bore himself with a dignity and composure which noway abated even in the presence of the emperor. Claudius, on his part, touched with compassion, ordered the fallen prince and his family to be
set at liberty; and even (as some conceive) restored one of the royal brothers to a certain degree of authority in the conquered portion of his native country. It is added, that Caractacus, on traversing the imperial city after his release, and viewing its splendour and extent,

could not forbear exclaiming:—“Why, when possessed of such magnificence as this, do you covet our humble cottages in Britain?”

In the meanwhile, the Silures, undismayed by the loss of their heroic leader, maintained the contest for freedom with so much determination, that Ostorius, worn out by labour and anxiety, died before he was able to effect the subjugation of that nation. Under his two next successors, the Romans did little more than hold their ground in the island, which it is
even said that the emperor Nero had at one time serious thoughts of abandoning altogether, as a conquest not worth the expense of its retention.

Suetonius Paullinus, however, the third governor of Britain after Ostorius, revived the spirit of the Romans, and prepared the way for the permanent subjection of the island. This distinguished officer, attributing the inveterate hostility of the Britons to the instigation of their priests, determined to seize upon the isle of Mona (now Anglesea), the chief seat of the Druids in Britain, and thus to strike a blow which would weaken the influence of that powerful order. By his directions, the Roman infantry crossed the strait, now called the Menai, in boats; the cavalry partly by fords, partly by swimming. When they approached the sacred island, they saw the shore lined by dense masses of British warriors, along whose ranks ran women in dusky garments, with dishevelled hair, and, "like the furies," bearing flaming torches; while crowds of Druids, with uplifted hands, poured forth curses upon the heads of the invaders. Astonished at this strange spectacle, the Roman soldiers stood at first as if paralysed, but recovering their courage at the voice of their leader, they rushed upon the foe, routed them, and burnt the Druids in the fires which those savage priests had already kindled for their expected prisoners. A garrison was afterwards stationed in the island, and the groves dedicated to the cruel superstition of the Druids were cut down.

But while Suetonius was thus engaged in Mona, the Roman domination in Britain was in the utmost peril. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, a faithful friend of the Romans, had lately died, leaving his possessions to his daughters and to the emperor, hoping, by thus sacrificing a part to him, to secure the enjoyment of the remainder to them. Catus Decianus, however, the imperial procurator in Britain, instantly seized the whole; and when Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, exclaimed against this injustice, she was scourged as a slave, and her daughters outraged by the Roman officers. The Britons, already smarting under the tyranny and exactions of their oppressors (amongst whom the Roman priests and the philosopher Seneca are particularly mentioned), were exasperated beyond endurance by these crowning atrocities, and flew at once to arms. In a few days Boadicea found herself at the head of a large army thirsting for revenge. Camulodunum, the Roman capital, was burnt to the ground, and its
inhabitants, with the garrison, put to the sword. The ninth legion, hastening to relieve the colony, was encountered by the Britons, and almost annihilated: the cavalry alone escaped. Such was the strength and fury of the insurrection, that Suetonius, who at this moment had returned to London, (a place already famous for its trade), judged it impossible to save the town, and retired, taking with him the wiser and more timid of the inhabitants. London, and soon afterwards Verulam, shared the fate of Camulodunum. Seventy thousand persons, it is said, fell a sacrifice to the cruel vengeance of the Britons; but the infamous Decianus was not amongst them: at the first outbreak he had fled to Gaul.

During these disasters, Suetonius, collecting as he retreated his scattered forces, had taken up a strong position with ten thousand men, and there resolved to await the attack of the enemy. The Britons, elated by their recent successes, and eager to exterminate their oppressors, quickly followed upon the traces of the Roman general, and appeared, a countless multitude, in his front. Boadicea, attended by her daughters, was at their head. Clad in a tunic of various colours, with a gold chain round her waist, and over all a long mantle, her yellow hair floating behind her almost to the ground, and holding in her hand a spear, the queen of the Iceni addressed her troops in a fiery discourse, reminding them of their wrongs and exciting them to vengeance. The battle was long and obstinately contested; but it ended in a complete victory for the Romans, who retaliated the cruelties of the Britons by the slaughter of eighty thousand men, women, and children of these enemies. Boadicea, in despair at this fatal defeat, died by her own hand, of poison.

Notwithstanding the brilliant services of Suetonius, the imperial court, dreading further calamitous effects from the continuance of his cruel policy, recalled him, and endeavoured, through the milder rule of the three succeeding governors, to reconcile in some degree the minds of the Britons to the yoke.

The governor, however, who did most to consolidate the dominion of Rome in Britain, and to attract to it the good-will of the natives, was Cneius Julius Agricola. This distinguished man governed the province under the emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian for nearly eight years: and in the course of that time he gradually extended the Roman frontier to the mountains in the northern part of the island. Thoroughly subduing
the British tribes as he slowly advanced, Agricola secured the newly-conquered territory by the erection of a line of forts between the Frith of Forth and the Frith of Clyde. He next turned his attention to Ireland, of which he meditated the conquest, but prudently deferred that undertaking until he should have completed the subjugation of Britain. Reverting then to his main enterprise, the pro-pretor led his army in two campaigns against the Caledonians, a people who inhabited the country to the north of the Roman frontier. The first expedition added but little honour to the reputation of Agricola. In the second, the Caledonians, under their leader Galgacus, were defeated in a great battle on the Grampians; thirty thousand of their bravest warriors were slain on the field; and peace was thereby assured to the Roman province for many years.

In his internal administration Agricola was mild and just. "Knowing by the experience of others that victory profits little if it be followed by injuries to the vanquished," he reformed the civil government, lightened the burden of taxation, and treated the Britons with personal kindness and consideration. At his persuasion, the native chieftains abandoned their forest dwellings and came to live in the vicinity of the Roman stations. Their children gradually adopted the Roman language, dress, habits, and mode of building; and, too often, with the civilization, the vices of their conquerors. It was not long before the Britons, under the firm yet gentle sway of Agricola, became as submissive as the most ancient subjects of the empire; and, in his second campaign against the Caledonians, the governor had fearlessly employed as auxiliaries several cohorts raised in the southern parts of the province. So tranquil indeed did Britain remain after the departure of this wise and successful ruler, that for thirty years the island is scarcely mentioned in the Roman annals.

The quiet of Britain, however, though partly due to the moderation of the government, was still more the effect of the systematic withdrawal of the native youth, who were sent to serve their masters in other provinces of the empire, while their places were supplied at home by the Gaul, the German, the Thracian, the Spaniard, and the Moor.

Under the emperor Hadrian, however, the long peace which Britain had enjoyed was broken by the Caledonians, who, bursting through the chain of forts erected by Agricola, began to infest the northern frontier of the province. The increasing danger drew the emperor himself to
the island; and Hadrian, to restrain the incursions of these barbarians, ordered the construction of a wall of solid stone, extending from the Solway Frith to the German ocean. Eighteen years later, Lollius Urbicus, the proprætor of Britain under Antoninus Pius, advancing from Hadrian's wall, erected a new rampart on the old line of Agricola. These expedients were effectual so long as the Roman empire remained at peace within itself; but whenever the legionaries were drawn off from Britain to fight the battles of the various pretenders who grasped at the imperial purple, the Caledonians, and the Maeatae, a kindred tribe, surprising or eluding the frontier guards, spread terror and devastation far within the province. The evil had become so threatening in the reign of Septimius Severus, that the aged emperor, at the solicitation of his lieutenant, came himself to Britain to provide a remedy, and to inflict a signal chastisement on the rebellious tribes of the north. He penetrated far into the savage country of the Caledonians; but after his army had endured extraordinary losses and sufferings without being able to strike any decisive blow at the active and pertinacious enemy it had to contend with, the emperor found it expedient to accept a nominal submission from some of the tribes, and returned to Eboracum, the modern York. There he meditated upon the most effectual means of restraining any future invasion of the barbarians; and for this purpose he determined upon repairing and adding to the gigantic works of defence which had been erected by his predecessors. This design was carried out according to his intentions; and a force of ten thousand men, to be quartered in twenty-three stations along the great wall of Hadrian, was allotted for its protection.

Ere, however, this work had been completed, the Caledonians recommenced hostilities. Severus, worn out by old age and sickness, found himself unable to take the field again; but sternly bent upon vengeance, he gave the command of the army to his son Caracalla, and ordered him to put to the sword every man, woman, and child of the rebellious tribes. The emperor soon afterwards expired at Eboracum; upon which Caracalla, more eager to deprive his brother Geta of his share in the empire than to carry out his father's injunctions, hastily made a disgraceful peace with the Caledonians, and returned to Rome.

It is probable that Britain now enjoyed comparative peace for more
than seventy years. The barbarians of the north seem to have been completely restrained by the new fortifications, and by the efficiency of the garrisons; and though the rest of the empire was torn almost without intermission by the contentions of the various tyrants who competed for the imperial sceptre, it is supposed that Britain, during this period, admitted without much contention the authority of that one among them who had for the time obtained the predominance in Gaul.

Encouraged by these internal dissensions, the barbarian enemies of the empire at length began to encroach upon its frontiers at all points. Amongst the rest, the Saxons, a savage race, who occupied the coasts from the mouths of the Rhine to a point north of the Elbe, found their advantage in the general confusion. Issuing from their maritime lairs, they disturbed the commerce and infested the coasts of Britain and of Gaul to such a degree, that in the reign of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian it was found necessary to appoint an officer with large powers and the command of a numerous fleet, whose special duty it should be to keep these predatory tribes in check. But Carausius, the first "Count of the Saxon shore," was soon accused of employing his high office mainly to further his own avarice and ambitious designs. Maximian ordered that he should be put to death; whereupon, the admiral concluded an alliance with the pirates, gained over the Roman fleet and the army in Britain, and finally proclaimed himself emperor. The authority of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius—such was the style he assumed—was maintained with great ability against all his enemies. On the one hand, by means of his numerous fleets he swept the seas from the Baltic to the entrance of the Mediterranean, and kept at a distance from his island stronghold the arms of Rome. On the other, he chastised and restrained the Caledonians. At length, in the seventh year of his reign, Carausius was assassinated at York by his minister Allectus, a Briton (A.D. 293). The traitor then seized the government; but after ruling for three years, he fell in battle with the forces of the Caesar Constantius Chlorus. Britain now again enjoyed an interval of repose under the mild government of Constantius, who made the island his principal residence.

The Romans had not yet commenced their conquest of Britain, when they themselves began to be subdued by the missionaries of the
Gospel. The new religion spread gradually into every province of the empire, attracting within its fold the conquerors and the conquered alike; and two centuries had not elapsed, when it could be openly asserted, that “places in Britain, inaccessible to the Roman arms, were subject to Christ.” A third century had only just passed, when the manifest progress of Christianity in all parts of the empire brought upon it the last and most severe of the general persecutions. It was decreed, by Galerius and Dioclesian, that the Christian churches should everywhere be destroyed, and that a refusal to worship the gods of Rome should be punished by death. Fortunately for the Christians of Britain, they were at this time under the rule of Constantius Chlorus. Not that he ventured entirely to disregard the edicts of his superiors in the empire, but he confined the execution as far as possible to the demolition of the churches. Assembling the Christian officers and servants of his household, he told them that they must now choose, whether they would offer sacrifice to the gods, or leave his service. Part consented, part refused, to violate their consciences. But Constantius, retaining the Christians, dismissed the apostates; thinking, that those never could be faithful to their emperor, who could so easily betray their God.

While Constantius was ruling in the West, his son Constantine had been detained by the emperor Galerius at his court in a kind of honourable captivity. But Constantine, watching his opportunity, effected his escape from Nicomedia, and rejoined his father. He soon accompanied Constantius in an expedition against the Caledonians, on their return from which the emperor died at York, in July, 306. Constantine, who had already gained the affections of the soldiery and provincials, was immediately proclaimed successor to his father; and Galerius found himself obliged to recognize his authority. The new Cæsar remained in Britain for six years, during which his only recorded undertaking was another expedition against the northern barbarians. When he at length left the island to strike for the empire of the world, he carried with him large numbers of the British youth to support his cause. His triumph, and the ascendancy of his name and family, preserved their country in peace for more than thirty years.

In procuring tranquillity for Britain, however, the emperor diminished its importance. He placed it under the civil authority of the Prefect
of the Gauls, who had a "Vicar," residing at York; while the military command was divided between three high officers:—the "duke" of Britain, for the north; the "count" of Britain, for the interior; and the "count of the Saxon shore," for the eastern and southern coasts. The most important acts, however, of the reign of Constantine the Great, affecting Britain in common with the rest of the empire, were the Edicts, by which he successively tolerated, then emancipated and favoured, and finally established Christianity as the religion of the state.

Even before the emancipation of the Christians of Britain, they had been governed, like their brethren elsewhere, by a regular hierarchy. From the time of Constantine, when general councils of the Church began to be held, the British bishops at once took part in them. At the council of Arles, in 314, three of their number attended.

In the time of the emperors Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian, an event occurred which in its consequences proved most detrimental to Britain. The Roman soldiery stationed in the island, discontented with Gratian, conferred the title of Augustus upon Maximus, a young officer of much ability and ambition. Whether the usurper was, as some historians state, a Briton, or whether his influence in the island was due entirely to his personal qualities, it is certain that the cause of Maximus was espoused with ardour by the natives. Attended by what may be called a military emigration of the Britons, he passed the sea, and quickly possessed himself of Gaul and Spain. Gratian was murdered; Valentinian abandoned Italy; and even Theodosius the Great felt himself compelled for a time to acknowledge the new emperor of the West. The reign of Maximus, however, was not of long duration. In less than a year he was attacked by Theodosius, defeated, and beheaded at Aquileia. (A.D. 384.) Few of his British followers ever revisited their native country. The majority perished in battle; large numbers settled in the province of Armorica; while the island itself, thus deprived of its bravest defenders, suffered much from the Picts and Scots before relief could be afforded by the generals of Theodosius.

Under the feeble rule of the later descendants of Constantine, the old evils were renewed and augmented. The flower of the British youth were continually drawn off to fight in quarrels not their own: and, as the disciplined soldiery was removed, the barbarians resumed their incursions.
The Caledonians—from this time called the Picts—and the Scots, a warlike people from Ireland, turning in their barks the Roman walls, overran and plundered the province almost without resistance. The Saxons, too, renewed their incursions. The Britons wearied the imperial authorities in Gaul with their supplications for aid, but this could rarely be afforded. The vast empire of Rome was now tottering to its fall. Myriads of barbarians were pouring over the frontiers in every direction; and the emperors, instead of granting succour to a distant dependency, drained the island of its bravest inhabitants to defend the capital and the most ancient provinces of the empire. At last, the Britons, weary of relying upon those who were no longer able to protect them, determined to take their defence upon themselves. They deposed the Roman magistrates, took up arms, and repelled the barbarians; upon which the emperor Honorius, to save his dignity, formally authorized the British cities to provide for their own safety. (A.D. 410.)

The Picts and Scots. Decline of the Roman empire. The Britons independent. Their dissensions. They apply again to the Romans for aid.

Had the inhabitants of Britain remained united, it would not have been difficult for them to have defended the country against the enemies who were assailing it. But, on the overthrow of the Roman polity, the various states soon fell under the dominion of a number of petty chieftains, whose dissensions, while inviting foreign aggression, rendered combined resistance impossible. The Picts and Scots, therefore, increasing in boldness, pushed their attacks deeper into the country, spreading terror and desolation in every direction.

In this extremity, it is said, the Britons turned once more towards Rome for aid. They addressed to Aetius, the imperial general in Gaul, a moving supplication, which they called “the Groans of the Britons.” “The barbarians,” they complained, “drive us into the sea, and the sea drives us back upon the barbarians.” But Aetius, who was at the time contending with the innumerable hordes of Attila, could not spare a single soldier for the exigencies of an outlying province, and declined to interfere. At length Vortigern, the chief among the British princes, suffering from the odium which his vices had brought upon him, and despairing of being able any longer to make head against his enemies, determined upon engaging in his service the dangerous assistance of barbarian auxiliaries.

It was now nearly two centuries since the tribes known under the general name of Saxons had first visited Britain in quest of plunder. Occasionally
severely checked, but more frequently successful in their enterprises, these
pirates became familiar with the seas and coasts of Britain; and as the
Roman power declined, they gradually acquired a footing in the island,
first as mercenaries in the pay of the local tyrants, then as settlers. But
whilst part of the Saxon race was thus mingling with the Romano-British
population, and attaining a certain degree of civilization, their countrymen
still continued their predatory habits, and carried terror wherever their
name was known. "They are the most savage of all enemies," wrote an
ecclesiastic of Gaul, a little later; "where unexpected, they attack: where
prepared for, they turn aside. They make no account of those who
resist: they cut down those who suffer themselves to be surprised. If they
pursue, they overtake: if they fly, they escape. Shipwreck has no terror
for them, and does but exercise them in their calling. They not only
know, but are at home amidst, the perils of the ocean. They use the very
tempest, to conceal their advance, or to cover their retreat: and they
joyfully encounter the greatest dangers, in the hope of taking their enemy
unawares."

Such was the reputation of the Saxons when Vortigern resolved on
calling them to his aid. It happened that at this very time three of their
war-ships were hovering in the Channel, under the command of two
brothers named Hengest and Horsa, of the nation of the Jutes, and
who claimed to be descended from the god Woden. To them Vortigern
applied, promising great things if they would rid him of his enemies.
The Saxon chiefs readily closed with the offers of the British prince,
and landing their men, took up their quarters in the Isle of Thanet,
which was assigned to them as their own.

Hengest and Horsa lost no time in proceeding to the fulfilment of
their engagement. Uniting with the forces of the Britons, they marched
to meet the enemy, who had penetrated as far as the present Lincolnshire,
and the allies gained the victory wheresoever they came. For six years
the new defenders of Britain are said to have performed their part with
fidelity and success. At length, however, the numbers of the Saxons who
arrived, either by invitation or of their own accord, to join the standard
of Hengest, excited the jealousy and the resentment of the natives.
The hostile feeling which, from the first, had animated a party among
the Britons against the strangers, now extended itself even amongst the
Saxon Chronicle.
faction of Vortigern. A cause for quarrel had not long to be sought for. The Saxons having demanded an increased supply of provisions, the Britons refused it, and war broke out. In the sixth year after the arrival of Hengest and his followers, a great battle was fought at Aylesford, in Kent, between them and the natives under Vortimer, the eldest son of Vortigern. Horsa was killed in the fight, but the strangers were victorious. In two years more, Hengest and his son Æsc had possessed themselves of Kent. Eight years later, a vigorous attempt to recover that province was made by the Britons; but they were defeated by Hengest and Æsc, with the loss of twelve of their principal chiefs. On the Saxon side there fell a renowned leader named Wypped, in memory of whom the place of conflict received the appellation of Wypped's-fleet. Hengest reigned over Kent for fifteen years after this victory, and dying in 488, left the kingdom to his son Æsc.

Long before the death of Hengest, the peaceable enjoyment of his new kingdom had been secured to him by the establishment of another Saxon state on its western frontier. In the year 477, a fresh band of adventurers from the north, under Ælla and his three sons, disembarked at Cymensore, in the isle of Selsey; and, in spite of the determined resistance of the Britons, gradually made themselves masters of a district of country which formed, under the auspices of Ælla, the kingdom of Sussex, or of the South Saxons.

A little later, in the year 495, an expedition, under the command of Cerdic and his son Cynric, passing beyond the new kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, landed in Britain still more to the west. These invaders were obliged, on the very day of their arrival, to fight a battle, but they succeeded in making good their footing. So obstinate, however, was the resistance offered in the sequel by the Britons under their king Natanleod, that Cerdic was more than once compelled to send for succours from Germany, as well as from Kent and Sussex, before he succeeded in founding for himself a principality. In 508, Natanleod defeated Cerdic in battle; but as he pursued his beaten enemies, the British hero was attacked by a fresh Saxon force under Cynric, and slain with five thousand of his people. Still the Britons continued to resist, and it was not until eleven years after the defeat and death of Natanleod, that Cerdic, by the great victory of Charford on the Avon,
Cerdic, founder of Wessex, finally established his rule in the country thenceforth known as the kingdom of Wessex, or of the West Saxons.

In the meanwhile, fresh hordes of Saxons were pouring in along the whole eastern shore of Britain, where there had long been settled a kindred population; and in course of time five independent states were formed between the Thames and the mountains of Scotland. In 527, Erkenwin had erected his conquests into a kingdom, named Essex, or of the East Saxons. To the north of this, some tribes of the Angles, under their chief Uffa, established the kingdom of East Anglia. Still more to the north, other tribes of the same people, gradually acquiring the ascendancy, formed two kingdoms; that of Bernicia, under Ida, in 547; and that of Deira, under Ælle, in 560. At a later period, in 586, colonies of Angles from Deira, passing the river Humber, which formed the southern boundary of that kingdom, conquered the central districts of the island, and gave the sceptre of Mercia to Creoda, their leader.

In this manner were formed eight Saxon kingdoms in Britain. Bernicia, however, and Deira, having been frequently united under one ruler, have been by many considered as the single kingdom of Northumbria; and hence the Saxon states are generally known as the Heptarchy. The independence of the different kingdoms, however, was seldom strictly maintained, and it sometimes happened that one of the seven or the eight kings bore acknowledged sway over the whole or the greater part of the island. The title of the chief monarch was that of Bretwalda, or Powerful Ruler. In the course of two hundred years this supreme rank was obtained by seven kings.

Ælla, king of Sussex, the smallest of the Saxon kingdoms, was the first Bretwalda; but the causes of his supremacy over the Saxons who had at this time established themselves in Britain, are entirely unknown.

The second Bretwalda was Cæawlin, king of Wessex, the grandson of Cerdic. His right to the dignity was disputed by Ethelbert, the youthful king of Kent, who claimed it as the representative of Hengest. The rivals met at Wimbledon, where Ethelbert suffered a severe defeat. Cæawlin, having driven his competitor back into Kent, left him in possession of his kingdom, and turned his arms against the Britons, who were even then far from completely subdued. Though it was now one hundred and sixteen years since the Saxons had commenced the conquest...
of Britain, the natives still held their ground in districts so near the southern and eastern coasts as those which are now called Bedford and Buckinghamshire. Ceawlin, however, with his brothers, subdued those districts; and in 577, after a great battle in which three British “kings” were slain, brought under submission their cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. After many other conquests over the Britons, and after having added to his dominions the Saxon kingdom of Sussex, Ceawlin was expelled from his kingdom by his own subjects, aided by Angles and Britons, and he died in 593.

The Saxons were now masters of the greater part of Britain; and never had a conquest been more complete and destructive to the vanquished than theirs. It was likened, by a British writer, near the time, to the progress of a devouring flame, which, kindled by the barbarians on the eastern coast, spread over the whole island until, reaching the opposite shore, “it dipped its red and savage tongue in the western ocean.” The obstinacy of the resistance oftentimes provoked a war of extermination and a rage which gave every dwelling of man, every sign of religion and civilization to the flames. Vast numbers of the natives were killed in battle, or were massacred. The remnant either took refuge in the western recesses of the island, abandoned their country, or were reduced to the most abject slavery under the conquerors. Large bodies of exiles passed the sea, and occupied the western promontory of Gaul, then called Armorica, a name which thenceforward began to give place to that of Brittany.

The fierce animosity engendered by this long and deadly conflict had disinclined the Britons to offer, and would have made the Saxons reject, any attempt at religious teaching. The task of converting the conquerors of Britain was reserved for men of another race.

During the time that Ælle reigned in Northumbria, it happened that Gregory, afterwards surnamed “the Great,” then a simple monk in the monastery which he had endowed in Rome, went one day to the market-place of that city, where, amidst other objects set for sale, were slaves brought from distant lands. Amongst the rest were some boys, whose fair complexions, handsome countenances, and fine hair, attracted the eye of Gregory. He inquired from what country they were brought? He was told, from Britain. He asked whether these islanders were
Christians or pagans? He was informed that they were pagans. With a deep sigh he rejoined:—"Alas! that the author of darkness should possess men of such bright countenances; and that, so graceful outwardly, they should be void of inward grace." Inquiring further, he asked the name of that nation? and was told, that they were called Angles.

"Right," said he, "for they are angels in appearance, and ought to be coheirs with the angels in Heaven. What is the name," continued he, of their province?" It was answered, that the natives of that province were called Deiri. "Verily are they De ira," said he, "snatched from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ. And how," asked he, "is their king named?" They told him, "Ælle." "Alleluia!" exclaimed Gregory, "the praises of God must be sung in his kingdom."
Full of ardour to make the light of the Gospel known in the benighted land of the Angles, Gregory went to Benedict I., who at that time filled the papal chair, and urged him to take measures for the evangelization of Britain. As it was found, however, that there was a lack of men who would voluntarily undertake that difficult mission, Gregory offered his services, and was accepted. He had already set forth, with some companions, on his way, when the tumultuous demands of the Roman people induced the Pope to recall him; and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was deferred for some years.

While the attention of Ceawlin was directed to other quarters, Ethelbert of Kent, his defeated competitor, had gradually recovered from the humiliation which had followed the battle of Wimbledon; and, on the fall of his ancient enemy, (to which he probably contributed), he was enabled to cause his authority to be acknowledged by all the Saxon princes reigning south of the Humber. The power and reputation of the Bretwalpha procured him a bride from the royal race of the Franks; and his marriage with Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, a Christian princess, contributed in an important degree towards the future civilization of his countrymen in Britain.

Ethelbert had reigned in Kent for twenty-seven years, when Gregory was elected, in 590, to the see of Rome, and immediately resumed his project for the conversion of Britain. The first design of the new pontiff was to purchase young Saxon captives, and to educate them for the mission of evangelizing their Pagan countrymen; but the long delays which this plan would involve, and, perhaps, also the intractability of the neophytes, soon caused him to abandon it. He then ordered Augustine, provost of his monastery of St. Andrew in Rome, to undertake the mission, giving him commendatory letters to the heads of the church of Gaul. Augustine set out with a number of companions; but after arriving in Gaul, the missionaries became so disheartened by the accounts which they heard of the fierce and barbarous nation to which they were bound, and by their own ignorance of its language, that they deputed Augustine to Rome to represent the difficulties and uncertainty of the enterprise, and to obtain their recall. Gregory, in reply, commanded them to proceed, and sent back Augustine invested with the authority of abbot over his companions. "For as much," wrote Gregory, "as it
had been better not to begin a good work, than to think of desisting from that which has been begun, it behoves you, my beloved sons, to fulfil the good work which, by the help of our Lord, you have undertaken. Let not, therefore, the toil of the journey, nor the tongues of men predicting evil, deter you; but with all possible earnestness and zeal perform that which, by the inspiration of God, you have undertaken; being assured, that much labour is followed by the greater glory of an eternal reward." Thus exhorted and encouraged, the missionaries, on the return of Augustine, continued their journey across Gaul.

On their way, they visited, at Chalons, Theoderic, and at Metz, Theodebert, the kings of Austrasia, or Eastern Gaul, to whom they delivered the letters which Gregory had written on their behalf. From Austrasia they proceeded to the court of Chlothaire, king of the Western Franks, where they were received with equal kindness and favour. At length, having been furnished with interpreters from among the Franks (whose language was very similar to that of the Saxons), they arrived safely in Britain in the spring of the year 597, their company numbering nearly forty persons.

From the Isle of Thanet, the place of his landing, Augustine sent to king Ethelbert, announcing that a mission had come to him from Rome, with a message of gladness which would assure to all who received it the joys of Heaven, the kingdom of the true God. Ethelbert did not now hear of the Christian religion for the first time. His queen Bertha was a Christian, and had been attended to her husband's court by Luithard, a Frankish bishop, who had ministered there as her chaplain; but, apparently, the king had not hitherto regarded with any attention the faith of his wife, and that which was held among the miserable British slaves living under his rule. He ordered that the missionaries should remain in the island where they had landed, but that every necessary should be furnished for their use, while he considered what to do with them. Some days afterwards, however, the Bretwalda proceeded to the island, and directed that the missionaries should be brought into his presence. He had taken his seat in the open air, for he had been taught to fear that, under a roof, magical arts might be practiced upon him by the strangers. Augustine and his companions advanced, bearing with them a silver cross, and a picture of Our
Saviour; and as they moved they sang the litany. Having seated himself at the king's command, Augustine, through his interpreters, explained the truths of Christianity to the assembly. When he had finished, Ethelbert made this answer:—"Your words and promises are very fair, but as they are new to us, and of uncertain import, I cannot
assert to them, and abandon those tenets which I have so long observed with the whole race of the Angles. But because you are come from afar into my kingdom, and, as it appears to me, are desirous to impart to us also those things which you believe to be true, and best for us, we will not molest you, but, on the contrary, afford you kindly entertainment, and make it our care to supply you with whatever is necessary for your support: nor do we forbid you to preach, and gain as many as you can to your religion."

The missionaries were immediately allowed to take up their abode in the city of Canterbury, Ethelbert's capital, where an ancient Roman church, lately restored by the queen, was given to them; and it was not long before the innocence of their lives and their persuasive discourses attracted many to embrace the Christian faith. The king himself, after a careful examination of the life and doctrine of Augustine and his companions, came and received baptism; and his example was soon followed by great numbers of his subjects. At the Christmas of 597, more than ten thousand Saxons were baptized by Augustine and his fellow-labourers.

His mission being thus far successful, Augustine, according to his instructions, repaired to Arles, where he was by the primate of Gaul consecrated as "Archbishop of the English,"—his see not having yet been determined. The messengers whom he had sent to Rome soon returned in company with a fresh band of missionaries, and bringing for Augustine the pallium, the badge of metropolitan jurisdiction, with all things necessary for the use of the churches, and "many books."

Christianity now spread so rapidly among the Kentish subjects of Ethelbert, that at the end of six years Augustine found it necessary to establish a bishop at Rochester for the eastern parts of that kingdom. In the meanwhile the true faith was also extending itself amongst the people of Essex. Sabert, their king, the nephew and tributary of Ethelbert, had been induced by his uncle to give a favourable reception to the abbot Mellitus, chief of the second body of missionaries sent from Rome. Sabert listened and believed; and the success of the preacher was so great that he was soon raised to the episcopal charge of his numerous converts. His see was fixed at London, where Ethelbert built for him a cathedral, dedicated to St. Paul.

Augustine was anxious that the great work in which he was engaged should have the aid of the bishops of the Britons, who had preserved their independence amid the fastnesses of the western parts of the island; and as these had been placed by Gregory under his authority, he sought to open communications with them. A conference having been arranged by the intervention of Ethelbert, Augustine repaired to the Saxon frontier, and there twice met the deputies of the Welsh churches. To them he declared that all other points of difference should be tolerated, if they would consent to keep Easter after the Roman computation, administer baptism according to the Roman ritual, and join him in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. The British bishops, however, rejected all three articles, and the negotiation came to an end.

The introduction of the true faith amongst them was not the only benefit for which the subjects of Ethelbert were indebted to the Christian missionaries. By their advice, and with their assistance, the king bestowed upon his people an excellent code of laws, "after the Roman model," which served as a basis for all legislation during the Saxon period. Ethelbert died on the 24th of February, 616, in the fifty-third year of his reign.

On the accession of Eadbald, the son of Ethelbert, to the throne of Kent, a brief reaction against Christianity took place in that kingdom. Eadbald, who was still a pagan, married the young widow of his father; and finding the Evangelical law unalterably opposed to this union, he refused to listen to the teaching of the missionaries. Thereupon the heathen faction quickly recovered power in Kent: and the death of Sabert at this juncture proved fatal for the time to Christianity in Essex. Mellitus and his followers were expelled from that kingdom by the pagan sons of Sabert; and the Christian bishops, in despair, had even determined to abandon the island, when Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, made a last appeal to the king of Kent. It was successful. Eadbald, renouncing his unlawful union, was baptized, and ever after zealously promoted the faith of Christ.

The supremacy to which Ethelbert had raised the kingdom of Kent passed from it after his death; and Redwald, king of East Anglia, the grandson of Uffa, after a brief interval acquired the chief place among the Saxon princes. Redwald had at one time, during a visit
His partial relapse.

Edwin of Deira.

Generosity of Redwald.

His triumph.

Edwin, Bretwald.

which he paid to Ethelbert, embraced the Christian religion. On his return, however, to his own kingdom, the persuasions of his wife and of certain heathen teachers induced him to waver in the faith. Still he would not entirely abandon his new convictions; and, in order to satisfy at once the dictates of his own conscience and the prejudices of his pagan subjects, he had recourse to a strange compromise. In the temple which he had dedicated to the service of the true God, he erected a small altar, to be reserved for the worship of his former divinities.

On the death of Ælle, founder of the kingdom of Deira, his throne had been occupied by Æthelric, king of Bernicia, who, after reigning five years, was succeeded by his son Ethelfrith. In the meanwhile, Edwin, the infant son of Ælle, had been conveyed by some faithful friends into the territory of Cadvan, the British king of North Wales, and entrusted to his protection. In this asylum Edwin remained until the dominions of his host were invaded and his armies scattered by Ethelfrith, probably in revenge for the shelter afforded to the son of Ælle. After that the young prince wandered through the various British and Saxon states, until he found refuge in East Anglia. Ethelfrith, having learned the place of his retreat, demanded, with large offers of gold backed by threats, that Redwald should put the exile to death. Redwald at first refused; then promised to yield; and finally, at the exhortation of his queen, determined to protect his guest. Aware of his danger, the king of East Anglia instantly assembled all his forces, and encountering Ethelfrith as he advanced with much inferior numbers, defeated and slew him on the banks of the river Idle. (617.) By this victory Redwald obtained for his friend the throne of Northumbria, and for himself the dignity of Bretwalda, which he held until his death.

Edwin had been seated for some years on the throne of his fathers, when, having lost his first wife, (Quenberga, a Mercian princess, whom he had won in his exile), he sent ambassadors into Kent to ask in marriage the hand of Ethelberga, daughter of the late king Ethelbert. Eadbald, her brother, who still reigned in Kent, answered that it was not fit that a Christian virgin should marry with a pagan husband. To this objection Edwin replied, that he would do nothing in opposition to the Christian religion, and that he would allow the most perfect liberty of worship to his queen, with all her attendants, men or women, priests or ministers.
Moreover, he declared that he would himself become a Christian, if upon examination that religion should be found to be more holy than his own. Upon this the princess was promised to Edwin; and soon afterwards she was conveyed to Northumbria under the guardianship of Paulinus, one of the missionaries sent by Pope Gregory, in the year 601, to aid Augustine in his labour of conversion. Before his departure for the court of Edwin, Paulinus was raised to the episcopacy; and he was consecrated by Justus, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 21st of July, 625.

It was nearly a year before the zealous Paulinus was able to make a single convert from among the heathens of Northumbria. At length, however, the way to success was opened for him through the palace of Edwin himself. It happened at that time that a state of hostility existed between Edwin and Cuichelm, king of Wessex; and Cuichelm, instead of attacking his enemy openly in the field, determined to remove him by treachery. The assassin, whose name was Eumere, arrived at the court of Edwin on Easter Sunday in the year 626, and, under the pretext that he was an envoy from king Cuichelm, solicited an audience. Being admitted to the presence of Edwin, he began to deliver his pretended message, and then, suddenly drawing a long dagger from under his cloak, he rushed at the king. But Lilla, a thane of the household, though totally unarmed, threw himself on the instant before his beloved master, and received the deadly stroke in his own body. Such was the force of the blow, that Edwin was wounded by the point of the dagger; but before the assassin could renew his assault, he fell beneath the swords of the royal attendants, not, however, until he had slain another of their number, a warrior named Forthhere.

On that same night the queen gave birth to a daughter; and Edwin in his gratitude for the safety of both, which Paulinus assured him was due to the God of the Christians, placed the infant in the hands of the bishop for baptism, declaring that he too would serve that God, if he returned victorious over the foe who had sent the assassin. He was victorious; but though from that time he abandoned the worship of idols, he did not immediately fulfill his vow. He would listen to the words of Paulinus, but did not come to any resolution. He would sit alone for hours in deep meditation, pondering as to his future course. At last, after consultation with his most trusted counsellors, and after Paulinus had been
heard before them, Edwin declared in favour of embracing Christianity. Upon this the high-priest Coifi called for a horse and a spear (both of which were forbidden him by the heathen law), and riding in the midst of an astonished multitude to the temple of the idols, he hurled the spear into it. Having thus daringly profaned the sanctuary, he ordered the temple with all its enclosures to be destroyed by fire.

On the following festival of Easter, the king of Northumbria, with a large number of his nobles and people, was baptized by Paulinus at York.
York, in the wooden church of St. Peter the Apostle, which the royal catechumen had built whilst he was yet under instruction.

The sagacity and warlike skill of Edwin had rendered him the most powerful sovereign that the island had seen since the days of the Romans. His authority was feared and his rule obeyed by all the nations, save one, within the bounds of Britain. The islands of Anglesea and Man were also brought under his dominion. One state alone was graciously exempted from all exercise of his authority; — Kent, the kingdom of his brother-in-law, Eadbald. In sign of his high dignity, Edwin caused his banners to be borne before him as he rode, not only in war, but even in time of peace: and when he walked along the streets, a standard, of that kind which the Romans called Tufa, was in like manner carried before him.

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The success of the Bretwalda in the repression of crime and the maintenance of peace was so remarkable, that a proverb long current among the Northumbrians declared that, in the days of Edwin, a woman with her new-born child might walk throughout his dominions from sea to sea, without receiving any injury. And such was the thoughtful care of the Bretwalda for his people, that he caused drinking cups to be attached to the fountains which he had observed during his journeys.

"Nor," it is added, "durst any man touch them for any other purpose than that for which they were designed by the king, so much was he dreaded or loved."

Edwin had reigned most prosperously for seventeen years, for six of them as a Christian, when Penda, the pagan ruler of Mercia, and Cadwallon, king of North Wales, united together to throw off the yoke of the Bretwalda. They were encountered by Edwin at Heathfield in Yorkshire, and there a great battle took place, which ended in the death of the Northumbrian monarch, and the complete rout of his army. (Oct. 12, 633.) Edwin was only forty-seven at the time of his fall.

On the death of Edwin the Mercians and Britons overran the whole of Northumbria without opposition, the so-called Christian Britons everywhere surpassing their Pagan allies in cruelty, for Cadwallon had resolved that he would not leave a Saxon alive within the bounds of Britain. While, therefore, Penda after a time turned his arms against the East Anglians, Cadwallon remained in Northumbria to continue the work of vengeance. He slew in battle Osric, the new king of Deira. He slew...
by treachery Eanfrid, the son of Ethelfrith, who had been received as ruler in his father's kingdom of Bernicia. These were two apostate princes, whose short period of rule was afterwards known among their subjects as "the unhappy year." In the meantime, Paulinus, seeing no hope of better times, and no present safety except in flight, took with him the widow and family of Edwin, and gained a secure asylum in Kent under the protection of king Raedwald.

The triumph of Cadwallon, however, did not endure long, for Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, raising a small but determined band of Christians, suddenly fell upon the Britons in the neighbourhood of Hexham, and cut them off almost to a man, with their ferocious leader. Before the battle, Oswald had a large wooden cross made, and helped to set it up. Then, turning to his warriors, he cried in a loud voice:—"Let us all kneel, and jointly beg the true and living God that He will, in His mercy, defend us from our proud and cruel enemies, for He knows that we fight for the safety of our nation."

Oswald had no sooner ascended the throne of Northumbria than he began to seek the means of restoring the Christian faith throughout his dominions. With this intent he obtained from his own teachers, the Scots, a supply of missionaries, chiefly monks from the isle of Iona, who, under the guidance of Aidan, a man of singular meekness and piety, once more enkindled the light of the Gospel in Northumbria. And because Aidan was not well acquainted with the English tongue, the king himself, who during his long exile among the Scots had acquired their language, would often assist him, and would sedulously interpret his discourses to the officers and ministers of the court.

About the same period, the West Saxons, who had hitherto remained pagans, were visited and largely converted by Birinus, a missionary bishop from Italy. Cynegils, their king, having consented to receive baptism, Oswald, who in his quality of Bretwalda was in the province at the time, acted as his godfather on the occasion, and afterwards took in marriage the daughter of the royal convert. The two kings then, by a united grant, bestowed upon Birinus the city of Dorchester for his episcopal see.

After a reign of nine years abounding in good works, Oswald, at the age of thirty-eight, fell in battle with Penda and his Mercians at Maserfield. (Aug. 5, 642.)
Oswy, the younger brother of Oswald, succeeded him for a time upon the throne of all Northumbria. In the third year of his rule, however, the Deirans separated from Bernicia, and gave the crown to Oswin, son of the apostate Osric, but himself a pious Christian, and greatly beloved by his subjects. Oswy, thus rejected, would not suffer his rival to live in peace; and having at the end of six years driven Oswin from his throne, he did not rest until he had procured the death of that excellent prince. The crime, however, did not obtain for Oswy the kingdom which he coveted; for Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, was placed upon the throne of Deira, probably by the influence of Penda, whose power had now raised him almost to the rank of Bretwalda. That fierce barbarian had been long the scourge of all his neighbours. He had many times laid waste their territories; he had expelled from his realm Kenwalch, king of Wessex: he had already slain in battle two kings of the East Anglians, and two powerful Bretwaldas, kings of the Northumbrians. In the year 654, a third king of East Anglia, Anna, was added to the mournful list, and Ethelhere, his brother and successor, being threatened with the like fate, contrived by some means to turn the arms of the Mercian against the king of Bernicia. Oswy endeavoured to purchase peace by the most humble offers of submission and tribute; but, whatever the cause, Penda, notwithstanding that his son was married to the daughter, and his daughter to the son, of Oswy, was inimical in his resentment, and marched against him with the forces of thirty vassal chiefs, including the kings of Deira, East Anglia, and Wales. Oswy in his distress committed himself to the protection of Heaven, and with his son Alcfrid and a chosen force threw himself upon the foe. A complete victory was the result. Of the thirty chiefs, but few escaped. The king of Deira had withdrawn from the field before the engagement; but Ethelhere of East Anglia, the instigator of the war, fell in the battle; and the terrible Penda himself, being overtaken in his flight, was put to death on the spot.

The power of Mercia being thus shattered, Northumbria quickly regained the ascendency which it had enjoyed under Edwin and Oswald. Seizing the occasion, Oswy at once subdued East Anglia, and added the northern half of Mercia to his own dominions. The southern half he left to his son-in-law Peada, the son of Penda, and a Christian from
the time of his marriage. But Peada having been murdered within a few months, Oswy governed the whole island without a competitor for three years. Then fortune turned against the Bretwalda. The Mercians rose and recovered their independence, setting upon the throne Wulfhere, another son of Penda. Alchfrid too, the son of Oswy, demanded from his father an independent sovereignty; and by importunity or force obtained for himself the kingdom of Deira.

As he declined in years Oswy paid much regard to religion. In spite of the crime which stains his reputation, he had ever exhibited an active zeal for the spread of Christianity. By his personal efforts he had already converted to the faith Sigebert, king of East Anglia, and through him, his subjects. Now, in fulfilment of the vow which he had made when about to march against Penda, he built and endowed twelve monasteries, six in Bernicia, and six in Deira: he founded another on the spot where Oswin had been murdered, that its inmates might continually pray for the souls of himself and of his victim: he used his influence to terminate the long controversy between the Scots and the Roman and Gallic missionaries; and he was meditating the resignation of his crown, that he might end his days in peace at Rome, when he died, in 670, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

From this period Northumbria entirely lost the supremacy in Britain which it had retained for more than half a century. Egfrid indeed, the son of Oswy, made his power dreaded by the neighbouring kingdoms, and he even at one time regained possession of Mercia; but his successors, occupied in repelling the attacks of the Picts, or in defending themselves against their own subjects, lost all influence to the south of the Humber. During the eighth century, the sceptre of Northumbria was held by thirteen successive rulers, not one of whom died peacefully on the throne. Eight of them were slain in battle or murdered; of the others, three by entering the cloister, and two by abdication, escaped, probably, a like fate. So many crimes attracted the attention of the emperor Charlemagne, who stigmatized the Northumbrians as “a perverse and faithless race, the murderer of its sovereigns, worse than pagan;” and, but for the intercession of their countryman, Alcuin, a learned ecclesiastic attached to his court, he would have made them feel the effects of his resentment. As it was, he contented himself with
uniting his influence with that of Pope Leo III., and by peaceful means succeeded in restoring to the throne Eardulf, who had been expelled by his turbulent subjects. After the death of this prince, Northumbria again fell into a state of anarchy which lasted until the independence of that kingdom was destroyed by a race of conquerors from beyond the sea.

In the meanwhile, the kingdoms south of the Humber fell under the alternate domination of the kings of Mercia, or of Wessex. Of the Mercian princes, the most powerful were Ethelbald and Offa. Ethelbald reigned for forty-one years, and during a considerable portion of that time ruled supreme over all the Saxon princes of the south. Those of Wessex alone endeavoured to assert their independence, but every effort was vain until Cuthred, in 752, took arms and defeated Ethelbald in a great battle at Burford. This blow not only deprived Mercia for a time of its superiority over its neighbours, but seems to have encouraged a pretender to raise the standard of revolt against Ethelbald. In the civil war which ensued the king was murdered by his own guards, and Beorhred the rebel then seized the crown; but the nobles of Mercia rallied round Offa, a prince of the royal blood, who quickly expelled the usurper. It was not, however, until after he had shed "a deluge of blood" that Offa finally triumphed over his domestic enemies. At length, in the sixteenth year of his reign, having firmly established his rule at home, the king of Mercia began to turn his arms against his neighbours. The people of Sussex and Kent were first added to the number of his subjects. He then attacked Cynewulf, king of Wessex, defeated him at Bensington, and deprived him of all his dominions lying north of the Thames. Offa next fell upon the Britons, drove them out of Shropshire over the river Wye, planted colonies of Saxons in their room, and protected his new frontier by forming a rampart and ditch, one hundred miles long, from the mouth of the Wye to that of the Dee.

Not content with these conquests over his secular neighbours, Offa next attacked the authority of a spiritual potentate. Animated by a personal enmity against Jaenbercht, archbishop of Canterbury, and not being able to endure that his kingdom of Mercia should be subject in any manner to a Kentish prelate, Offa applied to Pope Adrian I., and by his urgent representations obtained the erection of Lichfield into a
metropolitan church, with jurisdiction over the whole country between the Humber and the Thames. This arrangement, however, was reversed after the death of Offa, and Canterbury was reinstated in its former supremacy.

From their policy, or mutual interest, a frequent correspondence had sprung up between Offa and the emperor Charlemagne. Yet their friendship was more than once disturbed on both sides. At one time mercantile disputes arose. The Franks complained that the English producers had unduly contracted the quantity of stuff in the woollen tunics which they exported. Again: that English traders had assumed the character of pilgrims, in order to defraud the customs. These questions, however, were amicably arranged. A personal quarrel was more serious and difficult to heal. The hand of a daughter of Offa had been asked by Charles, the illegitimate son of the emperor. The king of Mercia made it a condition, that Bertha, the daughter of Charlemagne, should become the bride of his son Egferth. At this demand, the emperor was so irritated, that he ordered the total exclusion of the English merchants from Gaul. Offa retaliated. The remonstrances of the abbot Gerwold, however, induced Charlemagne to recall his hasty order; Alcuin was named ambassador to Offa, and harmony was ultimately restored. At a later period the emperor wrote in the most friendly style to Offa, sending church vestments for each of his bishops, and for the king himself, "a belt, an Hungarian sword, and two silk cloaks."

Offa reigned for many years in great power and reputation. His alliance had been solicited by all the neighbouring princes. Bertric of Wessex had married one of his daughters; Ethelred of Northumbria, another; a third was now, in 792, sought by Ethelbert of East Anglia. The young king proceeded to the Mercian court to urge his suit; but in the midst of the festivities that followed his arrival, he was murdered at night in the very palace of Offa. The king of Mercia loudly protested that he had no part in this foul crime; but as he took advantage of it instantly to annex East Anglia to his own dominions, he did not succeed in convincing the world of his innocence. Offa died in 796.

Egferth, his only son, who had been crowned during the synod of Cheleythe, nine years before, succeeded him on the throne, but died in a few weeks; and in a short space of time, the whole race of Offa had become extinct.
Of the kings of Wessex, the most distinguished during this period were Cædwalla and Ina. Cædwalla was a prince of the house of Ceawlin, whose high qualities drew upon him the jealousy of king Kentwin, the son of Cynegils. To escape the impending danger, Cædwalla, with a band of his partizans, betook himself to the wilds of Sussex, and there being joined by other adventurers, he maintained himself against Ethelwalch, the king of that country. Ethelwalch at length fell in a skirmish against the exile; but Cædwalla, being upon that vigorously attacked by the South Saxon commanders, was driven once more into the fastnesses of the Andredswald. Thence he was recalled to Wessex by the intelligence that Kentwin had abdicated, and retired to a monastery, after having named him as his successor. Returning to his country, he ascended the throne with little or no opposition, and immediately prepared to take his revenge for his late defeat. At the head of a large army he burst into Sussex, slew Berthun, one of his conquerors, and entirely subdued the land. Thence he invaded Kent, laid it waste, and carried off an immense booty. In a second expedition, his brother Moll, who commanded the army, was surprised by the enemy, and burnt in a cottage in which he had taken refuge. Cædwalla was still a pagan; but he had heard the doctrines of Christianity explained by Wilfrid, bishop of York (long an exile in Sussex); and now, before undertaking the conquest which he meditated of the isle of Wight, the fierce warrior vowed to “the God of the Christians” a fourth of the land and of the booty. After an obstinate resistance from its Jutish inhabitants, the island was added to the dominions of Cædwalla, who thereupon fulfilled his vow by placing all that he had promised at the disposal of Wilfrid; and the bishop at once took measures that the knowledge of the Gospel might be introduced into that hitherto neglected region.

Cædwalla had scarcely reigned for three years, when he suddenly stopped short in his warlike career, and resolved to become a Christian. Having resigned his crown, he proceeded to Rome, visiting as he went the most celebrated churches. On Easter-eve, 689, he was baptized by Pope Sergius, who gave him at the font the name of Peter. Within a few days, however, while yet in his baptismal garments, the royal convert was taken ill, and died with great joy, in about his thirtieth year.

On the departure of Cædwalla, the government of Wessex was assumed
by Ina, a prince of the house of Cerdic, though not in the direct line of succession. His energy, abilities, and high character, however, made amends for any defect in his title. The first military enterprise of Ina was against the people of Kent, who in the opinion of his subjects had not yet sufficiently expiated the crime of those who had burned Moll, the brother of the late king. After many losses in the field, they were compelled to pay, as compensation for the death of Moll, 30,000 pounds of silver. Ina also, continuing the aggressive policy of his predecessors against the Britons, defeated Gerent, king of Cornwall, and added at his expense to the western frontiers of Wessex. In a struggle with Ceolred, king of Mercia, he was less successful. The chief event of the war was a sanguinary but indecisive battle at Wodensburgh in Wiltshire.

But it was as a legislator that Ina was most distinguished. His code of seventy-nine laws, enacted in the fifth year of his reign at a great Witanagemot or council of "his bishops, ealdormen, wise men and clergy," was a boon of immense value, not only to the Saxons, but likewise to the enslaved Britons, who were by it placed under the protection of the state. Ina was also a fervent Christian: his liberality enriched the churches and monasteries of his kingdom, and during his reign religion and civilization seem to have made rapid advances in Wessex.

After this energetic prince had reigned above thirty years, two pretenders arose in succession and attempted to wrest the sceptre from his grasp; but Ina overcame them both. The second of these was the etheling Ealdbert, who, during the absence of Ina from Wessex, seized and held the royal castle of Taunton. Upon this, Ethelburga, the consort of Ina, led her troops to the place, stormed it, and razed it to the ground. Ealdbert made his escape into Surrey, and thence into Sussex, where he was placed at the head of a revolt for the recovery of its independence. For three years the struggle was maintained; but in 745, Ealdbert fell in battle, and Ina re-united Sussex to his dominions.

At length, however, having ruled with honour for thirty-seven years, king Ina, sensible of the vanity of all earthly things, laid down his authority and repaired to Rome. There with his queen he took religious vows, and with her humbly spent his last days in studied obscurity.

On the resignation of Ina, Ethelheard, the brother of his queen, obtained the crown of Wessex: but his authority was contested during
two years by Oswald the Etheling, and his kingdom, weakened by internal dissensions and by the revived attacks of the Cornish Britons, fell for many years under the power of Ethelwald of Mercia. In vain did Ethelheard attempt to shake off the yoke; and his successor Cuthred was equally unfortunate, until in 752, the twelfth year of his reign, his great victory at Burford restored the independence of his country. Twenty-five years later, indeed, Mercia, under the sway of Offa, regained a certain degree of superiority; but from that date the internal power of Wessex gradually increased, until, in the hands of Egbert, the kingdom acquired an ascendency among the Saxon states of Britain which it never afterwards entirely lost.

Egbert was the son of Elmund, king of Kent, great grandson of Ingild, the brother of Ina, and now the true representative of the house of Cerdic. His claims, however, were passed over on the death of king Cynewulf, the fourth in succession to Ina, and the crown of Wessex was given by election to Bertric, another prince of the royal house. The new king expelled his dangerous rival, first from Wessex, and afterwards (by means of his father-in-law, Offa,) from Mercia. Egbert was then compelled to take refuge on the continent, where he lived for thirteen years in exile.

In the meantime Bertric reigned peaceably in Wessex. In his days, however, the Northmen, who were soon to inflict innumerable calamities upon the Anglo-Saxon race, made their first appearance in the south of Britain. Three strange ships arrived on the coast near Dorchester, and disembarked their crews. The king's reeve in the town, hearing that strangers had landed, galloped with a small escort to the port, and commanded them to enter the place; but instantly falling upon him, the Northmen killed him with his men, and retired with impunity to their ships.

Bertric died of poison which Eadburga his queen had prepared for a young nobleman, her husband's favourite, but of which the king accidentally partook. Such was the indignation excited by the crime of Eadburga, that the West Saxon Witan decreed that no consort of their kings should thenceforth be admitted to the crown or dignity of Queen. The guilty woman escaped with her treasures to the continent; but at last, after many vicissitudes, died wretchedly at Pavia in Lombardy.

Egbert, on being driven from his native country, had placed himself under the protection of the emperor Charlemagne, in whose court and armies he had spent the long years of his exile, and had profited in that school of government and war. On the death of Bertric he was recalled to Wessex, and ascended the throne without opposition as the sole surviving prince of the house of Cerdic. The first nine years of Egbert's reign were spent at peace with his neighbours, while he acquired the affection of his subjects and organized the resources of his kingdom. Having thus prepared the means, he commenced that career of conquest which finally gave him dominion over the greater part of Britain. He first turned his arms against the Britons of Cornwall, and, after many years of warfare in that direction, gradually extended his authority to the extremity of the west. In the meantime Bernulf, the usurping ruler of Mercia, declared war against Egbert, but the king of Wessex met the invader at Wilton, and, after great slaughter on both sides, put him to flight. After this signal victory Egbert at once despatched his son Ethelwulf to take possession of Kent: and the prince speedily drove Baldred, the king, over the Thames. Upon this, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex submitted to Egbert, and the East Angles sought his alliance and protection against the aggressions of the Mercians. Bernulf nevertheless persisted in his designs, and invading East Anglia, was there cut off with the greater part of his army. Ludecan, his successor, attempted to revenge him, but experienced a like fate; and in less than two years Egbert had added to his dominions Mercia and the whole country south of the Humber. His approach awed even the turbulent Northumbrians into submission: their chiefs hastened to meet him beyond the frontier, and to offer him obedience. The Britons of North Wales next felt the power of his arms, and the authority of Egbert was then acknowledged in nearly the whole of Britain. He was the eighth Bretwalda.

Egbert had no time to organize or to enjoy the kingdom which his arms and policy had won. He had scarcely gained it, when new and most formidable enemies appeared, and began to dispute its possession with him. These were the Danes and Norwegians, the natives of the shores...
and islands of the northern seas, who (like their kindred the Saxons, three centuries before) overcrowded in their ancient settlements, and impelled by want, sought for food and plunder in the more fortunate lands beyond the ocean. With necessity, the disposition, religion, and laws of the Northmen, combined to render them the scourges of Western Europe. As their laws enacted that one son only should be selected by his father as the heir to all his property, the others were sent forth with nothing but their arms to gain a living and a name, at the expense of the weaker wherever they might be found. The situation of their country had already made them practised seamen; its resources afforded them abundant means for ship-building. Thus the Scandinavian waters came to swarm with whole nations of pirates, who called themselves Vikings, or “Children of the Creeks.” These predatory associations were led by “kings” who had subjects, but no settled territory, who were chosen for their pre-eminence in skill, daring, and ferocity, but who were kings only at sea, or in presence of the enemy. According to their bards, he only was accounted worthy to be a “sea king,” who “never slept beneath a roof, nor quaffed the horn at the covered hearth.” He delighted in battle and slaughter, believing that the more sanguinary his career, the higher would be his place in the halls of Odin; and he declared that the man who had never felt a wound had led a dull life. Like the old Saxons, too, the Northman gloried in his naval skill, and affected to regard the stormy elements as his friends and allies. Yet he rarely sailed abroad before the summer months, and was careful to secure his ships and booty at home or elsewhere about the end of autumn. Amongst the Vikings was a class of men, especially dedicated to their gods, called Berserkers, who on the eve of battle were accustomed to work themselves into a state of frenzy. They threw off all defensive armour, gnawed their shields, howled like wild beasts, and madly flung themselves against their enemies, ready to encounter every danger and to commit every crime. All the Scandinavians were devoted worshippers of Odin, held the Christian religion in abhorrence, and regarded the Saxons and Franks as degenerate apostates. Hence they fell upon their more civilized kindred with a double fury; everywhere desecrating and destroying the churches, and putting their ministers to death with aggravated cruelty.
In the year 832, a band of heathens landed in the isle of Sheppey, and having ravaged it, retired with their booty in safety to their ships. The next year, a fleet of thirty-five ships entered the mouth of the Char, and there disembarked their crews. The pirates were quickly attacked by Egbert with such forces as he had at hand, but after a murderous conflict he was compelled to abandon the field, darkness alone saving him from a more complete defeat. Taught by experience, the king now remained continually on his guard; and, two years afterwards, entirely vindicated his reputation. Hearing that a Danish force had landed in Cornwall and raised the Britons in revolt, he hastened to the west, and encountering the combined forces at Hengeston-hill, obtained a decisive victory. This exploit seems to have procured for Egbert a few years of tranquility; but the Danes began to reappear before his death, which took place in 837, after he had long reigned with almost unchequered glory and good fortune.

**Ethelwulf.**

Egbert was succeeded by his eldest son Ethelwulf, who had for many years governed for his father in Kent, Essex, and Sussex. The new king, a man of peaceful disposition, found himself at once compelled to provide for the defence of his kingdom against the Danes, who in increasing numbers and boldness now began to push their incursions deeper into the country. The first effort of the king was unfortunate. He attacked a body of the Northmen at Charmouth, and was defeated, as his father had been on that spot. The fierce resistance, however, which the invaders met with in other quarters, seems to have checked their audacity. During the ten following years but one attempt of the Danes upon Britain is recorded. They had turned their rage for plunder against the country of the Franks, where they found greater riches, less well defended. In 851, however, their attacks recommenced, as if by concert, at several points of the island. They found everywhere vigorous opponents. One army was beaten in Devonshire by the ealdorman Ceolr; another was defeated on shipboard at Sandwich in Kent by Athelstan the king, son of king Ethelwulf. A third armament, in 350 ships, came to the mouth of the Thames, and there landing, took by storm Canterbury and London, and put to flight Bertwulf, the
tributary king of Mercia, who had charge of those parts. Thence turning southwards into Surrey, the barbarians encountered Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald advancing with the army of Wessex, who defeated them with immense slaughter at Ockley.

These successive disasters greatly discouraged the Northmen; and although they maintained themselves in the isle of Thanet, and made an occasional descent upon the shores of Britain, no serious invasion was undertaken by them during the remainder of the reign of Ethelwulf.

Freed from the attacks of these formidable enemies, Ethelwulf proceeded to assist Burhred, the new king of Mercia, who was engaged in a doubtful contest with Roderic Mawr, prince of North Wales. The king of Wessex, joining his forces with those of Mercia, soon compelled the Britons to submit; and on his return gave his daughter in marriage to Burhred, with great rejoicings, at Chippenham. (853.)

The same year, the king sent Alfred, his youngest and best beloved son, to Rome. At the request of Ethelwulf, Leo IV. bestowed the regal unction upon the boy; and receiving him as his godson, confirmed him. In obtaining this solemn consecration for Alfred, it was probably the father's object to secure for him the crown of Wessex in succession to his brothers, to the exclusion of their children. Two years later, Ethelwulf, after making over to the service of the Church a tenth of the lands belonging to the crown, went to Rome in great pomp, taking with him his favourite son, and there he remained a whole year.

On his return through France, the king married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald; and he consented that his youthful bride should be crowned and enthroned, contrary to the law enacted in Wessex after the crime of the poisoner Eadburga. This marriage and exaltation of a foreign wife excited the resentment of a portion of Ethelwulf's subjects; and Ethelbald, his eldest son, seized the occasion to attempt to exclude his father from the kingdom. But Ethelwulf was beloved by a strong party, and a civil war appeared imminent, when the king, with exceeding mildness, agreed to a compromise by which Wessex was assigned to his ambitious son, while he accepted for his own portion the inferior kingdom of Kent. Ethelwulf survived this arrangement but two years, and died in 858, leaving Kent to his second son Ethelbert, who, with his brothers Ethelred and Alfred, had remained faithful to their father.
ETHELBAID.

Ethelwulf had not been dead a year, when Ethelbald, who had made his father's marriage with the Frankish princess the pretext for an unnatural rebellion, married that very princess, his father's widow, in defiance of the laws of the Church, and to the scandal of his countrymen. Daring as he was, however, Ethelbald found it necessary to yield before the force of the public disapprobation, and at last consented to a separation. This prince had no opportunity of displaying that warlike skill for which he had been distinguished during the reign of his father. He died in 860, after a short rule of two years.

ETHELBERT.

To him succeeded his next brother Ethelbert, under whom Wessex and Kent were once more united. This prince ruled with vigour and success; and although in his days the Northmen under the Viking Wiland by a sudden incursion sacked the city of Winchester, they were intercepted, as they retired laden with plunder, and were driven headlong to their ships by the ealdormen Osric and Ethelwulf, with the men of Berkshire and Hampshire. The people of Kent, being threatened by another, or the same, body of marauders, instead of taking to arms like their brethren of Wessex, endeavoured to bribe their invaders to retire. But the pirates, having taken the money, merely transferred their operations to the eastern parts of that province. Then at last the Kentishmen, roused by this perfidy, flew to arms, fell upon "the truce-breakers," and expelled them from the kingdom.

Ethelbert died in 867, after a reign of five years.

While the son and grandsons of Egbert were thus harassed by the Danes, the monarchy founded by that energetic prince was gradually falling asunder. At the very time that a powerful and united Christian state was needed to protect the growing civilization of the island against the increasing attacks of the heathens of the North, the several provinces of Egbert's kingdom had almost all resumed their ancient condition of feeble independence. Kent, indeed, with Essex and Sussex, was now again united to Wessex; and the rulers of Mercia and East Anglia preserved the most amicable relations with the princes of the house of Egbert; but vigorous combined action did not exist, and was scarcely
possible, between even these friendly states: while the numerous and warlike Northumbrians, having cast off their allegiance to the crown of Wessex, were at this critical juncture wasting their strength in a most sanguinary internecine war, under the rival kings, Osbert and Ella.

According to some accounts, it was the savage cruelty of these Northumbrians towards a celebrated sea-king, named Ragnar Lodbrog, who fell into their hands, that brought upon the land of the Angles the most terrible visitation which it had yet experienced.

ETHELRED I.

Scarcely had Ethelred, the third son of Ethelwulf, ascended the throne of Wessex and Kent, when Ingvar and Ubba, (who are said to have been the sons of Ragnar Lodbrog), arrived on the coast of East Anglia with a great heathen army. There they remained during the winter in a fortified camp, gathering reinforcements from home, collecting horses from the country, and opening communications with the disaffected chiefs in Northumbria. Then bursting forth at the beginning of spring, they seized York; defeated and slew Osbert and the bravest of the Northumbrians, who attempted to retake the city; captured Ella, and put him to death with frightful tortures. The whole of Northumbria having been in a short time subjugated, the Danes marched southwards into Mercia, and took Nottingham. Burhred the king and his Witan immediately applied for aid to Wessex; and Ethelred with his brother Alfred hastened at once at the head of their forces to join him. The Danes thereupon shut themselves up in Nottingham, whence they were finally permitted to retire to York. Breaking next into Lincolnshire, the Northmen carried fire and sword over the whole country. The monasteries were the especial objects of their fury; and in this expedition Bardney, Croyland, and Madehamstede were burnt, and their inmates slaughtered. At the last mentioned, Ubba, in revenge for a wound received by his brother, slew with his own hand the abbot and eighty-four monks. The fate of the nuns of Ely was still more horrible.

While these atrocities were being perpetrated, the Anglo-Saxon princes, instead of uniting to expel their barbarian enemies, remained as if paralysed, and allowed the Danes to overrun one by one the kingdoms of England. Mercia was again invaded, and again East Anglia was invaded.
subjected to their ravages. Edmund, the young king of that province, was captured and brought prisoner into the presence of Ingvar, by whom he was called upon to renounce his faith. Firmly rejecting the proposals of the sea-king, Edmund was bound to a tree and cruelly scourged; after which the Danes amused themselves by shooting arrows into his arms and legs, and finally, losing patience at the invincible constancy of the Christian prince, they struck off his head, and so terminated his sufferings. Edmund was venerated as a martyr by his subjects and their descendants; and about his tomb there rose in time the town of St. Edmundsbury.

From East Anglia the Danes broke into the kingdom of Ethelred, and there they encountered a stubborn resistance. They were met and defeated at Englefield by Edbelwulf, the ealdorman of Berkshire; but when, three days afterwards, king Ethelred and his brother Alfred attacked them at Reading, the royal army was repulsed, and the brave Edbelwulf was slain in the fight. Four days later a great battle was
fought at Aston. It was begun by Alfred, who impetuously attacked one division of the Danes, and after a severe contest defeated them with the loss of five of their earls. In the meantime, Ethelred, who had delayed in his tent to pray, came up and assailed the other division of the enemy under their kings Halfdene and Bagsac. In the end, the Danes, after losing king Bagsac with thousands of their bravest warriors, fled without a pause to their camp at Reading. Nevertheless, only a fortnight after, the Danes, largely reinforced, were victorious at Basing. Again, about two months later, Ethelred and Alfred, after a hard-fought battle at Marsden, were defeated. The king received a wound in the fight, which caused his death in a few days, (April 23, 871,) after he had ruled for five years in very difficult circumstances, "bravely and with honour."

ALFRED THE GREAT.

The death of Ethelred, his brother Alfred, then only in his twenty-third year, was unanimously called to the vacant throne. The young prince would have declined the dangerous honour, but his hesitation was overcome, and he was crowned without delay. At this moment, a "summer fleet" from Denmark came up the Thames to Reading, bringing large reinforcements to the invading army. Within a month of his accession, however, Alfred attacked the Danes at Wilton. They were greatly superior in numbers, and occupied a strong position upon a hill above the river Willy. Nevertheless, after several hours of hard fighting, the men of Wessex had everywhere gained the advantage; but as they incautiously followed up the enemy in apparently precipitous flight, the Danes suddenly turned upon them, and snatched the victory from their grasp. This was the eighth pitched battle, besides minor combats, which had been fought by the princes of Wessex within the year, to arrest the progress of the Danish invaders south of the Thames. And now nothing remained to Alfred but to make the best terms he could with his enemies. He therefore concluded a peace with them; in all likelihood paying a heavy ransom in return for the evacuation of his dominions. The great Danish army then retired to London, and there passed the winter of the year 872. During the three following years their policy was
directed to the acquisition of Mercia, and the more complete subjugation of Northumbria. In 873, their main host divided into two armies, one of which, under King Halfdene, marched to the north; the other, under three leaders, Guthorm, Oskytel, and Amund, returned towards the south, and established their head-quarters at Cambridge.

Following the example of Alfred, the king of Mercia attempted to purchase from the invaders a precarious tranquillity for his kingdom; but the Danes, having obtained the ransom money, violated the treaty: upon which Burhred, in despair, resigned his crown, and went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died. Ceolwulf, his successor, was the mere vassal of the invaders, who, upon his failing to pay the tribute which they had fixed, put him to death. He was the last king of the Mercians.

The Danes now ruled supreme between the Tyne and the Thames; and in 875 they resolved to extend their sway over the remainder of the island. Halfdene and his army spent the summer of that year in destroying every sign of civilization to the northward of the Tyne. Every town, village, monastery, and church in the route of the barbarians was burnt to the ground. After desolating the country of the Strathclyde Britons, the Scots, and the Picts, Halfdene returning to Bernicia, divided the land among his followers, who then began to settle down in peace, and devote themselves to agriculture.

In the meantime Guthorm, the chief commander among the Danes in the south, had remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Cambridge during the whole year. Suddenly, in 876, the barbarians took to their ships, and in a short time appearing off the coast of Dorset, surprised the castle of Wareham, and entrenched themselves between the rivers Frome and Trent, in a very strong position, whence they sent their plundering parties over the whole country. Alfred hastened to the spot with his army, and induced Guthorm to promise to depart from his kingdom. The Dane swore on "the sacred bracelet" (the most solemn and binding oath known to the Scandinavians) that he would be true to the treaty; he even consented to give hostages from among his most distinguished warriors; but neither oaths, nor the probable fate of the hostages, could bind the Danes. One body of them, surprising the Saxon cavalry, captured their horses, rode suddenly to Exeter, and took that city, while the rest held their position at Wareham. In this situation,
Alfred was unable to gain any advantage over the invaders, who, with the sea open to them, received almost daily supplies and reinforcements. The king, therefore, contented himself with watching their positions on the land side, while he prepared the means of cutting off their communications by sea. Having, in the year 877, collected a fleet, he sent it out to watch the Channel, while he undertook the siege of Exeter. It was not long before the Danes at Wareham were on their way, both by sea and land, to unite with their countrymen in Exeter. Their fleet, however, after having been impeded and shattered by continuous storms, suffered some losses from the Saxon squadron; and, finally, the greater part was sunk or wrecked on the coast near Swanage. The land army got safely into Exeter; but the united host was at last reduced to such extremities, that Guthorm was compelled to swear anew to the treaty of Wareham, and to withdraw his forces out of Wessex. (Aug., 877.)

After dividing the country about Gloucester amongst his followers, Guthorm stationed himself at that town, in threatening proximity to the frontier. In the first days of January, 878, he burst again into Wessex at the head of a host of cavalry, and rode directly upon Chippenham, a royal vill, where he probably expected to find the king, as he had learned from deserters that Alfred was passing the winter in that quarter. The Dane missed his prey; for Alfred was either absent at the moment, or was warned in time to escape his treacherous foes. Guthorm, however, immediately launched his cavalry on all sides over the country, and by the celerity of its movements disconcerted every attempt at resistance. The West-Saxons, taken by surprise, and perplexed by the sudden disappearance of their king, abandoned all hope, and gave up the contest. Numbers, especially of the clergy, took refuge in France. The great majority remained in a state of miserable servitude under their heathen conquerors. In the meantime, Alfred, disdaining to yield, betook himself, with a little band of faithful followers, to the woods and fens of Somerset, there to await a favourable conjuncture for restoring his country to liberty. He ultimately fixed his quarters in a remote island, strongly situated among the marshes formed by the rivers Parret and Thorne, and afterwards known as the Isle of Princes, or Athelney.

It was during this period of doubt and gloom that the adventure which is inseparably connected with the name of Alfred is said to have
occurred. The king had taken up his abode in the house of one of his neatherds, who faithfully kept the secret of his royal guest. One day, while the neatherd was absent, his wife ordered the stranger, who sat by the fire mending his bow and arrows, to watch the baking of some of her loaves, while she attended to other household matters. On her return, finding the bread burnt, she roundly abused the king, telling him, that though too careless to turn her loaves, he was sufficiently ready to eat them when baked.
From his retreat in the isle of Athelney, Alfred, during the spring of 878, made occasional forays upon the Danes and their Saxon adherents; and his successes in this kind of warfare gradually increased the number of his followers, and revived the spirits of his people. To this result an incident in another quarter perhaps also contributed. A Danish force, commanded by a brother of Ingvar and Halfdene, after having spent the winter in laying waste South Wales, crossed over into Devon. Unable to meet the invaders in the field, Odda, the ealdorman of that country, threw himself, with several of the king's thanes and their families, into the castle of Kynwith for refuge. The place, a simple British fort, was strong only in its position on a steep rock; but the Danish chief, calculating that water and provisions must soon fail the unprepared garrison, determined to reduce it by a strict blockade. Odda, however, did not wait to be brought to such extremities. Issuing from the castle before the dawn of day, he surprised the camp of the besiegers, slew the Danish king with twelve hundred of his followers, and drove the rest to their ships. Amongst the spoils taken by the victors, the famous war-flag called "the Raven" is said to have been included.

At length the king felt that the moment for striking a decisive blow was at hand; and by trusty messengers he summoned his friends to meet him in arms at the stone of Egbert in Selwood Forest, the seventh week after Easter. The men of Somerset, Wilts, and Hampshire thronged to the appointed spot, and on beholding their king risen, as it were, from the dead, greeted him with the most joyful acclamations. Alfred gave his men one night's rest, and then led them against the enemy. In the meanwhile, Guthorm, who had heard rumours of the Saxon movements, had promptly called in his scattered parties, and was already on his march to crush the insurrection. The armies met at Ethandune; and there the fate of England was decided. After a long and sanguinary conflict, the Saxons were completely victorious. The Danes fled in headlong rout to their camp, which was immediately invested, and lines thrown up around it by order of Alfred. At the end of fourteen days, the Danes, hopeless of escape, and closely pressed by famine, were reduced to submit to the mercy of the king of Wessex. They delivered hostages into the hands of Alfred, requiring none in return, and pledging themselves with many oaths that they would leave his dominions; more-
over, they promised that their king should receive baptism: and these pledges were fulfilled. About seven weeks after the conclusion of the treaty, Guthorm with thirty of his principal chiefs placed themselves in the hands of the king at Aller, near Athelney, that they might be admitted into the Christian church. At the joyful ceremony Alfred acted as god-

father to Guthorn, to whom he gave the name of Athelstan: and having entertained the Danish prince and his nobles in great honour for twelve days at Wedmore, dismissed them with munificent presents.

Two treaties were entered into at Wedmore by Alfred and Guthorm-Athelstan, who was acknowledged by the Saxon monarch as king of East Anglia. To these treaties the Danish prince remained for some time
faithful, although his fidelity was soon put to a severe test by the celebrated sea-king Hasteng, who arriving in the Thames at the head of a powerful fleet, solicited him to renew the war. Guthorm refused; whereupon Hasteng turned his arms against France; and the dominions of Alfred, although occasionally disturbed in districts near the coast, enjoyed fifteen years of comparative immunity from the horrors of war.

Freed now from the presence of the enemy, it became one of Alfred's chief cares to provide efficient means of repelling any future invasion. He divided those of his subjects who were capable of bearing arms into two classes, of which one remained at home to carry on the works of trade and agriculture, while the other was on service: and these classes relieved one another at certain intervals. Each town was to be defended by its own inhabitants under the king's Gerefa, or Reeve. The importance of fortifications had been shown by the successful defence of Kynwith, and the king pressed on the erection of fortresses at all the most exposed points of his dominions. In spite of the apathy and the prejudices of his subjects, Alfred succeeded before his death in erecting no less than fifty strongholds of various kinds for the protection of his kingdom.

Alfred had already seen, that without an efficient fleet he could not render his dominions secure against the depredations of the Northmen. He now began to act on the offensive. In the year 882, he put to sea with his fleet, encountered and attacked a squadron of four Danish ships. Two of them were boarded, and every man slain. The other two, after a fierce resistance, surrendered. In 884, an army of Northmen, separating from a great expedition which had just landed in France, crossed over into Kent, and laid siege to Rochester, constructing a fortified camp before the town. The inhabitants vigorously defended themselves, until the approach of the king with a large army drove the invaders to their ships, leaving in his possession their camp, most of their prisoners, and all their horses. As the Danes of East Anglia had lent assistance to this invasion, Alfred despatched a fleet to retaliate upon their coasts. At the mouth of the Stour the royal commanders came upon a squadron of sixteen piratical vessels, all of which were captured, and their crews put to the sword. But as the victors were returning in triumph with the spoil, they were met the same day by a large fleet of pirates, and severely defeated.
Having taken measures for the effectual defence of his kingdom, Alfred turned his attention to its internal reform, which was urgently needed. After having been disturbed for forty years by the Northmen, and ravaged for fourteen more by these remorseless enemies, the Saxon states in England were reduced almost to a condition of anarchy. All the bonds of government and of society were relaxed or destroyed. For every evil, however, the king proceeded, firmly and patiently, to find a remedy.

From the laws of his ancestor Ina, with those of the Kentish Ethelbert and the Mercian Offa, Alfred compiled a code, better adapted to the present state of the kingdom, and tending to strengthen the royal authority. He stimulated in every way his nobles to a better performance of their civil duties; he created a class of judicial officers; and by a most persevering and rigorous watchfulness over the proceedings of his representatives, succeeded at last in establishing something like order in the administration of justice throughout his dominions. The destruction of the monasteries, and the slaughter and dispersion of their inmates by the Northmen, had effected the almost entire extinction of learning in the Saxon states; and Alfred, who from his youth had exhibited the most ardent love of knowledge, set himself with all his characteristic energy to provide a remedy for an evil which was fast reducing his subjects to a level with their heathen foes. He devoted a fourth of his yearly income to the restoration and support of the monasteries, not only of his own kingdom, but in their turn, of those of Wales, Cornwall, France, Brittany, and Ireland. He invited to his court the most distinguished scholars from all quarters; he built schools; he ordained that the whole body of freeborn youth in his kingdom should learn to read their own language, and that those who were destined to the service of the church should further be instructed in Latin. To set the example, he established a school in his palace, in which his own sons, with those of his household officers and the nobles and plebeians of the neighbourhood, were educated together; and the king would sometimes encourage the good work by his presence at the lessons. Such was the zeal of this great ruler for the spread of knowledge, that he contrived, in the midst of his extraordinary labours in the civil and military administration of his kingdom, and notwithstanding the almost incessant attacks of a
torturing malady, to translate and arrange for the use of his subjects several works which he judged conducive to their spiritual or their temporal welfare. The principal of these were: the treatise—famous in that age—"On Consolation," by Boethius; the Universal History of Orosius; the Ecclesiastical History of Venerable Bede; and the discourses of Pope Gregory the Great on the "Care of the Soul," and on the "Pastoral Rule." Of the last he sent a copy to each of his bishops.

At the same time, the king was restoring the old cities and towns, and founding new ones; building, from his own designs, palaces, halls, and royal villas of stone, in a style more stately and costly than had been attempted by his predecessors. He was erecting a new cathedral at Winchester, a monastery at Athelney, and a nunnery at Shaftesbury. For these works he had collected skilful artificers of all kinds from every country where they were to be had, and he constantly superintended their labours in person. London having been restored and rendered habitable by him, was placed under the care of his son-in-law Ethered, the viceroy of Mercia.

Alfred was earnestly religious. Besides the daily public services and private devotions, which he never omitted, he would often go alone by night to some neighbouring church to pray in secret. His alms were distributed far and wide, his pious bounty reaching even to Jerusalem and to distant India. His recreation consisted either in conversation with the learned men whom he had attracted to his court, in visiting his hawks and hounds, or, when his health permitted, in following the chase, of which craft in all its branches he was a perfect master.

At length, after fifteen years of peace, but rarely seriously disturbed, Alfred was obliged to turn from his labours of civilization, and to take the field against a most formidable adversary. This was the famous sea-king Hasteng, who, after long carrying fire and sword over the northern provinces of France, recoiled before the desolation which he himself had caused, and resolved to seek fresh fields of plunder, and, perhaps, a kingdom in Britain. From Boulogne, their point of assembly, the Northmen passed the channel in two divisions. The first, with 250 ships, entered the river Limene, and fortified itself at Apulde, in Kent. The second, in 80 ships, under Hasteng himself, followed, and ascended the Swale to Milton, where it too entrenched itself.
In these positions the invaders remained inactive, until Alfred, having assembled his forces, approached, and taking up a strong position, completely intercepted all communication between the two divisions of the enemy, and closely circumscribed their movements. Hasteng, in this emergency, had recourse to fraud. He offered to depart the kingdom on receiving a sum of money; he gave hostages; and as a further pledge of his sincerity, he sent his two sons to Alfred that they might be baptized. The king consented to the proposals of Hasteng. Thereupon the vigilance of the Saxons relaxed, and the Danish host at Apuldre succeeded in passing through the forest of Andredswald into Wessex, which they began to lay waste. But they were quickly overtaken by Alfred and his son Edward, and defeated at Farnham with great slaughter, losing all their horses and booty. The survivors, bearing with them a wounded king, fled to the isle of Thorney, and after a time sought and obtained permission to leave the kingdom. In the meanwhile, the East Anglian Danes, (who had lately lost their king, Guthorn-Athelstan,) and the Northumbrians, broke out into revolt; and while Alfred was yet besieging Thorney he learnt that they had appeared before Exeter with 100 sail, while another fleet was ravaging North Devon. The king immediately hurried to the relief of the West; but he had scarcely departed when Hasteng, who had so lately pledged his word to depart the kingdom, merely transferred his camp from Milton to Bamfleet in Essex, and commenced ravaging the country. He had gone forth on a second plundering expedition, when the viceroy Ethered, taking advantage of his absence, attacked and stormed the great camp at Bamfleet. All the ships, the plunder, with the wives and children of the Danes, fell into the hands of the victors. Alfred, with lofty generosity, sent back to the faithless sea-king his wife and sons; and from that time the name of Hasteng no more appears among the enemies of the Anglo-Saxon monarch.

Still the Danes continued their inroads. When driven from one province they suddenly fell upon another, and committed innumerable injuries before they could be opposed in sufficient force. One army successively invaded, devastated, and was expelled from Devon, Essex, Cheshire, North Wales, Northumbria, and East Anglia. At last they sailed up the Thames, and thence up the Lea to a spot about twenty
ALFRED.

miles from London, where they fortified themselves and their ships. The Londoners, joined by other forces, sallied out against them, but were defeated with the loss of four of the "king's thanes." After this, Alfred took up a position to protect the gathering in of the harvest; and one day, as the king rode along the bank of the Lea, he observed a place where the course of the river might be obstructed, and the egress of the Danish ships prevented. He forthwith moved his army to the spot and commenced the works; upon which the Danes, foreseeing the event, without an attempt to impede his operations abandoned their camp and ships, and traversed the island to the Severn, where they again fortified themselves for the winter. The charge of the deserted camp was committed to the men of London, who, after selecting the best of the piratical vessels to grace their triumphant return to the city, broke up the rest. In the meantime, the cavalry of the army followed the invaders into the west; but the Northmen maintained their ground at Bridgenorth throughout the winter and following spring. Then at length they gave up the.
The Danes abandon England.

Alfred improves his navy.


Death of Alfred.

The last dangerous invasion of the Northmen during the reign of Alfred. The Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia, however, still continued from time to time to ravage the southern coasts. To repress these active pirates, the king adopted the most energetic measures. He designed and caused to be built a new class of ships, unlike the Danish or Frisian vessels in shape, but constructed "so as it seemed to him that they would be most efficient." They were nearly twice as long, swifter, steadier, and higher out of the water; some of them with sixty oars, and others with more. To assist his own subjects in the management of them, he engaged the services of a body of Frisians, mariners who were reputed the equals of the Scandinavians in naval skill. In one of the actions, however, in which the new ships were engaged, they were not well handled; and some of them getting aground, much loss ensued, and part of the Danish squadron escaped for the time. But two of these vessels were so much damaged that they were soon driven on shore, and the crews being captured, were led to the king at Winchester. Alfred determined to make a terrible example of these pirates, and commanded that the whole number should be hanged. During the summer of 897, no less than twenty Danish vessels with their crews were lost on the southern coast of England.

The four last years of the reign of Alfred would appear to have passed in perfect tranquility; no more important events being recorded concerning them than the deaths of the ealdorman of Wiltshire and of the bishop of London.

At length, after a reign of thirty years and six months, Alfred the Great died, on the 28th of October, 901, being then in the fifty-third year of his age. By his queen, Alswitha, (daughter of Ethelred, a Mercian ealdorman, and Eadburga, a princess of the house of Penda,) he left two sons, Edward and Ethelward; and three daughters, Ethelfleda, married to Ethered of Mercia, Ethelgiva, abbess of Shaftesbury, and Alfritha, wife of Baldwin, count of Flanders.
EDWARD.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

The right of Edward, the eldest son of Alfred, to the throne of Wessex was disputed by his cousin Ethelwald, son of the late king Ethelred. The Witena-gemot, however, in accordance with his father's Will, rejected the claim of Ethelwald; upon which that prince seized upon the royal castles of Wimborne and Twineham. His cause, however, found few supporters, for he had incurred the public reprobation by carrying off a nun from her convent. On the approach of Edward to Wimborne, Ethelwald,—after declaring that there he would "live, or lie"—fled away by night, and took refuge among the heathen Danes of Northumbria, by whom he was received as their king. The next year he landed in Essex, and gained possession of that country. Then, having induced Eric, the son and successor of Guthorm-Athelstan, to join him, he broke into Mercia, and after a rapid and successful foray, retired again before the king could reach him. Edward, however, followed up the confederates, and in revenge overran Essex and East Anglia from the dykes of Cambridge to the mouth of the Dese. He then withdrew his army in a compact body, all but the Kentish division, which remaining behind, notwithstanding repeated orders, was overtaken by Eric and Ethelwald, and completely defeated. This disaster, however, was amply compensated to Edward by the deaths of the Danish monarch and of the rebel prince, who fell in the battle. (A.D. 925.)

From this time forth the warlike Edward devoted his energies to the subjugation of the Northmen who had established themselves in England. He began the work by a successful expedition into Northumbria; and when the men of that province retaliated upon Mercia, the royal army overtook them as they retired, and defeated them with the loss of two kings, two jarls, and many thousand warriors.

Notwithstanding his past successes, however, it was evident to Edward, that in order to accomplish the arduous task before him, the closer union of the Anglo-Saxon states under one head was essential. Accordingly, upon the death, in 912, of his brother-in-law Ethelred, the king united to Wessex an important portion of Mercia, including the cities of London and Oxford. The remainder he left under the government of his sister Ethelfleda, the widow of Ethelred, who continued to wield its power in complete accordance with her brother's views, and with a military ability
scarcely inferior to his own. The "Lady of Mercia," as she was called, frequently took the field in person, and by the force or the terror of her arms greatly enlarged the northern limits of her government. After building a line of fortresses from Warwick to Runcorn in Cheshire, she advanced into the Danish possessions, and taking by storm the town of Derby, subjugated the surrounding country. Leicester was given up to her by treaty; and the Danes of York acknowledged her superiority. The Welsh having given her cause of offence, Ethelfleda sent an army against them, which stormed Brecknock, and captured the wife of the British king.

Upon the death, in 919, of this heroic princess, Edward at once incorporated with his own dominions the province which she had governed and enlarged. The claims of his niece, Elfwina, the only child of Ethelfleda and Ethered, were not regarded; and, lest she should find in some enemy of her uncle a champion of her rights—it was said that she had affianced herself to Reynold the Dane—the young princess was removed under ward into the territory of Wessex.

The policy of Alfred in guarding his kingdom by numerous fortifications was followed with great energy and success by his son and daughter. Under their vigorous rule the Saxon frontier encroached year by year upon the Danish conquests; and as it was advanced, strongly walled towns were built, and fortresses erected, to guard the recovered land, and bridle the hostile territory. The inhabitants of these burghs, constantly acting together, acquired a military organization, efficiency, and spirit, to which the Saxons had long been strangers, and which soon rendered them a match for their active enemies. Moreover, Edward enacted that all trade and commerce should be carried on in fortified towns alone; and the wealth of the Anglo-Saxons being thus in great measure protected, the Northmen in time found their expeditions more difficult, more hazardous, and less profitable. In vain did the Danish chiefs attempt to possess themselves of the new strongholds and recover their lost ground; not one of the royal fortresses ever yielded to their arms. On the other hand, the king, pursuing his father's system, kept a strong force constantly under arms, and was ever ready to seize any advantage. At length, wearied out and dispirited, the Danes of East Anglia and Essex took the oath of allegiance to the Saxon
monarch, and acknowledged Edward as their "Lord and Protector." (a.d. 921.)

The power of Edward was now so formidable to his neighbours, that in rapid succession he received the homage of the kings of North Wales, of Northumbria, of the Scots, and of the Britons of Strathclyde. And then, after a reign of unvaried military success, and at the height of his glory, king Edward the Elder died at Farringdon, in Mercia. In a few days his death was followed by that of his eldest son Ethelward, at Oxford; and the two princes were buried in the new Minster which Alfred had founded and Edward had completed at Winchester. (a.d. 925.)

ATHELSTAN.

Atiinelstan, the eldest surviving son of the late king, had been the favourite of his grandfather Alfred, who had admitted him to the profession of arms at an age unusually early, investing him on the occasion with a scarlet cloak, a belt studded with precious stones, and a sword in a golden scabbard. The boy having early lost his mother, Alfred had confided him to the care of his aunt Ethelfleda, and at her court Athelstan became skilled in literature no less than in arms. There too he so gained the favour of the people of Mercia, that on his father's death, his accession to the crown was hailed with joy in that province. In Wessex, however, a conspiracy, headed by the Etheling Alfred, was formed to exclude Athelstan as illegitimate, and (as he declared) to deprive him of sight. The plot was discovered, and Alfred, having been at his own demand sent to Rome to swear to his innocence before the pope, fell down before the altar of St. Peter's after taking the oath, and died on the third night afterwards. This sudden death of the Etheling was believed to be the proof of his guilt. His estates were adjudged to the king by the Witan; and Athelstan, in gratitude for his deliverance, bestowed them upon the abbey of Malmesbury.

Athelstan had reached the age of thirty when he ascended the throne, and his reputation for wisdom and valour already stood so high, that Sihtric, king of Northumbria, who had long withstood the power of Edward, at once sought his friendship and alliance. The Dane even consented to be baptized, and thereupon received in marriage a sister of the Anglo-Saxon monarch. It is said, however, that the new convert
soon repudiated both his religion and his bride. It is certain that he
died within the year; and Athelstan, seizing the opportunity, immediately
annexed Northumbria to his own dominions. The two sons of Sihtric
fled; Guthfrid amongst the Scots, Anlaf to Ireland. On the demand
of Athelstan for the surrender of Guthfrid, he again fled; but after-
wards gave himself up to the king, who received him with kindness.
In a few days, however, the Dane betook himself to his ships, and
resumed the life of a sea-king.

The vigour and ability of Athelstan, with the resources at his com-
mand, soon compelled the respect and submission of the other princes
of the island. Even in the second year of his reign, his court was
attended by Constantine, Howel, and Owen, the kings of the Scots
and of the Welsh, who begged for peace, and did him homage in the
Saxon manner. From the Welsh he required a tribute in money, cattle,
hunting-dogs, and hawks.

When Athelstan seized upon Northumbria, Anlaf, one of the sons
of Sihtric, had escaped to Ireland. After eleven years of exile the
Danish prince returned to recover his father’s kingdom. In 937 he
arrived in the Humber at the head of a fleet of six hundred and fifteen
vessels manned by Irish-Danes, Norwegians, and other warlike adven-
turers. At the same moment, his father-in-law, the king of Scots, and
an army of Britons, invading the territory of Athelstan, hastened from
opposite quarters to join his enemy. The strength of the confederate
hosts rendered vain any attempt at resistance on the part of the local
forces. The royal lieutenants, therefore, endeavoured by negotiation to
gain time for the arrival of succours. In the meanwhile the king, with
his brother Edmund, and a numerous English army, reinforced by the
bands of several sea-kings, was advancing to the point of danger. At
Beverley, Athelstan laid his dagger on the altar of the church, and vowed
that if victory should be granted him, he would redeem the weapon in
a manner befitting a king. The armies were no sooner in presence
than Anlaf made a night attack upon the royal camp, and nearly succeeded
in slaying Athelstan himself. Two days afterwards, however, the king
completely crushed the confederacy against him by the great victory
of Brunanburh. The battle raged from sunrise to sunset, and at its
close Anlaf and the king of Scots escaped by flight, but five sea-kings,
seven jarls, and many thousand of their warriors, lay dead upon the field.

This signal victory gave peace to England during the remaining years of Athelstan's reign, and augmented the high reputation of that monarch both at home and abroad. His rule was obeyed by all Saxon and Danish men from the Tyne to the southern coasts; and his supremacy was acknowledged by the Britons and the Scots. With Sihtric the race of vassal kings had disappeared; and the royal commands were now carried out in each province by the ealdormen and jarls appointed by the king. Athelstan was the first king of England.

From the commencement of his reign, the friendship of Athelstan had been sought by the most powerful princes of the continent. Hugh the Great (father of king Hugh Capet, and himself long the ruler of the Franks without the title of king,) asked and obtained the hand of Ethilda, one of the seven sisters of the English monarch. The presents which Athelstan received on this occasion attested the value which Count Hugh set upon his alliance. They included rare perfumes, precious stones, especially emeralds; many fine horses, richly caparisoned; the sword of Constantine the Great; the spear of Charlemagne; a diadem of gold and jewels; and several highly venerated relics. Harold Hardrada, the potent king of Norway, entrusted his second son, Haco, to the care of the English monarch, who brought up the young prince as a Christian, and afterwards, on the expulsion of his elder brother, placed him on the Norwegian throne. Two other princes long enjoyed the hospitality of Athelstan, and owed their restoration to their paternal thrones in a great degree to his powerful assistance. The first was Alain of Brittany; whose father, driven out of his native land by the fury of Rollo and the Northmen, had formerly taken refuge in England, and placed his son under the protection of king Edward. The other was his own nephew, Louis, (son of his sister Ogive and Charles the Simple, king of France), whose long exile in England caused him to receive from his countrymen the surname, d'Outremer. It was the influence of Athelstan with William I., duke of Normandy, and (probably) with Hugh the Great, that led to the recall of Louis. After Louis had recovered the sceptre of his father, being on one occasion hardly pressed by his enemies, he applied to his uncle for assistance, and Athelstan
despatched the English fleet to create a diversion in his favour by ravaging the coasts of Flanders. This successful operation was the first instance of the intervention of England in the affairs of the continent.

Shortly after the battle of Brunanburh the alliance of the king of England was sought by the emperor Henry the Fowler, who requested that one of Athelstan's sisters might become the bride of his son Otho. The king sent Edith and Ediva to Germany under the care of his chancellor, or secretary, the celebrated Turketel. Otho chose Edith; but Ediva also found a princely husband in the dominions of the emperor. Elgiva, another sister, was married to Louis of Arles, prince of Aquitaine. The other three became nuns.

Under the rule of Athelstan, England reached a high degree of prosperity and reputation. Peace generally prevailed in the king's dominions. Commerce flourished. A large revenue appears to have been raised without oppression of the people. The purity of the coinage, the improvement of the laws, and the administration of justice, were each vigilantly guarded by the king. Beloved at home, and respected abroad, Athelstan died, like his father and grandfather, in the very vigour of his age. (Oct. 27, 941.) This prince was the worthy grandson of Alfred; religious, wise in counsel, skilful and bold in action; a careful legislator, a conscientious administrator, cultivated, munificent, and charitable. Somewhat reserved with his nobility, he was affable with the clergy and laity of lower rank, and to the poor especially kind. In person, Athelstan was thin, and of middle height; his hair, which was flaxen, he was accustomed to wear entwined with golden threads.

EDMUND.

Edmund the brother of Athelstan succeeded him on the throne at the age of eighteen. Scarcely had he been crowned at Kingston, when he heard that the Northumbrians, relieved from the terror of the late king's name, had recalled Anlaf from Ireland, and were in full revolt. Edmund hastened to encounter the invader, who, with his rebellious host, had already advanced as far as Tamworth; but in spite of his valour and ability, the result of the campaign was very unfavourable to the young king. It is probable that he found himself betrayed on every side by the Danish settlers in England, and especially by the
inhabitants of "the five burghs," as they were called, Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln—a most important line of fortresses, in which the Northmen had been permitted to remain on their submission to Edward the Elder. Be this as it may, however, Edmund was obliged to yield to Anlaf all the old Danish provinces north of the Watling Street, or road from London to Chester.

The work of Edward and of Athelstan seemed to have been undone at a blow; but, at the end of twelve months, Anlaf died, and Edmund promptly took the field again. The five burghs were taken one after the other, the Northmen expelled, and their places supplied by colonies of English. In the meantime Northumbria had been divided between two Danish chiefs—another Anlaf, and Reginald, who called himself king of York. On the advance of Edmund, however, these princes made their submission, and consented to receive baptism. Nevertheless, the royal forces had no sooner left the country than Anlaf and Reginald began to lay waste the territory of Edmund; upon which, the Danish archbishop of York and the ealdorman of Mercia, uniting their forces, quickly expelled the faithless princes from the kingdom.

Having thus restored the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon sway over its ancient territory, Edmund determined to subdue the Britons of Cumbria, who had long been the useful allies of the Danes in England. He marched into their country, defeated Dunmail their king near Keswick, and handed over Cumbria to Malcolm king of Scots, to be held of the Saxon crown, on condition, "that he should be his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land."

Edmund had not reigned six years when his life was brought to a violent close. As the king was presiding at a banquet on St. Augustine's day, (a great festival with the Anglo-Saxons), he observed amongst the guests a certain robber, named Leofa, whom he had formerly banished for his crimes. Indignant at the sight, he sent his cupbearer to order the intruder from the hall; but seeing that the commands of that officer were of no avail, and that his life was even in danger, Edmund hurried to the spot and seized the outlaw by the hair, upon which Leofa turned upon him with his dagger and stabbed him to the heart. In this manner died Edmund, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, at Puckle-church in Gloucestershire. (June 26, 946.)
EDRED.

By his queen, the admirable Elfgiva, Edmund left two sons, Edwy and Edgar; but they were both so young that the crown was given by the Witan to their uncle Edred, the last of the sons of Edward the Elder. Immediately after his coronation, the new king proceeded to the north, and received the homage of the Northumbrians, the Cumbrians, and the Scots. Scarcely, however, had he returned to the south, when he received intelligence that Eric, the expelled tyrant of Norway, who had for many years led the life of a sea-king, had landed in Northumbria, and been welcomed as their sovereign by the pernicious and turbulent natives. The suppression of this rebellion was the chief work of Edred's reign. After six years of intermittent warfare, Northumbria was finally subdued, and divided into shires like the rest of England. Each subdivision was placed under a royal officer, and the whole province was governed by an earl appointed by the king.

In his administration of the kingdom, Edred was much indebted to the councils of two of his ministers: his cousin the chancellor, (or royal secretary), Turketel, who had held the office under the two preceding monarchs, and Dunstan, his confessor, whom the late king had appointed abbot of Glastonbury. After the retirement of Turketel, in 953, to the monastery of Croyland, Dunstan held the chief place in the confidence of the king, who entrusted to his care the royal treasures, and acted in most things by his advice.

Although so successful in war, Edred, like his grandfather Alfred, was a continual sufferer from painful disease, which he bore with the greatest resignation. At length, worn out by repeated attacks of his malady, he expired in the tenth year of his reign, while yet in the prime of his age. (A.D. 955.)

EDWY THE HANDSOME.

Edwy, the eldest son of Edmund, who, on account of his youth, had been passed over on the death of his father, was now elected to the throne left vacant by his uncle. His reign was short and troubled.

On the very day of his coronation he offended the assembled clergy and nobles, by leaving the banquet given on the occasion, and retiring...
from the hall. Kinsey, a bishop, and the abbot Dunstan were chosen by the rest, and ordered to bring the king back to his seat. Edwy yielded; but from that moment cherished a deep resentment against Dunstan. Abandoning the policy of his father and uncle, he embraced the party of the married clergy against the monks, banished Dunstan, and dissolved his monasteries. The conduct of the king excited the opposition of all his relatives. They were forbidden the court, and the estates of his grandmother, queen Eadgiva, were confiscated. Proscriptions and forfeitures swelled the discontent. At length the Mercians and Northumbrians rose, expelled Edwy, and made his brother Edgar king in his place. The men of Kent and Wessex consented to the revolution, but themselves remained subject to Edwy until his death in 959.

EDGAR THE PACIFIC.

Edgar was no sooner seated upon the throne of Mercia, than Dunstan was recalled from his exile. His monasteries could not be restored to him, for they were still in the power of Edwy; but he was raised to the episcopacy at the request of the Witan of Mercia, and accepted first the see of Worcester, and afterwards that of London.

On the death of Edwy, the nobles of Wessex at once elected Edgar to succeed him, and thus the two kingdoms were again united. The acts of the late king were reversed. The royal widow of Edward the Elder recovered her estates; Glastonbury and Abingdon were restored to Dunstan; and the nobles who had suffered in their property were compensated for their losses. Edwy had, shortly before his death, nominated Byrhtelm, bishop of Sherborne, to the vacant primacy. This appointment was now annulled; and Dunstan, named in place of Byrhtelm, was sent to Rome to receive the pallium.

The counsels of the new primate were ever received with respect by Edgar, and to his sagacity and great influence must be attributed much of the success which attended the government of the king. Edgar was happy, too, in the attachment with which he had inspired the Northumbrians and the Mercians, amongst whom he had been brought up, and who regarded him as their own. They therefore submitted with cheerfulness to his rule, and these turbulent people being content, his dominions were never, during his whole reign, disturbed by internal com-
motions. Edgar, on his side, although he always treated his Danish subjects with distinguished favour, was fully aware of their dangerous qualities, and he took the first opportunity to weaken their power, quietly, and without offence. On the death of Osulf, the first earl of Northumbria, the king divided the country into two earldoms.

In order to preserve his kingdom from external enemies, Edgar assembled every summer his fleets on each coast of the island. His force consisted of 360 sail, forming three divisions. With the eastern squadron he moved along the southern coasts to the west: then, dismissing that armament, he proceeded with the western squadron up the Irish channel to the north, where a third division awaited him, with which he coasted the eastern side of the island. The sea-kings were careful to avoid an encounter with this formidable force, and during the reign of Edgar, England remained entirely free from their depredations.

In the winter and spring the king was continually traversing the various provinces of his realm, watching and controlling his great officers; and endeavouring, by punishments of terrible severity, to eradicate crime from the land. "Let this ordinance," said Edwin to the Danish Witan at York, "be common to all my people, English, Danes, and Britons, on every side of my dominions—that both rich and poor possess in peace whatever they lawfully acquire; and that no thief shall know where to secure the property which he has stolen." And when, in 968, the men of Thanet, who were inveterate pirates, plundered several merchantmen, the king ordered the island to be laid waste, as if it were an enemy's country, and hanged the most guilty of the inhabitants.

Edgar also determined to free his kingdom from the wild animals which infested it, and to this end he required the Welsh to pay him a tribute of 300 wolves' heads in place of that which they had hitherto furnished. The new tribute was paid for three years. In the fourth, the Welsh prince Judwal declared that the wolves had been extirpated.

Such was the power and reputation of Edgar, that without having ever drawn the sword, he extorted the submissive respect of all the neighbouring princes. He styled himself—"Sovereign of all Albion, and of the Sea or Island kings dwelling around the same;" and during the sixteen years of his reign he found no one bold enough to dispute in arms his claim to these lofty titles.

Notwithstanding the great power of Edgar, and his love of regal state, he was not crowned until after he had reigned for thirteen years. At length, in the year 973, he was crowned and anointed at Bath with great pomp, Dunstan and all the bishops of England assisting at the ceremony. After a short interval the king performed his annual voyage round the island, and coming to Chester, was met there according to his appointment by eight sovereign princes, his vassals. Kenneth, king of Scotland, his son Malcolm, king of Cumbria, Mac Orric, of the Isles, with Dafnaf, of South Wales, Siferth and Howel, of North Wales, Jacob, of Galloway, and Jukel, of Westmoreland, took the oath of homage to their superior lord. It was on this occasion that Edgar, entering his barge to visit in state the church of St. John the Baptist, placed the eight tributary princes at the oars, and taking the helm himself, proceeded in that manner up the Dee, accompanied by his nobles in their barges, amid the acclamations of a vast concourse of spectators who lined the banks of the river. Having performed his devotions, he returned with like
pomp to the palace; and on entering it, is said to have observed to his courtiers, that any of his successors might boast that he was king of England when he had as many kings in his service.

Edgar survived his coronation little more than two years, and died in 975, at the age of thirty-one. He married twice. By his first wife, Elfleda the Fair, he had Edward, who succeeded him. By his second, Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devonshire, he had two sons, of whom only the younger, Ethelred, survived him.

Edgar was slight, and short of stature, but endowed with extraordinary strength. Referring to his diminutive size, Kenneth, king of the Scots, is reported to have remarked unguardedly at table, that it was wonderful to him how so many provinces should be subject to such a sorry little fellow. These words were heard by a certain minstrel, and maliciously repeated by him to the king. Edgar, concealing the circumstance from his friends, took an occasion to lead Kenneth alone into the recesses of a wood, and producing two swords, bade him take one and prove his strength. "I will make it appear," added he, "which of us ought to command the other; nor shall you stir a foot until you try the matter with me." Kenneth declared that he had but jested, and solicited a pardon, which was at once accorded.

In his earlier years Edgar was licentious in his morals. His acknowledgment of his sins, however, his humble submission to the reproofs of Dunstan, and his acceptance of the penances imposed upon him by the archbishop—one of which was the long postponement of his coronations—preserved his name from the infamy which would otherwise have justly attached to it. The zeal, too, with which he ever supported the efforts of Dunstan for the reformation of the clergy, as well as of all other orders of men, the vigilant energy which he displayed in the civil and military administration of the kingdom, and the success which attended his exertions, all combined to veil his errors, and to exalt his reputation not only in life, but long after his death. "He reared up God's house, he loved God's law, he preserved the people's peace; the best of all the kings that were before in the memory of man." And during the reign of his second son, an assembly of the clergy of England, complaining of the evils that then afflicted the nation, solemnly declared, that "since Edgar ended, there had been more robbers than righteous."
Edward, the eldest son of Edgar, was, both by priority of birth and by the will of his father, the rightful heir to the crown. Nevertheless, a powerful party was immediately formed to oppose his accession. His stepmother, Elfrida, anxious to obtain the sceptre for her own son, Ethelred, (a child scarcely seven years of age,) and to govern in his name, united with a portion of the nobility and with the party friendly to the secular clergy, in order to deprive Edward of his inheritance. On the other hand, archbishop Dunstan, with all the bishops and the greater part of the nobility, espoused the cause of the elder prince, and they succeeded in placing him upon the throne.

In the meanwhile, the contest between the partizans of the secular canons and those of the monastic clergy had been renewed with the utmost acrimony. At first the canons recovered part of the ground which they had lost. Elfere, the powerful ealdorman of Mercia, expelled all the monks from the establishments which they had gained in that province during the reign of Edgar, and replaced them by the married clergy. Many others of the great nobles followed the example of Elfere. The monks, however, did not want zealous defenders. Ethelwin, ealdorman of East Anglia, with his brother Athwold, and Brihtnoth, ealdorman of Essex, declared that "they would not suffer the chief depositaries of religion in the kingdom to be driven out of it;" and, assembling their forces, they protected the monasteries in the eastern provinces from any disturbance. At last, after Edward had been seated on the throne, the questions in dispute were referred to a more peaceable decision. National synods were held successively at Winchester and Calne; and on each occasion, after much debating, the influence of the primate prevailed, and the cause of the monks was finally triumphant.

Notwithstanding the opposition which Elfrida had offered to his accession, the young king ever treated his stepmother and her son with respect and affection. It is even said that he left much of the royal authority in the hands of Elfrida. She, meanwhile, unsof tened by his confidence, still nourished her ambitious designs, and eagerly watched for an opportunity of accomplishing them. Nor had she long to wait.

It happened that Edward, while hunting one day in Dorsetshire, got separated from his attendants; and finding himself, towards evening, in...
the neighbourhood of Corfe castle, where Elfrida and her son were then residing rode thither to pay them a visit. He was received at the gate by Elfrida, who offered him a cup of mead for refreshment; but while

the young king was eagerly drinking, one of her attendants stabbed him through the body with a dagger. Edward, feeling himself wounded, set spurs to his horse in order to escape; but soon slipping from the saddle,
he was dragged along by one foot entangled in the stirrup, and died in that miserable manner. The corpse, being discovered by the track of blood, was taken up, and buried privately at Wareham; upon which his enemies displayed an extreme joy, "as if they had buried his memory with his body." The youth, the virtues, and the tragical death of Edward excited a general outburst of pity, admiration, and reverence in his regard. He was popularly dignified by the name of "the Martyr;" and, two years after his death, his body was removed from Wareham to a magnificent sepulchre at Shaftesbury; Elfêre, the great enemy, associating himself on the occasion with Dunstan, the chief friend, of the murdered sovereign.

**Ethelred II., "The Unready."**

It was not without difficulty that the son of Elfrida was permitted to enjoy the fruit of her crime, and to wear the crown of his murdered brother. A design was even entertained by some of raising to the throne in his stead Edgitha, the illegitimate daughter of king Edgar; but she herself declined to consent to it. As there was no other scion of the royal house who could be opposed to Ethelred, he was recognised as king, and crowned at Kingston by Archbishop Dunstan, who is reported to have uttered on the occasion a prophecy of impending woes for him and for his kingdom. (April 14, 978.)

Elfrida exercised for some time considerable power over the councils of her son; but at length smitten, it is said, with remorse, she retired from his court to a nunnery which she had lately founded at Wherwell, and there spent many years in penitence, and in every kind of rigorous austerity.

When Ethelred ascended the throne, England had enjoyed a peace of nearly twenty-five years' duration. Since the rebellion of the Northumbrians had been suppressed by Edred, in 954, the kingdom had not seen a hostile force within its bounds. Now, however, under a young prince, weak, indolent, luxurious, contemned by the turbulent, and alienated from the clergy and a large portion of his subjects, a fatal change took place. Ethelred had not reigned for three years, when a Danish force ventured to land at Southarpton, which they stormed, slaying and leading away into captivity the greater part of the inhabitants.
The like fate quickly befel the isle of Thanet; and, within the same year, Cheshire was ravaged by a northern "ship-force." These were but insignificant expeditions. Their complete success, however, proved to the Northmen that the wealth of England was no longer guarded by the sword of an Alfred, an Athelstan, or an Edgar. The fleets of the sea-kings, therefore, once more began to gather about the island, and their piratical hosts to extend their incursions over all the maritime counties.

By the thirteenth year of Ethelred's reign, so formidable had the Danish inroads become, and so hopeless appeared the prospect of effectual resistance, that Siric, archbishop of Canterbury, counselled the attempt to purchase, first, the forbearance of the principal Danish chieftains, and then, their services against all other invaders. This expedient had a temporary success. Part of the Danes returned home; part remained in the English waters as allies of the king. In less than a year, however, Ethelred, perhaps with good reason, made an attempt to surprise the fleet of his protectors; but Alfric, earl of Mercia, the commander of the English force, not only sent warning to the Danes, but joined them himself in their flight, which was not effected without much difficulty and loss. Unable to revenge himself upon Alfric, the king ordered the eyes of Algar, the traitor's son, to be put out; yet, notwithstanding this, the earl afterwards returned to his allegiance; was again trusted; and again betrayed his trust.

It was not long before the Danish invasions recommenced. In the year 993, Northumbria was ravaged, the three commandes of the royal army being the first to fly on the approach of the enemy. In the next year the danger became more threatening. A powerful armament, commanded by Olave, king of Norway, and Sweyn, king of Denmark, sailed up the Thames and attacked London. Repelled by the strength of the fortifications and the valour of the citizens, the invaders devastated without mercy Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, "doing unspeakable evil." The alarm, disunion, and treachery around him again caused Ethelred to purchase the forbearance of his enemies. He offered the confederates food, winter-quarters, and, moreover, 16,000 pounds in money, if they would agree to quit the kingdom. These terms were accepted, and by Olave, who was a Christian, faithfully kept.
left alone, was too weak to violate the treaty, and also retired, harboring a deep resentment against his scrupulous ally, which he afterwards gratified by the death of Olave.

Two years had scarcely elapsed when the Danes again renewed their ravages; and again incapacity and treachery marred every attempt to chastise the invaders. After several years of suffering and humiliation for his kingdom, Ethelred, with the concurrence of his Witan, once more purchased a temporary respite by the payment to the pirates of 24,000 pounds.

In 1002, the king, to bind to his interests the powerful rulers of Normandy, married Emma, daughter of the duke Richard I. His subsequent neglect of the queen, however, offended her relations, and Ethelred derived no political advantage from the union.

In all the late invasions, the foreign Danes had been greatly assisted by their kinsmen settled amongst the English, especially by those more recently established in the island. This faithless conduct engendered in the minds of the natives the utmost exasperation; and the ministers of Ethelred, under pretense that the strangers meditated a general slaughter and plunder of the English, resolved to exterminate them at a blow. The king sent secret orders to every county and every town, that on a certain day and at an appointed hour the English should rise and slay all the Danes who dwelt amongst them. The festival of St. Brice was selected for the crime, and the secret having been kept with atrocious fidelity, the massacre was accomplished with perfect success. Amongst the victims was Gunhilda, the sister of Sweyn, but a convert to Christianity, and the wife of Palling, a noble Dane who had settled in England. This murder was perpetrated at the express command of Edric Streon, the favourite of Ethelred; and Gunhilda, after seeing her husband and only son slain before her face, received her death stroke with invincible fortitude, prophesying that her brother would take a terrible revenge for her blood.

The prediction was quickly fulfilled. In the following spring the king of Denmark returned to England, and for four years ravaged and slew and burned almost without restraint. At length Sweyn suffered his anger to be appeased by a payment of 36,000 pounds of silver, which the degraded Ethelred and his Witan offered him; and on receiving the money he once more departed to his own kingdom.
Freed for a time from their enemies, the king of England and his council determined upon making a great effort for future defence. A heavy tax for providing new ships and armour was laid upon the land, and in less than a year the largest fleet that England had seen was assembled at Sandwich. To that port the king and his principal thanes repaired; but they had scarcely assembled before the most violent dissensions broke out. Britric, the brother of Edric Streon, accused of treason Wulfnoth, the "child" of Sussex. Upon this Wulfnoth retired in anger, and having withdrawn twenty ships from the royal fleet, began to plunder the southern coasts like a pirate. He was quickly pursued by Britric with eighty vessels, to take him alive or dead, but these having been shattered and wrecked by a storm, Wulfnoth returned and burned the whole squadron. This disaster being known, Ethelred and his nobles quitted the fleet in despair; and the hopes which had lately inspired the whole nation fell to the ground.

No sooner had the great English armament broken up than the Danes reappeared, not indeed under the command of Sweyn, but led by Thurkill, a chief whose brother had lately fallen in England, and who, with the permission of his sovereign, now sought the island for the purpose of vengeance. For three years did his bands devastate the country. Oxford, Cambridge, Northampton, and Canterbury were sacked and burned by this furious warrior. At Canterbury nearly the whole population was slain. The life of the archbishop was spared for some months by his captors in the hope of a heavy ransom; but the venerable Elphege refused to ask or to allow his clergy to ask for such a sum; and the barbarians at last losing patience, slew him after one of their drunken festivals. Having desolated seventeen counties, Thurkill and his pirates, in consideration of the sum of 48,000 pounds, entered the service of Ethelred, and engaged to defend him against every other invader.

Ethelred had need of faithful defenders, for Sweyn had assembled a great fleet and army, with which he now openly threatened the conquest of England. Towards the end of the summer of 1013, the king of Denmark appeared off Sandwich with a magnificent armament; but having failed in an attempt to gain over the mercenaries under Thurkill, he sailed to the Humber, and threw himself among the Anglo-Danes of
ETHELRED II.

the northern provinces. His authority was acknowledged by earl Æthelred and the Northumbrians, the people of Lindsey, the "Five Boroughs," and, before long, by the whole country north of the Watling Street. Having received large reinforcements from these districts, he left his fleet, with the hostages, under the care of his son Canute, and marched southwards, plundering, burning, and slaying, as far as the Thames. Oxford and Winchester in terror sent him hostages and promises of submission. London, however, which was defended by Ethelred and Thurkill, offered a vigorous resistance to his attacks; upon which he drew off his forces, and marching into the West, received at Bath the homage of all the thanes of those parts as king of England. The Londoners seeing the defection of the rest of the kingdom, now abandoned Ethelred: and that unhappy prince, having previously sent his queen to her brother's court to prepare the way, took refuge in Normandy.

Sweyn was now king of England; but he had not enjoyed the dignity three weeks when he died, (Feb. 1013), leaving the crown to his son Canute. This act was at once ratified by the Danish army, but the English seized the opportunity to recover their independence. The Witan sent for Ethelred, declaring, that "no lord was dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them better than he had hitherto done." In reply, Ethelred promised amendment, and forgiveness of all past offences. His return was hailed with enthusiasm; and he quickly found himself at the head of a numerous army, with which he at once struck at Canute, who was at the time in the district of Lindsey. The Danish prince, unprepared for the attack, took to his ships and sailed to the southward: but having heard of the military execution which had befallen his adherents in East Anglia, he caused the noble hostages, who had formerly been delivered to his father, to be deprived of their hands, ears, and noses, and in that state to be put ashore at Sandwich. Then he returned to Denmark, to prepare for further vengeance.

In the meantime, Ethelred, untaught by experience, had resumed his ancient policy of treachery and blood. During the meeting of the Witan which he had assembled at Oxford, the king caused two of the members, Sigeferth and Morcar, Danes of the highest rank, to be murdered. Edric Streon invited the two earls to a banquet, and had them struck down in the midst of their carousing, by assassins placed for
the purpose. Their attendants having upon this taken to arms, were worsted, and flew for refuge to the tower of St. Frideswith's church. The king, however, would not thus be balked of his prey, and commanding fire to be brought, consumed at once the sanctuary and his unhappy enemies. The possessions of the murdered noblemen were then confiscated, and Algiva, the widow of Sigeforth, a woman of remarkable beauty, was sent prisoner to Malmesbury. Edmund, the eldest son of Ethelred, claimed from his father the forfeited estates, but was refused. Thereupon the prince went to Malmesbury, married Algiva, rode with her to the north, and received the homage of her late husband's vassals. The retainers of Morcar also acknowledged him as their lord; and in this manner did the Etheling acquire the property he sought, in despite of his father and sovereign.

Thurkill had hitherto remained faithful to Ethelred, and had lately received from him, to the great discontent of the English, 21,000 pounds of silver for his troops; but now, either mistrusting the slayers of Sigeforth and Morcar, or anticipating the ultimate success of Canute, he fled with part of his force to Denmark, and made his peace with that monarch. The ill-news of this defection was soon followed by that of the arrival at Sandwich of Canute, with two hundred sail, manned by a picked force of Northmen. With the Danish king came Thurkill, eager to prove his new-born loyalty. He led the attack, and after encountering a fierce resistance, effected a landing. Canute, however, remained with the fleet, and pillaged the coasts of Kent and Wessex, until he came to Somersetshire. At this critical moment, Ethelred lay sick at Corsham; but Edmund, assembling the forces of the North, came down and formed a junction with those of Mercia, under the earl, Edric Streon. A quarrel, however, ensued between the chiefs; the armies separated again, leaving the field open to the enemy; and Edric almost immediately went over to Canute, taking with him about 3000 of the Danish auxiliaries in the pay of Ethelred.

At this juncture, the English, instead of uniting to expel their invaders, were engaged in domestic feuds and dissensions which enfeebled them to the last degree. When the brave and active Edmund assembled an army, nothing would content it but that the king should command in person, and that the Londoners should give their aid. When the
king joined the army; rumours of treachery in its ranks soon drove him back to London. Edmund then had recourse to the Northumbrians, and at their head ravaged some of the disaffected counties of Mercia. Canute, on his part, likewise avoiding a direct attack, moved upwards through the eastern counties, devastating as he went along; and penetrating into Northumbria, quickly induced the return and submission of earl Utreld and the troops then with Edmund. Thus abandoned, the Etheling hastened to London to rejoin his father. He found him fast sinking; and the unhappy Ethelred expired on St. George's day (April 23, 1016), just as Canute with all his forces was approaching to besiege him in his capital and last stronghold.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

The death of Ethelred was no sooner known, than a large proportion of the English prelates and nobles, renouncing the rule of his line, repaired to Southampton, and accepted Canute as their sovereign. On the other hand, most of the thanes in London, in concert with the citizens, proclaimed Edmund king; and that prince prepared to defend to the last the scanty possessions which yet remained to him. The danger was imminent; for Canute, at the head of a powerful fleet and army, soon appeared in the Thames, and sailing up the river, closely invested the capital. One point alone remained unguarded. Communication with the west was still open to Edmund by means of the Thames; for the Danish fleet could not pass the bridge which connected the city with the South-work. To elude this obstacle, Canute ordered a channel to be cut on the south bank of the Thames, through which he passed a division of his ships from the east to the west of the city, and thus closed every outlet by water. Another ditch was then drawn round the capital on the north side, and the investment was complete. Then assault followed assault, but every attack was victoriously repelled by the Londoners. Edmund, however, perceived that the city must ultimately fall, unless succoured from without. He therefore passed through the Danish fleet by night in a small boat, and escaped to the west, where he quickly rallied to his standard a large army of loyalists. The rumour of this broke up the siege; and Canute, leaving a division of observation in front of the capital, hastened with the bulk of his
army to crush his dangerous antagonist. The rivals met at Sceorstan; an obstinate conflict ensued, which lasted for two days with much slaughter, and then the armies separated. Earl Edric was in the host of Canute, and lent him important aid; but the traitor and his Danish master both nearly fell beneath the arm of Edmund, and the advantage on the whole remained with the English. Canute retreated during the night. Edmund followed him as soon as he had reorganized his forces, and compelled the Dane to raise the siege of London. Two days afterwards another battle was fought at Brentford, without any decisive result. Edmund returned into Wessex to recruit his army, upon which Canute again invested London, furiously assaulting it both by land and water; but being repulsed in every attempt, he withdrew his army, and after ravaging Mercia, retired into Kent. At Otford, however, Edmund came up with the invaders, and inflicted upon them a defeat, which, it is said, would have been fatal to the cause of Canute, had not the perfidious counsel of Edric induced Edmund to stop short in his pursuit of the flying enemy.

After this reverse, Canute retired to the isle of Sheppey, whence he crossed to the northern bank of the Thames, and again ravaged Mercia. He was returning through Essex when Edmund overtook and attacked him at Assingdon. A great battle ensued. The English hero was performing the duties of a good general and of a brave soldier, and, it is said, was gaining the advantage, when the treacherous flight of Edric and his division converted the victory into a disastrous defeat. Then was cut off the flower of the English nobility, amongst whom fell Elfric, Godwin of Lindsey, and the brave Ulfkytel of East Anglia, who had gained so much honour against King Sweyn. Besides these, Ednoth, bishop of Dorchester, and Wulsig, abbot of Ramsey, were slain in the field as they were praying for the success of their countrymen.

But not even this defeat could crush Edmund Ironside. He retreated, indeed, into Gloucestershire; but when Canute approached with his victorious army, he still presented a bold front to the invader. The nobility, however, on both sides, weary of slaughter, interposed, and in a manner compelled the two kings to agree to a compromise. Edmund and Canute met at Olney, a small island in the Severn, and confirmed the treaty, by which it was arranged that England should be divided.
between them. Edmund was to retain the supremacy, and the possession of Wessex, East Anglia, and Essex, with the city of London. Canute obtained Mercia and all Northumbria.

King Edmund survived the pacification scarcely a month. His death, which took place in London (Nov. 30, 1016), was attributed by many to the contrivance of the infamous Edric Streon.

If there were any party among the English at this juncture which desired to raise a native prince to the throne, it did not venture to stir; and Canute was elected king with apparent unanimity. The first act of the Danish prince was to divide the realm into four governments; appointing Thurkill to East Anglia, Edric anew to Mercia, and Eric again to Northumbria. The rule of Wessex he reserved to himself. He then proceeded to take other measures for the security of his new throne. He banished Edwy, the brother of Edmund Ironside, from England; and afterwards, when the exile, who was summoned "the King of the Churls," returned to his native land, ordered him, it is said, to be put to death. The children of Edmund were as yet too young to be formidable; but Canute deemed it advisable to remove them from the kingdom, and he placed them in the custody of his half-brother, Olave, King of Sweden. By him they were sent to Stephen, king of Hungary, who educated them royally, and treated them in all respects as his own children. But besides these, there still remained the two sons of Ethelred and Emma, who were safe in Normandy, and whose cause their uncle, the duke Richard, might at any moment take up. To obviate the danger from that quarter, Canute boldly offered his hand to Emma, who accepted it, and thus allied himself with the great enemy of her late husband, of his children, and of her own. (June, 1017).

Having by these means secured himself, for the present, at least, upon the throne of England, Canute commenced and steadily carried out a policy of conciliation towards his new subjects. The Saxon nobles were employed by him equally with his own countrymen in all civil and military offices. The recently arrived Danes were encouraged as much as possible to return to their native land. By imposing for the occasion a heavy tax upon the English, the king was enabled to free
them from his Danish army, which he dismissed to their homes contented with a liberal donative. He retained, however, the crews of forty ships, about three thousand men, to serve as a body-guard. Assembling at Oxford a great council of the two nations, he revived the laws of Edgar, and exerted his influence to bring about a general reconciliation. (A.D. 1018.) He founded a church at Assington, on the field of his great victory, in order that perpetual prayer might arise from that spot for the souls of the English and Danes slain in the battle. Nor was this all. He built churches with a like intent on each of his battle-fields. He restored throughout England the religious houses which his father or himself had formerly injured. Over the tomb of king Edmund, whom his countrymen had so cruelly martyred, he raised a magnificent church and monastery; and he translated with great pomp, from London to Canterbury, the remains of archbishop Elphege, a more recent victim of the Danes.

So assured did Canute feel after a time of the fidelity of the English, that he did not hesitate to leave the island and reside for months in his foreign dominions. Having engaged in a war with Sweden, he was suddenly attacked in Denmark by king Olave and his army, and sustained a severe loss both of his English and Danish subjects. On a subsequent occasion, however, an English contingent, under the command of the earl Godwin, surprised by a night attack, and dispersed the whole Swedish army, an exploit which won high honour for them and for their commander.

Canute being now king of England, Denmark, Norway, and part of Sweden, and finding all things tranquil in his dominions, proceeded to fulfil an ancient vow by visiting Rome. There he was received with great honour by pope John XIX. and the Emperor Conrad II. At his departure from the city—as he designed to return by way of Denmark—he despatched by the hands of Living, abbot of Tavistock, a letter to his English subjects, announcing to them the success of his pilgrimage, both as to spiritual and temporal matters, and declaring that he had resolved to reform his life in all things, rectifying all that he had done unjustly, either through the intemperance of his youth or through negligence. He commanded all his sheriffs and governors, as they valued his favour or their own safety, to administer equal justice to
all men, rich and poor. And he especially charged his officers not to oppress his people for the sake of amassing treasure for him:—"For I have no need," he declared, "to accumulate money by unjust exactions."

Towards the end of his reign, Canute undertook an expedition against Scotland, in order to extort from that nation an acknowledgment of his superiority, such as his Saxon predecessors had sometimes received. On his approach, however, he was met by king Malcolm II., who satisfied his demands.

The extended power to which Canute had now attained probably caused his courtiers to offer him extravagant flattery; for it is reported that he one day ordered a throne to be placed for him upon the sea-shore as the tide was coming in, and seating himself, commanded the waves to retire, and not presume to wet the feet and robe of their master. And when the waters still continued to rise, and began to dash over him, the king withdrew, saying:—"Let all men know how worthless is the power of kings, for there is none worthy of the name but He whom heaven, earth, and sea eternally obey." It is added, that from that day Canute never again wore his crown, which, in sign of reverence, he placed on the head of a crucifix in Winchester cathedral.

Canute died at Shaftesbury (Nov., 1035), in the nineteenth year of his reign over England. He left two children by queen Emma; Hardecanute, or Canute the Hardy, and a daughter, who afterwards married Henry, son of the emperor Conrad. He also left two illegitimate sons, older than his other children; Sweyn, who had already obtained the crown of Norway, and Harold, surnamed Harefoot.

Harold I, Harefoot.

At the time of Canute's death, Hardecanute was in Denmark. According to the agreement made when his father married the reliet of king Ethelred, this prince should have succeeded to the crown of England, but it immediately appeared that there existed a strong party in favour of Harold, his illegitimate brother; and this party, headed by Leofric, earl of Mercia, with almost all the thanes north of the Thames, and supported by the Thingmanna, or royal guard, at London, succeeded in establishing the authority of Harold over the greater part of the kingdom. The interests of Hardecanute, however, were
so strongly maintained by earl Godwin and the chief men of Wessex, that to avoid a civil war, it was decided, in a Witena-gemot held at Oxford, that the country south of the Thames should be left in their hands for the absent prince. Until his arrival, the government of the province was committed to his mother, the queen dowager.

In the meanwhile, Edward, the eldest son of Ethelred and Emma, hearing in Normandy that Canute was dead, determined to strike a blow for the crown of England. Having collected forty ships, he led them to Southampton, and disembarked his force. As he advanced into the country, however, he found that his mother's influence was being used actively against him; and to escape the numerous forces which were closing round him, he hastily retreated to the coast, and returned to Normandy.

The fate of Alfred, the younger brother of Edward, was tragical. Having landed in Kent with a small force, he advanced as far as Guildford, where, it is said, he was received in a friendly manner by earl Godwin. But that same night a body of troops in the interest of Harold surprised the town, and captured Alfred with all his followers. In the morning, every tenth man was set at liberty, some were reserved as slaves, but the remainder were horribly tortured and slain. Alfred himself, after having been brought into the presence of Harold, was sent to the isle of Ely, where his eyes were put out, and he died shortly afterwards amongst the monks of that place. Upon the news of this, his mother, queen Emma, who had hitherto appeared as the active supporter of her son Hardecanute, fled from Winchester, and took refuge in the dominions of the earl of Flanders.

During these events, Hardecanute still remained in Denmark; and Harold, having rid himself of his other competitors, now contrived to gain over to his interests earl Godwin and the thanes of Wessex, whose submission placed in his hands the sceptre of England. He reigned for four years, during which no event of importance is recorded to have taken place. The chief exploits of this king appear to have been performed in the chase, wherein his swift running procured him the surname of “Harefoot.” He died at Oxford, in 1040.
After more than three years of apparent apathy, Hardecanute had turned his attention towards England, and, having prepared an army and fleet to enforce his claims, he proceeded to Bruges to consult his mother. He was still with her when the news arrived of the death of Harold; and a deputation of English and Danish thanes followed not long after to salute him as king of England. Notwithstanding, however, the unanimous invitation which he had received, Hardecanute did not proceed to England until he had been joined by his fleet from Denmark. On his arrival, his first act was to despatch a commission with orders to disinter and behead the corpse of his predecessor. His commands were carried out, and the remains of Harold were then thrown into the Thames, whence they were soon afterwards dragged up by the nets of some fishermen, who buried them in the cemetery of St. Clement of the Dames, at London.

Scarcely had the commissioners performed their work, when Alfric, archbishop of York, charged earl Godwin, one of his colleagues, with the murder of the etheling Alfred. Godwin upon oath asserted his innocence; and the chief nobles of England, also upon oath, confirmed his declaration that it was not by his counsel that the eyes of Alfred had been put out, but that in what he did he had only obeyed the commands of his sovereign, king Harold. This proceeding seems to have satisfied Hardecanute; for he allowed Godwin to retain his offices and his influence in the government, and he accepted from the earl a present worthy of a king. This was a war-ship, beaked and plated with gold, having on board eighty warriors, whose helmets, coats of mail, shields, sword-hilts, and Danish battle-axes glistened with gold and silver, and who wore on both arms bracelets of solid gold.

One of the first measures of Hardecanute was the imposition of a heavy tax upon his new subjects, in order to defray the expenses of the armament which had escorted him to England. The dismay and discontent of the English were very great, and in some places the tax could hardly be levied. At Worcester, two officers of the royal household having harshly enforced the payment, the citizens rose in arms and slew them, even in the tower of the cathedral. This so enraged
the king, that he sentenced not only the city, but also the surrounding country to military execution. Thorold, earl of Middlesex, Godwin of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, Siward of Northumbria, and other earls with their forces, supported by the royal body-guard, marched upon Worcester, and continued the work of destruction for four days. The citizens and country-people, however, had already fled in every direction; and the king’s wrath being now appeased, they were allowed to return to their ruined habitations in peace. These measures completed the unpopularity of the Danish monarch.

Notwithstanding, however, his occasional acts of barbaric violence, the nature of Hardecanute was kind and generous. He invited his half-brother Edward, the son of king Ethelred, to return to England, received him with fraternal affection, and bestowed upon him the establishment of a royal prince. His own sister Gunhilda he gave in marriage to Henry III., emperor of Germany; and the splendour of the festivities which he held in honour of the nuptials was long celebrated in the popular ballads of the English.

This prince fell a victim to his convivial propensities. In the second year of his reign he attended the marriage feast of one of his Danish nobles at Lambeth; and as he stood at the table with a goblet in his hand, he fell to the ground in convulsions. His courtiers raised him up, but remaining speechless, he died a few days afterwards. (June 8, 1042.)

Edward the Confessor.

Hardecanute had not yet been laid by the side of his father at Winchester, before Edward, the son of Ethelred, was raised to the throne by the election of all men at London. The son of Edmund was alive, and residing in Hungary; but the claims of Edward, who was on the spot, were preferred on the occasion to those of his absent nephew. The great earls, Godwin of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumbria, united their influence to prevent any opposition to this choice of an English prince; and if the Danes were discontented, they were overawed, or their resistance at once suppressed. Edward was crowned at Winchester by Eadsine, archbishop of Canterbury, who took the opportunity to admonish and instruct the new king in the duties of his office. The same year, Edward married Edgitha, the daughter of Godwin.
The first important measure which the king undertook was the expulsion from the realm of the Danes whose fidelity was suspected, or whose oppressions had rendered them hateful to the English. Nor did Edward's own mother, the widow of Canute, escape without penalty. She had ever shown a marked hostility to her children by her first husband, Ethelred, and had favoured in every way the sons of Canute. The king now, accompanied by Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, proceeded to Winchester, and confiscated her treasures, with the cattle and corn on her estates. She was allowed, however, to retain her dower until her death, in 1052.

Expulsion of Danes from England.

Edward was in his fortieth year when he ascended the throne of England. Schooled in adversity, he had learned to sympathize with the miseries of the humbler classes, and, from the commencement of his reign, he sedulously endeavoured to protect them in every way. He maintained peace, as far as possible; he revived the ancient laws; and he diminished the heavy burdens which lay upon his people, "for he abominated the insolence of collectors." Having been on one occasion led by some of his courtiers to see, as a most pleasant sight, a heap of coin in his treasury, he was so affected by the thought of the suffering that must have been caused in its collection, that he ordered the whole to be returned to the people from whom it had been wrung.

Edward had not long been seated on the throne when Magnus, king of Norway, who, at the death of Hardecanute, had by treaty succeeded him in Denmark, demanded the crown of England also. Edward answered by a defiance, and assembled a large naval force at Sandwich to repel the threatened invasion. A competitor at home, however, obliged Magnus to postpone his attempt on England, and the sudden death of the Norwegian soon afterwards freed Edward from all danger from abroad.

Earl Godwin had long been the most powerful man in the kingdom. His abilities had obtained for him the favour of Canute, of Harold, and of Hardecanute, who had all entrusted him with a large share in the government. His influence it was, as the chief of the Saxon interest, which had raised Edward to the throne of his ancestors; and he continued for some years to rule the administration almost at will. He governed as earl the whole of Wessex, Sussex, and Kent. His eldest son, Sweyn, was earl of Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, Oxford, and Berks. Harold, another son, ruled in like manner Essex, Middlesex, Huntingdon,
Cambridge, and East Anglia. Thus nearly half the kingdom obeyed the
great earl and his sons as immediate lords; and the king would have
been entirely in the power of this family but for the earls of Mercia and
Northumbria, who, as leaders of the Anglo-Danes, looked with jealousy
upon the Saxon chiefs, and were mostly willing to place their forces at
the disposal of their sovereign.

But although the executive power was mainly wielded by Godwin,
the earl seems never to have attained the absolute confidence of the
king. The most trusted advisers of Edward were strangers to the
kingdom;—the Normans, who had served him and gained his friendship
in the long years of his exile, and who now held offices in the royal
chapel or household. Godwin, however, might have maintained his
position against every rival, had not the crimes of one of his own sons
brought discredit upon the name and influence of the family. Earl
Sweyn, his eldest son, had carried off by force an abbess from her
convent, and had been deprived of his office, and exiled for the deed.
In a short time he returned, and solicited a pardon. But Harold and his
cousin Beorn, between whom the earldom of the criminal had been
divided, opposed and prevented its restoration. Sweyn, dissembling his
wrath, enticed Beorn on board his ship, and there had him murdered.
He then escaped to Flanders, where he lived under the protection of the
count, until Edward was at length induced to grant him a full pardon.

The discontent of Godwin and the English at the king's partiality for
his foreign friends at last broke out into open violence. In the year 1050,
Eustace, count of Boulogne, who had lately married Goda, the sister of
Edward, came to England on a visit to his brother-in-law. On his journey
to or from the court, one of his retinue, having wounded a householder
of Dover who had refused him admittance into his dwelling, was killed
by the man. Upon this, Eustace and his train took up arms, and slew
the Englishman. The townspeople then rose upon the strangers. A
fierce conflict ensued, from which, after about twenty men had fallen
on each side, the count of Boulogne escaped with a few followers, and
carried his complaint to the king. Edward, indignant at the attack
upon his guests, (for Eustace asserted that the townspeople were alone in
fault,) ordered Godwin, in whose jurisdiction Dover lay; to march against
the place and punish the offenders. But the earl positively refused;
whereupon the king summoned the Witan to meet at Gloucester to take cognizance of the affair. On the other hand, Godwin determined to take advantage of the popular feeling excited against the foreigners by the affray at Dover, and to strike a decisive blow for their expulsion. Uniting the forces of his earldom with those of his sons Sweyn and Harold, he marched upon Gloucester, and demanded that count Eustace, with the foreigners who garrisoned some of the royal castles, should be given into his hands. Edward had already summoned to his aid the earls of Mercia and Northumbria. Siward and Leofric promptly answered the call with such forces as they had about them; but on learning the state of affairs they instantly ordered out every available man from their earldoms for the defence of their sovereign. The king being now also joined by his nephew Ralph, earl of Hereford, and his forces, an appeal to arms seemed imminent; when, by the mediation of Leofric, the whole affair was referred to the decision of the Witenagemot, to be held at London before the autumn was over.

On the appointed day both parties appeared in arms; but in presence of the king the forces of Godwin and his sons diminished day by day. Sweyn was outlawed: the thanes who held under Harold were obliged to give pledges of fidelity to the king; the old charge, of the murder of the king's brother, was revived against Godwin; and finally, that nobleman, having declined to appear before the court without a safe-conduct, was also declared an outlaw. With his wife, and his sons Sweyn, Tostig, and Gurth, the earl took refuge in Flanders. Two other sons, Harold and Leofwin, fled to Ireland. At the same time the queen was removed from court, and sent, but with all royal honour, to the nunnery of Wilton, the home of her youth.

The authority of the king had scarcely been re-established, when William, the young duke of Normandy, arrived with a fleet and army to assist him. Finding that the danger was over, the duke, leaving his armament, repaired with a large retinue to the court. He was there affectionately received by Edward, royally entertained, and at his departure loaded with gifts.

In the meantime, Godwin at Bruges was meditating and preparing the means of revenge upon his enemies. About midsummer he set sail with a small squadron, and, escaping the royal fleet which lay at Sandwich,
greatly increased his forces from the harbours of Kent and Sussex. Again avoiding the king’s commanders who were now in search of him, he retired to the Flemish coast until their fleet had dispersed, and then made sail for the Isle of Wight, where he was joined by Harold, who, with a squadron from Ireland, had been ravaging the coasts from the Severn eastward. The united forces of Godwin and Harold proceeded towards the Thames, daily increasing in strength. At the news, the king summoned his thanes from all quarters; but it was too late. When Godwin arrived at Southwark with his host, and demanded back the honours and possessions of himself and his family, Edward at first refused; but finding the troops he had been able to collect indisposed to fight against men of their own race, he was obliged to yield. By the mediation of Stigand, bishop of Winchester, all matters in dispute were referred to a council, and a complete revolution at once took place. The Norman prelates of Canterbury, London, and Dorchester, with most of their countrymen, fled for their lives; Godwin and Harold were restored to their earldoms; the queen was recalled to court; and sentence of outlawry was pronounced against the foreigners as fomenters of discord, a few of the king’s private friends being exempted. Stigand was rewarded by the archbishopric of Canterbury, though the see was not properly vacant. The guilty Sweyn had no part in the triumph of his family. Stricken with remorse, he had set forth from Bruges on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and he died in the East.

Earl Godwin did not long enjoy his restoration to power. During the Easter of the following year, as he sat with the king at table, he suddenly sank down at the royal footstool deprived of speech and strength. He was carried by his sons into the king’s chamber, where he lingered for a few days, and died without having uttered a word from the time of his seizure. His earldom and honours were given to Harold, who was succeeded in those which he had before held by Algar, the son of Leofric.

Harold now became the most active minister of Edward, and, in time, the most powerful subject in the kingdom. To the influence derived from his great possessions, abilities, and popularity, he added the confidence and even the affection of the king; and thus he was enabled to direct almost all affairs as he would. The death of Siward, in 1055, (on his return from the campaign in which, by the command
of Edward, he had overthrown Macbeth, and restored Malcolm to the Scottish throne; and that of Leofric in 1057, left Harold without a rival.

Algar, the son of Leofric, was twice outlawed, and twice recovered his earldom by force of arms. On his death, in 1059, he left two sons, Edwin and Morcar, still in their boyhood, and from whom for the present Harold had nothing to fear. In the meantime, the earl added greatly to his reputation by a brilliant campaign against the Welsh. Griffith, their king, having been slain by his own subjects, his two brothers consented to rule the land as vassals of the king of England.

Edward had reigned for eleven years, when he determined, as he had no children to succeed him, to send for his nephew, the son of Edmund Ironside, and declare him his heir. The etheling Edward, who had resided in Hungary from the time when he had been conveyed thither for safety in the days of king Canute, and who had married a near relation of the emperor, accepted the invitation of his uncle, and came to England with his children: but before he was admitted into the presence of the king, he sickened and died. He left but one son, Edgar the Etheling, a boy of feeble character, quite unfitted to compete with Harold, who by this time had probably the crown steadily in view. The earl, however, was now, or soon became, aware, that William of Normandy was also looking for the inheritance of Edward.

It happened that Harold, while sailing in the channel, was surprised by a storm, and driven upon the coast of Ponthieu. Guy, the count of that province, barbarously cast the shipwrecked strangers into confinement. In this emergency, Harold found means to communicate with the duke of Normandy; and, it is said, intimated, whether truly or falsely, that he was the bearer of an important message to him from the king of England. William immediately demanded the release of the prisoners; and they were at once given up to him by Guy. At the Norman court Harold was received with marked respect, and William carried his guest with him on an expedition which he was about to undertake against Brittany. Harold greatly distinguished himself during the short campaign, and apparently won the heart of the duke, who spared no pains to gain him over to his interest. Harold, finding himself completely in the power of his rival, bound himself to promise in every way his succession to the crown of England; and in return received great promises.
and was betrothed to one of the young daughters of his host. But William was not content with these private arrangements. Having convened an assembly of the Norman barons at Bonneville, he called upon Harold to swear fidelity to him in their presence; and the earl, taken by surprise, swore that he would be “the vicar of duke William at the court of his lord, king Edward;” and that on the death of his master, he would use every means to put the kingdom into the hands of the duke. Harold was then allowed to depart laden with presents, and to take back with him his nephew Haco, one of two hostages whom Edward had received from earl Godwin on his return to power, and whom the king had placed in the custody of the duke. But Wulnoth, a brother of Harold, the other hostage, was still retained by William.
Harold had not long returned to England when he was called upon to mediate between the people of Northumbria and his brother, their earl. Tostig had for ten years governed that province so harshly, that, at last, his subjects rose in arms, massacred his body-guard, and declared him an outlaw. They then chose Morcar, the youthful grandson of Leofric, for their earl; and, supported by his brother Edwin at the head of the Mercians, demanded his confirmation in the office from the king. Harold, deputed by Edward, met the insurgents at Northampton, and after hearing their complaints, vainly essayed to restore peace; but finding them resolute not to receive Tostig again, Harold returned to the king, and the demands of the northern men were fully complied with. Tostig, raging against the king and Harold, took refuge in the dominions of Baldwin, count of Flanders, whose daughter he had married.

Edward survived these events but a short time. Although unwell, he celebrated the Christmas festival at London; but on the day when he was to have been present at the dedication of his new and stately church, at the West Minster, he was unable to appear in public. In a few days the good king expired, after saying to the queen, with concealed meaning:—“Do not fear: I shall not die; but, please God, be very well soon.”

HAROLD II.

In accordance with what was reported to be the last wish of Edward, Harold was at once recognised as his successor; and he was crowned on the day of his predecessor's funeral, by Aldred, archbishop of York, because Stigand of Canterbury had been suspended by the Pope. The men of the north at first hesitated to acknowledge the title of the son of Godwin; but when Harold appeared amongst them in company with Wulfstan, the venerable bishop of Worcester, they yielded, and received him as their sovereign. The marriage of the new king with Edith, sister of the earls Edwin and Morcar, still further secured the allegiance of the people under their rule. Edgar the Etheling was made earl of Oxford.

The news of these events had no sooner reached Normandy, than William despatched envoys to remind Harold of his oath, and to demand its fulfilment. To this message Harold replied, that the oath, extorted...
Harold defies William.

The duke prepares for war.

Conduct of earl Tostig.

Harold prepares for war.

Defeat of the English.

Harold arrives at York.

Battle of Stamford bridge.

by force, and taken without the consent of the English, was invalid; that he was king by the election of his subjects, and should defend his and their right. This answer convinced William that by arms alone could he ultimately attain his object. In the meantime, he made Europe resound with his complaints. He appealed to the Pope, while he enlisted soldiers from every quarter, and induced the Normans by great promises to grant him liberal supplies of money and ships.

Harold also prepared for the impending contest, and he was awaiting the attack of his Norman rival, when he was suddenly assailed from another quarter. His brother Tostig, still animated with the bitterest animosity against Harold for his conduct during the Northumbrian revolt, was now preparing to take his revenge. He visited his brother-in-law William, encouraged him to invade England, and promised his support. The outlaw next secured the alliance of Harald Hardrada, king of Norway; and then, having assembled sixty sail at Bruges, he hastened to commence the war. But he was scared from the southern coasts of England by the approach of Harold, and on venturing to land in his ancient earldom, he was defeated by Edwin, and fled thence to Scotland, to await the arrival of the king of Norway. At length Hardrada appeared with a fleet of three hundred ships, and having been joined by Tostig and the remnant of his force, he sailed up the Humber into the Ouse. At the news of this invasion, the king hurried from his station at Pevensey towards the north. In the meantime, the earls Edwin and Morcar, in order to save York, gave battle to the invaders at Fulford. Their first onset was furious, but the tide of battle turned, and, after a long struggle, the English fled, losing great numbers in the river Ouse. York had already agreed to capitulate; when, on the fifth day after the battle, Harold entered the city at the head of many thousand choice troops. Hardrada, taken by surprise, called in his detachments, and fell back to Stanford Bridge. Harold soon came up with the invaders; but, before engaging, sent messengers to offer Tostig friendship and his former honours. "And if I accept these offers," returned Tostig, "what shall my ally, the noble king Harald, have in England for his trouble?" "Seven feet of ground, or a little more, as he is taller than other men," was the reply; upon which Tostig broke off the negotiation. Scarcely had the fight commenced when
the king of Norway fell, pierced through the neck by an arrow; and Harold, learning the fact, immediately renewed his offer of peace to Tostig and the Norwegians; but they would not listen to him. Encouraged by the arrival of a fresh division from the ships, the invaders fought with the utmost obstinacy; nor did they finally give way until after Tostig, with nearly all their leaders, lay dead upon the field. Content with his victory, Harold permitted the remnant of the vanquished to depart in peace, having first received an oath of future amity from Olave, the younger son of Hardrada. Twenty-three ships sufficed to earn back all the survivors to their country.

After collecting the spoil and resting his army, king Harold returned to York; and he was there sitting with his nobles at table, when a messenger arrived with the intelligence that the duke of Normandy had crossed the sea, and effected a landing on the coast of Sussex. Harold instantly summoned his people in all quarters to arms, and hastened in the meantime by forced marches towards London.

By vast exertions William had collected during the summer an army of fifty thousand picked cavalry, with a smaller force of infantry. The arrival of a consecrated ring and banner from Pope Alexander II., who (having previously condemned Harold as a perjurer and usurper) thus invested the duke with the kingdom of England, excited the enthusiasm of his troops, and gave double strength to his cause. By the end of the summer, William was ready to commence the enterprise, but the assembly of the fleet at the appointed port was delayed for a whole month by contrary winds; and after the armament had at length reached St. Valerii, where the expedition was to embark, the bad weather set in again, and prevented its departure. Many of the transports foundered with their crews, and the troops became greatly discouraged. In this emergency, William ordered public prayers, and a procession with the relics of St. Valero, in order to obtain favourable weather; and as there came a sudden change of wind, the spirit of the army revived. The duke thereupon gave the signal, and his vast armament was borne in safety across the Channel. The fleet of Harold, recently obliged to disperse for provisions, had been prevented by the weather from regaining its station in time to oppose the passage. The Normans, therefore, effected a landing without resistance at several points along
the coast of Sussex. William himself was the last to land; and as he stepped on shore near Pevensey, he stumbled and fell. But observing the consternation of his followers at this evil omen, he gaily leaped to his feet with his hands full of sand, saying:—"What astonishes ye? I have taken seisin of this land, and, by the splendour of God, lords, it is mine, it is yours!"

In the meanwhile Harold had arrived at London, and within a few days found himself at the head of so numerous a force, that he resolved at once to give battle to the invader. He marched rapidly towards the coast; with the intention of surprising the Norman camp; but finding William fully on the alert, the king halted, and took up a strong defensive position upon some heights, about nine miles from Hastings. William immediately advanced, and prepared for battle. On the morning of the 14th of October, after mass had been said by his half-brother, the bishop of Bayeux, the duke drew up his army in three lines opposite the English position. The first consisted of archers and crossbow-men; the second, of heavy-armed infantry; and the third, of all the cavalry, in five divisions. In the centre of these William stationed himself with the flower of his troops. He was mounted on a magnificent Spanish horse, and round his neck he wore suspended the principal relics on which Harold had sworn. At nine o'clock he gave the signal, and the whole army advanced, preceded by Toustain the Fair, carrying the banner of Normandy, and by the minstrel Taillefer, singing the song of Roland.

The English, drawn up on foot behind intrenchments, received the attack with the utmost firmness, and for a long time repelled every assault of their adversaries. With their double-axes they inflicted such losses upon the assailants, that, after repeated failures, a panic began to spread amongst the Normans, and the whole left wing took to flight, throwing nearly all the rest of the army into confusion. A cry was even raised that the duke was slain. Elated at the sight before them, large bodies of English left their position, and followed in pursuit; when William, taking off his helmet, showed himself in every part of the field, and by desperate efforts rallied the fugitives and restored the fight. Then falling with his cavalry upon the disordered English who had descended into the plain, he cut them off to a man. But it was in vain that with his choicest troops he renewed the attack upon the
English position. Every effort was repulsed. William at length had recourse to stratagem. A thousand Norman horsemen by his orders advanced, and, after a false attack, took precipitately to flight. The English, as before, hurried in pursuit; but, on reaching the low grounds, they were at once intercepted and cut to pieces. Again the same stratagem was tried, and again with complete success. Notwithstanding, however, their severe losses, the English held the main position until sunset, when Harold, who had well performed the duties of a general and of a warrior during the whole day, was struck by an arrow, and fell dead upon a little eminence, whither he had rallied his men. His brothers Gurt and Loofwin had already died, with almost the whole Saxon nobility of the south, and many thousands of their bravest fol-
The English often sally.

The survivors, learning the death of their king, abandoned the field, yet often turning desperately upon their pursuers, continued the slaughter far into the night. At one place, they held their ground so well, that Eustace of Boulogne fell back; and he was in the act of advising William to sound the signal of recall, when he was struck between the shoulders by one of the English pursuers. In this great battle, the loss of the victors is said to have been about 15,000 men: that of the vanquished is unknown.

When the body of Harold was discovered, a Norman soldier struck it with his sword: an action for which he was disgraced and dismissed the service by William. The remains of the English king were confided for sepulture to the care of William Malet, a nobleman who had long lived in England. It was in vain that Githa, the mother of Harold, offered its weight in gold for the body of her son. William sternly refused to allow it to be removed, saying:—"He kept the coast while living: Let him continue to keep it, now that he is dead."

But afterwards, it would appear, he permitted the corpse to be disinterred and given up to Githa, who buried it in the church of Holy Cross at Waltham, which Harold had founded.
BOOK II.
FROM THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO THE DEATH OF HENRY III.

WILLIAM I., THE CONQUEROR.

So soon as the death of Harold was known in London, the Witan, passing over his sons, and disregarding the wish of the northern chiefs to have Edwin or Morcar for their ruler, gave the crown to Edgar the Etheling. But the youth and inexperience of Edgar, and the dissensions which continued between the leaders, rendered the national cause hopeless from the first. Edwin and Morcar finally retired with their forces towards the north. In the meanwhile, William, after receiving the submission of the men of Kent, had approached the capital, defeated a force which sallied from its walls, burned the southern suburb, and then led his army along the right bank of the Thames, seeking a passage to the northern side. He passed the river at Wallingford, whither archbishop Stigand had come to meet him, and to tender his allegiance. In a few days Stigand was followed by Aldred, archbishop of York, Wulstan of Worcester, Walter of Hereford, and Edgar Etheling himself, with deputies from the Londoners, who, at Berkhamstead, formally offered the crown to the duke of Normandy. William, after affecting to consult the Norman barons, accepted it, and named the festival of Christmas, then near at hand, for his coronation.

On the appointed day the ceremony was performed in the new church of the Westminster, by Aldred, archbishop of York; but the satisfaction of William was marred by the lawlessness of his followers, who, taking (as they asserted) the loyal acclamations of the English within the church for shouts of disaffection, fired and plundered the houses in the vicinity of the Minster; an outrage which made a deep impression upon the minds of the natives.

The first measures of the new king were evidently dictated by the wish to conciliate his English subjects. He made but few changes in the Saxon laws or customs; he confirmed the ancient privileges of the
The city of London, took energetic measures for the protection of commerce and of travellers, enjoined the utmost moderation in the collection of the revenue, granted audience to all who desired it, and carefully administered justice in person. He received with kindness Edwin, Morcar, and the other nobles who now came to do him homage at Barking, (where he held his court,) and granted them anew their honours and estates. On Edgar Etheling were lavished the marks of his highest favour; he was confirmed in the earldom of Oxford, and in the possession of his wide domains. After these politic acts, the king made a stately progress through the country, and, by his gracious demeanour to all men, showed his desire to reign by their good-will rather than by the sword which had conquered at Hastings. In the meantime, however, William was not neglectful of military precautions against any revolt of his new subjects; and from the first he pressed on the erection of castles at London and at all the most important points throughout the country as yet occupied by the Norman troops. The great services of his followers were rewarded by grants of land and donatives, from the spoils of those who had fought against them.

Having thus, as it appeared, secured the possession of his new kingdom by the consent of the English no less than by the force of arms, William determined to revisit Normandy, and to show himself to his ancient subjects in regal pomp. Leaving his half-brother, the bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osbern, as regents of England, he crossed over to Normandy, taking with him in his train the chiefs of the English nobility, who served at once to add splendour to his court, and to act as hostages for the fidelity of their countrymen. With many others went Edgar, Stigand, and the earls Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, the son of Siward. William remained in Normandy nine months.

In the meanwhile, the Normans in England, unrestrained by the presence of the king, gave way to the most unbridled insolence, rapacity, and licentiousness; and, as the regents were either unable or unwilling to repress their outrages, the minds of the English underwent a rapid change. Conspiracies against the foreigners began to be formed in many localities; and, had a fitting leader come forward at this juncture, the Norman rule would probably have been overthrown. As it was, the insurrection was scattered and unconnected. Many of the bishops refused
to countenance it. The great towns, generally, held aloof. Some of the
thanes, mindful of their recent oaths, assisted in quelling it.

William, urged by frequent messages from his lieutenants, returned
to England in mid-winter. (1067.) Although greatly exasperated by
the accounts he had received, he still maintained the appearance of
kindness towards his English subjects. He sent for the principal nobles
and prelates to London at Christmas, received them with honour, listened
attentively to their complaints or suggestions, and benignly granted
their requests. So successful seemed his policy, and so confident was he
in his ascendancy, that he ventured at once to lay a heavy tax upon
England, and to lead against the insurgents an army largely composed
of their countrymen. The king first hastened into Devonshire, obliged
Exeter to capitulate after an obstinate defence of eighteen days, and before Easter reduced to obedience all the West country. Peace was now so far restored, that he sent for his consort, Matilda of Flanders, and had her crowned with great pomp at Winchester. But he was soon obliged to take the field again, for earl Edwin—disgusted at the monarch's refusal to grant him the hand of his daughter, as he had promised—had put himself at the head of a new insurrection; while Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Blethyn of Wales were preparing to support the English cause. The rapidity and skill of William, however, disconcerted all the measures of the confederates. Edwin and Morcar promptly submitted, and were received with apparent favour by the Conqueror. The king of Scotland also made his peace.

In the meantime, Edgar the Etheling, with his mother and sisters, had also fled from the court, designing to return once more to Hungary; but the royal fugitives were driven by stress of weather into the Frith of Forth; and Malcolm now showed his gratitude for the hospitality he had received in his exile from Edward, by the cordial welcome which he bestowed upon the relatives of his benefactor. It was not long before he asked and obtained the hand of Margaret, the sister of Edgar.

The rupture between the English and Norman nations had now become irreparable; and William, although he still exhibited a politic moderation towards those who had endeavoured to shake off his yoke, from this time ruled his new kingdom mainly by the strong hand. His expedition to the north had produced tranquillity only for the moment; and a new earl, whom he had appointed to the county of Durham, having inaugurated his rule by allowing his soldiers to plunder the city on the very night of his arrival there, the exasperated English of the vicinity rose and slew him, with nearly the whole of his escort. Out of 700 horsemen, only two escaped. At the news, the citizens of York flew to arms, and killed the Norman governor and many of the garrison. The earl Cospatrick with the men of Durham, and the Etheling with the exiles from Scotland, hastened to the aid of their friends; while William Malet, who now commanded in the castle at York, wrote the most pressing letters to his sovereign for succour. William promptly answered the call, and suddenly falling on the besiegers, scattered their whole army with great slaughter. Edgar fled once more to Scotland.
The sons of Harold had ere this twice invaded the West with forces from Ireland. Repulsed from Bristol by the citizens, they were opposed in Devon by Ednoth, their father's Master of the Horse, whom they slew. On landing again, they were defeated by Count Brian, of Brittany: after which they returned no more to England.

But William was not long to enjoy repose. In July, 1069, Sweyn, king of Denmark, who had been for two years preparing his forces, despatched a fleet of 240 vessels to the assistance of the English. This great armament (which was commanded by Oshiorn, the brother, and Canute, the second son, of Sweyn), after touching at a few places on the south and eastern coasts of England, entered the Humber in the beginning of August. The Danish army was quickly joined by Edgar, Cospatric, and Waltheof, at the head of all the English of the North; and the united forces immediately marched upon York. On their arrival, the Normans, who, in preparing their defence, had accidentally destroyed a great part of the city by fire, left their castles, and boldly attacked their enemies, but suffered a complete defeat. Nearly all, to the number of 3000, were slain. Malet and a few other persons of distinction were spared for the sake of their ransom.

William was in the forest of Ytene, engaged in his favourite pastime of hunting, when the news of this great disaster reached him; and he swore that not a Northumbrian should escape his vengeance. He was not unprepared for the emergency, for the armaments of Sweyn had long engaged his attention, and he had in hand a numerous force of continental veterans, with which he moved rapidly to the north. At his approach, the confederates, whether from fear or policy, separated: the Danes betook themselves to their ships; Cospatric and the Northumbrians retired behind the Tyne; while Waltheof prepared to defend York to the last extremity. William first aimed at the Danes, who had now taken post in Lindsey; but, though he made a forced march with his cavalry in the hope of surprising them, they escaped almost unscathed across the Humber into Holderness, where they remained in security. The king now found himself compelled to retrace his steps; for he had no sooner left the south than the men of Cornwall besieged Exeter, those of Devon and Somerset attacked the new fortress called Montacute, while Edric the Wild with his bands, aided by a body of Welshmen, seized...
upon Shrewsbury, and beleaguered the castle. It was not without much toil and suffering that the Norman and his lieutenants were enabled to suppress these risings. At length William turned once more his march upon York, and appearing before the city, ordered the assault. The defence was obstinate. Waltheof displayed the most signal valour, but, after the defeat of a force which came to his relief, he was compelled to abandon the place, and to fly once more. During this vital struggle, the Danish army remained in Holderness, perfectly inactive. In the spring, it returned home; and Osbiorn, the chief commander, was accused by the English of having betrayed their cause for Norman gold.

Master now of the whole north, William proceeded deliberately to fulfil the threat which he had uttered in his first paroxysm of rage on learning of the revolt. He ordered the complete extermination of the Northumbrians and the devastation of their country. The towns, the villages, dwellings of every kind, the corn, the cattle, all stores of provisions, even the very implements of husbandry, were remorselessly destroyed. Famine came upon the land, and prevailed for nine years. More than 100,000 persons are said to have perished in consequence; and half a century afterwards a wide extent of country, utterly waste and unproductive, still bore witness to the cruel vengeance of the Conqueror.

The English leaders, in despair, fled the country, or made their submission. Edgar again took refuge in Scotland. Cospatric and Waltheof were pardoned, and restored to their former honours; the latter even received in marriage the hand of Judith, a niece of the king.

The whole of England, with the exception of one district, lay now at the mercy of the Conqueror; and from this time William treated the natives as an inferior and a subject people. With a few exceptions, all offices, whether secular or ecclesiastical, were given to foreigners; the greater part of the land was gradually transferred to the conquerors; every important burgh was dominated, every commanding military position was guarded, by a strong fortress, to overawe the conquered. By the advice of his minister, Fitz-Osbern, William confiscated all the charters, title-deeds, and treasures, which the insurgents had deposited in the various monasteries throughout the kingdom, as in inviolable sanctuaries.

As William returned triumphant to the south, there arrived in England three legates, whom Pope Alexander II. had sent thither at his request:—
Ermenfrid, bishop of Sion, and two cardinals. By these the Conqueror was crowned anew with great pom, at Winchester, on Easter day, 1070. A synod was then held, at which Stigand was deprived of the sees of Canterbury and Winchester; his brother, Ethelmar, of that of Helmham; and some abbots, of their offices. At a second synod, assembled at Windsor, Ethelric, bishop of Selsey, and several abbots, were deposed. Their places were filled by Normans and other foreigners. The primacy was given to Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, a Lombard of distinguished virtue, learning, and ability. These changes greatly strengthened the authority of king William.

To secure the kingdom which he had won, against all foreign and domestic enemies, William imposed upon the new proprietors a more stringent system of military service. In return for the lands which the king had granted them, the earls, barons, knights, men at arms, and freemen, his vassals, bound themselves to appear at the royal summons, with their sub-tenants, well armed and mounted, to serve at their own charge for forty days in each year, and for any longer period, at his expense. Even the clergy were obliged to retain military tenants for the service of the state. Thus in every district the Conquest was guarded by a formidable militia, the members of which were enjoined to be "sworn-brothers for the maintenance of the Monarchy and Kingdom." The earldoms were multiplied, and were rendered hereditary.

William had no sooner firmly established his authority in England, than he began to enforce the strictest peace and regularity throughout the realm. In some respects his government was arbitrary and oppressive. The taxes were extremely onerous. The Forest-laws were injurious to his subjects, and cruelly severe. His passion for the chase led him to make desolate a wide tract of settled country, ejecting the inhabitants and destroying their dwellings, to make a new forest for his pastime. On the other hand, the king revived the laws of Edward the Confessor; re-organized the administration of justice; crushed every attempt at private war, habituating all ranks of men to seek redress from the courts; and at last established such order and public security, that the English themselves gratefully acknowledged his merit in this respect. Moreover, urged by Lanfranc and Wulstan of Worcester, William prohibited the slave-trade which the Anglo-Saxons and Danes had long carried on with
Ireland: an act the more honourable to him, as that traffic was highly profitable to the crown.

Edwin and Morcar had taken no part in the late revolt; nevertheless, a few months after its suppression, William, suspecting some danger, ordered the arrest of the two brothers. Edwin fled towards Scotland, but was betrayed by some of his own vessels, and slain while gallantly resisting his pursuers. The king wept when the head of the earl was presented to him, and sent his murderers into banishment. Morcar escaped for the present to the camp of Hereward, a Saxon thane, who had for some time maintained the struggle for independence amongst the fens of Cambridgeshire. The king had hitherto appeared to disregard the efforts of this daring partizan, confined as they were to one locality; but now, when Morcar and hundreds of the disinherited English had joined Hereward, William with his wonted energy hastened to extinguish the spreading flame of revolt. He sent his fleet to line the coasts of Lincolnshire and Norfolk, while he led a numerous army to occupy every pass on the land side. He then with immense labour carried forward a road over the marshes towards the Isle of Ely, where the chief stronghold of Hereward was situated. After a most gallant and obstinate struggle, the genius of William prevailed, and the mass of the insurgents were compelled to submit to his mercy. Few were put to death; but numbers were blinded or mutilated. Morcar and the bishop of Durham were condemned to imprisonment for life. Hereward, with his immediate followers, escaped, but, afterwards making his submission, he was received by the king with favour, and was permitted to retire unmolested to his paternal estate. Thus ended the last effort of the English for freedom. Soon after its suppression, the Etheling, by the advice of his brother-in-law, Malcolm, once more submitted to William. After having spent eleven years in quiet at the Norman court, Edgar, leading a body of 200 knights, set sail, in 1086, for Apulia, whence he subsequently proceeded to the Holy Land.

William had been highly incensed by the constant aid which Malcolm III. had afforded to the struggling English. He now resolved to reduce that prince to subjection. In the autumn of 1072, while his fleet operated along the coast of Scotland, he himself, with Edric the Wild and a large cavalry force, penetrated far into the country. Malcolm could not resist. At Abernethy, he met William, and did him homage.

All things being now tranquil in England, William once more turned his attention to foreign politics, and departed for Normandy at the head of a large army, chiefly composed of English, with which he rapidly effected the conquest of Maine. His success aroused the hostility of the Angevins and Bretons; and he was again immersed in continental affairs, when, in 1074, a violent attempt was made to overthrow his authority in England. The danger came this time from the most unexpected quarter.

Roger, earl of Hereford, (son of the faithful William Fitz-Osbern, now dead,) had, in defiance of the king, given his sister in marriage to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk. To screen themselves, and to be revenged on their sovereign, they boldly determined to seize and partition his kingdom. The plot was matured amid the very natal festivities. To secure the support of the natives, the conspirators offered a third of the country to Waltheof; but that nobleman, though he swore not to reveal the plot that had been confided to him, refused to take part in it. The two earls, however, persisted; and in spite of the entreaties and warnings of archbishop Lanfranc, took up arms. The rebels, however, at once excommunicated by the primate, and actively opposed by the English, were speedily defeated by the royal justiciaries, and De Guader driven from the kingdom. On the arrival of William, Roger was tried, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Lanfranc earnestly endeavoured to save Waltheof, who was denounced by his own countess, and the court remained undecided for nearly a year; but the efforts of the noblemen who coveted his estates at last procured his death. The brave son of Siward was beheaded at daybreak, (May 31, 1075,) on a hill near Winchester. He was long revered by the English as a saint and a martyr.

William now appeared to have attained the summit of his wishes. Triumphant over all who had ventured to oppose him, his name had become a word of terror to his enemies. But opponents arose in his own family, who were more difficult to overcome, and whose very defeat embittered the declining years of the renowned Conqueror.

The conduct of his eldest son, Robert (surnamed Curthose), caused the king the utmost anxiety and grief. When William was about to invade England, he had endeavoured to soothe the jealousy of his suzerain, the king of France, at so great an increase to his power, by promising to resign the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son. The boy was therefore
formally invested, in presence of Philip I., with the nominal government, and received the homage of the Norman barons. When, however, the prince became of age, and claimed the authority, as well as the name, of duke, his father refused him in the most positive manner. The discontent of Robert at this denial of what he considered his right was much increased when he found that his younger brothers, William and Henry, took the part of their father. He suspected them of wishing to supplant him; and the most violent quarrels between the brothers henceforth disturbed the life of king William. On one occasion, Robert, enraged at a rough jest played upon him by the two princes, rushed upon them sword in hand to avenge what he regarded a studied insult; and William, who hurried from his lodging at the clamour on both sides, had much difficulty in appeasing the tumult. Robert quitted the court the next night, and after failing in an attempt to seize the citadel of Rouen, escaped with some of his partizans into the county of Perche. A reconciliation between the father and son was followed and broken by a renewed demand on the part of Robert to be put in possession of Normandy, of Maine, or of a portion of England. William angrily refused; upon which Robert again left his father's dominions, and wandered for some time through Flanders, Germany, Lorraine, Aquitaine, and Gascony, complaining of his father, begging of his friends, borrowing of usurers, and lavishing the money so acquired upon jugglers, buffoons, and parasites, men and women. His mother, compassionating his distress, frequently supplied him with large sums of money, and though the king discovered and forbade the practice, she still continued to do so; whereupon William wrathfully accused her of sustaining out of his treasures the enemies who were seeking his life, and gave orders that her messenger should be deprived of his eyes. The man only escaped by entering a monastery.

At last Robert, by permission of Philip, king of France, took up his residence in the castle of Gerberoy, near the frontier of Normandy, where he collected under his banner some of the French barons, as well as a force of discontented Normans, and began to levy contributions on the surrounding country. Though it was the depth of winter, William speedily appeared before the place, with an army largely composed of English, and closely besieged his rebellious son. The royal troops made fierce and repeated
assaults, which were not only repelled but retaliated by desperate sorties. On one of these occasions Robert encountered a knight whose features were concealed by his armour, wounded him in the arm, and killed his horse; but recognising the voice of his father in that of the fallen man,

he at once leaped from his saddle, and assisting the king to mount his own charger, suffered him to depart. William rode off without any sign of recognition, and breaking up the siege, returned to Rouen; but soon afterwards, yielding to the tears of Matilda and the entreaties of the Norman prelates and barons, he became reconciled to his eldest son. In the autumn of the same year, Robert was entrusted with the command of an army which the king sent to chastise the Scots for their repeated invasions of England, and especially for a destructive inroad
which Malcolm had lately conducted in person. The prince advanced into the Lothians, and without a battle, compelled Malcolm to renew his pledges of fealty. On his return (with the view of restraining the Scots for the future), he constructed on the northern bank of the Tyne a fortress, which ever after retained the name of "New Castle."

In succeeding years, however, the continued follies of Robert frequently drew upon him the stern censure of the king. At last, taking umbrage at some reproof or denial, he quitted his father for the third time, and passing over to the court of France, saw him no more.

During the absence of William, he usually left England under the rule of his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, a man not devoid of high qualities, but worldly, rapacious, and cruel. In the summer of 1080, the Northumbrians, to revenge a murder committed by a dependant of Walcher, bishop and earl palatine of Durham, rose and slew the prelate with all his household, after setting fire to the chapel in which they had taken refuge. Odo quickly appeared on the scene with a powerful force; and, visiting the crime upon the whole population, slaughtered the innocent and guilty alike, and reduced the country (just recovering from the devastation committed in 1069) to a solitude which, seventy years afterwards, remained a spectacle of grief to the beholder. This flagrant cruelty of Odo towards his English subjects aroused the displeasure of the king. A defect in fidelity towards himself determined William to disgrace his brother.

Not content with his bishopric of Bayeux, his earldom of Kent, and his four hundred and fifty manors in England, Odo, (trustling in fortune-tellers,) aspired to the Papacy, and to the sovereignty of Italy. By his ample promises, he had engaged the earl of Chester, with a numerous body of his brother’s knights, to accompany him, and had collected much treasure for his intended enterprise, when the king discovered the intrigue. He immediately crossed over to England, and ordered the arrest of Odo; but as his officers showed some reluctance to lay hands on a bishop, the king attached him himself, saying (in accordance with a suggestion of Lanfranc’s):—“I do not arrest the bishop of Bayeux, but the earl of Kent, my own creation.” Odo remained in confinement as long as his brother lived.

Notwithstanding the successes, the power, and the great renown of
William, a league was formed against him which might have justified his deepest apprehensions. Canute IV., king of Denmark, having allied himself with Olave, king of Norway, and Robert, count of Flanders, had assembled a most formidable armament, wherewith he threatened the invasion and liberation of England. William made the most vigorous preparations to meet the danger. He called out his military tenants, and poured into the country an immense force of foreign mercenaries, which he quartered on the landholders, clergy as well as laity. He revived the war-tax called the Dane-gelt, and laid waste the eastern coasts, where the enemy were likely to land. A mutiny of the Danish troops, however, which finally resulted in the murder of their king, dissipated the danger: and William immediately sent the bulk of his auxiliaries back to the continent.

About the year 1080, William had ordered an accurate survey, valuation, census, and registration, to be made of his whole kingdom. To the English, especially, this inquisition appeared equally odious and mean; but the record at least tended to confirm to them what property they still enjoyed. The commissioners completed their work in 1086. The result was embodied in a register known to the Normans as “the King’s,” or, “the Winchester Roll;” but which the English called by the more significant name of “the Doomsday Book.” Thus accurately informed of the number, condition, and resources of his subjects, William proceeded to enact the laws which should regulate their duties towards himself. During the Christmas festival of 1085, he held at Gloucester “very deep consultation” with his great council upon the points at issue. On the 1st of August following, the council met him at Salisbury: when not only his tenants in chief,—the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and sheriffs,—but their sub-tenants, to the number of 60,000 knights, attended; and these were then required to do homage directly to the king.

As William advanced in years, he became extremely corpulent; and when meditating a war for the recovery of the Vexin from the French, he consented to undergo a course of treatment with the view of reducing his unwieldy bulk, on which account he kept the house for some time. Upon this circumstance king Philip scoffingly remarked, that the king of England was lying-in at Rouen. “At my churching,” exclaimed William, with one of his terrible oaths, “I will make him an offering of a hundred
thousand candles;" and, on his recovery, he proceeded to accomplish his vow. At the end of August, when the vines and the corn were ripe, the king of England entered France, trampling down and laying waste the whole country. Coming to the city of Mantes, he stormed it, and gave it to the flames. As the king rode about, viewing the progress of the conflagration, his horse placed his foot upon some hot embers, and reared so violently that the peak of the saddle striking the rider, inflicted an injury which proved to be mortal. The king immediately ordered a retreat; and, growing worse on his arrival at Rouen, caused himself to be removed for quiet to a monastery on the other side of the Seine. There he lingered for three weeks, making with composure the arrangements which he wished to be carried out after his death. To his eldest son Robert he left Normandy, the inheritance of his fathers; to William he assigned the kingdom of England; while Henry was to receive the
dowry of his mother. He expressed his deep sorrow for the barbarities which had attended his conquests; consented to the release and pardon of all his state prisoners, except Roger Fitz-Osbern; ordered the distribution of large alms to the churches, and the allotment of a sufficient sum to rebuild those which he had lately destroyed at Mantes. Although suffering intense agony, he preserved to the last his clear intellect, and his vigorous power of expression. At daybreak on the 9th of September, 1087, king William died with a prayer on his lips, while the great bell of the cathedral of Rouen was tolling for the first morning service.

The death of "the great Justiciary" was no sooner known, than panic and confusion spread in every direction. His courtiers all hurried away; the higher officers took horse to secure their property; while the inferior attendants, after seizing every valuable they could lay hands on, fled with their plunder, leaving the royal corpse uncovered on the floor. It was afterwards tended by the clergy of Rouen, and conveyed to Caen, that it might be interred in the church of St. Stephen, which William himself had founded. At the funeral, the bishop of Evreux eulogised the deceased prince, dwelling upon his maintenance of order within his dominions, his repression of crime, and his protection of the church and the defenceless. But when the bishop called upon all present to forgive any injuries done them by their late ruler, a man stood forward, and claiming as his own the ground whereon the church was built, forbade the completion of the ceremony until justice was done. Prince Henry and the assembled prelates hastened to satisfy the claim, and the body of the great Conqueror was then committed to the tomb.

King William the First was of middle stature, in his latter years excessively corpulent, bald of forehead, dignified and stern in aspect; and of such strength of arm, that he could, even on horseback, bend his bow, a weapon unmanageable by most other men. He died at the close of his fifty-ninth year, and in the twenty-first of his reign over England.
WILLIAM II., THE RED.

FROM his death-bed the Conqueror had despatched William, his second son, to secure for himself the kingdom of England. The prince instantly set out, and before their father's death was known to Robert, arrived at Winchester. He brought with him a letter of recommendation from the late king to Archbishop Lanfranc, who had been his tutor. He added, on his own part, the most solemn pledges, that, if he were chosen king, he would observe justice, equity, and mercy in all things, and would ever defend the peace, liberty, and security of the church. He immediately distributed the bequests which his father had made to the churches, and sent to every county a large sum to be given to the poor. His presence, his liberal promises, the possession of his father's treasures, and the powerful influence of Lanfranc, obtained him the crown. He was elected king by the bishops and some barons who assembled at London, and was consecrated by the primate within three weeks after his father's death. (Sept. 26, 1087).

Meanwhile, Robert had taken quiet possession of Normandy, and refused to believe that he had lost a crown. "If I were even in Egypt," said he, "the English would wait for me." And when the truth could no longer be doubted, his careless and indolent disposition withheld him from coming to a rupture with his brother, or making any effort to enforce his claim. The party in his favour, however, was powerful both in station and in numbers. It comprised nearly all the great barons, who, holding estates as well in Normandy as in England, apprehended dissensions between the king and the duke, and therefore desired that both countries should remain under one ruler. Odo of Bayeux, who had been reluctantly set at liberty by the late king in his last moments, and restored to his earldom of Kent by the new sovereign, soon returned to England, and, impelled, probably, by his old hatred for Lanfranc, placed himself at the head of this faction. During the spring of 1088, a conspiracy was organized, and immediately after Easter the confederates took up arms. Odo, as earl palatine of Kent, raised the standard of revolt there. His brother, the earl of Mortain, did the like in Sussex, Roger Montgomery in Shropshire, Hugh de Grandmesnil in Leicestershire, Roger Bigod in
WILLIAM II.

Norfolk, Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, and his nephew Robert, earl of Northumberland, in Wilts, and lastly, even William, bishop of Durham, the king's chief minister, declared for Robert. The revolted barons immediately commenced laying waste the royal domains, and collecting supplies for their troops and garrisons at the expense of their peaceful neighbours.

In this emergency the courage and resources of William did not fail him. He hastened to London, and summoned thither the loyal from all parts. He held a great council, composed of the primate and his suffragans, the faithful barons, and the chiefs of the English. To these he promised good laws, moderate taxation, and the freedom of their forests. The English, confiding in his promises, and animated by hatred of their local tyrants, flocked to his standard; and with them and a few of the great Norman barons the king marched against the rebels. His first blow was struck at Odo, the soul of the revolt, who, after ravaging the lands of the king and the primate in Kent, had stationed himself at Pevensey, to await the arrival of duke Robert. After a siege of six weeks the bishop was compelled to surrender, and to pledge himself by oath to quit England, after giving up Rochester Castle, his chief stronghold, to the king. Odo accordingly proceeded with an escort to Rochester, and called upon his associate, Eustace the younger, count of Boulogne, to surrender the place. But Eustace, by a sudden sally, swept the bishop, with his guard, within the walls, and still held the castle. This transaction excited to the utmost the ire of king William. Again he called upon his English subjects to aid him, under pain of being stigmatised, in the old Saxon form, as "nidering," or worthless. The English readily obeyed the call, and crowded to the camp of the king before Rochester, which was soon forced to capitulate. The lives of the defenders were spared, at the prayer of the loyal Normans; and Odo was suffered to depart over sea, to the deep disappointment of the English, who shouted, as he passed down to the shore:—"Halters! halters! for the traitor bishop and his accomplices!"

During these events Robert was lingering in Normandy; the forces he despatched to England had been utterly destroyed by the seamen in the service of his brother, and the rebellion, wanting a head, was unable to contend against the name and presence of the king, the influence of the clergy, and the universal hostility of the native English. It accordingly quickly subsided, or was put down. The garrison of Worcester, encouraged by
the exhortations and blessing of their bishop, the venerable Wulstan, obtained a signal victory over the rebel barons of the West: Roger Montgomery made his peace with the king; Durham was taken by the royalists; the bishop was exiled; the other leaders fled; their estates were divided among the friends of the king, and quiet was restored.

Soon after this, archbishop Lanfranc died, to the great detriment of the kingdom; for his authority had exercised a salutary influence over the fiery and unruly disposition of the king, and had restrained it within moderate bounds. Yet even he had found reason to complain; and when he reminded the king of the promises he had made when seeking the crown, William impatiently replied:—“Who is there that can fulfil everything that he promises?” From this time the worst parts of William's character rapidly developed themselves; by his example, his court became the sink of every vice; and, under the influence of unworthy favourites, he violated every engagement made in the hour of danger, recalled every concession, and proved a scourge to his subjects. The chief of his new advisers was Ralph, surnamed Flambard, or “the devouring torch,” a Norman priest of low origin, skilled in law, handsome, eloquent, vicious, and very able. This man was raised by William to be royal chaplain, treasurer, Justiciary of England, and, finally, bishop of Durham. William, magnificent and extravagant, was continually in want of money, and Flambard was ever ready with expedients for supplying him. By his advice, the land throughout England was revalued; much of it was seized for the king; new and heavy taxes were imposed; fines were multiplied on every pretence; and all orders of men suffered under the extortion of this unscrupulous minister. The church afforded abundant resources to the ingenuity of Flambard. At his suggestion, the king seized upon all vacant benefices, and either retained them in his hands, enjoying their revenues for years, or sold them to the highest bidder. When a monastery lost its superior, its property was sequestrated by the agents of the minister, who, after assigning a bare subsistence to the inmates, poured the remaining funds into the royal coffers, until the mitre or staff was purchased at a great price by some clerical follower of the court. With the treasures acquired by such means, William was enabled always to keep in his pay large bodies of practised soldiery, who rendered his power absolute at home, and formidable to his foreign enemies.
During the contest between Robert and William, their brother, count Henry, had remained tranquil in Normandy. No sooner, however, had the fall of Rochester assured the triumph of the king, than Henry passed the sea, and solicited from him the fulfillment of their father's will, and the investiture of their mother's domains in England. William received him with fraternal affection, and readily granted his requests. After spending some months at the court, Henry embarked for Normandy, in company with Robert de Bellesme, son of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had recently obtained a pardon for his share in the late rebellion. It had been, however, represented to duke Robert by some of his partizans in England, that Henry and De Bellesme were returning as confederates with William, to work his ruin; and he resolved, by the advice of bishop Odo, to anticipate their action. As they landed, therefore, unsuspicous of danger, they were seized, and secured in the prisons of Odo. That prelate was now bent upon exciting a war against William; but his vindictive schemes were marred by the easy and vacillating temper of Robert, who soon abandoned all aggressive designs, and set his brother and De Bellesme at liberty.

Acting upon his new system of finance, William, after the death of Lanfranc, kept the primatial see of England vacant for more than three years. In reply to repeated entreaties that he would fill it, he declared that he intended to enjoy the revenues as long as he lived. "By the Holy Image of Lucca," said he, one day in 1092, "there shall be no archbishop in my time but me." It happened, however, immediately after this declaration, that he fell dangerously ill. His friends supposed him to be dying; and they sent for Anselm, abbot of Bee, a man eminent for his virtue, (who happened to be in England at the time), to prescribe for the soul of the sick monarch. Anselm came, heard the confession of the tyrant, and required immediate measures of reparation for his injustices. William consented. A royal proclamation was at once issued, ordering the release of all prisoners, the remission of all debts due to the king, the annulling of all suits in his name, and promising good laws and exact justice to the English people. Some of the bishops and peers now suggested that the see of Canterbury should be filled up. William assented, and nominated Anselm as the man most worthy of that office, a choice which was ratified by the acclamations of all present; but the abbot refused the honour in the most absolute manner. The entreaties of the prelates,
and those of the king, who declared that he knew he should perish if he died possessed of the archbishopric, all failed to move Anselm. But at length the bishops called for a crozier, which they placed in the hand of the king; they then dragged Anselm to the bedside, and compelled him by main force to touch the staff, upon which he was saluted Archbishop by all present. "Know ye," said Anselm, as he was led away by the prelates and nobles, "what ye would do? Ye wish to yoke together a wild bull and a weak and aged sheep. The bull will drag the sheep to pieces without any useful result." His apprehensions were largely verified in the sequel. When William recovered, he at once resumed his vicious and tyrannical habits. Every mandate, and every promise of the
late proclamation, was violated. Anselm, who was a firm and constant protector of the native English, a rigid upholder of the independence of the Church, a mortal enemy of simony, and of all vice, clerical or lay, soon found himself engaged in an arduous and multifarious contest. In this, he was but feebly supported by his brethren, with the exception of his friend Gundulph, of Rochester, and the aged Wulstan, the last of the English bishops. The primate, therefore, after suffering much persecution during five years, at last, in 1097, placed his resignation in the hands of the pope, and retired into voluntary exile.

William, having firmly established his authority throughout England, determined to avenge himself on Robert for the encouragement he had given to the late rebellion. The distracted state of Normandy under that careless and luxurious prince soon afforded him the opportunity. The king readily formed a party amongst the Norman barons, and they held in his name, or admitted his mercenaries into, many of the most important fortresses of the duchy. Robert, alarmed by the treachery of his nobles, called in the aid of Philip, king of France; but William, by a large subsidy, induced that monarch to withdraw his army. The duke was betrayed on all sides. A plot was formed to deliver up Rouen, his very capital, into the hands of the royal party. After, however, a long and desperate conflict in the streets, the conspirators were defeated, and Conan, their leader, the richest citizen in Rouen, was hurled from the highest tower of the citadel by prince Henry, count of the Cotentin, who adhered to his brother Robert.

In January, 1091, the king of England landed in Normandy with a large army, resolved to wrest the duchy from his brother by open force; but the exertions of the nobles who possessed estates in both countries brought about a peace, the observance of which was guaranteed by the oaths of twelve great barons on each side. By this arrangement, the king retained or acquired many of the Norman fortresses; but he promised the duke, in exchange, the province of Maine, certain lands in England, and the restoration of his adherents to their forfeited estates there. It was also agreed that, on the death of the king or of the duke, the survivor should succeed to the dominions of the other. Count Henry, whose interests were set at naught by this treaty, resolved to resist its execution, and prepared to defend the Cotentin. He was,
however, immediately shut up in the fortress of Mont St. Michel by
the king and the duke. During the blockade, Robert, having allowed
the besieged to supply themselves with water, was warmly rebuked by
William. "And should I," returned he, "suffer my brother to die of
thirst! Where shall we find another, if we lose him?" In the end,
Henry was permitted to retire into exile. Edgar Etheling, too, who had
attached himself to Robert, was, on the demand of William, compelled
to leave Normandy, and once more sought the protection of his brother-
in-law, the king of Scotland.

In the meantime, Malcolm had invaded and ravaged the northern
counties of England. The royal commanders, however, speedily drove
him back over the borders; and William, who, at the news of the
invasion, had hurried from Normandy in company with Robert, immedi-
ately prepared to take his revenge. The armies met in Lothian, and
were about to join battle, when duke Robert and the Etheling mediated
a peace between the two kings. Edgar was reconciled to king William
on this occasion, and afterwards returned to Normandy with Robert.
The peace, however, which they had made did not last long; and
Malcolm, enraged at the insolence and bad faith he found in William,
again invaded England; but, having fallen into an ambuscade prepared
by the earl of Northumberland, he was slain, together with his eldest son.
At the news, his excellent queen, Margaret, the sister of Edgar Etheling,
sank, and died within three days. Her children, flying from their uncle,
Donald Bane, took refuge with the Etheling, who, some years afterwards,
by order of king William, expelled Donald Bane, and placed his nephew
Edgar on the Scottish throne.

Although duke Robert had honourably performed all that he had
promised in the late treaty, William neglected to fulfil any one of his
engagements. He had, nevertheless, the hardihood to appeal to the
twenty-four barons who had guaranteed the treaty; and when they decided
against him, he again had recourse to the sword. After several months of
indecisive warfare, in which the king of France took the part of Robert,
William returned to England. At length, the land which he had so long
coveted came into his hands in a peaceful and unlooked-for manner.

In the year 1094, the whole of Western Europe was moved to indig-
nation by the accounts brought by the pilgrims returned from the Holy
Land, of the cruel oppressions under which the Christians were then suffering at the hands of the Seljucian Turks. One of these pilgrims, Peter the Hermit, a native of Picardy, impelled by the evils he had witnessed, and by the exhortations of the patriarch of Jerusalem, undertook to rouse the princes and people of Christendom to rescue their brethren. Having obtained the sanction of the pope, he traversed Italy and France, everywhere recounting the woes of the Asiatic Christians, and everywhere exciting against the unbelievers the horror and indignation of the multitudes who thronged to hear him. Visiting, one by one, the princes of Western Europe, he rebuked, entreated, threatened, composed their quarrels, and obtained from many promises of co-operation in his design.

Pope Urban II.—whose predecessors for a century past had vainly endeavoured to form a league against the Mahommedans—following the Hermit across the Alps, addressed the great council of Clermont upon the desolation of the Eastern churches; and exhorted all Christian men to unite their arms against the infidels. "Putting an end," he exclaimed, "to your crimes, let the Christians of these countries at least live in peace. Go! and display in a juster warfare that wisdom, and that valour, which you now misuse in civil conflict." He was answered by the multitude which thronged the market-place, with enthusiastic cries of:—"It is the will of God!" Thousands of all degrees, from every Western country, hastened to enrol themselves in the ranks of the liberating army. Amongst the other princes who assumed the badge of the cross was the duke of Normandy; but as he wanted the means of equipping a force suitable to his rank, he resolved to pawn the duchy for five years to his brother, the king of England, in return for the sum of 10,000 silver marks. William accepted the offer; and having wrung from his people more than half the amount required, he received in exchange the dominions of his brother. To this transfer the Normans submitted without reluctance; but the people of Maine, only recently annexed to the duchy, made an effort at this juncture to recover their independence. Under count Helie de la Fleche, the heir of their ancient lords, they made a gallant struggle, but were at last compelled to succumb to the overwhelming power of the king of England.

Although William was rapacious and an oppressor of his people, he was no friend to rapacity and oppression which did not tend to his...
He ruled his barons with a strong hand, compelled them to live at peace with each other, and in some degree protected the mass of his subjects from their lawless tyranny. His rigour in chastising even the most potent offenders was, in 1095, the means of causing the premature explosion of a dangerous conspiracy against his throne and life. Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, the greatest of the Anglo-Norman nobility, had seized and plundered four Norwegian merchantmen, and, confiding in his power and alliances, had refused all satisfaction to the owners or to the king. But William was not to be defied with impunity. Marching suddenly into the north, he seized the principal vassals of De Mowbray, took Tynemouth and Newcastle, captured the earl, threatened to blind him, and thus extorted from the countess the surrender of Bamborough, her husband's chief stronghold. It was only then that William learned the extent of the danger which he had escaped. De Morel, the governor of Bamborough, revealed the existence of a wide-spread conspiracy to set Stephen of Aumarle (son of the Conqueror's half-sister, Adeliza), upon the throne. For this De Mowbray was sentenced to imprisonment for life, the earl of Shrewsbury was heavily fined, the earl of Holderness imprisoned, Roger de Lacy driven from the kingdom, the count of Eu blinded, and William of Alderic, steward of the household, with some others, executed.

The acquisition of Normandy and Maine did but increase the avidity of the Red King for more territory and power. Accordingly, when William, count of Poictiers, wanting means to fit out an expedition to the Holy Land, offered to mortgage Aquitaine with his other possessions for a large sum of ready money, the king of England eagerly assented to the proposal. He had collected from all quarters the amount required, and was preparing to take possession of those rich provinces, and to spend his next Christmas at Poictiers, when death cut short his career.

The endurance of the English subjects of William appears to have been exhausted by the levy of the last tax which he had imposed upon them. It was felt that iniquity had reached its limits. Everywhere there began to circulate rumours of the impending vengeance of Heaven upon the tyrant. A vision portending evil to the king was reported to have been seen by a foreign monk. William received the tale with bursts of laughter. Nevertheless, he hesitated to go out hunting that
morning, and applied himself instead to serious business. After dinner, however, at which he is said to have drank more freely than usual, the king mounted his horse, and proceeded with some of his friends into the New Forest. In the morning, his body, pierced by an arrow, was found by some poor charcoal burners, who placed it in their cart, and brought it to Winchester. There it was interred beneath the tower of the cathedral, amidst a great concourse of the nobility, but with few mourners.
except the companions of his vices, and the mercenaries to whom he was so liberal a master. By the clergy, and by the English, he was regarded with horror; and many doubted whether he ought to be accounted a Christian. The infamy of his court, the appropriation of the vacant benefices, and, perhaps, more than all, the scoffing disposition of the king, gave him the most evil reputation among his contemporaries. To the English he was especially odious, for his ingratitude to them, his faithless revival and cruel enforcement of the forest-laws, and his grinding exactions. And such was the barbarity and licence that prevailed in his court and army, even under his own eye, that as he moved his quarters, the people abandoned their dwellings, and took refuge in the woods and wilds until the scourge had passed. Nevertheless, this tyrannical prince otherwise maintained a certain kind of peace and order throughout his dominions. He was, moreover, brave, straightforward, and even magnanimous.

William was slain by an arrow; but whether accidentally by a friend, or deliberately by an enemy, is unknown. It was generally reported at the time, that Walter Tirel, lord of Poix, a French nobleman in high favour with William, had, while shooting at a stag, missed his aim, and that the arrow, glancing from a tree, killed the king on the spot. It was added, that Tirel rode at once to the coast, and escaped to France. But that nobleman, at a time when he had nothing either to hope or to fear, always denied upon his oath that he had even seen the king in the forest on the fatal day.

William the Second was of moderate stature, inclined to corpulence, but well set, and of extraordinary strength. His countenance was open, his complexion florid, his hair yellow. He had passed his fortieth year at the time of his death, and was then in the twelfth of his reign.

HENRY I., BEAUCERC.

COUNT HENRY was hunting in another part of the forest when he received the news of his brother's death. Setting spurs to his horse, he rode at speed to Winchester, where the royal treasures were kept, and imperiously demanded that they should be given up to him as the lawful heir. He was thus engaged, when William de Breteuil (the eldest son of Fitz-Osbern, the Conqueror's minister) also arrived from the hunt, resolved to sustain
the rights of duke Robert. "He is undoubtedly," said he, "the eldest son of king William, and both you and I, my lord Henry, have done him homage. Wherefore we ought to keep our engagements with him, absent or present." A violent altercation ensued. Henry drew his sword, declaring that no foreigner (he had been born in England), should lay hands on his father's sceptre: and in the end De Breteuil was persuaded to give way. The next morning, Henry was chosen king, and, two days afterwards, was crowned at Westminster.

The new king immediately set himself to acquire the favour of all orders of his subjects. On the very day of his coronation, he published a charter of liberties, restoring the laws of Edward the Confessor.
courted the nobles; assured the English of his good will; hastened to fill up the vacant benefices; and respectfully invited Anselm to resume his see; at the same time excusing himself, on the plea of necessity, for having received the regal unction from any other hands than those of the primate. He annulled the ordinances of William the Red and Flambard; remitted taxes; released prisoners; and purified the court. Flambard was committed to the Tower of London.

Conscious, however, that the great barons were in general inclined to favour Robert, whose return to his dukedom was now expected, Henry threw himself more and more upon the support of the English. With this view, he selected as the partner of his throne a princess of the ancient royal line—Edith, daughter of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, and his queen Margaret, the sister of Edgar Etheling. As Edith, however, had formerly assumed the veil, as a protection against the lawlessness of the Normans, doubts were raised as to whether she was free to marry. But Anselm, having referred the cause to a synod, pronounced in favour of the marriage; and Edith, who received the Norman name of Maud, was united to Henry, and afterwards crowned as queen by the primate, to the great joy of the whole English people.

Notwithstanding the favour with which Henry was now regarded by the mass of his subjects, his throne was yet far from secure. The great barons still desired to hold their domains in England and Normandy under the same lord; and they preferred the kind, indolent, prodigal Robert, to his severe, able, and active younger brother. Robert, moreover, had now returned to Normandy, with a reputation greatly enhanced by his brilliant exploits during the crusade which had terminated in the recovery of the Holy City. And, lastly, Flambard, having escaped from his prison, took refuge at the Norman court, where he unceasingly urged the duke to take vengeance on their common enemies, and vigorously superintended the preparations for an invasion of England.

At length, about the 1st of August, 1101, Robert, having been allowed by the treachery of some of the king’s naval commanders to pass the channel, landed at Portsmouth. He was immediately joined by Robert de Bellême, with many of the great barons of England, at whose instance he called upon his brother to yield him the crown. Henry, who had been watching the coast about Hastings, with a large army, now hastened
to the west and confronted the invading force. The army of Robert, though less numerous than the king’s, was formidable from the warlike skill and experience of the Norman barons and their military vassals, who alone composed it. On Henry’s side, the ability of his chief counsellors, the loyalty of the lower class of Norman soldiers, and the numbers and resolution of the English, were counterbalanced by the disaffection of the greater part of the barons, and the want of discipline among the native troops. There was hesitation on both sides to strike the first blow; and after some messages had been exchanged, the politic Henry requested a conference with his brother. The king and the duke accordingly met between the armies, and agreed on a peace without the intervention of their counsellors. By this, Robert yielded the crown of England to Henry, who, on his part, agreed to give up all his possessions in Normandy, except Domfront; to pay 3000 marks a year to the duke; and to restore the estates of the nobles who had been deprived by the late king. It was also agreed, that, on the death of the king or the duke, the survivor should rule both in England and Normandy. Twelve of the chief barons on each side confirmed this treaty by their oaths.

Although Henry was for the time compelled to dissemble his real sentiments, he did not forget; and he resolved, when occasion should serve, to punish the treachery of those barons who had deserted him in the hour of need. He accordingly proceeded to strike at them one by one. Separately, and at different times, they were accused of various offences, and heavily fined, or deprived of their estates and driven into exile. William de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, Robert Malet, the king’s chamberlain, and Robert de Pontefract, two great barons, were degraded and banished. Ivo de Grantmesnil, having made war on his neighbours, (an offence almost unknown in England,) was so heavily amerced, that he was glad to depart the realm, after leaving his estates in pledge to the earl of Mellent, Henry’s chief minister.

The man, however, whom the king was most bent upon ruining was Robert de Belême, earl of Shrewsbury, the head of the duke of Normandy’s party in England;—a man equally dangerous from his extraordinary abilities, and odious for his crimes. For a whole year Henry...
had him closely watched by spies, and every evil deed minutely noted in writing. Then he summoned the earl to answer in the royal court an indictment containing forty-five charges. The earl came, but on learning what the charges were, knowing he could not clear himself, he took horse and fled. The king then proclaimed him a traitor unless he should appear and plead. To this De Bellême returned a flat refusal, and prepared to defend himself by arms, calling for aid upon his kinsmen, his allies, and his neighbours the Welsh. Henry thereupon issued a general call to arms, and first laid siege to Arundel Castle, the earl's chief stronghold in the south. The garrison, after a close investment of three months, demanded a truce, that they might obtain their lord's permission to surrender the place; and De Bellême, who could not venture to march to their relief, was obliged to authorize them to lay down their arms. In the meantime, Henry had taken Blythe, and the bishop of Lincoln, Tickhill castle; after which the whole army united, and invested Bridgenorth. The siege lasted three months. During its progress, the earls and barons in the royal army, apprehensive that the fall of the most powerful man of their order would augment too much the authority of the king, went one day in a body to Henry, and endeavoured to induce him to consent to an accommodation with his rebellious subject. The English troops, however, indignant at this attempt to screen the tyrant, loudly remonstrated, and induced Henry, nothing loath, to reject the advice of the peers, and press on the siege. In the end, the burgesses and regular garrison of Bridgenorth, intimidated by the king's threats, gave up to him the town and castle, in spite of the mercenaries in the pay of De Bellême.

The rebel earl was greatly disheartened by the loss of Bridgenorth. Still he prepared to defend himself vigorously at Shrewsbury; and he occupied with his archers a thick wood which commanded the narrow road by which the royal army was to advance. Henry, however, was not to be ensnared. He had 60,000 infantry in his army, and these he employed to open with their axes a wide track through the forest, and to form in the midst a very broad road, by which he led his troops in safety towards Shrewsbury. The earl, deprived of his other strongholds, and deserted by his Welsh allies, in despair went out to meet the king, confessed his treason, and laid the keys of the town at his feet. Henry
contented himself with confiscating all the estates of the earl and of the vassals who had taken part in his rebellion, but allowed all the traitors to retire from the country with their horses and arms. Great was the joy of the English at the downfall of their cruel oppressor; and his fate exercised so salutary an effect on his peers, that, during the remaining thirty-three years of Henry's reign, not one of them ever dared to raise his banner against his sovereign. 

Henry had spared no duplicity, no promises, no oaths, to gain to his side Anselm and the English. Their exertions had saved his crown. Yet, no sooner had he felt his power secure, than he repaid them with ingratitude. During his reign, no Englishman was admitted to any office of influence, either in church or state. He violated without scruple the most important articles of his charter; imposing, contrary to its provisions, new and excessive taxes; and keeping vacant, farming, or selling the ecclesiastical dignities. Notwithstanding, however, his exactions, his immorality, and his cruelties, Henry contrived to obtain not only the reputation of a great, but of a religious prince. His rigorous maintenance of order, his severity against public crime, his improvement of the coinage, his munificent foundations, his outward respect for religion, and his occasional reforms of abuses, gained him the respect even of his opponents.

No sooner had the king firmly established his authority, than he engaged in a contest with Anselm on the great question of lay investitures. He complained that the custom of his predecessors should now be condemned, declared that he would not suffer any one in his kingdom who was not "his man," and threatened to withdraw his dominions from the papal authority, if he were not gratified in this matter. After much dispute, Henry at last despatched the primate on a mission to Rome, and then forbade him to re-enter the kingdom. After Anselm had remained in this second exile for three years, Henry, fearing excommunication, and bent upon the acquisition of his brother's dominions, was induced to consent to a compromise. It was agreed, that in future no bishop or abbot should receive his crosier and ring from the king or other layman. On the other hand, the prelates were to be bound always to do homage for their temporalities.

The unhappy condition of Normandy, under its weak and indolent duke, soon gave Henry a pretext for interfering in the affairs of the
duchy, and, in the end, for depriving his brother of the government. In 1104, the king, with a powerful force, crossed over to Normandy, and visited in great state his possessions there, which he had retained in spite of the late treaty with Robert. Being joined by his principal vassals, he summoned his brother to a conference, and harshly accused him of having broken the recent treaty, by making peace with Robert de Belesme, a traitor to them both; and, moreover, of ruining his country by his indolence and incapacity. The duke threw the blame upon his counsellors, promised amendment, and, in order to appease his brother's anger, made over to him the county of Evreux; upon which Henry returned to England, satisfied for the present.

Henry visits Normandy.

In 1105, the king, with a powerful force, crossed over to Normandy, and visited in great state his possessions there, which he had retained in spite of the late treaty with Robert. Being joined by his principal vassals, he summoned his brother to a conference, and harshly accused him of having broken the recent treaty, by making peace with Robert de Belesme, a traitor to them both; and, moreover, of ruining his country by his indolence and incapacity. The duke threw the blame upon his counsellors, promised amendment, and, in order to appease his brother's anger, made over to him the county of Evreux; upon which Henry returned to England, satisfied for the present.

Civil war in Normandy.

In 1105, he returned to Normandy, and being joined by Helie, count of Maine, stormed Bayeux, and induced the citizens of Caen to give up their town to him before the eyes of duke Robert. The king then marched against Falaise; but his army being diminished by the retirement of count Helie and the Manceaux, he held a fruitless conference with his brother, and postponed the final struggle till another campaign.

Campaign of 1105.

In the autumn of 1106, Henry again took the field, and laid siege to Tinchebraye, a town belonging to the count of Mortain. Robert, on his side, assembled an army, and marched to the aid of his cousin. The armies were already in presence, when some of the clergy, anxious to avert the scandal of a conflict between the two brothers, interposed their mediation; but they were not listened to. Then the king, having communicated his plan of battle to his chief commanders, advanced his army in five divisions: the first, under the viscount of Bayeux, the second, under the earl of Mellent, and the third, under the earl of Surrey; Henry himself, on foot, commanded the fourth, composed of English and Norman infantry; while the Manceaux and Bretons, led by count Helie, formed the reserve at some distance on the field. The duke of Normandy, also on foot, led his troops to the attack; and his first
onset, well supported by the count of Mortain, repulsed the royal army, and threw it into confusion. At this moment, however, count Helie with the Breton cavalry charged the duke's infantry in flank, and put it to the rout. At this sight, De Belcisme, who commanded the Norman reserve, at once abandoned the field without striking a blow. The

unfortunate Robert was taken prisoner by a warlike clerk named Baudri, who had joined the Bretons in their charge, and who afterwards received much wealth and a canonry at Rouen from Henry, in reward for this service. With the duke were taken the count of Mortain, Edgar the Etheling, and almost all the chiefs of his party. The victory of Tinchebraye gave Normandy to Henry.
The unhappy Robert passed the long remainder of his life in prison. The count of Mortain, Robert d'Estoteville, and several other nobles, suffered the like fate. Edgar Etheling, whom the king did not fear, was at once set at liberty. Flambard not only was pardoned, but, by the timely surrender of the city of Lisieux, obtained his restoration to the bishopric of Durham. Edgar returned to England, where he lived, retired in the country, to an extreme old age.

At the time when Robert thus lost the duchy of Nonnandy, William the Clito, his only son, was but five years of age. The boy was immediately given up to Henry by the citizens of Falaise, and the king committed him to the care of Helie de St. Saens, a Norman baron, who had married an illegitimate daughter of Robert; but afterwards repenting his indulgence, Henry ordered that the young prince should be arrested. When the king's officers arrived at St. Saens, the baron himself was absent, but his friends promptly contrived the escape of the boy; and Helie, rejoining his ward, conducted him safely out of Normandy. This faithful guardian remained in exile, protecting and educating William as his own son; and, as the prince grew in years, enlisting in his favour the sympathies of all the neighbouring rulers. He applied to the king of France, to the dukes of Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, to the count of Anjou, to Robert de Belesme, and many Norman barons, from all of whom he obtained promises of assistance at the proper time.

Before, however, William Clito had attained his majority, the death of the count of Maine brought on a political crisis. Henry immediately claimed Maine as a dependency of Normandy; while Fulk of Anjou, who had married the only daughter of Helie, seized the county in right of his wife. A war ensued, which lasted for two years, during which Fulk was supported by Louis VI., king of France, and Henry by his nephew, Theobald, count of Blois. In the end, Fulk was allowed to keep the county of Maine; but, in return, he concluded an alliance with the king of England, and broke off his connexion with William Clito.

William, driven out of Anjou, took refuge, after many wanderings, with his cousin, Baldwin VII., count of Flanders, who warmly espoused his cause. The king of France and Fulk of Anjou again joined the confederacy. In 1119, Baldwin, at the head of a large army of Flemings, entered Normandy, where eighteen of the most powerful barons were
Henry was obliged to remain on the defensive, while his enemies overran the country, until the death of the count of Flanders, in consequence of a wound received at the siege of Bures en Bray, released him from that active opponent. About the same time, the king had separated the count of Anjou from the coalition against him, by offering him favourable terms of peace, and marrying his eldest son, William the Etheling, to Matilda, the daughter of Fulk.

Notwithstanding, however, the falling off of his principal allies, the king of France continued the war with vigour. Henry was obliged to shut himself up in Rouen, while his rival plundered and burnt the Vexin to within four miles of the capital. At length, on the 29th of August, 1119, the two kings encountered near Noyon. Louis, with William the Clito, and 400 knights, marching over the plain of Brémule, came upon Henry, who had with him 500 of his choicest English and Norman troops, of whom about a fifth were mounted. The French charged with their usual gallantry, and defeated the Normans who formed Henry's first line. They then fell upon the household troops composing the second line, which the king himself commanded, and forced them to recoil. Henry was assailed by the count of Evreux, a Norman exile, who beat in his helmet, and wounded him slightly in the forehead. The count, however, with eighty of his companions, were surrounded and made prisoners; and on the advance of the English reserve under the sons of Henry, the French retired in confusion, leaving the royal standard, with 140 of their number, in the hands of the enemy. Louis himself and William of Normandy were both dismounted in the fight, and escaped with difficulty. In this decisive victory only three lives were lost: the combatants being all knights, completely covered with mail, all influenced by a certain feeling of brotherhood, and, at the same time, eager to make prisoners for the sake of their ransom. The next day, Henry and his son William returned the captured chargers of the king of France and of the Clito; sending, at the same time, considerate gifts for the use of the exile.

Exasperated by his late defeat, the king of France summoned not only his military tenants, but the bishops and clergy with their vassals, to a renewed invasion of Normandy. In less than a month, at the head of a mixed and disorderly multitude, Louis appeared before Bréteuil, and laid siege to that fortress, which was gallantly defended by Ralph de
Guelder, son of the earl of Norfolk who had rebelled against William the Conqueror. Even though he threw open all the gates of the castle at their approach, the French were unable to force their way in; and the rapid advance of the king of England with a strong force drove the invaders in confusion into their own territory.

In the November of the same year, pope Calixtus II. came into Normandy, and in the name of a great council which had been sitting at Rheims, urged Henry to consent to a peace. The mediation of the pontiff was successful; and to the general joy a treaty was soon afterwards concluded between the belligerents. By this, the king of England was confirmed in the possession of Normandy, the chief object of the war; and William, his eldest son, did homage for the duchy to the king of France.

In the course of the year 1120, having received the submission of the malcontents of Normandy, and restored order everywhere throughout the duchy, the king prepared to revisit England in triumph. As he was about to embark at Barfleur, there came to him one Thomas Fitz-Stephen, who said that Stephen his father had conveyed William the Conqueror to England when that prince went thither against Harold, and had afterwards been much employed and favoured by him. “Wherefore, my lord king,” continued Fitz-Stephen, “I beg that you will employ me on a similar service. I have a vessel, called the White Ship, fitted out in the best manner, and perfectly suited for a royal retinue.” To this request the king replied, that he had already chosen his ship, and should not change; but that he would entrust to Fitz-Stephen’s care his sons William and Richard, with many of the chief nobility.

The crew of the White Ship rejoiced greatly that they were to have the charge of the prince, and they begged that he would order drink to be supplied to them in honour of the event. The prince imprudently granted their prayer; and a revel ensued, which was kept up even after the king and his fleet had put to sea. Such was the confusion on board, that Stephen of Blois, the king’s nephew, and several other persons, quitted the vessel and returned on shore. Thomas and his crew, however, were confident that they should still overtake and leave behind them the royal squadron. At last the signal was given, and the White Ship left the harbour, impelled to her utmost speed by fifty excited rowers: but she had
not gone far on her course, when she struck violently on a rock at the Ras de Catteville, staving in two planks of her starboard bow. Prince William was put into the boat, and was already on his way towards the land, when, hearing the voice of his sister, the countess of Perche, crying out to him for help, he ordered the rowers to put back and save her. He was obeyed: but when the boat reached the wreck, it was at once swamped by the numbers that rushed upon it as the ship went down; and the whole crowd was swallowed up in the waves. Fitz-Stephen rose to the surface, and swam towards two men who were clinging to the yard-arm of his ship, just above the surface. "Where is the king's son?" he demanded. They replied, that he, and all who were with him, had perished. "Then it is misery for me to live longer," cried Fitz-Stephen, and in despair allowed the waters to close over him. The two survivors held on during a long November's night, until one of them, a young nobleman named Geoffrey de l'Aigle, utterly exhausted by his sufferings, commended his companion
to God, and fell into the sea. The other, Berold, a butcher of Rouen, the poorest man of all the company, clad in a sheepskin garment, was saved in the morning by some fishermen, and made known the particulars of the sad event. William and Richard, sons of the king, their sister Matilda, the earl of Chester, with his countess Matilda, a niece of Henry, and three hundred other persons, chiefly of rank, perished on this occasion.

When the news reached England, no one could be found bold enough to communicate it to the king on that day. On the morrow, at the suggestion of Henry's nephew, Theobald of Blois, a little boy was sent in, who threw himself at the king's feet, crying bitterly; and, being questioned by the monarch, related to him the fate of the White Ship. The shock was so great to the unhappy father, that he fell senseless to the ground; and, it is said, from that hour was never seen to smile again.

William the Etheling, however, was but little lamented by the English people. His last generous action was unknown to them, while his general reputation was of the worst kind: and it was widely believed that he had threatened, whenever he should come to the throne, to make his native subjects draw the plough, like oxen.

The death of his only legitimate son greatly shook the power of Henry. William the Clito became at once a most formidable rival. As the undoubted heir of his uncle, the thoughts of most men began to turn towards him. Fulk of Anjou, at the suggestion of the exiled count of Evreux, betrothed his daughter Sibylla to William, and granted him for her dowry the county of Maine, until he should recover his hereditary dominions. Henry, much disturbed by this alliance, used every art to break off the marriage. With astonishing audacity,—for his own son William had stood in exactly the same relationship to Fulk's eldest daughter as the son of Robert stood to the younger,—he protested against the match on the ground of consanguinity; and ultimately succeeded in obtaining the papal prohibition against it. In the meantime, having obtained information of an extensive confederation amongst the barons of Normandy in favour of William the Clito, Henry suddenly appeared in the duchy at the head of a powerful army, and by his promptitude and energy disconcerted all the measures of the conspirators. Still the power of his nephew increased. The king of France gave him Pontoise, Chau- moor, Mantes, and the Vexin, together with the hand of Jane of Maurienne,
the sister of his queen. Soon afterwards, on the murder of Charles the Good, count of Flanders, William, as the grandson of Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, succeeded him by hereditary right and the favour of the French king. The Norman prince, as count of Flanders, was now in a position to enforce his claim to his father's dominions: but the machinations of Henry stirred up domestic enemies against his nephew, and forced him to confine his attention to the reduction of his rebellious vassals. The unfortunate William, after a troubled reign of eighteen months, was mortally wounded at Alost on the 28th of July, 1128, and died a few days afterwards, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

Henry had lost his first consort, the good Queen Maud, in 1118. He did not, however, marry again until the death of his son had made his nephew male heir to Normandy and England. The king then espoused Adelais, the beautiful daughter of the Count of Louvain: but having no issue by this second queen, he resolved, at the end of three years, to cause his only legitimate daughter, Matilda (widow of the Emperor Henry V.), to be recognised as heiress to his dominions on both sides of the Channel. As Robert of Normandy and his son William were still alive, Henry had reason to anticipate much opposition to his design. At the king's positive command, however, the Bishops and nobles of England took the oath of fealty to Matilda as successor to her father. David, king of Scotland, was the first of the laity who swore on this occasion. The second place was claimed by Stephen, count of Mortain, the nephew, and Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son, of the king. The dispute was decided in favour of Stephen.

Having been thus far successful, Henry proceeded, a few months afterwards, to affiance his daughter to the youthful Geoffrey of Anjou, who was about to succeed his father, Fulk, in the government of his dominions. By this match, which was celebrated at Mans in 1129, the king provided for the future union of those important territories with Normandy and England. But the prelates and barons of England were greatly offended that a consort should have been chosen for the future sovereign without their consent; and many of them regarded themselves as released by that omission from their recent oaths.

Although Henry had in time the satisfaction to see three grandsons issue from this marriage, the remaining years of his life were embittered.
by constant dissensions with his son-in-law. Geoffrey desired to be put in possession of Normandy, alleging that the king had promised it to him on his marriage with Matilda. But Henry was not a prince to surrender any portion of his power. He refused; and the arrogant count of Anjou vented his displeasure by insulting and thwarting his father-in-law to the utmost; while Matilda took part against her husband, and on every occasion fomented her father's wrath against him. Although Henry was most anxious to march in person against the Welsh, who had revolted, the intrigues of Geoffrey and his Norman partizans detained him on the continent. He spent the autumn of 1135 in the field, overawing and disinheriting the principal malcontents; and then retired to the castle of Lions, his hunting-seat near Rouen, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. But having partaken immoderately of lampreys, (a favourite dish, prohibited by his physician,) he was attacked by an acute fever, which carried him off in six days. In the presence of the earls of Gloucester, Surrey, Mellent, Perche, and Leicester, he left all his dominions to his daughter Matilda, without any mention of her husband, the count of Anjou. He confessed his sins, forgave his enemies, ordered the payment of his debts, and the residue of his treasures to be given to the poor. He died on the 1st of December, 1135, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign. His brother, the unfortunate duke Robert, had preceded him to the grave but a few months before, in his eightieth year, and still a prisoner in Cardiff castle.

Henry was of middle height; his person inclined to fulness, which greatly increased as he declined in years; his chest was brawny; his eyes were bright, and generally mild in expression; and his hair, originally black, and, until the year 1105, suffered to grow at great length, afterwards became scanty about the forehead. He made his arm the standard of the ell-measure throughout England.
STEPHEN of Blois was the third son of Adela, a daughter of William the Conqueror, and Stephen, count of Blois. At an early age he became the favourite of his uncle, king Henry, who conferred upon him the forfeited county of Mortain in Normandy, and many estates in England. In right of his wife, Stephen afterwards succeeded to the countship of Boulogne; and his accumulated honours placed him in the first rank of the nobility of western Europe. His brilliant valour, his mild and compassionate disposition, and his affable manners rendered him popular with all classes of men. The earl of Mortain and Boulogne had been the first layman, after the king of Scots, to take the oath of allegiance to his cousin, the empress Matilda; and Henry had regarded him as the future guardian of her throne. But the unpopular character of Matilda, as well as a dislike among the barons of England to be ruled by a woman, or by the count of Anjou, in time opened to Stephen the prospect of attaining the crown for himself: and it is probable that a party was already formed during the lifetime of Henry to raise his favourite nephew to the throne whenever it should become vacant.

Stephen was at Boulogne when he heard the news of his uncle's death. He lost not a moment in crossing over to England. With a small retinue he boldly entered London, where he was received with enthusiasm by the citizens, and saluted as king. Thence he hurried with a strong escort to Winchester, to secure the royal treasures. His brother, Henry of Blois, the bishop of that city, had already endeavoured, without success, to gain over William Pont de l'Arche, the keeper; but on the approach of Stephen, that officer gave way, and placed in his hands the castle, with all the hoards of the late king, amounting to 100,000 pounds, besides a great quantity of jewels and plate. At Winchester Stephen was joined by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, his uncle's chief treasurer and minister in England, and by William, archbishop of Canterbury. Roger declared that the marriage of Matilda with the count of Anjou had released him from the oath which he had formerly taken to her. The scruples of the archbishop were removed when Hugh Bigod, Steward of the Household to the late king, swore that Henry had on his deathbed set free
his subjects from the engagements which he had forced upon them. The influence of the primate, of the treasurer, and of the bishop of Winchester, supported by a military force, by the royal treasures, and by the citizens of London, placed the count of Boulogne on the throne of England. Stephen was crowned at London, on the 26th of December, 1135; less than a month after the death of his uncle. Before the ceremony, the primate required him to swear that he would restore and preserve the liberty of the church: and Henry of Winchester became surety for the observance of this oath. The new king also, by a charter addressed to all his faithful subjects, French and English, confirmed all the liberties and good laws which his uncle had granted, as well as those which had prevailed in the time of king Edward.

Coronation of Stephen.

Immediately after his coronation, Stephen, attended by a large concourse of prelates and nobles, proceeded to Reading, to meet the body of his uncle, which he there committed to the tomb (in the fine abbey which Henry had founded), with a great display of honour, he himself being one of the supporters of the bier.

Funeral of Henry.

In the meantime, Matilda had entered Normandy, and had been received into some of the towns; but the excesses of her husband's Angevin troops so kindled the wrath of the Normans, that they rose and expelled the empress and her consort before a month had passed. The Norman barons then inclined to place the duchy under Theobald of Blois, the eldest brother of Stephen; but finding that the latter had been acknowledged as king by the English, they resolved to accept him as their ruler also, and thus to maintain the union of the two countries.

Affairs of Normandy.

Although Stephen had been recognised as sovereign both in England and in Normandy, his authority was still far from being securely established. He knew that there existed a strong party favourable to Matilda: that most of the new nobility raised up by the policy of the late king, that numbers who regarded themselves as still bound by the oaths they had taken, and that all who were, from whatever cause, the friends of Henry's dynasty, wanted only an approved leader to declare themselves openly in her favour. Such a leader was to be apprehended in either David, king of Scotland, the uncle; or, still more, in Robert, earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate brother of Matilda. It was the first care of Stephen, therefore, to gain over or intimidate these opponents.
He accordingly despatched messengers and letters to the earl, who was still in Normandy, inviting him to court, and offering him his own terms as the price of his submission. Then, while the course of Robert was still uncertain, the king assembled one of the largest armies that had been seen in England, and marched to meet the king of Scots, who had already occupied Carlisle and Newcastle, without, however, any declaration of hostilities against Stephen. The kings met at Durham, where David, hopeless of success against the forces opposed to him, came to terms, and permitted his eldest son, Henry, to do homage to the sovereign of England for Carlisle, Doncaster, and the earldom of Huntingdon, which had descended to the prince through his mother, a daughter of the unfortunate Walthelof.

In the meantime, the earl of Gloucester, having anxiously considered the situation of affairs, concluded that the power of Stephen was too great to be overthrown for the present. He therefore came to England, attended the king's court at London, and did him homage; adding, however, this important condition—that Stephen should keep his engagements with him. The submission of Robert was followed by that of Payne Fitz-John and Milo of Gloucester, (two of the late king's most favoured nobles,) with nearly all the friends of Matilda. To crown the joy of Stephen, a letter arrived from pope Innocent II., approving his election by the peers, bishops, and people of England. A great assembly of the prelates and baronage was then held at Oxford, where Stephen promulgated a new charter, which promised freedom, honour, and protection to the church; the suppression of simony; the extirpation of all exactions and injustices; and the observance of the good old laws and just customs of the kingdom. Notwithstanding, however, the promises of Stephen, and the almost general defection of their fellows, some of the nobility still kept sullenly aloof in their castles, and avoided any recognition of the new king.

The unsettled state of England after the death of Henry I. had not escaped the notice of the Welsh, and had encouraged that people to attempt the recovery of those portions of their country which the Anglo-Normans had occupied. They accordingly rose, defeated their well-armed enemies in several battles, and carried fire and sword throughout the marches. Stephen at first despatched troops under his brother Baldwin to recover the ground which had been lost; but finally contented
himself with guarding the English counties from invasion, and awaiting the time when the certain intestine quarrels of the Welsh should enable him to resume the offensive with advantage.

In the meanwhile, Stephen, after exhausting all peaceable means to induce the submission of the malcontent barons, proceeded to enforce obedience by arms. Upon this, some of the dissidents immediately came in and took the oaths of allegiance. Others continued to defy the royal authority. Of these the most powerful was Baldwin de Rivers, earl of Devon, whom the king promptly besieged in the castle of Exeter. The attack and defence were conducted with the utmost vigour and ability for more than three months, when the besieged, driven to extremity by thirst, were compelled to yield, but were permitted by Stephen to retire whithersoever they would. The estates of De Rivers, however, were all declared forfeit; whereupon the earl betook himself to the isle of Wight, one of his possessions, resolved to renew the struggle. But his plans were frustrated by the rapid movements of Stephen; and De Rivers, flying to Anjou, entered the service of Matilda and her husband. The influence of the exile among the Norman nobility speedily enabled him to organize so formidable a league in the duchy against Stephen, that the king found himself compelled, in the spring of 1137, to repair thither to counteract the efforts of his enemies. He first sought an interview with the king of France, who acknowledged him as duke of Normandy. Turning then upon the revolters, his military skill, and the numerous forces which the treasures of his uncle still allowed him to keep in pay, gave him the advantage throughout the campaign. Having concluded a peace for two years with the count of Anjou, the king returned in triumph to England. He had, however, while in Normandy, committed a fatal mistake. At the instigation of William of Ypres, a Flemish mercenary high in his confidence, he had sanctioned a plot against the liberty, or, perhaps, even the life, of the earl of Gloucester, whose fidelity he doubted. Robert, warned in time, escaped the snare: but—though the king confessed his fault, humbly apologized for it, and even swore never again to countenance a similar outrage—the earl remained full of resentment and distrust, only waiting an opportunity to throw off his allegiance to the sovereign who had so offended him.

Stephen had hitherto been eminently prosperous in all his affairs; but
from this time they began to decline. By the end of his second year of reigning, he had dissipated his uncle's treasures, and had made a host of enemies. He had, indeed, bestowed many honours and estates; but he had deprived many of their possessions, and had disappointed the hopes of a greater number. The increasing discontent was fomented to the utmost by the friends of the empress; and in the summer of 1138, a wide-spread revolt of the barons took place. The king, with his usual promptitude, at once took the field, and, actively aided by his queen, began to reduce the strongholds of his enemies, one by one. But while he was thus engaged in the south and west, the northern parts of his kingdom were exposed to the most shocking calamities.

David, king of Scotland, having again determined to support by arms the cause of his niece Matilda, had twice invaded and twice retired from England, in the first months of the year 1138. In August he returned a third time, and his numerous hordes, (breaking loose from his control,) had swept the country as far as Yorkshire, destroying the villages, churches, and monasteries, slaying men, women, and children, and perpetrating in their course every atrocity that the most savage barbarians could commit. A body of troops, which attempted to stop their progress at Clitheroe, was cut to pieces. Some of the enemies of Stephen joined the king of Scots, and distrust and alarm everywhere began to prevail. In this emergency, Thurstan, archbishop of York, appealed to the nobility of his diocese, who had assembled to take counsel at the chief city, and exhorted them to make a resolute effort for the defence of their homes. Encouraged by his spirited address, the barons speedily assembled their vassals, and, bringing among them the young heir of De Mowbray, returned to York, whither the parish priests also led the fighting men of their flocks. After a solemn fast, the whole force was sent forward with the blessing of the archbishop to meet the invaders. Infirm as he was, Thurstan was ready to accompany the troops; but being at last prevailed upon to remain behind, he deputed the bishop of the Orkneys to act as his representative in the field. The English army, under the command of William, earl of Albemarle, advanced to Cuton Moor, near Northallerton, and there took post to await the approach of the enemy. In their midst was erected upon a car the mast of a ship, having at its summit a cross containing the Sacrament, and decorated below with the banners of Saints Peter,
Wilfrid, and John of Beverley. Walter l’Espec, an aged knight of high repute, mounting the car, addressed his comrades in a stirring harangue,

which he concluded by grasping the hand of William of Albemarle, and exclaiming:—“I pledge thee my troth, that I will this day either conquer the Scots, or die by the Scots.” This oath was repeated with enthusiasm.
by the other leaders, after which the bishop of the Orkneys eloquently exhorted all present to do their duty. While he was yet speaking, he saw the Scottish host rapidly advancing, whereupon he terminated his discourse by giving the solemn absolution to the whole army, which knelt to receive it. Then, leaping to their feet, the English made the surrounding hills re-echo with their shouts of “Amen! Amen!” In answer, the advancing Scots sent forth their national war-cry, “Alben! Alben!” and impetuously dashed forward on the Anglo-Norman lines. The front ranks of these were driven in, and the wings, outflanked and outnumbered, were thrown into disorder. But the main body stood firm round the standard, forming a hedge of steel, upon which the wildest valour of the assailants could make no impression. For two hours, nevertheless, the Scots continued their attacks, suffering heavily from the English archers who were mingled with the knights and men-at-arms. At length the invaders gave way, and fled towards their own country. The king was with difficulty extricated from the rout by some of his guards and nobles, and brought off in safety, having lost, it was reported, more than 11,000 men in the battle and flight. His son Henry, who had penetrated into the rear of the English army, seeing the battle lost, threw away every distinguishing mark, and pretending to join in the pursuit, escaped into the woods, and rejoined his father on the third day at Carlisle. Notwithstanding his defeat and losses, David continued the war on the border until the commencement of the following year, when the presence of Stephen with a powerful force induced the Scottish monarch to consent to a peace on honourable terms.

Prince Henry, son of David, accompanied Stephen back to England. Assisting the king at the siege of Ludlow, where Payne Fitz-John still held out, Henry was dragged from his horse by an iron hook, and nearly taken prisoner. Stephen himself, however, flew to his assistance, and gallantly rescued him from his peril. During his visit to England, the prince of Scotland married Adeline, a daughter of William, earl of Warrenne and Surrey.

The king had thus far triumphed over his enemies, whether foreign or domestic. The danger, however, was not yet past. It was rumoured that Matilda was about to invade the kingdom; and Stephen, fearing enemies on every side, now took a step which evoked them in all quarters, and led in the end to the downfall of his house. Amongst
the most powerful of the supporters of Stephen had hitherto been Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and his two nephews, the bishops of Lincoln and Ely. These prelates, following the example of the secular barons, had lately built castles upon their lands, enlisted troops, and collected provisions and warlike stores: measures which they alleged to be necessary for their own safety and the service of the king. Their rivals, however, at court, and principally the earls of Melfort and Leicester, insinuated to Stephen, that these bishops, the creatures of Henry I., were secretly attached to his daughter, and were preparing to aid her in arms whenever she should land in England. The king for some time remained in doubt what to believe, or how to act. At length, persuaded that his crown was at stake, he yielded to the counsel of his favourites, and resolved upon employing force against the accused prelates. A great council of the bishops and nobles had been summoned to meet at Oxford, in June. To this assembly came the suspected prelates with their usual pomp and military retinue. A dispute about quarters led to an encounter between their retainers and those of the count of Brittany and another foreign nobleman, in which the bishops' men were victors, but were afterwards severely handled by the royal troops. This affray served as a pretext. The next day the bishop of Salisbury was arrested in the palace, the bishop of Lincoln at his lodging, and being brought before the king, were commanded to surrender their castles. They offered other compensation, but declined compliance with this demand, and were placed in close confinement. In the meantime, the bishop of Ely, who had fled at the first alarm, had betaken himself to his uncle's strong castle of Devizes. Thither he was quickly followed by a body of mercenaries under William of Ypres, and by the king in person, leading with him the captive bishop of Salisbury, and the chancellor, Roger the Poor, (a reputed son of the bishop), also a prisoner. By threatening to starve the bishop, and to hang the chancellor on a high gallows before the gate, Stephen soon extorted from Nigel of Ely the surrender of the castle of Devizes. Those of Salisbury, Sherburn, and Malmesbury had already been yielded into his hands. The bishop of Lincoln, under like treatment, then also purchased his liberty by giving up his strongholds of Newark and Sleaford. All the property found in the castles was confiscated by the king for his own use.
These violent proceedings excited against Stephen the resentment of nearly the whole of the ecclesiastical order. Even those who had been most scandalized by the worldliness of the bishops, joined in condemning the course that had been adopted in their regard. Henry of Winchester himself (who had lately been appointed legate of the pope in England), after vainly endeavouring to persuade his brother to restore the castles to the bishops, and then to proceed against them in a regular manner before an ecclesiastical tribunal, summoned a council to take cognizance of the affair, and cited the king to attend it. When the synod had met, Henry opened the proceedings by a Latin discourse, in which he particularly dwelt upon the wrong the king had clone in causing subjects of his—bishops, moreover—to be violently arrested in his own court; and in seizing for himself the property of the church, under pretence of the criminality of the individual prelates. The king, he added, had refused to give satisfaction for his fault, but had allowed that council to meet. It was now, therefore, the part of the primate and his brethren to come to a decision. Their sentence he would carry out, regardless alike of fraternal affection and of personal danger. In reply to the complaints of the legate, Alberic de Vere, a skilful lawyer, who, with certain earls, appeared on behalf of the king, enlarged, but in a moderate tone, upon the offences charged against the bishops. He asserted that they were arrested, not as bishops, but as servants of the king; that they had of their own accord, and not by reason of any violence, given up the castles and the money (which was by right the king's); and he demanded that this voluntary arrangement should remain in force. To this bishop Roger replied, that he never had been the minister of king Stephen, nor received his wages; and that if justice were not done him by that synod, he would seek it in a higher court. After much argument on both sides, the council, at the request of the king, twice adjourned for a day, to await the coming of the archbishop of Rouen.

On taking his place, that prelate declared against the bishops. By the canons, he said, they ought not to possess castles; and if the king allowed them to have strongholds, the keys ought to be given up to him in critical times. Notwithstanding this opinion, the feeling of the council was so evidently against the king, that he, by the mouth of Alberic de Vere, avoided their jurisdiction by appealing himself to Rome. Upon this the
The synod broke up. The legate and the archbishop of Canterbury, however, made a final attempt to effect an accommodation. Seeking Stephen in his chamber, they threw themselves at his feet, and besought him to have pity on the church, his soul, and his reputation, nor cause a schism between the crown and the priesthood. Stephen replied mildly, and seemed disposed to yield; but the advice of his counsellors prevailed. He remained firm, and alienated from his cause its most powerful supporters.

Then bishop Roger, utterly cast down by this termination of his long season of worldly prosperity, sank and died in a few months of a broken heart. His remaining treasures, which he destined for the completion of his cathedral church, and had even placed upon the altar, to secure them for that purpose, were, notwithstanding, seized by the king before his death.

Bishop Roger sickens, and dies. Dec. 11, 1139.

Ere Stephen had confirmed the discontent of the English churchmen, many partizans of the empress had again taken arms; and the synod of Winchester had scarcely been dissolved a month, when Matilda herself landed on the coast of Sussex. She was accompanied by the earl of Gloucester, who had already despatched messengers to Stephen, with a formal renunciation of his oaths of homage and fealty. The force which they brought with them did not exceed 150 horsemen. The earl therefore placed his sister under the protection of the queen dowager, Adelais,—who was then residing with her second husband, William d'Albiney, at the castle of Arundel,—while with a small escort he himself hastened through a hostile country to the West, where his chief possessions and interest lay. The news of these arrivals spread alarm amongst the friends of Stephen; but the king, with his wonted military decision, quitted the siege of Marlborough, in which he was engaged, and hastened with a body of cavalry by forced marches to Arundel. Learning there that earl Robert had departed, he left a force to blockade the castle, and hurried in pursuit of him. Finding, however, that he could not overtake the earl, Stephen retraced his steps to Arundel, resolved to press the siege with the utmost vigour. Meanwhile, the legate had taken the field at the first alarm with a fine body of troops, and had (it was rumoured) met and conferred with the earl of Gloucester on his passage to the West. He then joined his brother before Arundel. It now seemed that Stephen had his rival within his grasp. The queen dowager, in alarm, declared that in receiving the empress she had but exercised the duty of hospitality to a loved relative, without any
design of harbouring the king’s enemies. Matilda, on her part, requested a free passage to her brother at Bristol: a favour which Stephen, either from chivalrous feeling, or influenced by advice attributed to Henry of Winchester, at once granted. The empress issued from the castle, and was conducted, under the safeguard of the legate, to the outposts of the earl of Gloucester. (October, 1139.)
England now became a prey to a most destructive civil war. The earl of Gloucester, indeed, like Stephen, was generous and humane; but many of the other leaders on both sides behaved with the utmost violence and cruelty. The foreign mercenaries of the king, and the Welsh, whom Robert called in to his assistance, inflicted innumerable calamities wherever they moved. The great nobles acted in all things as they pleased, for each of the rivals feared to put the law in force against the powerful men whose support they needed. As the war went on, each petty baron erected a castle, often by means of forced labour; or, instead of building, seized upon the nearest church, and turned it into a fortress. These castles became in most cases mere dens of robbers. The lords of them levied contributions from all the weak within their reach; and commonly did not scruple to employ torture in order to extort a ransom from their miserable victims. The cattle and flocks were driven off; the corn seized; the farmers, and even the poor husbandmen, were obliged to purchase their deliverance from these tyrants. At last, in many places all tillage ceased, and famine came upon the land. And this was the condition of England during the greater part of Stephen's reign.

Towards the end of the year 1140, Ranulf, earl of Chester (a nobleman who, although he had married a daughter of Robert of Gloucester, had hitherto kept aloof from both parties), in concert with his brother, William de Roumare, seized upon the royal castle of Lincoln on his own behalf. Stephen (who had but lately left the city, after bestowing increased honours on the earl) was highly incensed, and at once prepared, though it was the depth of winter, to punish the offender. The castle of Lincoln was already invested, when Ranulf, leaving his wife and brother to hold the place, escaped with a few horsemen into the West, declared for the empress, and called upon the earl of Gloucester for succour.

Robert had hitherto regarded with much displeasure the conduct of his son-in-law; but now, seeing an opportunity of deciding the war at a blow, he determined to exert himself to the utmost for the relief of his daughter. At the head of a well-appointed force he advanced from Gloucester to the neighbourhood of Lincoln, where he was joined by Ranulf with his vassals from Cheshire. The river Trent, swollen by heavy rains, and watched by a body of the king's troops, lay before the earl; but, disregarding every obstacle, Robert plunged with his army into the stream, and gained the
opposite bank in safety. Having thus cut off all hope of retreat, he led forward his troops in three divisions. The earl of Chester commanded the first; the nobles and others disinherited by Stephen headed the second; and Robert followed with the third, the whole being covered on both flanks by bodies of Welshmen. On learning the approach of the enemy, Stephen raised the siege, and drew up his army for battle in front of the city. His force was also disposed in three divisions. His cavalry, which was not very numerous, he threw forward on the right and left. One of these wings was composed of the great earls and their knights; the other, of Flemish and Breton cavalry, under the earl of Albemarle and William of Ypres; while the main body, consisting of dismounted men-at-arms, was drawn up in close order round the royal standard. With these Stephen himself took post on foot. The battle was commenced by the dispossessed nobles, who fell upon the division of the earls with such fury that it was at once utterly routed and chased from the field. At the same time, the earl of Albemarle and William of Ypres, charging the body of Welshmen opposite to them, scattered it in every direction, but were themselves attacked in the moment of success by the earl of Chester, and compelled to follow the flight of the other wing. The main body of the royal army, thus abandoned by their cavalry, and now exposed to the united assaults of the whole force under the earl of Gloucester, yet stood firm, and made a stubborn resistance. The king displayed the most brilliant valour; but, at last, after his sword and his battle-axe had each broken in his hands, he was seized by a knight, named William de Kahanes. Even then, he would not surrender to any but to his cousin Robert, the son of a king. The earl received his captive with respect and kindness. After having presented him to the empress at Gloucester, he allowed him a certain degree of liberty. At a later period, however, Stephen was placed in strict confinement in the castle of Bristol.

All open resistance to the authority of Matilda now ceased, except in Kent, where the consort of Stephen, with a force under William of Ypres, still maintained her ground; and in the city of London, where the citizens made no sign of submission.

But although victorious in the field, the party of Matilda still wanted the sanction of the church; and it now became the chief care of her advisers to procure the open adhesion of Henry of Winchester, the legate of the Roman see. Negotiations were carried on during some weeks,
and so much to the satisfaction of the bishop, that he consented to meet the empress in conference. The interview took place on the third Sunday in Lent, upon an open plain to the west of Winchester. The day was dark and rainy. The empress pledged herself by oath to the bishop, that if he with the church would receive her as sovereign, she would act by his advice in all matters of importance, but especially in the bestowal of ecclesiastical patronage. Robert of Gloucester, with the other chiefs of the party, took the same oath. The legate no longer hesitated; and the next day he received Matilda as queen with great pomp in the cathedral of Winchester, giving up to her the regalia, and what remained of the royal treasures. He was attended on the occasion by five other bishops, amongst whom were the two nephews of Roger of Salisbury, the prelates of Ely and Lincoln. Theobald, the new archbishop of Canterbury, however, with many of his brethren, declined to acknowledge Matilda until they had obtained the consent of their former master. They, therefore, with some of the laity, visited Stephen at Bristol, and were graciously released by the captive from their allegiance to him.

A synod was next called at Winchester, to elect Matilda as queen. It was composed of the bishops, the abbots, and the archdeacons of the English church. These were afterwards joined by deputies from the city of London, whom the legate had summoned to attend, "because," as he said, "from the importance of their city, they are almost nobles." Before this assembly, the cause of the empress was pleaded by her former foe so persuasively, that the clergy unanimously, or, at least, without a dissentient voice, adopted her as their sovereign. The deputies from London, however, referred the matter to their fellow-citizens; and more than two months passed before these consented to acknowledge the title of Matilda.

The party of Anjou was now entirely triumphant; and had the empress regulated her conduct by the wisdom and moderation of her brother, earl Robert, or by the advice of the legate, she would have certainly reigned in England to the end of her days. As it was, Matilda destroyed in a few weeks all the advantages that had been gained for her. By her arrogance, her vindictiveness, and her harshness, she alienated her friends, and exasperated her enemies anew. She suffered the greatest men in the kingdom to remain on their knees in
her presence, instead of desiring them to rise as soon as they had made their obeisance. When Matilda of Boulogne entreated for the freedom of her husband, Stephen, the empress rejected her prayer with insult. When some of the adherents of Stephen approached her, willing to make their peace, she received them with coldness, or even with reproaches; and, yielding to violent and interested counsellors, she evinced such a determination to confiscate the estates of all who had opposed her, as drove them to desperation, and forced them to remain in the party of her rival. When Henry of Winchester requested that his nephew Eustace might retain his father's counties of Boulogne and Mortain, he was positively denied. She demanded a large sum of money from the principal citizens of London; and when they, on strong grounds, begged that the tax might not be levied at once, she harshly refused to grant any delay. Upon this, the offended Londoners renewed their alliance with Matilda of Boulogne, and the whole city suddenly rose against the empress. Matilda and her friends were compelled to fly almost on the instant, leaving all their valuables in the power of the revolters. In her anger at this disgrace, the empress ordered Stephen to be put in chains.

The suspicions and resentment of Matilda now turned upon the legate, who had made no secret of his discontent, had held a friendly conference with his brother's wife at Guildford, and had absolved those partizans of Stephen whom the council at Winchester had excommunicated. The earl of Gloucester in vain endeavoured to restore concord; and Matilda determined to secure the person of the legate. With a strong force she rode in haste to Winchester; and the bishop had but scarcely time to escape by one gate as she entered by another. The empress at once laid siege to the castle and to the episcopal palace, a strong fortress in the centre of the city, summoning her friends from all quarters to her aid. She was soon joined by David of Scotland, Robert of Gloucester, and the earls of Devon, Cornwall, Hereford, Dorset, and Warwick, with a great host of barons and knights, who vigorously pressed the double siege. The vassals of the bishop, however, defended themselves with spirit; and Henry, on his part, spared no efforts for their relief. He took into his pay a large body of mercenaries. He called upon all the friends of Stephen to hasten to his assistance. Matilda
of Boulogne, with William of Ypres, the Londoners, and the nobles of
Stephen's party, quickly took the field: and it was not long before the
troops of the empress, besieging the castle and palace, were themselves
besieged in the city of Winchester. In the struggle which ensued, the
greater part of the place, with two abbeys and fourteen churches, was
burned to ashes. At length the leaders of the empress's party, per-
ceiving that famine had seized the townspeople, and closely threatened
themselves, determined upon a retreat. The operation was commenced
with skill and success; but the superior numbers and reiterated attacks
of the pursuers eventually threw their enemies into confusion. A complete
rout ensued. The earl of Gloucester, endeavouring to cover the retreat,
was cut off, and made prisoner. The king of Scots shared his fate: while
Matilda herself, escorted by the lord of Wallingford, escaped with the
utmost difficulty, first to Devizes, and thence to Gloucester.

This brilliant success, and the capture of the real head of the empress's
party, enabled Matilda of Boulogne to effect the release of her husband. In
about six weeks, the king and the earl of Gloucester were simultaneously
released upon equal terms, and without conditions. In other respects
the victory of Winchester produced no results: for the country was now
so thickly studded with castles, that the victors could not advance without
undertaking a succession of tedious sieges, while the vanquished, having
regained the shelter of their strongholds, quickly recovered their courage
and spirit. Matilda, therefore, was soon enabled to collect a strong
force, with which she proceeded to Oxford, and there fixed her court.
In the meantime, Stephen attended a synod at Westminster, which the
legate had called, in the hope of obtaining from it a solemn condem-
nation of the Anjevin party. It does not appear that he had any
success: but the council, weary of the atrocities which were everywhere
perpetrated, denounced sentence of excommunication against all who should
desecrate any church or churchyard, or who should lay violent hands upon
any religious person. It also decreed that the ploughs in the fields, and
the rustics who worked at them, should for the future be as sacred as if
they were in sanctuary.

The war now nearly ceased. The winter, the season of Lent, and
a dangerous illness which afflicted Stephen during the greater part of the
summer, successively served to prolong the state of peace far into the
Earl Robert, taking advantage of the lull, visited Geoffrey of Anjou in Normandy, and urged him in the strongest manner to defend in person the inheritance of his wife and children in England. Meanwhile, Stephen, having recovered his health, recommenced hostilities with all his former vigour. After having captured Wareham, he suddenly marched upon Oxford, stormed and burned the town, and shut the empress up in the castle, declaring that nothing should induce him to stir until he had her in his power. The peril of his sister hastened the return of Robert from Normandy. He brought with him a force of 350 horsemen, and the young Henry of Anjou, the eldest son of Matilda and Geoffrey. In the hope of drawing Stephen from Oxford, the earl at once laid siege to Wareham; but the king, intent upon the capture of his rival, would not move. Robert, therefore, after taking Wareham, Corfe, and Lulworth, summoned the friends of the empress to meet at Cirencester. Their united forces had already commenced their march towards Oxford, when they received the joyful intelligence that Matilda had escaped from the castle, and was then in safety at Wallingford. It was just before Christmas, and the country was covered with snow, when the empress, despairing of relief, issued from the castle at night, clad in white, and attended by only three knights. Crossing the frozen river, she passed through the royal lines on foot, and so escaped to Abingdon, whence she rode on horseback to Wallingford. Oxford immediately capitulated.

The success of Stephen at Oxford was soon balanced by a disgraceful defeat which he suffered from the earl of Gloucester at Wilton. Still neither party was strong enough to conquer the other. The war lingered on for years. The great majority of the nobles on either side had no desire that their nominal chief should get the upper hand, and once more establish a strong government in the kingdom. Such men found their profit in the general confusion, and continued in every quarter to set all law at defiance. They assumed regal powers, coined money, levied taxes, and made the most savage war upon their neighbours. Philip, a son of the earl of Gloucester, rendered himself especially infamous by his lawlessness and cruelty, first, as a supporter of the empress, then as a deserter to Stephen.

At length, after five years of this miserable state of affairs, the empress, abandoned by the earl of Chester, (who ruled a third of the kingdom,)
and having lost her two most faithful supporters—Robert of Gloucester by sickness, and the earl of Hereford by an accident—retired to Normandy; and, a few years afterwards, tacitly resigned her pretensions in favour of her eldest son. The removal, however, of his chief opponents did not procure for Stephen the peaceable enjoyment of the kingdom. The great nobles still maintained a state of virtual independence, which the king attempted with but little success to diminish. If he at one time, by seizing the earl of Essex, and, at another, the earl of Chester, while peacefully attending his court, forcing them to purchase their liberty by the surrender of their chief strongholds, he by such measures exasperated the other nobles, and provoked on each occasion a troublesome revolt. The transference of the office of legate from his brother Henry to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the refusal of that prelate to crown Eustace, the eldest son of Stephen, brought on another quarrel between the king and the clergy, which led to the exile of the primate, followed by the excommunication of Stephen.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Henry of Anjou, at the invitation of the earl of Cornwall, returned once more to England to claim his inheritance. Since his former visit, his reputation and power had immensely increased. He was now duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, and, in right of his wife (the divorced queen of Louis VII. of France), duke of Aquitaine. On his landing, his banner was quickly surrounded by the friends of his mother, and he lost no time in commencing operations. Stephen, who had for some time been engaged in the siege of Wallingford castle, promptly hastened to meet his rival; but, on approaching the hostile army, he found that the duke had already taken Malmesbury, and occupied a strong position behind the river Avon. The king, nevertheless, was preparing to attack, when his plans were disconcerted by a tempest of snow and rain, which disheartened his troops, swelled the rivers, and rendered an advance impracticable. Unable to contend with the inclemency of the weather, Stephen withdrew his army to London. The party of Henry now rapidly increased; and finding himself, after a short interval, at the head of a powerful force, he advanced to the relief of Wallingford castle. He had effected his object, and was engaged in besieging the fort which Stephen had erected at Crowmarsh, when the king with a numerous host approached to the aid of his friends. The armies were preparing to engage, when the
earl of Arundel, acting in concert with the primate and Henry of Winchester, and probably also with the principal nobles on both sides, proposed a compromise, by which Stephen should continue to wear the crown during his lifetime, and Henry be at once acknowledged as his heir. The favour with which this proposal was received compelled the reluctant assent of

the rivals. They met alone, at a narrow part of the Thames, and there conversed for a long time together; agreeing in the end to a truce, during which a lasting peace might be arranged. The influence of prince Eustace, however, who aspired to the crown after his father, caused a renewal of the war; but his death, in the following August, removed the chief obstacle to
the pacification of the kingdom. The earls of Chester and Northampton, the two most powerful enemies of a settled government, followed him almost immediately to the grave. Prince William, the only remaining legitimate son of Stephen, did not oppose himself to an accommodation; and the efforts of Henry of Winchester were finally crowned with success. An ecclesiastical council was summoned, in the names of Stephen and Henry, to meet at Winchester. The king and duke entered the city together, with a splendid train of bishops and nobles, amid universal testimonies of rejoicing. The synod, under the guidance of Bishop Henry, was not long in arranging the terms of the peace, which was confirmed by the oaths of all present. Stephen and Henry then visited London, and afterwards Oxford, in company, and were everywhere received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The treaty having received the sanction of the great council of the kingdom at Oxford, Stephen made public its conditions in a charter, whereby he declared, that he, the king of England, had appointed Henry, duke of Normandy, his successor in the kingdom, and heir by hereditary right; and had “given and confirmed” the said kingdom to him and to his heirs. The duke, on his part, not only confirmed to William of Blois all his present estates and honours, but considerably augmented them. Henry soon afterwards returned to Normandy; and Stephen, now truly a king, proceeded to establish order in his dominions. He had made some progress in the work, and had demolished the castles of some of the robbers who infested the land, when he was taken ill, and died, after a few days' sickness, in the nineteenth year of his troubled reign. His body was interred near his wife and eldest son, in the abbey of Faversham, which he himself had founded some time before. Prince William did not survive him many years.

Upon the death of Stephen, the government was assumed by archbishop Theobald, who succeeded in maintaining tranquillity until the arrival of Henry—a period of more than six weeks.
HENRY II., FITZ-EMPRESS.

HEN the news of the death of Stephen reached the duke of Normandy, he was engaged in the reduction of a castle that had revolted from him; and so confident was he in his own power and the goodwill of the English, that when he was urged to hasten into England, lest his old enemies there should rise against him, he simply answered, "They dare not;" and continued the siege until the castle fell. Then, having arranged the affairs of his continental dominions, and left Normandy under the government of his mother, Henry crossed over to England, where he was received with acclamations of joy. On the 19th of December he was elected king at Westminster, and crowned, with Eleanor his queen, by archbishop Theobald, in the presence of all the bishops, and of a vast concourse of the nobles of England.

Strong in the hopeful affection of his new subjects, Henry proceeded with the utmost energy to remedy the evils which long years of civil war had brought upon them. He renewed the charter of liberties which his grandfather had granted. He gave orders that a new and pure coinage should be issued. To revive the vigour of the laws, he at once filled up the judicial and executive offices of the crown, and placed at their head as Great Justiciaries the earl of Leicester and Richard de Lucy, men of high character and ability. He conferred the chancellorship upon Thomas a Becket, a clerk in minor orders, who had in the late reign done him important service, and who was now recommended to him, both by archbishop Theobald and by Henry of Winchester. He commanded the whole of the foreign mercenaries, whom Stephen and others had established in England, to depart the kingdom by a certain day, on pain of death. William of Ypres was deprived of the earldom of Kent, and banished with the rest. The king then proceeded to destroy the castles which had been built during the reign of his predecessor, sparing only a few which were advantageously placed for the defence of the realm. He resumed all the crown lands which Stephen or the empress had been induced to alienate. To ensure the execution of these important measures, Henry, at the head of a numerous army, made a progress to the north. At his approach, the most powerful barons were compelled to yield him obedience. The earl of

W. Ysidore.

Concordance.

Chron. Nume.

Red. Hects.
Nottingham, who had poisoned Ranulf of Chester a few years before, now fled the kingdom. Even William of Albemarle, who had long ruled in Yorkshire like a king, submitted, though most unwillingly, to the commands of Henry, and placed in his hands the strong castle of Scarborough, together with the estates which he had of late acquired from the crown. But Hugh de Mortimer, a powerful baron, confiding in the support of his cousin, the earl of Albemarle, and in that of the young earl of Hereford, ventured to take up arms against his sovereign. He was, however, quickly subdued, and pardoned by Henry. Lastly, the bishop of Winchester, in distrust and alarm, secretly withdrew from the kingdom, upon which his strongholds were at once destroyed by the king.

Scarcely had Henry seated himself on the throne of England, when he began to meditate the conquest of Ireland, intending to bestow the island upon his brother William. With the bishops deputed to congratulate the Englishman, Nicholas Breakspear, who had just been elected pope, the king therefore sent an able envoy to solicit the papal sanction for his intended enterprise. Adrian IV. returned a favourable answer: and Henry had laid the plan before a great council held at Winchester, at Michaelmas, 1155; when the opposition of his mother caused him to lay aside his design.

The next year, Henry was called to the continent by the revolt of his brother Geoffrey, who had for some time claimed the county of Anjou, as the bequest of his father. After doing homage to the king of France, Henry deprived his brother of the castles of Chinon, Loudon, and Mirabeau, which his father had left him, and gave him instead an annuity of 3000 pounds, one-third of which was to be paid in English, the rest in Anjevin money. Geoffrey was immediately afterwards elected count of the territory of Nantes: but dying in 1158, Henry claimed the province as his brother's heir, and took possession of it, after extracting a renunciation of his title from Conan, count of Rennes, who was also earl of Richmond in England.

In 1157, Henry demanded and obtained from Malcolm IV., king of Scots, the surrender of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, which he himself had formerly confirmed to David I., when he had received the order of knighthood from that monarch. In return, however, he bestowed upon Malcolm the earldom of Huntingdon.
The vast increase of Henry's power had long excited the jealous displeasure of his suzerain, the king of France; and Louis VII. now threatened to prevent the acquisition of Brittany. Henry, who, at the moment, did not wish for war, sent his chancellor to Paris to avert the storm. Becket was so successful in his mission, that Henry was immediately invited to the French court to ratify a new treaty, by which it was arranged that a marriage should take place at the proper time between the eldest son of the king of England, and Margaret, a daughter of Louis, who, for her dowry, engaged to restore part of the Norman Vexin.

Scarcely, however, had this treaty been confirmed, when a new difference brought on a war. Henry laid claim to the county of Toulouse, as part of the inheritance of his wife. But Raymond of St. Gilles, who held the county by conveyance from the father of queen Eleanor, and, moreover, as the dower of his own wife, the sister of the French king, refused to give it up. Louis sustained the cause of his brother-in-law, and Henry prepared for war. As the territory in dispute was far distant, the king, by the advice of his chancellor, resolved to accept from each of his vassals a sum of money in lieu of their personal service. The amount so obtained enabled him to enlist a vast body of mercenaries, with which, augmented by his chief barons and their immediate retainers, he took the field. In his suite appeared the young king of Scotland, a prince of Wales, and the chancellor, leading 700 men-at-arms, paid by himself. In the south Henry was joined by Raymond-Berenger, prince of Aragon, and other allies, with considerable forces. The advance of this formidable host upon Toulouse caused the count urgently to implore the aid of the king of France; and Louis, without waiting to collect his forces, threw himself into the menaced city with a small troop. Upon this, Henry, with a politic respect for his suzerain, immediately gave up the siege, in spite of the counsel of his chancellor. Satisfied with the conquests he had already made, the king then returned to Normandy, leaving Becket, with the constable, in command of the force which remained. The chancellor, cleric though he was, trained and led his own contingent in such a manner as to render them the foremost in all the army. In the next campaign, having on one occasion encountered a valiant French knight, named Engelram de Trie, he dismounted him, and carried off his charger as the prize of victory.
In the December of 1159, Henry and Louis met, and agreed upon a peace; but in less than a month they were again at war. The king of France, having lost his queen, married within three weeks Adelais of Blois, a niece of King Stephen. Henry, offended at this alliance, secretly procured a dispensation from the papal legates in France, and causing his little son to be married to the infant daughter of Louis, obtained possession of her dower from the Templars, who were the guardians of it. The French monarch, exasperated, instantly renewed hostilities; but peace was soon again brought about by the exertions of Peter of Taranta, the envoy of pope Alexander III.

At this time the nations of Europe were divided between two claimants of the papal chair: — Victor IV., who was supported by the emperor, and Alexander III., who had received the great majority of votes, and who finally was everywhere acknowledged as pope. The bishops of France and England pronounced in favour of Alexander; and the kings invited him to take up his abode in their dominions. He visited France; and was met at Touc-sur-Loire by Louis and Henry, who dismounting, conducted him to his lodging, each holding the bridle of his mule.

In the meantime, the aged archbishop Theobald, who had warmly espoused the cause of Alexander, had died, leaving vacant the second place in the kingdom. It was immediately given by the public voice to the chancellor. But Henry, now enjoying the revenues of the see, was in no haste to fill it up. At length, at the end of thirteen months, while sending his favourite to England on important public business, he announced that he wished him to be the new archbishop. “What a saint,” returned the chancellor, looking down upon his rich dress, “you desire to place in that holy bishopric!” adding, moreover, his fear that, if he were so promoted, he should lose the king’s favour on account of church matters. Henry, nevertheless, persisted; and Thomas, being elected, acquitted, as he afterwards said, “more from the love of the king than of God.” He was ordained priest by the bishop of Rochester, on the 2nd of June, 1162; and the next day, after having been released from all secular claims by prince Henry, who attended for his father, he was consecrated bishop by Henry of Blois, now again in possession of his see.

From that day a total change appeared in the life of Becket. His household, instead of nobles and knights, was now mainly composed of
Henri II.

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Change in his mode of life.

He resigns the great seal.

Designs of Henry.

His alienation from Becket.

Quarrel with the Church.

Case of the canon De Brois.

Henry dissatisfied.

Council of Westminster.

Demands of the king.

Ecclesiastics. He immediately resumed his studies. He carefully performed all the duties of his station. He attended in choir; waited on the poor; became mortified in his person. At first, indeed, he retained his secular dress; but before the end of the year he had exchanged it for the black habit of the canons-regular of Merton, where he had been at school. Finally, he resigned the great seal into the hands of the king.

Henry had for some time been meditating the diminution of the privileges of the clergy. Deeming the canon law too mild, and the bishops too indulgent, he had resolved to subject clerical offenders to the rigour of the secular code. Becket was aware of his designs: and the resignation of his ministerial office was a plain intimation that he had resolved to oppose them. Other causes of alienation arose; and there were those at court who used all their influence with the king to widen the breach. The archbishop began to reclaim the rights and possessions of the see of Canterbury, which had been either surrendered by his predecessors, or arbitrarily taken from them; and he finally lost the royal favour by excommunicating a nobleman who had violently expelled a parish-priest appointed by him.

An altercation between a priest and one of the royal justices brought on the long impending conflict. Philip de Brois, a canon of Bedford, had been, many years before, accused of murder in his bishop's court, but found guilty of manslaughter, and fined for the benefit of the victim's relations. He was, however, now called "a murderer," by Fitz-Peter, one of the king's justices, in his court at Dunstable; upon which the canon, in his anger, insulted the judge, who forthwith returned to London, and complained to the king. Henry commanded that De Brois should be tried before Becket and a royal commission, for the old and the new offence. To the first charge, he pleaded his former acquittal, which was admitted by the court; but, although a very severe sentence was passed upon him for the insult to the judge, the king was dissatisfied, and declared, that the bishops must take an oath that they had not spared De Brois because he was a priest.

A council of the bishops was summoned to meet at Westminster. To it the king complained of the many crimes committed by men in orders, and demanded from the primate and his brethren their consent that all clerics taken in crime should be at once degraded and delivered over to
his officers for corporal punishment. The bishops, intimidated, were disposed to yield; but the primate firmly refused, declaring, that a double condemnation for one offence was unjust, and that the ecclesiastical sentence was sufficiently heavy. Upon this, the king changed his ground, and required that the bishops should pledge themselves to observe “the royal customs.” After conferring together, the primate and all the bishops but one answered, that they would observe them, “saving their order.” Hilary of Chichester replied that he would observe them “in good faith.” Henry, angrily declaring that the prelates were all in a conspiracy against him, broke up the council. The next morning, the king demanded from the primate the castle of Berkhamstead and the honour of Eye, which he had long held, and then quitted London, leaving all the bishops anxious, and some of them utterly dejected.

At this juncture there was in England a Norman bishop, Arnulf of Lisieux, who, anxious to recover the favour of the king, which he had lost, actively set himself to effect an arrangement that should be pleasing to him. By his advice, the bishops were separately plied and won over to the royal cause. He visited the pope six times in the course of three months, to assure him of the good intentions of king Henry. In the meanwhile, the king himself, in a personal interview, some bishops, and certain friends of the primate, made every effort to change his determination. All was in vain, until letters were brought to him from the pope and cardinals, counselling submission to his sovereign for the sake of peace. Thomas then yielded. He visited the king at Woodstock, and promised to abandon the obnoxious clause. Henry said, that as his refusal had been public, his consent ought also to be public: and he summoned him to attend a great council to be held at Clarendon to determine the affair.

The council met on the appointed day, January the 29th, 1164. The archbishop had, however, in the meantime repented of his concession, and determined not to renew his promise in public. The rumour of this so enraged the king, that men began to fear the most fatal consequences. The bishops of Salisbury and Worcester hastened to the primate, and besought him to have mercy on them, if not on himself. He refused to give way. Then came the Great Justiciary, Robert, earl of Leicester, accompanied by Reginald, earl of Cornwall, uncle of the king, and begged
him to save the king and them from the disgrace of employing any violence against him: but they were equally unsuccessful. They were followed by Richard de Hastings, Master of the English Templars, and Hostes de Boulogne, a knight of that order, who, kneeling before the archbishop, by their tears and supplications at last overcame his resolve. He went to the king at the head of the bishops, and declared that he assented to everything that was required of him, "on the word of truth." The other prelates then, at his desire, pledged themselves in like manner, The king having ordered that the laws and customs of Henry I. should now be reduced to writing, the archbishop professed his ignorance of what they were, and obtained an adjournment till the next day.

On the following morning, Richard de Lucy and Josceline de Baliol drew up the sixteen articles afterwards known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. After they had been read aloud, the primate objected to each article; and when his seal was demanded, refused, or deferred, to give it. The other bishops also declared that their word was sufficient. Becket left the council in much distress of mind. His own attendants openly blamed his conduct, alleging that he had betrayed the church. Full of compunction, on reaching Canterbury, he interdicted himself from the priestly office, wrote a report of his conduct to Alexander III., and solicited absolution.

Notwithstanding the retractation of the archbishop, Henry still hoped to carry his point by means of the pope. Becket, too, was willing to leave the decision entirely in his hands. But Alexander refused to sanction any new customs. The anger of the king was thereupon rekindled. He resolved to crush the opponent who was within his reach, and to make the feudal law the instrument of his vengeance.

The archbishop was cited as a delinquent to attend a great council at Northampton. There Henry in person charged him with contempt of the royal authority. He had neglected to attend before the king's judges when summoned, and had only sent four knights to represent him. For this the primate was declared to be "at the king's mercy," all his goods and chattels being thereby forfeited. The king, however, was content with a fine of 500 pounds of silver. On the two succeeding days Henry called upon the archbishop to pay him 300 pounds which he had received from the honours of Berkhamstead and Ely; 500 which he had
borrowed during the campaign of Toulouse; and another 500 for which the king had been surety. Finally, Henry demanded the receipts of all the moneys from vacant seces and benefices which had passed through Becket's hands as chancellor, declaring that the sum of at least 40,000 marks was due to the treasury. The primate was astounded by this claim; but, being reminded of the fact by Henry of Winchester, replied, that at his consecration he had been freed from all secular claims by prince Henry and the Justiciary De Lucy. The king, however, declaring that he had never confirmed that release, the plea of the archbishop was not allowed. He was then permitted to confer apart with his brethren. By some of these he was strenuously advised to resign his see; but Henry of Winchester again took his part, and condemned such counsel.

The next day being Sunday, the primate had an interval for consultation and determining upon his future course. In the night he was taken ill, and remained in his lodging during the whole of Monday. After meditating an appeal to the pity of Henry, he finally resolved to decline altogether the jurisdiction of the court. In the morning, after forbidding the bishops to judge their archbishop and father, and notifying to them his appeal to the pope, he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen the Protomartyr. It had been his intention to proceed at once, arrayed as he was, from the altar to the court; but some Templars objecting, he took off his mitre and pallium, and throwing his usual black cappa over his sacerdotal vestments, proceeded to the castle. At the gate, he took from the bearer the archiepiscopal cross, and so entered the council chamber. The bishops surrounded him, but were soon summoned to attend the king, who, at the entrance of the primate, had withdrawn with the barons to an upper chamber. There Henry bitterly denounced the insolence of the archbishop, who, he said, by guarding himself with the cross, was treating his sovereign as if he were not a Christian. The courtiers re-echoed his complaints; and such was the passion exhibited, that the archbishop of York, escaping from the room, called his chaplains to follow him from the castle, lest they should witness the shedding of blood. In the meantime, the other bishops, to avoid taking part in the impending judgment, declared that they were ready to renounce the authority of the primate as a perjured archbishop, and appeal against him to the pope. Upon this condition only would
Henry excused them. They returned, therefore, to the council chamber, and Hilary of Chichester announced their resolution. "I hear what you say," replied the primate, "and I will attend the appeal. We did promise at Clarendon to observe the customs in good faith, and lawfully. But we cannot so observe customs which are against the church and law of God. Moreover, the pope has since condemned them: and an unlawful oath is not binding." The bishops then seated themselves opposite to Becket, while the lay barons entered, headed by the earls of Leicester and Cornwall. Leicester, as Great Justiciary, bade the archbishop plead, or hear his sentence. "My sentence?" returned Becket, rising: "Son and Earl, hear me first. I was given to my church free from all worldly claims. Concerning such, therefore, I will not plead. I hold all things by free alms: nothing in barony. I forbid you to pass judgment on
me." The earl replied:—"I must not disobey such an authority, to the peril of my soul. Do you, therefore," continued he, to the earl of Cornwall, "say what the king has determined:" but Reginald declined a duty with which he had not been charged. The archbishop then continued:—
"Son and Earl, yet listen. You are all my children. Children must not judge their father. Wherefore I decline the judgment of the king, and yours; and, under God, will be judged by the pope alone. To him I appeal. Before him I summon you my brethren, who have served man rather than God: and so, under the safeguard of the Catholic Church and of the apostolic see, I go hence."

Becket appeals to the pope.

As he went, some of the courtiers threw handfuls of straw at him; and some shouted:—"Perjurer!" and "Traitor!" He twice turned, and said,—"If I were a knight, my own hand should prove you false." When he reached the streets, however, he was received with every mark of respect and attachment by the people, who attended him in crowds to his lodging. The laymen of his household, and some of the clerics, in fear of the king, begged at once to be released from his service. That day the archbishop resolved to quit the kingdom, for which step he begged the royal permission; but, conceiving himself in instant danger, he left Northampton the same night, disguised as a monk; and, after hiding by day and journeying by night for three weeks, escaped in a small boat to Flanders.

On reaching the papal court, which was then at Sens, Becket found that an embassy from the king had already been there, and had produced some impression to his disadvantage. But Alexander, when he heard the Constitutions of Clarendon read, explicitly condemned ten of the sixteen articles: and when Becket resigned his see into his hands, he immediately reinstated him, in spite of the advice of some of the cardinals: and, finally, he committed the exile to the hospitality of the Cistercians of Pontigny. The pope, however, grateful for the past services of Henry, and fearing to drive him into the arms of the antipope, avoided any public decision against the king of England. He returned to Italy in 1165, leaving the cause still in suspense.

In consequence of a difference with the king of France, Henry had also passed the sea, when a revolt and destructive inroad of the Welsh recalled him to England. At the head of a numerous force he crossed the
frontier, and avenged the late insults by a great victory: but on pushing further into the mountains, his troops suffered so much from the weather and the attacks of the enemy, that it with difficulty retraced its steps to Chester. The king then “did justice” upon his hostages, the children of the Welsh princes, ordering the eyes of the boys to be put out, and the noses and ears of the girls to be cut off. After this, Henry directed his energies to the acquisition of Brittany. He persuaded duke Conan to resign his rights to his infant daughter Constance. He then arranged “an imaginary marriage” between the child and his own son Geoffrey, and appointing himself guardian of the children, took possession of the duchy.

In the meantime the king had adopted the most vigorous measures against the primate, his friends, and sympathizers. He threatened the penalties of treason against anyone who should be the bearer of ecclesiastical censure, or any mandate whatever, from the pope or the archbishop. No cleric or lay-brother was to pass the sea without a written permit. He seized the estates of the see of Canterbury, and the property of all who had joined or assisted the archbishop in his flight. He banished all the kindred and connexions of the primate, old and young, to the number of four hundred persons; and these were bound by oath to present themselves before Becket without delay. He ordered the name of the archbishop to be expunged from the liturgy; and by fines and imprisonments taught the clergy that the king’s anger was to be dreaded.

Before his departure for Italy, pope Alexander had privately appointed Becket his legate for England, but had forbidden him to exercise his functions until after the Easter of 1166. That time having passed, the archbishop, after three attempts to induce his sovereign to abandon his claims, publicly excommunicated Richard de Lucy, Josceline de Baliol, and other servants, lay and clerical, of the king. Henry had already appealed to the pope, his ministers now appealed, against the authority of the legate; but Alexander confirmed the excommunication. In the meantime, the king drove his adversary from Pontigny by a threat that the whole Cistercian order in his dominions should be expelled, if their brethren continued any longer to give shelter to his enemy. Thomas thereupon, at the invitation of the French king, took up his abode at Sens.

Not discouraged by his ill success hitherto, the king continued his negociations at the papal court. By renewing his appeals, he kept the
legatine authority of the archbishop in suspense: and, in spite of the objections of Becket, he obtained the appointment of legates a latere, to decide the cause in France. Every effort, however, for an accommodation proved abortive. Henry would not surrender "the customs;" but he was willing to restore the primate to favour and honour, if he would promise—not his sanction—but his tolerance and silence. The archbishop was ready to show all humility, honour, and respect to the king:—"saving always the honour of God, and the liberties of the Church." "It is a proverb," said he, "with our nation, that 'silence looks like consent:'" and he refused a silence which would give a complete victory to the king.

At length, by the good offices of the king of France, Henry consented to meet the archbishop at St. Denys. All things seemed on the point of being arranged, when, on Becket's asking his sovereign for "the kiss of peace," Henry declined, alleging, that he had publicly sworn never to grant it. This refusal excited the suspicion of Becket, and the treaty was suspended.

The king of England had long been anxious that prince Henry, his eldest son, should be crowned. He had even obtained, during the last vacancy of the primatial see, a brief from the pope, authorizing him to have the ceremony performed by any bishop he might choose. It was the right of the primates of England to crown its sovereigns; but Henry now appointed the archbishop of York (to mortify whom he had procured the papal brief) to fulfil the office; and Roger, disregarding the prohibition of Alexander, obeyed the will of his sovereign. The ceremony was performed with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. A new coronation oath was used on the occasion: and the young king swore to observe "the royal customs," instead of "the liberties of the Church."

This event, so long desired by Henry, nearly involved him in war. The king of France was highly offended that his daughter, whom the younger Henry had married, was not crowned with her husband. He at once invaded Normandy. At the news, Henry hastened to meet him, and promised that the omission should be rectified the next year. He also promised to be reconciled with archbishop Thomas. It was not, however, until the pope had empowered two new legates to excommunicate the king of England, and to lay his continental dominions under an interdict, that Henry at last apparently yielded. No mention was made of "the cus-
toms?;" but it was agreed that all the exiles should be restored to the king's peace and their former rights. The archbishop repaired to Fretilville, (where Henry and Louis had met to confer,) and was received by his sovereign in the most gracious manner. In sight of a multitude of spectators, Henry and Becket held a long and earnest conversation, at the end of which, the archbishop suddenly leaped from his saddle, and knelt: but the king, also dismounting, and holding the stirrup for him, insisted that he should remount. Every request was granted, except the kiss of peace, which Henry promised to give at some future time, within his own dominions.

After waiting five months, but waiting in vain, for the kiss of peace, and for the restoration of the property of himself and his friends, the primate, with much forboding, determined to return to England. In the meantime, the pope had sent him letters of suspension and excommunication against the prelates who had assisted at the coronation of the younger Henry, and had there sworn to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon. These sentences the primate despatched before him, and they were delivered to the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury, as they were on their way to the coast. The archbishop then continued his journey, and landing at Sandwich, was received in his diocese with such demonstrations of respect and affection as gave the greatest offence at court. He then set out to wait upon his former pupil, the young king, at Woodstock, but on the way received an order to return to his diocese, which he at once obeyed.

In the meanwhile, the excommunicated prelates crossed over to Normandy, and complained bitterly to the king concerning the presumption of the archbishop of Canterbury. Upon this, Henry in a fit of ungovernable passion exclaimed:—"What idle wretches have I reared in my kingdom, who disloyally suffer me to be thus put to shame by this low-born priest?" Incited by these and similar reproaches, four noblemen of the court, chamberlains of the king, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard de Breton, swore to avenge their sovereign, and immediately set out for England. When their absence was noted, messengers of high rank were sent after them by the king, but these did not succeed in overtaking them. Richard de Humet, however, one of the number, passed the sea, and, according to his orders, made secret preparations for the immediate arrest of the archbishop.
On the 29th of December, 1170, as the archbishop sat in his chamber at Canterbury, the four knights entered rudely, and Fitz-Urse fiercely ordered him to absolve the bishops, and to make satisfaction for his treason to the young king. He answered, that he had published the sentences with the permission of the king; that the pope alone could deal with the archbishop of York; that he would absolve the others whenever they submitted in proper form; and that, far from desiring to uncorner the young king, he would, if possible, give him other crowns. The knights declared that he must leave the country. He replied, that nothing should again separate him from his church; and asked, how they dared to threaten him, the archbishop, in his own house? "We shall do more than threaten," replied Fitz-Urse: then turning to the bystanders, as he retired with his companions, he charged them to keep the archbishop in safe custody. "I shall not fly," said Becket, following the knights to the door: "here, here you will find me."

Terror now seized the household of the primate. He remained unmoved. Presently some of his people rushed in, crying that the knights were arming. "Let them arm," said he. It was now the hour for vespers; and his friends gathering round him, urged him to proceed to the cathedral. He consented; called for his cross-bearer, and set forth. On the way, he thrice stopped, and endeavoured to encourage his attendants, while the sound of the knights breaking into the palace could be plainly heard. Not finding the archbishop in the house, Fitz-Urse and his companions followed him to the church. They were in armour, and had their swords drawn. When they entered, it was nearly dark: the priests and people were flying in every direction: the archbishop with three friends (Robert, prior of Merton, William Fitz-Stephen, and Edward Grim) was standing just within the choir. A voice cried out:—"Where is Thomas, the traitor?" but no answer was made. Fitz-Urse demanded:—"Where is the archbishop?" "Here," replied Becket: "the archbishop, but no traitor. What do you want with me?" Saying which, he came down from the choir, and turning into the aisle, stood near one of the great columns which divided it from the nave. The knights and their followers gathered about him. "Absolve the bishops!" cried Hugh of Horsa, a subdeacon known as "the Bad Clerk." The archbishop refused. Fitz-Urse thereupon seized him by the robe, struck with his sword the cap from his head, and

endeavoured by force to drag him from the church; but holding by the pillar, and assisted by Grim, he stood his ground. Then Fitz-Urse, fearing a rescue by the people, who were now again collecting, cried, "Strike! strike!" and De Tracy struck a blow which severed the arm of Grim, and wounded the archbishop on the head. Fitz-Urse and Le Breton then cut him down and despatched him, while De Morville kept back the crowd. "For our Lord, and the defence of His church, I am ready to die," said the archbishop as he expired. Then Hugh of Horsea, setting his foot on the neck of the corpse, scattered with his sword the brains over the pavement, and said:—"We may go. The traitor will rise no more!" The knights and their people, after ransacking the palace, left
Canterbury, and betook themselves to Knaresborough, a stronghold belonging to Hugh de Morville, there to wait the event of their deed.

The young king was much affected by the death of his former tutor. He had received orders from his father to arrest the archbishop; and his first exclamation was one of thankfulness that none of his people had reached Canterbury.

Henry had left Bure, and was staying at Argenton, in Normandy, when the news arrived that the primate had been murdered. He instantly shut himself within his chamber, refused to touch food, and became almost distracted with remorse for his passionate words. After a few days, however, he was induced to take measures to avert the censures of the church, which were now sure to fall upon him. Envoys were immediately despatched to Rome to plead his cause. The pope for some time refused to see them. Before an assembly of cardinals, however, two of their number, the abbot of Wallace and the archdeacon of Lisieux, solemnly declared the innocence of their master, and swore that he would abide by the decision of the church. Upon this, the pope contented himself by excommuning in general terms the murderers of Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, with all their advisers and abettors. A little later, however, he confirmed the interdict which his legate in France had already laid upon the continental dominions of Henry; and lastly, he appointed the cardinals Albert and Theodin to try the cause in Normandy.

Although well satisfied that a direct sentence had been so far averted from himself, Henry determined to avoid meeting the legates for the present; and he took advantage of a successful enterprise of some of his subjects, to visit at this juncture the dominions which he had lately acquired in Ireland. Issuing the most strict orders that no messengers or letters from the pope should be allowed to follow him, he passed over to England. At Winchester he visited Henry of Blois, now blind and dying, who severely reproved him for his course with regard to the late primate, and took leave of him for the last time. The bishop died a few days afterwards.

About the year 1167, Dermot Mac Marchad, king of Leinster, a ferocious tyrant, had been expelled from his dominions by a combination of the neighbouring princes, the Danes or Ostmen, and his own subjects. In his distress, the exile took refuge in England, determined to invoke the
protection of the powerful monarch who ruled there. From England he proceeded to Aquitaine, where he found Henry, who received him kindly, and listened with favour to his complaints, his prayers for aid, and his offers to hold in return his kingdom under the crown of England. But as Henry was unable or unwilling at that juncture himself to undertake the enterprise of restoring the Irish prince to his throne, he gave

him—having first received his oath of homage—letters patent, authorizing any of his own liegemen, "English, Normans, Welsh, Scotch, or others," to engage in the service of his new vassal. Furnished with this license, Dermod addressed himself to the English nobles and military men, and endeavoured to enlist them in his cause. For some time, however, all his efforts were vain. At length his promises induced Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Pembroke and Strigul,
a nobleman of broken fortunes, to undertake the enterprise. He engaged to join Mac Murchad during the next spring, with a considerable body of auxiliaries. His reward was to be the hand of Dermod's only legitimate daughter, and the succession to the kingdom of Leinster.

Having secured this valuable ally, Dermod went into Wales, and there attracted to his service two gentlemen of rank, who, like the earl of Pembroke, were in disgrace with their own sovereign. These were Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, the sons, by different husbands, of Nesta, a Welsh princess, who was also the mother of the famous earl of Gloucester. To them Dermod promised the city of Wexford, to be held of him, with two adjoining cantreds, if they would bring to his service a body of troops before the close of the ensuing spring. These negotiations over, Dermod soon afterwards returned secretly to Leinster, and remaining concealed in a monastery which he had founded near Ferns, prepared his native friends to assist him at the proper time. He found the Irish princes, as usual, making war upon each other. Early in the spring of 1169, therefore, Dermod (having been joined by a few Flemings and Welshmen, whom his secretary and interpreter, Maurice Regan, had enlisted in his service), suddenly took the field, and partly by force, partly by artful professions of submission, obtained from Roderic, the chief monarch of Ireland, the restoration of about a third of his former kingdom. With this he remained content only until his foreign allies should arrive and enable him to recover the whole.

The first to fulfil his promises was Fitz-Stephen, who, towards the end of April, arrived in Bannogh bay, near Wexford, with 30 knights, 60 men at arms, and 300 foot-archers, the flower of South Wales. He was accompanied by Hervey of Mount Maurice, the uncle of Strongbow. As soon as their coming was known, Dermod hastened to join them with 500 of his troops; and the united forces quickly possessed themselves of the city of Wexford, which was at once made over to Fitz-Stephen, according to the treaty. The price being thus paid, Dermod lost no time in using his allies to revenge him on the chief of Ossory, one of his capital enemies. The valour of the natives, who contemned defensive armour, and whose principal weapons were short lances and Danish axes, was of no avail against the iron-clad cavalry and skilful archers of the strangers; and Dermod was gratified by much slaughter.
of the men of Ossory, and the devastation of their country. On one occasion, when his Leinster men had laid at his feet some ten-score heads of his enemies, the king examined them one by one, and recognising many, leaped thrice in his joy, and then kneeling, sang a loud thanksgiving.

In the meanwhile, the noise of these exploits had alarmed the other princes of Ireland, and induced them to unite for the purpose of expelling the foreigners. Roderic, having assembled a great army, marched into Leinster to execute this resolve; but finding Dermod with Fitz-Stephen in a position so strong that the Irish chiefs deemed it impregnable, he consented to a treaty by which Mac Murchad was restored to his whole kingdom, on a secret promise to send away the strangers as soon as possible.

Scarcely, however, had this arrangement been concluded, when O'Brien, prince of Limerick, quarrelled with the chief monarch, and invoked the assistance of Dermod, one of whose daughters he had married. The king of Leinster (who had now been joined by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, with 140 knights, men-at-arms, and archers) made no scruple, and despatched Fitz-Stephen with his band to aid the rebellion. This succour quickly gave the advantage to the prince of Limerick; and Roderic, after suffering several defeats, was compelled to withdraw into Connaught. Elated by these successes, Dermod began to aspire to the chief monarchy of the island. He sent to the earl of Pembroke, reminding him of his engagements, and urging him to hasten with a powerful force to the conquest of all Ireland. The earl, eager to attempt the enterprise, applied to Henry for his permission, but could not obtain from him any decided answer. Taking advantage, however, of some ambiguous words of the king, he despatched to Ireland 10 knights and 70 archers, under Raymond le Gros, a brave young knight, who was nephew to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, while he himself prepared to follow, as soon as possible, with a larger force. He was just ready to sail, when a positive prohibition was delivered to him on the part of the king. He determined, nevertheless, to persevere; and putting to sea, landed near Waterford, on the 23rd of August, 1170, with 200 knights, and 1,000 men-at-arms and archers. After giving his troops one day to rest, the earl led them to the assault of the city. Two attacks failed: but on the third attempt the place
was stormed, with great slaughter of the Danish and Irish garrison and peaceable inhabitants. In the moment of victory, Dermod arrived with Fitz-Stephen, Fitz-Gerald, and Raymond: and the marriage of Strongbow and Eva, the heiress of the Irish prince, took place within a few hours.

The festivities were yet proceeding, when intelligence arrived that the Danes, or Ostmen, of Dublin had revolted, and had applied for aid to king Roderic, whose forces were already about to form a junction with them. Dermod and Strongbow at once put the bulk of their troops in march; and, avoiding the usual tracks, where the Irish were awaiting them, penetrated by the mountains of Wicklow to the walls of Dublin. The army of Roderic, however, followed them, and a battle seemed imminent, when the chief monarch, hearing that O'Brien had invaded Connaught, left the men of Dublin to their own resources, and hurried to the defence of his immediate subjects. Dublin was at once taken by storm: the principal Danes fled in their ships to the Orkneys; and Milo de Cogan, who had led the assault, was, on the recommendation of Strongbow, appointed governor of the city under the king of Leinster. This great success was promptly followed up by the expulsion of O'Ruark from East Meath, Mac Giolla Phadraic from Ossory, and O'Connor from Offally. These excursions, however, beyond the bounds of Dermod's own kingdom, renewed the anger of the chief monarch, who warned Mac Murchad, that unless the foreigners were restrained from their aggressions, he would send him the head of that son whom he held as a hostage. And, on receiving a defiant reply from Dermod, he executed his threat.

Soon afterwards, the bishops and clergy of Ireland assembled in a national council at Armagh; and solemnly declared, that the calamities under which the country was suffering were a just judgment of God for the national sins; and especially for that one of purchasing English children brought to them by pirates and slave-merchants. The clergy and laity, therefore, decreed that all such slaves should at once be set at liberty.

Dermod had scarcely seen the triumph of his cause, when he died at Ferns, in the spring of the year 1171. He was succeeded in his kingdom by the earl of Pembroke, who, however, was far more intent upon propitiating his offended sovereign, the king of England, than upon
enjoying his new dignity, or extending his conquests. Henry had
confiscated the earl’s estates in England; recalled by proclamation all his
subjects from Ireland; and forbidden all trade or intercourse with that
country. It was in vain that Strongbow deputed Raymond le Gros,
and afterwards Hervey of Mount Maurice to place all that he had
gained at the absolute disposal of the king. Henry maintained a
stem reserve, while dangers thickened round the earl and his dimin-
ished forces. Roderic O’Connor, encouraged by the proclamation of
Henry, and urged by Laurence O’Toole, archbishop of Dublin,—whose
reputation for sanctity gave him much influence with his countrymen,—
one more assembled a great army, and invested Dublin by land; while a
Danish fleet, under the king of the Orkneys and Man, blockaded the city
by sea. At the same time, Fitz-Stephen was shut up in a fort near
Wexford by another Irish army. In this crisis, Strongbow, who at the
first alarm had thrown himself into Dublin, by a bold stroke extricated
his countrymen there from their peril. Provisions had already begun
to fail, when, at the suggestion of Fitz-Gerald, it was resolved to fall upon
the besieging host, and conquer it, if possible, by surprise. The earl
accordingly selected from his garrison about 600 knights and squires,
whom he divided into three bodies, under Milo de Cogan, Raymond le Gros, and
Fitz-Gerald. With this small but well-armed force of cavalry, he saluted
from the beleaguered capital, and dashed at the quarters of king Roderic.
The monarch himself was absent on a ravaging expedition, with the horse-
men of Brefney and Oriel; but his army, seized with a panic, dispersed in
every direction, abandoning to the enemy their camp and baggage, with
corn, meal, and pork sufficient to victual the city for a year. The earl
then hurried to the rescue of Fitz-Stephen. That officer, however, de-
ceived by false intelligence, had already surrendered.

At this moment Mount Maurice returned from England, with letters
which determined the earl to hasten at once to the presence of his
sovereign. He found Henry at Newnham, in Gloucestershire, on his
way to embark for Ireland. The king, however, refused to see his
vassal until he had agreed to surrender all his conquests into his hands.
Henry then, retaining as his own the capital, the sea-ports, and the
fortresses, restored to the earl of Pembroke all his other acquisitions
in Ireland, as fiefs of the crown, together with his English estates.
Having thus skilfully gained his end, and his preparations being now complete, Henry set sail from Milford Haven, with a numerous and well-appointed force, on board a fleet of 400 great ships, and landed the next day on the Irish coast, not far from Waterford. Proceeding to the city, he was received with all honour by the lord steward Fitz-
Dublin. There he kept his Christmas with all possible magnificence, in a palace of wicker-work after the Irish manner, which he had ordered to be constructed for the occasion. In this he entertained all the princes who had done, or now came to do, homage to him. From this meeting the chief monarch and most of the princes of the north kept aloof; but after some delay, Roderic consented to meet on the frontier of Connaught the lord steward Fitz-Aldelm and Hugh de Lacy, to whom, as the representatives of Henry, he did homage, and promised tribute.

The king next assembled a national council at Cashel, where, under the presidency of the bishop of Lismore as papal legate, a number of canons were enacted for the reformation of morals and discipline.

It was the desire of Henry to complete the conquest of Ireland by subduing the province of Ulster; but having learned that the cardinals Albert and Theodin, who had been waiting some months in Normandy, were now threatening to lay his dominions under an interdict if he did not appear, he returned at Easter, 1172, to England, whence he passed at once to meet the legates. The first interview, at Savigny, terminated without agreement. A second, at Avranches, was happily ended. Henry, laying his hand upon the Gospels, swore that he had neither commanded nor intended the death of Archbishop Thomas. But, as he feared that in his agitation he had given occasion for the crime, he consented to maintain 200 knights during one year for the defence of the Holy Land; to serve for three years in person against the infidels either in Palestine or Spain, if the pope should require it; moreover, to allow appeals to Rome; to abolish all "customs" hostile to the Church introduced in his time; and to restore to the church of Canterbury and to the friends of the late primate the property which he had seized. Upon these terms Henry was absolved by the legates from all ecclesiastical censures. The murderers of the archbishop had already presented themselves as penitents before the pope, by whom they were enjoined to visit the Holy Land: and there some of them died.

By the transaction at Avranches, the main point in the late contest was in reality reserved. But four years afterwards, Henry (who was at the time extremely anxious to obtain a divorce) entirely yielded to the Church. At the great council of Northampton, he conceded:—1. That no clergyman should be brought before a secular judge, except for an infringement of
the Forest-laws, or respecting a lay fee. 2. That no bishopric or abbacy should remain in his hands for more than a year, except from manifest necessity. 3. That the murderers of clerics should, on conviction, beside the usual punishment of laymen, forfeit their inheritance for ever. 4. That no clergyman should be compelled to the ordeal by battle.

Having thus largely increased his dominions, consolidated his authority, and composed the dangerous quarrel which had so long divided the church and state, Henry was now the most powerful monarch in Christendom, and appeared to have little left to desire upon earth. Yet from this moment commenced a series of domestic conflicts, which afflicted nearly the whole remainder of his life. An indulgent parent, he was yet tenacious of his regal and paternal authority. Hence he allowed to his eldest son, whom he had caused to be crowned as king, no real power; and the young prince, discontented because he could not obtain Normandy, Poitou, or England in full sovereignty, fled at last to the king of France, his father-in-law, accompanied by his brothers Richard and Geoffrey. To this course they were instigated by their mother, queen Eleanor, who, jealous, with too much reason, of her husband, took that method of revenge. She herself followed them into France; but afterwards falling into the hands of Henry, was kept by him for many years in strict confinement.

Meanwhile, the pretensions of the younger Henry were supported by a most formidable league. The kings of France and Scotland, the count of Flanders, and many of the great barons of England, Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany, entered into the confederacy. In this emergency, Henry invoked "the spiritual sword" of the pontiff against his disobedient sons; and, distrustful of his own nobles, hired a large army of mercenaries, the warlike scum of Western Europe, who in that age, under the name of Brabanters, or Roiters, were ready to take service in any cause. With this practised force he encountered and discomfited king Louis, young Henry, the count of Flanders, and the rebels of his continental states; while Richard de Lucy, with the lord constable De Bohun, made head against the Scots, and crushed the English malcontents under Robert de Blanchemains, earl of Leicester, whom they made prisoner.

Notwithstanding the reverses of their first campaign, the allies prepared in the next to invade the dominions of Henry at all points. Early in 1174, the situation of England excited the gravest apprehensions in
the minds of the regents. William the Lion had again invaded the north: many of the barons were in full revolt: the young king was at Gravelines, preparing to assist his partisans. Alarm by the danger, Henry hastened to England. His first object was to dispel the odium which still attached to him in the popular mind on account of the death of the late primate, who was now generally venerated as a saint, and had indeed been recently canonized by the pope. Henry therefore rode with all speed from Southampton towards Canterbury. As soon as he came in sight of the cathedral, he dismounted, laid aside his robes, and in a simple garment of linen, walked barefoot to the city. Arrived at the tomb of the archbishop, he remained on his knees before it, while the bishop of London, from the pulpit in the church above, addressed the people, affirming in the most solemn manner the innocence of his master. Then the king assembled all the clergy in the chapter-house, and, in the depth of his penitence, or of his policy, uncovering his shoulders, submitted to receive from each one a few strokes with a knotted cord. Still fasting, he watched by the tomb until the next morning, and then proceeded to London, where he fell ill from agitation and fatigue.

The fever had not yet left him, when a messenger arrived at the palace, and almost forcing his way to the bedside of the king, announced to him that his enemy the king of Scotland was a prisoner in Yorkshire. The despatches which he brought from Ranulf de Glanville confirmed his words. The Scots, after crossing the border, had taken or masked the principal fortresses, and had poured over the northern counties of England, committing the greatest cruelties and excesses. While two divisions were thus engaged, William the Lion with a third laid siege to the castle of Alnwick. In the meanwhile, the loyal barons of the north had brought by forced marches a considerable body of cavalry to Newcastle-on-Tyne. The next morning, about 400 of the bravest, under Robert de Stuteville, Ranulf de Glanville, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vesey, proceeded in search of the enemy. After marching twenty-four miles in five hours, a thick mist enveloped them so that they could not discern their way. The more prudent were for returning; but Bernard de Baliol declaring that he would go on alone if no one would follow him, they all resumed their march. Suddenly the mist rose, and discovered the castle of Alnwick so near at hand that they might gain it.
if they chose, and, in a meadow hard by, the king of Scotland jousting with a party of his knights. William at first mistook the hostile cavalry for some of his own troops returning from a foray, but, noting their standards, he became aware of the truth. Undismayed, however, he exclaimed:—"Now we shall see who is a good knight!" and rode straight at the English; but his horse being at once killed by a spear-thrust, the king was taken prisoner by Glanville. His followers gave themselves up, and the English, leading their captives, retraced their steps with all speed to Newcastle.

The capture of William, and the rapid retreat of the Scots to their own country, which was its consequence, entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels. No resistance was offered to Henry as he advanced; and the earls of Norfolk and Ferrers, with Roger de Mowbray, the bishop
of Durham and the other leaders, on giving up all their strongholds, received a free pardon. In less than three weeks, therefore, Henry, leaving England everywhere tranquil, was on his way with his Brabanters and 1000 Welshmen to raise the siege of Rouen, which Louis of France, the younger Henry, and the count of Flanders were pressing with a great army. As soon as the king arrived, he threw open the gates nearest the French, and offered battle; but Louis, after burning his engines of war, presently withdrew into his own territories. The failure of all their plans during two campaigns now induced the chief confederates to agree to an armistice preparatory to a peace. Richard alone refused: whereupon his father turned the weight of his forces upon Poitou, and quickly reduced the young count to submission. A meeting of all the princes then was held between Tours and Amboise, in the beginning of October, and a general reconciliation took place; from which, however, the king of Scots, the earls of Leicester and Chester, with a few others, were excluded.

Henry now enjoyed some years of peace. He employed them chiefly in strengthening his authority throughout his dominions, in improving the administration of justice, and in replenishing by every means his exhausted treasury. To ensure a more constant supervision over all classes, a speedier punishment for crime, and a more certain and regular collection of fines for his exchequer, the king,—with the consent of a great council held at Northampton in 1176,—divided the realm into six circuits, each of which he placed under the charge of three justices itinerant. In one matter alone did Henry show a disregard for his own profit. He bound the new judges of the forest by oath not to accept fines, but invariably to inflict the barbarous mutilations enacted by the law.

In the year 1177, Henry was selected by the kings of Castille and Navarre as arbitrator in their long and envenomed quarrel. He heard the cause in great pomp at Westminster; and his decision was accepted by the rival monarchs.
The last five years, however, of King Henry's life were continually distracted by the turbulence of his sons. At one time, Richard refused to do homage to his brother Henry. At another, Henry and Geoffrey made war upon Richard. Then the brothers turned their united arms against their father; and twice during the rebellion did their partizans attempt his life. At length, sentence of excommunication having been pronounced by the pope against all fomenters of discord between the king of England and his sons, the cause of the younger Henry began to decline. He still, however, was persisting in his rebellion, when he was struck by a mortal sickness. Finding his death approach, he sent for his father, but his father, fearing treachery, refused to go. Then the young king clothed himself in sackcloth, publicly confessed his sins, and placing a rope round his neck, ordered his attendants to drag him from his bed and lay him upon ashes with a stone under his head; which having been done, he soon afterwards expired in deep contrition. At the news of his death, his father, bursting into tears, threw himself on the ground in the agony of his grief. The death of Geoffrey,—who was killed at Paris, by the kick of a horse, while at enmity with his father,—and the repeated revolts of Richard, completed the misery of this powerful and renowned prince.

Henry had from time to time occupied himself with the affairs of the declining kingdom of Jerusalem; and had even made some preparations for fulfilling the vow which he had taken before the legates in 1172, to serve in person for its relief. But during fifteen years he still postponed his departure. At length, in October, 1187, Europe was startled from one end to the other by the news that the Holy City was once more in the power of the Infidels. The pope, Urban III., died of grief. The princes and people were everywhere seized with alarm and compassion. The king of Sicily immediately assumed the cross. The emperor and the count of Poitou followed his example. On the 13th of January, 1188, Henry met his enemy Philip II., the new king of France, between Trie and Gisors, made peace with him, and the two monarchs received the cross on the spot, from William the celebrated archbishop of Tyre.

Having declared that all his subjects who did not take the cross should pay a tithe of their property for one year for the benefit of the Holy Land, the king hastened over to England, and held a great council on the subject of the crusade. He then adopted the most energetic measures to collect
the tithe. Summoning to his presence at stated times and places all the richest men in the chief cities and towns, he compelled them on the spot to pay the tenth, or go to prison until they did so. By similar means he extorted from the Jews "an immense sum of money."

Henry now seemed bent upon a speedy departure for his pilgrimage, when he found himself again involved in a war with the king of France and the count of Poitou. These princes had demanded that Richard should be acknowledged heir to his father's dominions, and that his betrothed bride, Adelais, the sister of Philip, whom Henry had long kept secluded in one of the royal castles, should be given up to him. When Henry refused, Philip instantly invaded his dominions, while Richard, with the Poitevins and Bretons, rose in rebellion. Le Mans, the birthplace of Henry, was taken before his eyes; he fled to Saumur. Tours was stormed; castle after castle fell before the allies, until the king of England, broken in health and in spirit, submitted to every demand of his enemies. While he was conferring with the king of France on horseback, a thunderbolt fell from a cloudless sky, and struck the ground between them. They separated in alarm; but on again meeting, there was heard in the clear air a peal of thunder so awful, that Henry would have fallen from his horse, had he not been supported in the saddle by his attendants.

Having arranged the terms of peace, Henry asked the names of the supporters of Richard and Philip. A list was given to him, and the first name he saw was that of John, his favourite son. He returned to Chinon struck to the heart. In a few days a fever seized him, during which he cursed the hour in which he was born, and denounced maledictions upon his undutiful sons. These curses he could not be persuaded to withdraw: but finding his sickness increase, he ordered himself to be laid before the altar in the church of Chinon; and there, after having received the last sacraments, the unhappy prince expired, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign.

Henry was of middle stature, with a dignified bearing which made him seem taller, and a tendency to corpulence which exercise and abstinence alone repressed. His head was well formed and set on; his face was broad and lion-like. His complexion and hair inclined to red.
He count of Poitou, alarmed by the report of his father's danger, was hurrying towards Chinon, when he met the funeral procession of Henry on its way to Fontevraud. Struck with remorse, Richard threw himself upon the bier, and wept bitterly. Then following the corpse in much sorrow, he saw it committed to the grave with all honour by the archbishops of Tours and Treves.

The first act of Richard was to order the release of his mother, queen Eleanor, whom he appointed to govern England, while he proceeded to take possession of Normandy and the other continental dominions of his father, and to complete the treaty which Henry had begun with the king of France. These objects having been happily attained, the duke of Normandy crossed over to England, where his arrival, which had been preceded by a general amnesty, was hailed with great demonstrations of joy. Having already bestowed upon his brother John the earldoms of Mortain and Gloucester, nominated his natural brother Geoffrey to the archbishopric of York, and granted many honours and possessions to his friends, he now proceeded to his own coronation, which was performed with the greatest pomp at Westminster. Amidst the festivities, a deputation of Jews having incautiously approached the king with offerings, were thrust by the attendants with contumely from his presence. Upon this the populace of London broke loose, attacked, plundered, and made a great slaughter of the Jews who dwelt among them, in spite of the exertions of the Justiciary in person to restore order. The execution of three rioters only encouraged further excesses: and Norwich, Lincoln, Lynn, Stamford, St. Edmundsbury, and, in the following year, York, became the scenes of wholesale robbery and murder.

Richard had been one of the first to take the cross for the recovery of Jerusalem. He now bent every energy to the fulfilment of his vow. He appointed the bishops of Durham and Ely joint regents of the kingdom, and filled up all the vacant offices in church and state. Although he had found more than 100,000 marks of silver in his father's coffers, he proceeded to acquire more treasure by every possible expedient. He sold to William the Lion the advantages which the late king had gained
over Scotland. He sold the earldom of Northumberland to the bishop of Durham. He sold the offices in his gift, the crown lands, his own rights, and the rights of others. "I would sell London itself," he said, jestingly, "if I could find a purchaser." Lastly, he sold to many crusaders permission to remain at home; and by these and other means accumulated an enormous treasure. Then, before departing for his continental possessions, Richard committed his island dominions to the guardianship of William de Longchamp, a Norman clerk whom he had raised to be bishop of Ely, chancellor, chief Justiciary of England, and legate of the Pope. But by bestowing at the same time upon his brother John the additional earldoms of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, he left in the hands of that prince a dangerous amount of power.

All his preparations being now complete, Richard, after despatching part of his army by sea, proceeded to Vezelai in Burgundy, where he was to meet the king of France. Around that ancient town had assembled more than 100,000 warriors, the flower of Western Europe; and, after the two monarchs had solemnly received the scrip and staff, and had made a treaty for their mutual security, they put their numerous forces in motion towards the Rhone. Agreeing to meet again at Messina, they separated at Lyons, Philip wending his way to Genoa, Richard to Marseilles. As the fleet from England had not yet arrived, the king at the end of three days hired a small squadron, and coasted the shores of Provence and Italy until he reached Messina, where he found King Philip, the French, and his own fleet awaiting him. The storminess of the season soon induced the allies to resolve upon wintering at that port: and, as the French were already quartered in the city, Richard and his men took up their abode in the suburbs.

Tancred, the prince then reigning in Sicily, had reason to view with apprehension the arrival of the king of England. An illegitimate grandson of Roger II., he had obtained the throne on the death of William the Good without issue the previous year. He had placed the queen-dowager Joanna, the sister of Richard, under restraint; and had refused to pay either her dower, or the legacies which the late king had left to her father. The immediate release of the queen, with full satisfaction to her and to her brother, was now demanded of the Sicilian. Joanna was at once given up; and negotiations upon the other claims were
proceeding, when the people of Messina, already irritated by some military precautions taken by the English prince, were roused to fury by the lawlessness of his roving troops, and ejected them from the city. Richard had accepted the mediation of Philip, and the excuses of the representatives of Tancred, when a fresh outbreak of the populace rekindled his anger. He broke off the conference, took Messina by storm, delivered it to pillage, and planted his banners on the walls, to the deep offence of the French king, who resented this treatment of the place where he resided as an insult to himself. As a compromise, the city was given up to the Templars and Hospitallers, (the friends of both monarchs,) to be kept until peace should be restored. Tancred could not afford to make an enemy of Richard; and he presently consented to pay him 40,000 ounces of gold, in satisfaction of all demands. In return, Richard concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the king of Sicily, engaging, during his stay, to defend him against all enemies whatsoever; and betrothing Arthur of Brittany, his own nephew and heir, to the daughter of Tancred. Finally, at the suggestion of the archbishop of Rouen, the plunder of Messina was wrung from the troops by a threat of anathema, and restored to the citizens. Of the rich presents which Tancred offered him, Richard would accept but one small ring, while, on his part, he gave to his new ally a sword which was supposed to have belonged to the famous king Arthur.

The stay of the crusading sovereigns in Sicily proved fatal to their friendship, and, ultimately, to the success of their enterprise. Many occasions for jealousy and difference arose. The impetuous character of Richard, his accomplishments as a knight and troubadour, and his reckless munificence, reduced even the brave and sagacious Philip to a secondary position. But if the generosity of the English prince at one time gained the hearts of the French, his petulance, at another, wounded their national pride. Under mutual civilities, the affair at Messina was not forgotten; and, while the troops of Richard were regarded as insolent and overbearing, the French were suspected as lukewarm and even as treacherous allies. Finally, at the commencement of 1191, a most painful difference broke out between the kings. The queen dowager Eleanor, who had obtained for Richard the hand of Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre, arrived in Apulia with the princess. Philip, to whose sister Adelais Richard had been for ten years engaged, demanded the fulfilment
of that contract. He was refused, for reasons which he could not gainsay, but which mortified his pride in the highest degree. In consideration, however, of an annual payment of 2000 marks for five years, he released Richard from his engagement; and, having made a new treaty with him, proceeded on his way to the Holy Land.

As a preparation for the crusade and his approaching marriage, Richard had resolved to amend his life. Assembling in a chapel all the prelates then at Messina, he openly confessed before them the sinfulness of his past career, declared his repentance and his good resolutions, and begged for a pension at their hands. In a previous moment of devotion, the king had, "for the love of God, and the salvation of his soul," abandoned for ever all claim to property wrecked upon his territories, unless the owner or his near relatives could not be found.

At length Richard, sending on his betrothed under the care of his sister, the queen dowager of Sicily, once more set sail for Palestine. On the 6th of May, after encountering most violent gales, (in which he lost his vice-chancellor, with the great seal,) he arrived at the port of Limozin in Cyprus, where he found the royal ladies, who had not dared to land, for they had learned that the Cypriots had plundered the English ships which had been wrecked in the storm. Richard, violently irritated, demanded satisfaction from the emperor Isaac, and on being scornfully refused, took Limozin at once by assault. Then, unexpectedly landing his horses, he surprised the emperor in his camp, and so humbled his pride, that he came to meet the victor and consented to all his demands. The following night, however, the Greek fled to Famagosta; upon which Richard overran the whole island, taking an immense booty, the daughter of Isaac, and, finally, the emperor himself, whom he bound with silver chains, and sent prisoner to Palestine. In the midst of this strife, the king celebrated his marriage with the princess Berengaria. At the same moment, Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, arrived in Cyprus to invoke the support of Richard against the king of France, who was desirous of raising Conrad of Montferrat to the throne in his stead. Guy was followed by envoys from Philip of France, urging the English monarch to hasten to the assistance of the Christian army before Acre: but Richard returned a passionate refusal; declaring that he would not move until he had subdued an island so necessary to the Holy Land as Cyprus. He had just completed the
conquest, when a report arrived that Acre had fallen. With a fervent prayer that its capture might still be deferred until he came, Richard hastened his departure; and set sail with part only of his force. Near Beyrut the royal squadron fell in with a great ship laden with arms, provisions, and a picked force of Saracens to reinforce the garrison of Acre. The vessel was surrounded and sunk, after a most desperate resistance.

The arrival of the king of England and his forces was greeted with the liveliest joy by the Christian host before Acre. The crusaders had now been two years engaged in the siege: and their losses by battle, famine, and pestilence had been so enormous, that the successive arrivals from every country in Europe scarcely recruited their numbers. Still they pressed the city closely on the one hand, whilst, on the other, they held at bay the famous Sultan Saladin, who with a great army was watching and harassing them from the surrounding hills. The junction of the English had given new vigour to the besiegers, when the spirits of all were suddenly damped by the 'dangerous sickness of king Richard. The king of France, however, weary of delaying for his ally, gave orders for the assault. It failed: but though Saladin was signally repulsed at the same time, Philip fell ill from anger and mortification. On his recovery, the city was twice assaulted in vain; and twice was Saladin driven back. Richard, although unable to walk or ride, caused himself to be borne to the front, where from a hammock he directed the assault, stimulated his men by rewards, and shot down many of the besieged with his crossbow. Amongst these, an emir having vauntingly appeared on the walls in the armour of Alberic, marshal of France, he was struck through the heart by the avenging aim of Richard. Nothing but the desperate valour of the defenders, and their skill with the “Greek fire,” saved Acre to them that day. At length, Richard having recovered, the attacks of the Christians were renewed with such vigour, that the enfeebled garrison refused to yield the city on terms. After much negotiation, it was agreed that Acre should surrender: and Saladin, to save the lives of the garrison, consented to give up the True Cross and 1500 Christian captives within forty days. These conditions, however, not having been fulfilled at the appointed time, Richard (according to his own account) put to death about 2,600 of the prisoners, “as was fitting,” retaining only the principal emirs, to exchange, if possible, for the True Cross and the noble prisoners of the Sultan. The French pursued a similar course.

Richard resumes his voyage.

He arrives at Acre, June 7.

Siege of Acre.

Sickness of Richard. And of Philip.

 Surrender of Acre, July 12.

Massacre of the garrison.
Scarcely had the crusaders entered Acre in triumph, when the king of France announced to Richard his intention to return home on account of his health. It was in vain that the principal men of the army entreated him to remain. Philip persisted in his resolution: and, after having sworn not to invade the dominions of the king of England during his absence, nor for forty days after his return, he departed for France amid the general disapprobation, leaving Hugh III., duke of Burgundy, with 10,000 men, to serve in his stead.

At Acre, also, the army lost the aid of another of its principal chiefs. When the place was taken, Leopold, duke of Austria, one of its earliest besiegers, followed Richard into the city, and planted his banner within the English quarter, whereupon it was torn down and trampled in the dust. Deeply mortified by an act which he attributed to the king, Leopold ordered his tent to be pitched again, and there took up his abode until he found the means of returning to Europe.

Richard, having repaired the fortifications of Acre, determined next to attack Joppa; and to march by the coast, so that his fleet might be near him with provisions and engines of war. The army advanced with the sea on its right, Richard commanding the vanguard, and the duke of Burgundy the rear. Saladin moved along the heights parallel with the crusaders, watching his opportunity, and assailing them at every favourable conjuncture. The march was most painful, from the heat, the difficulties of the ground, and the continual attacks of the Turks. In one of these skirmishes, Richard, noticing the extraordinary valour of a French knight who had formerly mortified his vanity, became reconciled to him on the spot. In spite of every obstacle, the Christians pursued their way towards Joppa, by Caiphas, Capernaum, and Cesarea; all of which were dismantled and abandoned at their approach. Every night, before the army reposed, a herald, standing in the midst of the camp, cried:—

"Help! help! for the Holy Sepulchre!" and the cry was thrice repeated by every crusader. Near Arsoof, Richard organized the whole army anew, in five divisions. The Templars led the way, followed by the Bretons and Anjevins; then came king Guy with the men of Poitou; the English and Normans formed the fourth division; and the Hospitallers brought up the rear. The count of Champagne guarded the flanks, while Richard and the duke of Burgundy rode at the head of a chosen force of reserve.
The chief care of the king was to prevent the troops from breaking their ranks to follow the enemy. The Hospitallers in the rear, smarting under the pressure of the Saracens, demanded permission to turn upon them and charge: but Richard steadily refused. At length the boldness of the Turkish cavalry increased to such a point, that Godfrey de Duisson, Master of the Hospitallers, rode up to the king, and said:—"My lord the king, we are violently pressed by the enemy, and in danger of eternal disgrace. Why should we bear with them any longer?" "Good Master," replied Richard, "you must sustain their attacks. No one can be everywhere at once." Nevertheless, the Hospitallers, without waiting for the signal, soon turned back, and furiously charged the enemy, and their example was followed by the two nearest divisions. Seeing this action of his troops, Richard spurred his horse to the front, and dashed among
the Turks, cutting them down in every direction, "like a reaper with his sickle." His followers emulated his example; but the battle long continued doubtful. The Turks were at last giving way, when Saladin sent forward his household troops and restored the fight. In the end, however, the crusaders were completely victorious, pursuing the infidels for a league, until they escaped into the woods and mountains. During this battle the main body of the English remained in reserve until near the end of the day. Of the enemy, thirty-two emirs in splendid arms, and seven thousand of their followers, were found dead on the field.

After a fruitless attempt to stop the march of the crusaders at the river Arsoof, Saladin dismantled and abandoned Joppa, which was occupied and refortified by the French. From this time the Soldan avoided a general action, but watched the crusaders from a distance, as Richard described him, "like a lion in his den;" while his captains laid waste the country and levelled the fortifications throughout Palestine, those of Crach and Jerusalem excepted. The king of England, after a delay of six weeks at Joppa to reorganize the army, again set forward towards the Holy City. Saladin, however, having succeeded in staying the march by a pretended negotiation, Richard, to recover his credit with the army, led daily excursions against the enemy, and daily brought into camp numbers of Turkish heads to prove that his zeal had not diminished. The activity, daring, and extraordinary exploits of the English king excited the mingled terror and admiration of the Turks. One of his chargers having been taken by them, Saffadin, the brother of Saladin, immediately returned it to the king: and, somewhat later, the emir sent his son to the Christian camp, that he might receive the belt of knighthood at the hands of the "Melech Ric." In the meantime, Saladin, having now completed his work of devastation, retreated to Jerusalem. The crusaders, in following him, suffered severely from storms of hail and rain, which killed their horses and spoiled their arms, clothing, and provisions. Nevertheless, the thought of recovering the sepulchre of the Lord sustained their spirits, and the army was eager for the siege of Jerusalem. But the experienced Templars and Hospitallers declared that it was hopeless, with the force under Richard's command, to undertake the siege, in face of Saladin within the city, and the great Turkish army among the mountains without. In spite of this advice, Richard at first pushed on; but a council of war, aided by some
native Christians, having pronounced against the enterprise, a retreat to
Ascalon was ordered, and executed amid great suffering, dejection, and
anger on the part of the army. Having reached Ascalon, Richard vigorously
commenced the restoration of its defences. All, from the king of
England downwards, laboured with their own hands at the ruins, until a
supply of workmen arrived and completed the task. To arrange some dif-
fferences which had broken out among the allies, Richard then paid a visit
to Acre; and while there, knighted with much pomp the son of Saffadin.

From an early period bitter dissensions had prevailed among the
crusaders, upon the rival claims of Guy de Lusignan and Conrad, marquis
of Montferrat, to the throne of Jerusalem. The subjects of Richard, the
Pisans, and the Hospitallers took the part of Guy, while the marquis was
supported by the French, the Germans, the Genoese, and the Templars.
Richard, however, seeing that the majority of the crusaders were in favour
of Conrad, confirmed his election: but before his coronation the new king
was murdered in the streets of Tyre by two members of the sect called
Assassins. Henry, count of Champagne, a nephew of the kings of England
and France, was raised to the throne in his stead; and Richard, to com-
pensate Guy, gave him the island of Cyprus.

These arrangements restored at least a semblance of harmony to the
crusading army, and all men cried out for a renewed advance upon Jeru-
salem. Richard had ere this meditated a return to his own kingdom, from
which he had received the most alarming accounts of his brother John’s
intrigues with the king of France. Now, however, he declared that no
danger to his own interests should withdraw him from the crusade before
the following Easter. The army accordingly once more advanced to the
neighbourhood of Jerusalem; driving the Turks before them whenever
they ventured to make a stand. But, on reaching Betenople, near Emaus,
within a few miles of the Holy City, Richard announced that he would not
risk his reputation by undertaking, as commander-in-chief, so arduous a
siege with such diminished numbers; but, that if it pleased the other princes
to proceed, he would follow as a comrade, not as a leader. A council of
war, chiefly on account of the excessive drought of the summer, confirmed
the opinion that the siege should not be undertaken: and the crusaders
in great discontent—which was somewhat mitigated by a brilliant combat
under the lead of Richard, and the capture of a rich caravan—began to
retrace their steps to Joppa. Before the retreat commenced, Richard having one day come to a place whence the domes and towers of Jerusalem were visible, one of his officers called to him to look upon them.

But the king turned away, saying:—"Ah, Lord, may I never behold Thy Holy City, since I cannot deliver it out of the hands of the Infidels."

No sooner had Saladin heard of the retreat of the Crusaders, than he summoned fresh forces from all quarters: and when he learned that Richard had returned to Acre, he descended with an immense army upon Joppa, stormed the town, and drove the garrison into the citadel. Richard was on the point of embarking for England, when messengers arrived from Joppa, announcing that the place was lost unless it could be relieved by a certain day. They had not finished their tale before the king had issued orders for the relief of Joppa. While the Templars, Hospitallers, and the greater part of those who placed themselves under his command proceeded by the coast road, Richard, for greater speed, went by sea with his own galleys, aided by the Genoese and Pisans. When he arrived in
the port, he saw the whole shore covered by the Turkish troops, and doubted whether any of the garrison were still alive. A priest, however, swam off from the town, and announced that the remnant of the defenders were at the last extremity. "Please God, then," exclaimed the king, "by whose guidance we have come, we will die with our brave comrades; and cursed be he who hesitates!" The galleys were run aground, and Richard, plunging into the water up to his waist, gained the shore, followed by his companions. His furious charge struck a panic into the Turks, and Richard made his way into the town, while the garrison, descending from the citadel, attacked their enemies in the rear. A complete rout ensued; the Turks evacuated the city, and the whole host of Saladin, abandoning their camp, fled to some distance. Richard pitched his tent upon the spot which had been occupied by the Sultan.

On the fourth day after the relief of Joppa, the Turkish army, enraged at their shameful defeat, returned to avenge their discomfiture. A chosen band had nearly surprised the king at night in his tent; the alarm, however, was given, and Richard escaped. He then drew up his small army to receive the enemy. His infantry were disposed in line, a crossbowman being placed between every two spearmen; and behind each of those archers stood an attendant with a second weapon, to keep him constantly supplied. The kings of England and Jerusalem, with thirteen knights, formed the whole force of cavalry. The Turks advanced in seven lines, each of which came on "like a whirlwind;" but perceiving that the Christians remained immovable, each line when close upon the spears wheeled off, losing many men and horses by arrows as they retired. At length, the two kings and their knights charged the disordered masses, and scattered them in every direction. Grasping his lance, Richard rode along the whole Moslem line, from right to left, vainly seeking a champion who would meet him in single combat. Such were the feats of arms performed by the king; that Saffadin, the brother of Saladin, charmed by his valor, sent him in the thick of the fight two noble horses, begging his acceptance of them. Richard took them, remarking, that he would have accepted horses from any one at that moment; and he afterwards magnificently recompensed the donor. The numbers of the Turks enabled them to maintain the contest until sunset; they even at one time penetrated into the city: but finally retired in confusion to their camp, where
they were said to have been received by Saladin with the most cutting jeers and reproaches.

Immediately after the battle, Richard, with several of those who had exerted themselves the most, fell ill from heat, fatigue, and the vitiated air arising from the dead bodies of men and horses. As he recovered, the king, perceiving that the discord again raging among the crusaders, and their greatly diminished numbers, precluded every hope of success, and torn by anxiety concerning his own kingdom, requested Saffadin to negotiate a truce between him and the Sultan. The emir readily consented: and a truce for three years was agreed upon, the chief conditions of which were;—that Ascalon should be dismantled; that the Christians should possess Joppa and its vicinity in peace; that pilgrims should have free access to the Holy Places; and that all should have leave to trade throughout the land unmolested.

The king of England, having ratified the treaty, and paid his debts, set sail from Acre on his homeward voyage. Before losing sight of the shore, Richard, after long meditation, exclaimed aloud:—"Oh Holy Land, I commend thee to God: and with His grace and permission, I hope, if I live, one day to afford thee assistance."

At the end of six weeks, the king, after much suffering from contrary winds, found himself near the Barbary shore, and still three days' sail from Marseilles. At this point, having by some means learned that the count of Toulouse and other French princes were preparing to intercept him, he changed his course and bore up for Corfu, whence he was proceeding in a hired piratical galley to Ragusa, when the vessel was driven by a storm on the coast of Istria, at Gazera. There he landed, intending to gain his own dominions by way of Germany. But as he had incurred the enmity of the emperor Henry VI. and of the duke of Austria, he assumed the guise of a pilgrim, with long hair and beard, in order to pass unobserved through their territories. His profuse expenditure, however, having immediately excited suspicion, he fled, and after many dangers and privations reached the neighbourhood of Vienna, with only two attendants. One of these, a boy, on going to market, was seized, and being put to the torture, revealed the name of his master. The lodging of Richard was quickly surrounded by a body of the duke of Austria's retainers. The king, perceiving the hopelessness of resistance, demanded that the duke of Austria should be
sent for, declaring that to him alone would he surrender. Leopold came; and received the sword of the king of England, whom he committed to close custody in the castle of Durenstein. The duke, however, was soon obliged to transfer his prisoner to the keeping of his superior lord, the emperor of Germany, who, in return, engaged to pay him the sum of 60,000 pounds.

In the meanwhile, the dominions of Richard had long been suffering under the most lamentable evils. Scarcely had the king departed from England, when the oppressive administration of his favourite, the regent Longchamp, spread the deepest discontent through all orders of men. Longchamp, by virtue of his accumulated offices, ruled over church and state with more than regal power. He went ever attended by a guard of 1000 foreign horsemen, and his pride, rapacity, and extravagance were the themes of popular execration. The chief cause of his evil name amongst the people was his rigid exactions in order to supply his master's constant want of money. In the eyes of the earl of Mortain, his principal crime was his fidelity to the king and to the young duke of Brittany, whom Richard had declared his heir. John accordingly watched eagerly for an occasion to disgrace and remove the man who was the chief obstacle to the gratification of his ambition. Longchamp, however, maintained his authority against all his enemies, until by a rash act he evoked a storm which overwhelmed him. Geoffrey, archbishop of York, the son of Henry II. and of Fair Rosamond, had been obliged by Richard to swear that he would not enter the kingdom for three years. He did, however, return, notwithstanding his oath; upon which the chancellor had him dragged from a church at Dover, where he had taken refuge, and confined him in the castle. Hearing this, John, who had hitherto been an enemy of his half-brother, embraced his cause in the most energetic manner. He ordered the release of Geoffrey, and summoned the regent to answer in the king's court for his violence. The bishops and nobles, almost to a man, took part with earl John. A great council assembled at Reading to hear the case; but Longchamp treated its summons with contempt. The council then adjourned to London; whereupon the regent, in alarm, repaired thither to confront his enemies. Finding, however, that the Londoners threw open their gates to earl John, and that the council, sitting at St. Paul's, had deposed him from the office of Justiciary, Longchamp...
came forth from the Tower, and submitted under protest to the sentence which had been passed upon him. After two attempts to escape from England, he was permitted to retire to the continent. Although his cause was for some time espoused by the new pope, the bishop of Ely never recovered the great office which he had lost. It was accepted and firmly held by Walter, archbishop of Rouen. Longchamp, however, continued an active chancellor until his death in 1107.

The people of England were eagerly looking for the return of their king, now greatly endeared to them by his brilliant exploits in the cause of Christendom. It was known that he had sailed from Acre; that his ship had been seen off the coast of Apulia; and then all trace of him was lost. The secret, however, was soon revealed by a letter from the emperor to the king of France, announcing the captivity of the king of England, as an event sure to afford his late ally "the most abundant joy." The news was everywhere received with astonishment and indignation. The archbishop of Rouen summoned a great council to meet at Oxford, to adopt measures for the aid of the king. The exiled chancellor, and the bishops of Salisbury and Bath, hastened to join their master. Queen Eleanor, supported by an almost universal popular opinion, called upon the pope for help and protection. Celestine III. responded to her appeal by excommunicating the duke of Austria, and threatening the emperor himself with a like sentence unless he speedily liberated his captive.

In the meanwhile, earl John, far from lending any aid towards the rescue of the brother who had loaded him with honours and riches, was thinking only of securing for himself the dominions of his benefactor. He formed a close alliance with the king of France, and did him homage for Normandy and the other continental possessions of his brother. The Norman nobles, however, refused to obey the earl of Mortain, and remained true to their imprisoned lord. John then returned to England with a force of foreign mercenaries, and, asserting that his brother was dead, demanded possession of the kingdom. But the Justiciaries, putting no confidence in him, rejected all his demands. The earl then raised his banner in revolt throughout his wide domains, and great numbers having embraced his cause, he attacked the royal fortresses in every direction. The vigour, however, of the Justiciaries, supported by the loyal nobles and people, soon rolled back the assailants; and John, seeing his
own castles now besieged in all quarters, consented to a truce, and retired for a time from the kingdom. Meanwhile, the king of France, regardless of his oaths, invaded Normandy with a large army, and after gaining possession of several towns and fortresses, laid siege to Rouen. But Robert, earl of Leicester, a famous crusader, returning to England, threw himself into the place, and took the command. Animated by his presence, the garrison made a vigorous defence, destroyed the military engines of the French, and compelled Philip to raise the siege in disgrace. The pope, too, again intervened on behalf of Richard; and threatened to lay France under an interdict if the dominions of the king of England were any longer molested.

The efforts of the pope, of Longchamp, and even of many of the princes of the empire, at length extorted from the emperor the release of his captive. The king of England, however, though freed from his chains, was led as a criminal before the Diet assembled at Hagenau. He was accused of having allied himself with the usurper Tancred against the emperor, who was the lawful sovereign of Sicily and Apulia; of having unjustly deposed the emperor Isaac, and sold Cyprus to a stranger; of having caused the marquis of Montferrat to be murdered; of having directed assassins against his suzerain, the king of France; of having ordered the banner of the duke of Austria, a soldier of the Cross, to be thrown into a sewer; and, lastly, of having insulted the German nation by word and action. To these charges the king, standing in the midst of the assembly, replied in a manner so clear and persuasive, that all present were lost in admiration; and the emperor, rising, embraced him, and from that moment treated him with every mark of honour. Richard now, by the advice of his mother, consented to hold his kingdom in fee of the emperor, and was solemnly re-invested with it, by the token of a double cross of gold. He was also endowed with an imaginary kingdom of Provence. Still, Henry would not release his guest without a ransom: and that ransom was fixed at 150,000 marks of pure silver, of which two-thirds were to be paid before the release, and hostages to be given for the remainder.

No sooner was this agreement known in England, than the most vigorous measures were employed to collect the required amount. Some of the bishops required from their clergy a fourth, others, a tenth part of
their income. Twenty shillings from every knight's fee, and a fourth, were demanded from the laity. Even the chalices and other treasures of the churches were taken to release the king, or to enrich peculating officials. After this money had been raised with great difficulty and with immense suffering to the people of England, and when Richard seemed on the point of being set at liberty, Philip of France and John offered the emperor large sums of money if he would detain the king still in custody, or give him up to them. Henry appeared disposed to close with these offers, but was finally compelled by the German princes who were his sureties to fulfil his engagement. Richard, at last, after a captivity of one year, six weeks, and three days, obtained his liberty. A month afterwards, he landed at Sandwich; his return being generally hailed with great joy by all classes of his subjects. John had not ventured to await the arrival of his brother. He had received a message from king Philip in these terms:—"Take care of yourself, for the Devil is let loose;" and had immediately taken refuge on the continent.

The first care of Richard was to recover the castles still held by the adherents of John. He met but little resistance: for the garrisons had no sooner ascertained that he was before them in person than they surrendered. His second object was to procure the means of war for revenge on the king of France. A great council at Nottingham cited earl John to take his trial within forty days; assented to the taxes proposed by the king; and determined that Richard, contrary to his own opinion, must be crowned a second time. The ceremony was performed at Winchester, on Low Sunday, 1194, by Hubert Fitz-Walter, the new archbishop of Canterbury. The king, supported by the bishops of Ely and London, walked under a silken canopy which was borne on four lances by the earls of Norfolk, Devon, Salisbury, and Ferrers; while before him were carried the three royal swords, by the king of Scots and the earls of Warrenne and Chester. And thus, wearing his crown, he was led to the high altar of the cathedral, where he devoutly received the benediction of the primate; and mass having been said, the rite was over.

Before leaving England, Richard was anxious to make peace between his brother Geoffrey and the chancellor. Bringing them together, therefore, at Waltham, where he halted on his way to the coast, he had the satisfaction of effecting a reconciliation.
Impatient to begin the war, Richard hastened to join the army assembled at Portsmouth. After having been delayed for a fortnight by contrary winds, he arrived at Barfleur in Normandy. There he was met by his brother John, who, falling at his feet, besought pardon for his manifold transgressions. At the intercession of their mother, Richard at once forgave him, saying:—"I would wish to forget your offences, if only you will bear them in mind." But he firmly refused to restore his brother to any degree of power. Relenting, however, after a time, he gave him again the earldoms of Gloucester and Mortain.
The war between Richard and Philip lasted, with short intervals of truce, for six years; and without bringing any substantial advantage to either monarch, was the cause of innumerable calamities to their subjects. The long line of frontier to be defended on both sides—extending from the Scheldt nearly to the Garonne—seldom allowed either of the belligerents to assemble any great force at one point. Their most brilliant successes, therefore, did but lead to the capture of a few fortresses, the destruction of towns and villages, and the ruin of the poor people, without being followed by any decisive result. Richard commenced his operations by driving the king of France from the siege of Verneuil by his mere approach; and in little more than two months had recovered Loches and Tours, put Philip to flight a second time, expelled him from Touraine, descended upon Poitou, and reduced to obedience the rebel lords of Angoulême and Taillebourg. The war had continued for two years, with much injury to both sides, when the king of France proposed to Richard, that, in order to spare their people, their quarrel should be decided by a combat between five champions on either side. But Richard making it a condition that Philip and himself should be of the number, the proposition was withdrawn. The war was proceeding with increased virulence, when the news arrived that Jacúb Abu Juzef Almanzor, emperor of Morocco, had defeated Alfonso, king of Castile, in a great battle on the field of Alarcos. The hostile princes, startled by the danger to Christendom, were on the point of making peace, (and there were even rumours of a great crusade to Spain, under the king of England,) when the emperor, in the tone of a superior, forbade Richard to proceed; and, by offering to remit 17,000 marks of his ransom, induced him to renew the war.

Although Richard had hitherto appeared absorbed in taking vengeance upon Philip, and had used the emperor to further that object, he had not forgiven the conduct of Henry or of Leopold. Out of regard for the noble hostages in their hands, however, he had cautiously entrusted his cause to the care of the pope. In consequence of his appeal, Celestine demanded from the emperor and duke the release of the hostages and the restitution of the ransom money, and, on their refusal, laid them under excommunication. It was only on their deathbeds that they consented to do justice. The hostages of Leopold were released in 1195; those of the emperor, in 1197. Little of the money was ever returned.
In the meanwhile, England,—although free from the presence of destroying armies, and even enjoying unvoined tranquillity under the primate Justiciary—was heavily taxed for the support of the war. The exactions of Richard far exceeded those of any of his predecessors; and his ministers were driven to despair in devising new means of supplying his extravagance. The land-tax was more than doubled: the crown domains sold by the king were resumed; he declared himself heir to all the Jews massacred in the beginning of his reign, collected the debts due to them, and severely fined their murderers; he revived tournaments, and made them a fertile source of revenue: he broke his great seal, and, constraining all holders of grants and charters to have them renewed, thus acquired a large sum in fees. By these and similar means, England was said to have been "reduced to poverty from sea to sea." The Justiciary, indeed, on auditing his accounts, found that in two years he had transmitted to his master no less than 1,100,000 marks of silver. Uneasy at being so involved in temporal affairs, Hubert had already begged the king to relieve him of his ministerial office; yet, in dread of the enemies he had excited as guardian of the laws, he withdrew his resignation after it had been accepted. An incident, however, which gave much scandal, soon afterwards compelled him to lay down his secular office.

In the assessment of the heavy imposts which had of late years been levied from the city of London, the mayors and aldermen, sparing their own order, had placed upon the general body of the inhabitants an undue proportion of the burthen. The cause of the commonalty was embraced with ardour by William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed Longbeard, a lawyer, of good English descent. This bold and eloquent man passed the sea, and appealed to the king in person, accusing the chief men of the city (and amongst them his own brother) as oppressors of the people and traitors to the crown. On his return, he formed a wide-spread association amongst the middle and lower classes, which, under his guidance, soon became no less formidable to the government than to the rulers of the city. The brother of Longbeard and two other leading citizens were pursued to death. Fear and rage possessed the rich. At length the Justiciary determined to interpose. Having called a great meeting of the people, he not only soothed their irritation, but persuaded them to give hostages for their good behaviour. William, however, still undauntedly pursuing his
course, the archbishop, who had been assembling troops from all the surrounding counties, ordered the arrest of the popular leader. But when this was attempted, William slew with his knife the chief of the party, and took sanctuary in the church of St. Mary le Bow, vainly hoping that the people would rise and deliver him. Finding that the sanctuary would not be respected, William and his companions took refuge in the tower of the church. Fire, however, was unscrupulously applied to the sacred edifice, and the Longbeard was forced to give himself up. He was led away to the Tower, where sentence of death was speedily pronounced by a royal court; and Fitz-Osbert, after having been cruelly dragged at the tails of horses through the streets of London, was hanged at Tyburn, with nine of his principal associates. The execution of William only increased his reputation with the people. He was now regarded as a martyr in the cause of justice. The gibbet, his chains, and the earth which had been stained with his blood, were carried off as healing relics; and it was only by placing a guard, and by inflicting some punishments, that the archbishop was enabled to put a stop to the pilgrimages which were becoming a kind of rage. The part, however, which Hubert had acted in this affair, was severely condemned by many; and two years afterwards, he was removed from his secular office at the instance of the new pope, Innocent III., who exhorted the king, "as he valued his salvation," never more to employ ecclesiastics in temporal duties. The great charge of Justiciary was then conferred upon Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, a distinguished layman.

The war on the continent had been continued during three successive years with a bitterness and inhumanity ever increasing, until at length the contending princes, instead of ransoming, began occasionally to torture and even to slay their prisoners. Their dominions, meanwhile, were scourged far and wide by famine and pestilence. Although Richard had at first regained much of what had been taken from him during his captivity, Philip held the remainder with extreme tenacity, and retaliated the ravages of his adversary by incursions still more destructive. When, however, the rival monarchs encountered in the field, Richard generally had the advantage; and his personal enemies were many times signalibus gratified.

In 1197, Philip, bishop of Beauvais, (a warlike prelate, to whose ill-offices, when ambassador in Germany, the king of England attributed the worst indignities with which he had been treated by the emperor), was defeated.
Richard refused to release the bishop.

Campaign of 1198.

Defeat of Philip near Gisors.

Sept. 28.

A truce, followed by a peace.

A.D. 1199.

Richard and the Viscount of Limoges.

The King lays siege to Chaluz.

He is wounded by an arrow.

March 26.

and made prisoner by earl John and Merchades, leader of the Brabanters. Richard threw him into chains, refused 10,000 marks which he offered as ransom, and when the pope interceded for “his son,” sent him the bishop’s coat of mail, with a sarcastic inquiry, whether that were indeed his son’s coat. “No,” replied the pontiff, “it is the coat of a son of Mars; and Mars may deliver him, if he can.”

Thrice during the war was the king of France compelled to turn his back, and fly before the impetuosity of Richard. The third occasion was during the campaign of 1198. Philip, ignorant that the place had fallen, advanced from Mantes to the relief of Courcelles. On the road he encountered the king of England with an inferior force, who, after a sharp combat, compelled him to retire. The retreat soon became a flight; and the bridge of Gisors breaking down under the crowding fugitives, Philip himself was precipitated into the river Epte, whence he was not saved without much difficulty. The flower of the French chivalry, turning upon the pursuers in order to save their king, were made prisoners. On this day, Richard unhorsed with a single lance and captured three French nobles:—Mathieu de Montmorenci, Alain de Rusci, and Fulk de Gilerval. In announcing his victory, the king wrote:—“It is not we who have done these things, but rather God and our right.”

At length, early in the year 1199, the cardinal of Capua, who had been sent by Innocent III. to effect a reconciliation between the kings of France and England, succeeded in persuading them to conclude a truce for five years. A treaty of peace, on terms very advantageous to Richard, was then negotiated; but before it was put in execution, that restless prince had died.

Scarcely had the articles of the treaty been agreed upon, when the king of England, after laying a tax of five shillings upon every hide of land in England, hastened into Poitou to take vengeance on Guidomar, viscount of Limoges, a nobleman who had refused to give up to him the whole of a treasure which he had found on his domain. Richard quickly laid siege to the castle of Chaluz, where he hoped to find the treasure; but as he rode unarmed near the walls, in order to arrange with count Merchades the best point of attack, an archer of the garrison shot him through the shoulder. Anxious to conceal his wound, the king returned quietly to his quarters, and issued orders for the assault. The castle was
taken after several attempts. The wound of the king at first inspired no alarm; but, it having been much aggravated by the unskilfulness of the surgeon who extracted the arrow-head, mortification ensued, and Richard perceived that his end was at hand. Sending for a confessor, he devoutly prepared to die. He commanded the archer who had shot him to be brought into his presence, freely forgave him his death, and ordered him to be released with a present of money. He appointed his brother John heir to his dominions and to three-fourths of his treasures; the other fourth he left to his servants and to the poor. He enjoined that his body should be carried to Fontevraud, and there laid at the feet of his father, whom in life he had so much offended. His heart he bequeathed to Rouen, and his entrails to the people of Poitou. Then, on the eleventh day after he had been wounded, he expired as the evening closed. Richard
was then in the forty-second year of his age, and in the tenth of his reign, six months only of which he had spent in England. His slayer was, notwithstanding his order, detained by Merchades, and afterwards put to death with the most cruel tortures.

Richard was above the middle height; handsome in form, and strongly built, with long and muscular limbs. His hair was of a reddish yellow.

JOHN.

ACTING under the guidance of his mother, John had gradually succeeded in recovering the confidence of his brother and the possession of his forfeited estates. A new difference, however, had caused him to leave the court, and he was residing in Normandy when the news arrived of the death of Richard at Chaluz. Instantly despatching the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord marshal to assume the government of England on his behalf, John himself hurried to Chinon, and secured the royal treasures which were there deposited. His authority, however, was rejected by the people of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, who declared in favour of Arthur, duke of Brittany, the son of his elder brother Geoffrey. The boy was immediately placed by his mother, the duchess Constance, under the protection of the king of France, who, at her request, occupied with his troops the chief fortresses belonging to Arthur. John, seeing that the provinces were lost to him, at least for the present, wreaked his vengeance on the cities of Le Mans and Angers, both of which he sacked, and, as far as possible, destroyed. He then returned to Normandy, where he was solemnly installed as duke, receiving the golden coronet and the sword at the hands of the archbishop of Rouen.

In the meantime, the skilful management of the primate, the marshal, and the Justiciary Fitz-Peter, had gained over the whole nobility of England to the cause of John. Even those who had been most hostile consented, after hearing the arguments and promises of the regents, to take the oath of fealty, on condition that all their rights should be respected. On receiving this intelligence, the duke passed over to England for his coronation. Two days afterwards, on the 27th of May, the bishops, earls, and barons having assembled in the abbey church at Westminster, archbishop Hubert addressed them, affirming in the strongest terms that the
crown of England was elective; and that as earl John, the brother of their illustrious king Richard, was “prudent, active, and undoubtedly noble,” he had been unanimously elected “for his merits and his royal blood.” John having assented to the conditions required by the primate, all present confirmed his election, exclaiming:—“God save the king!” He was then crowned and anointed. It was afterwards reported, that Hubert, having been asked why he had acted as he did on this occasion, replied, that knowing the character of John, he had determined that he should owe his elevation to election only, and not to hereditary right. On the day of his coronation, John created Geoffrey Fitz-Peter the Justiciar, earl of Essex, and William the Marshal, earl of Pembroke.

Having arranged his affairs in England, John returned to the continent, to guard his dominions on that side of the sea. It was not long before the king of France, accompanied by the young duke Arthur, invaded Normandy with a powerful army. After, however, some desultory and indecisive operations had taken place, Peter of Capua, the papal envoy, succeeded in negotiating, first a truce, and then a peace between the two monarchs. It was agreed, that Louis, the eldest son of Philip, should immediately marry Blanche of Castille, a niece of John, receiving with her the county of Evreux, some other fiefs in Normandy, and the sum of 20,000 marks of silver. In return, Philip not only recognised the titles of John, and abandoned the cause of Arthur, but persuaded the young prince to do homage to his uncle for the duchy of Brittany and the earldom of Richmond in England. Immediately after the ceremony, however, Arthur again placed himself under the protection of the king of France, the man who had so lately betrayed him.

While yet only count of Mortain, John had married Hawisa, the rich heiress of the last earl of Gloucester. After a union of twelve years, he now discovered that his wife was too nearly related to him in blood, (she was a third cousin); and on this plea he sought and obtained from his own subject, the archbishop of Bordeaux, a divorce. He then despatched envoys to ask in his name the hand of a princess of Portugal. Her answer was favourable; but before it could reach the king of England, he had already married Isabel, the beautiful daughter of the count of Angoulême, and the affianced bride of Hugh le Brun, count of La Marche. John, immediately carrying the new queen to England, had her crowned at
Westminster by the primate; and the next year, at the festival of Easter, he caused the ceremony to be repeated in Canterbury cathedral.

John soon had reason to repent his marriage. The count of La Marche, enraged at the loss of his bride, took up arms against her husband; but speedily finding himself in danger from the superior power of his antagonist, he placed himself under the protection of the king of France, and demanded justice. Philip, totally disregarding the recent treaty with John, at once embraced the cause of his vassal, and prepared for war. Again bringing forward Arthur, he demanded from the king of England the cession of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and on his refusal, suddenly entered Normandy in force. After taking several fortresses, he halted for a short time at Gournay, whence he despatched Arthur with a chosen body of French knights to invade Poitou. Having been joined by the count of La Marche and other great barons of Aquitaine, Arthur rapidly advanced upon Mirabeau, hoping to surprise the queen dowager Eleanor, the ancient enemy of his mother. The town and the greater part of the castle were at once surrendered to him; but the aged queen, retiring with a few troops into a strong tower, held out there, while she found means to inform her son of her danger. John, aroused by the news, hurried by forced marches to Mirabeau. The enemy marched out to meet him, but, after a sharp combat, the English were victorious, and entering the castle along with the fugitives, captured Arthur, with the count of La Marche, and their whole force. This signal victory decided the campaign. On receiving intelligence of it, Philip instantly raised the siege of Arques, and retired to his own dominions.

John, having loaded his prisoners with fetters, sent them to various strongholds in England and Normandy for greater security. Arthur was consigned to strict custody in the castle of Falaise. He had remained there some time, when John paid a visit to the fortress, and ordered his nephew to be brought into his presence. Addressing him with every outward mark of kindness, he promised him many honours if he would renounce the French alliance, and submit himself to his lord and uncle. In reply, Arthur is said to have indignantly refused to surrender his rights, and to have called upon his jailer to give up the kingdom of England and the other dominions which he had usurped. John, baffled, and troubled in mind, commanded that Arthur should be removed to Rouen, and placed
in closer confinement in "the New Tower" there. The young prince
soon afterwards disappeared: and as no account of his death was offered
to the world by his keepers, rumours soon began to circulate that he had
been murdered at the command, or, it was even said, by the very hand,
of his uncle. Every day added strength to the general belief.

The Bretons—the immediate vassals of Arthur—were the first to call
for vengeance. Guy de Thouars, his stepfather, summoned the bishops
and nobles to meet at Vannes: and this assembly, after appointing Guy
to administer the duchy in the name of his eldest daughter by Constance,
resolved to appeal to the king of France for justice. A deputation, headed
by Guy de Thouars, proceeded to Paris and formally accused the king of
England of the murder of his nephew. Philip cited his rival to justify
himself before the great peers of France. John refused: but sentence
was nevertheless pronounced, that the duke of Normandy having murdered
his nephew, a liegeman of the king of France, and having committed the
crime within the realm of France, was guilty of felony and treason, and
therefore condemned to forfeit all the lands which he held by homage.

Philip, however, did not wait even to commence these legal formalities,
but at once poured his forces into Normandy on one side, while the Bretons
invaded the province on another. Fortress after fortress fell before the
allied arms; the earl of Pembroke, attempting to relieve Chateau Gaillard,
was defeated, while John remained at Rouen immersed in pleasure, as
if infatuated. "Let Philip go on," said he; "whatever he seizes now,
I will recover in a single day." The English nobles, in disgust, returned
home with their troops: the Normans fell off on every side; and at last
John, startled by the near approach of the French, and apprehending that
his own barons might deliver him up to Philip, fled from Rouen, and took
refuge in England. Within a few months, the whole of Normandy, with
Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, had finally submitted to the crown of France.

In the recent contest, the king of England had enjoyed the support of
pope Innocent III., who strongly blamed Philip for breaking the treaty of
Andelys, instead of submitting his quarrel to the head of the church. Notwithstanding his obligations, however, John now entered upon a struggle
with his protector. A disputed election to the English primacy was the
origin of their difference. On the death of archbishop Hubert, in July,
1203, a contest as to the appointment of his successor arose between the
king, the bishops of the province, and the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, who formed the cathedral chapter of that see. Hubert had not yet been laid in the tomb, when the junior monks of Christchurch, desirous to be free in their choice, assembled in the night, elected, and enthroned Reginald, their sub-prior, as archbishop. They then, after exacting from him an oath of secrecy, sent him that same night with a deputation from their number to obtain the requisite confirmation at Rome. Reginald, however, had no sooner arrived in Flanders, than he announced his election, hoping thus to gain friends and advance his cause. But the monks of Canterbury, hearing of his conduct, were much offended; and, no longer hoping to carry their point unaided, they now applied to the king for permission to choose a fitting pastor. John returned a gracious answer, and intimated that the translation of the bishop of Nonvich to the primacy would be greatly to the advantage of the kingdom. The bishops, who had already forwarded to Rome a protest against the election of Reginald, were next persuaded to withdraw their claims. The king repaired to Canterbury, and, in his presence, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, was chosen, and enthroned in the metropolitan chair. Envoys from the king, and six monks, with full powers to represent the whole body, proceeded to Rome, to solicit the confirmation of this election.

The pope, having first addressed himself to the controversy on the right of election, decided it absolutely in favour of the monks. Then, after a careful inquiry, he annulled both the elections which they had made; the first, as seditious; the second, as premature; and he declared both the candidates disqualified for the vacant dignity. Notwithstanding, however, this decision, John still hoped to procure the primacy for his favourite, and with that view he requested the pope himself to provide for the vacancy. Innocent complied; but he was resolved that De Gray, the king's chief minister, should not have the office; and nominated in his stead Stephen Langton, a virtuous and learned Englishman, formerly rector of the university of Paris, and whom he had created cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. The deputies from Christchurch adopted the recommendation of the pontiff, and, with only one dissentient, elected their countryman archbishop of Canterbury. Letters were immediately despatched to ask the concurrence of John, but no answer having been returned, Langton was at last consecrated by Innocent himself at Viterbo, on the 17th of June, 1207.
John, who had persisted to the last in urging the claims of his minister, was furious when he heard of the consecration of Langton. His first step was to revenge himself on the monks of Christchurch. He resolved to drive them from the kingdom, and sent two members of his council to execute the decree. Fulk de Cantelupe and Henry de Cornhill, sheriff of Kent, proceeded to Canterbury at the head of an armed force of Brabanters.

Entering the monastery with drawn swords, they fiercely ordered the prior and monks to depart from England as traitors to the king, threatening otherwise to burn the house over their heads, and them in it. The monks obeyed without resistance, and retired among their brethren in Flanders, while their property and that of the see of Canterbury was confiscated to the king's use. John did not rest here. He addressed letters to the pope.
complaining of the appointment of Langton, "a man unknown to him, and so long intimate with his enemies in France;" declaring that nothing should turn him from the promotion of the bishop of Norwich; and threatening, that unless satisfied therein, he would stop all intercourse with Rome, and all dependence upon foreigners in spiritual matters. Innocent, in reply, characterized the objections of the king to Langton as "frivolous." It was not a reproach, but a glory to him, that he had spent some time at Paris studying the liberal arts, and had there received rewards for his attainments and blameless life; the pope thought it strange that an Englishman of such renown should have been unknown to his own sovereign, especially as John had written to Langton three times, congratulating him on his promotion to the cardinalate; the new archbishop was sincerely loyal; his election had been perfectly regular; and the pope neither ought nor would cancel it; he therefore exhorted the king to shun the evil counsels of those who desired to fish in troubled waters, and to defer as he ought to the church,—a course which would surely tend to his honour and advantage.

John, however, continued obstinate, and a total breach ensued between him and the pope. After a time, Innocent directed the bishops of London, Winchester, and Ely to seek the king, and warn him, that if he did not without delay admit the primate to his see, and recall the monks of Christchurch, his kingdom should be laid under an interdict, and that severer measures should follow against himself. The prelates waited on the king, and humbly besought him to yield; but John, interrupting them, broke out into the most violent threats against the pope, and all who should presume to obey the sentence, and finally drove the bishops with insult from his presence. No change taking place in his conduct, the legates, on the appointed day, (March 23, 1208), published the sentence of interdict. From that time the churches were closed, the sacraments ceased to be administered, except infant baptism; and, in cases of necessity, confession and the viaticum. If a marriage was celebrated, it was in the churchyard. Moreover, the dead were interred without prayer, and in unconsecrated ground.

The king, while affecting to regard the sentence with contempt, was extremely exasperated by the general obedience paid to it by the clergy of England. Nearly all the bishops had retired from the kingdom. He could not, therefore, wreak his vengeance on them: but he threw their relatives into prison, seized their property, and took into his hands the
whole estates of the church in England. These, after “a reasonable sustenance” had been assigned to the clergy, he either enjoyed himself, or bestowed temporarily on the nobility, or, in some cases, returned to the owners on receiving a heavy composition. Being now well supplied with money, and able to take into pay large bodies of mercenary troops, John sought to engage the minds of his subjects, and to gain reputation for himself, by expeditions against his weaker neighbours. In 1209, he compelled William of Scotland to submit to his terms. The next year, (after extorting by the most cruel means a vast sum from the Jews,) he crossed into Ireland, where he received the homage of twenty of the native princes, and overawed the turbulence of the English settlers. In the following year he invaded Wales, penetrated as far as Snowdon, and returned with twenty-eight noble hostages as pledges of future peace.

Notwithstanding, however, this show of glory, John was devoured by doubt, suspicion, and apprehension. After a delay of more than a year, the pope had excommunicated him by name. In anticipation of this, the king required all the earls, barons, and tenants of the crown, to renew their oaths of fealty to him. Still unsatisfied, he despatched bands of soldiers through the country, to force from the suspected nobles (and nearly all were suspected) their sons and daughters, or other nearest relatives, as hostages. When the royal messengers demanded pledges from William de Brause, one of the barons, his wife, Matilda, interposing, declared that she would not deliver her sons into the hands of the man who had murdered his nephew. This reply cost Matilda her life; for having afterwards fallen into the power of the king, she was by his order starved to death at Windsor, together with her son and daughter-in-law. Eustace de Vesci and Robert Fitz-Walter, two of the principal barons, were driven from the kingdom. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, having said that it was not safe to obey an excommunicated king, was, by the express command of John, wrapped in a heavy leaden cope, and so left to die. And while the king thus provoked the hatred of his own subjects, he was fruitlessly soliciting the friendship of the emperor Mahommed Alnassir and the Moors of Spain.

At last, four years having elapsed, and the king of England still continuing in his violent and tyrannical course, Innocent, on a renewed appeal for justice from Langton and the other prelates, resolved upon releasing the subjects of John from their allegiance, and issuing a sentence of deposition.
against him. The king of France was charged with the execution of the sentence; and the privileges of crusaders were promised to all who should march under his banners, or assist the enterprise with their money. Philip joyfully undertook the charge: his vassals were summoned to meet at Rouen, and ships, provisions, and warlike stores were collected from every quarter with all possible expedition. Aware of his danger, John despatched messengers to Rome, with a promise that he would submit to the terms which he had lately rejected. At the same time he commanded the bailiffs of the ports to assemble at Portsmouth by Mid-Lent all ships above a certain size, well manned and provisioned. Every man capable of bearing arms was summoned, under penalty of being branded as a coward, to repair to the royal standard before the coming Easter. From the county musters the best soldiers were selected; and an army of about 65,000 picked troops was ultimately assembled on Barham Down. This was a force with which, had it been faithful, the king might have securely met any invader. But John had reason to doubt the fidelity of nearly all his subjects. He could scarcely depend even upon his foreign mercenaries. Thoroughly distrusting his army, yet afraid to disband it, the king remained at Ewell, near Dover, tormented by doubt and anxiety; when he heard that an envoy from the pope had arrived on the opposite coast, and desired an interview with him. This was the subdeacon Pandulf, one of the household; and high in the confidence of Innocent. At the king's invitation, he crossed at once to England, and informed him that by prompt and sincere submission he might even yet retain the crown which had been declared forfeit. Still John hesitated: and when he yielded at last, he was less influenced, it is said, by the perils to be apprehended from his state of excommunication, the French invasion, or his disaffected subjects, than by a prophecy of a certain hermit, that before the approaching feast of the Ascension the king would have ceased to reign. On the 13th of May, 1213, John signed letters patent, by which he bound himself to abide by the judgment of the pope on all matters then at issue: to accept Langton as archbishop of Canterbury: to recall him, with all the exiles, clerical and lay: to release all prisoners made in this quarrel: and to make full restitution of all confiscated property. In return, the sentences of excommunication and interdict were to be withdrawn. But the concessions of John were not yet completed. Two days afterwards, he publicly
delivered to Pandulf a charter, in which he declared that, in satisfaction for his sins, "of his own free will, and by the general advice of his barons," he assigned and granted unto the pope, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, to be held of him in fee, by the annual payment of 1000 marks sterling; but reserving to himself and his heirs all their rights, privileges, and royal customs. The king then took, in the presence of Pandulf, the usual oath of a vassal to his lord. John had thus placed himself under the protection of the pope; but he still awaited with mistrust the festival of the Ascension, when, according to the hermit, he was to have ceased to reign. The day came; it passed; and John, finding himself still a king, ordered the hermit to be hanged at Wareham, together with his son.

The vexation of Philip, on learning that John had made over his kingdom to the pope, was excessive. In his first anger, he even resolved to persevere with the invasion of England; but being strenuously resisted by the count of Flanders, he turned his wrath upon that powerful vassal, and resolved to seize his dominions. The French fleet was ordered to the coast of Flanders, while Philip invaded the province by land. The count, in alarm, applied to the king of England for succour; and John promptly despatched to his assistance the fleet which lay at Portsmouth, with a chosen force under his half brother, the earl of Salisbury. This expedition, arriving off the port of Swayne, found there the great French fleet, guarded only by mariners, the troops being engaged in ravaging the adjacent territory. The English at once attacked, captured 300 vessels richly laden, and plundered and burned 100 others which were aground. Not content with this success, the earl of Salisbury sent part of his force in pursuit of the French who had landed. But the army of Philip was now rapidly advancing from Ghent. The English were met, and defeated with great loss, the survivors escaping with difficulty to their ships. They had, however, struck a blow which compelled Philip to relinquish his hold upon Flanders, and rendered an invasion of England impossible for some time. The French, having burned the remains of their fleet, withdrew within their own frontier.

Elated with the victory at Swayne, John determined to invade Poitou, while the earl of Salisbury assailed the northern frontier of France. He had assembled a new army at Portsmouth, when the barons declared that they would not follow him until he had been absolved from the sentence
of excommunication. This resolution compelled the king to perform without further delay the first conditions of the treaty with Pandulf. He therefore invited Langton and the exiles to return at once to England, promising them security for the future and indemnification for the past. His invitation was accepted. Langton with the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, the monks of Christchurch, and other exiles, landed at Dover on the 16th of July, and immediately set out for Winchester, where the court then was. When the king heard of their approach, he went to meet them, and throwing himself at the feet of the archbishop and bishops, besought them to have compassion on him and the kingdom of England. They raised him up, and leading him to the door of the cathedral, there absolved him, in the presence of the nobles, "who wept for joy." But Langton had first dictated an oath to the king; and John swore on the Gospels, that he would be obedient to the popes; that he would love and defend the church; that he would revive the laws of king Edward, annul all bad customs, judge only through his courts, and restore the rights of each and all. The next day, writs were issued to all the sheriffs, directing them to send four "liegemen" from every town, to meet at St. Albans on the 4th of August, to estimate the losses suffered by the exiles, and the compensation due to them.

John now hoped to resume with effect his enterprise against France; but on arriving at Portsmouth, he found his vassals in great discontent. Their term of service was over: they had exhausted all their means: and they declared, that without pay from the treasury they could not follow him. This the king refused, and set sail with his household for France; but finding at Guernsey that he had again been abandoned by his barons, he returned in angry mood to England.

Meanwhile, the barons had joined the great council at St. Albans. There the recent concessions of the king were made known; the laws of Henry I. (which embodied those of the Confessor) were ordered to be observed; and the royal officials warned, on pain of death, to abandon their illegal and tyrannical practices. Within three weeks another council was held at St. Paul's in London. At its close, Langton privately assembled some of the barons; and having caused the charter of Henry I. to be read to them, induced them to take an oath that they would recover their rights, or die. His support, he promised, should not fail them.
By this time the king had returned to England, bent upon vengeance for the late defection of his barons. He had already collected a strong force at Northampton, and was on the point of taking the field, when Langton arrived, and reminded him of his recent oath that he would not punish anyone without a trial. But John, declaring that he would not be hindered in his government by the archbishop, to whom secular affairs did not pertain, put his troops in march for Nottingham. The primate, however, again came up with him, and, by a threat of excommunicating all—except the king—who should make war before the removal of the interdict, succeeded in inducing John to desist from his lawless course, and to summon the accused to justify themselves in his court.

The arrival at this juncture of a legate from the pope produced a temporary calm. Nicholas, cardinal and bishop of Frascati, came with full authority to fix the amount of compensation due to the outlaws, and to revoke the interdict. He was received with the highest honour by king and people. John was now playing for the support of the pope. He repeated his oath of fealty,—did homage to the cardinal as the representative of Innocent, and duly paid his first year's tribute of 1000 marks. The difficult question of the indemnity was ultimately referred to the decision of the pope; and his award having been accepted by the king, the interdict was at once recalled, to the great joy of the nation.

In the meantime, early in 1214, John had invaded Poitou. By the middle of June he had recovered a considerable portion of that province, when the advance of a French army under Louis, the son of Philip, checked his further progress, and obliged him to wait the result of the operations of his allies in the north. An army of 100,000 men, the combined forces of the emperor Otho, the earl of Salisbury, the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Holland, and Brabant, had gathered on the French frontier. In July this host advanced; but at Bouvines, a small village between Lille and Tournay, it was encountered by Philip in person, and completely defeated. The earl of Salisbury was made prisoner on the field, together with the counts of Flanders and Boulogne. The news of this great disaster dissipated the hopes of John. He at once solicited a truce for five years; and having obtained it (by the management, it is said, of Robert de Courcy, an Englishman, the papal legate in France), returned to England, complaining that his submission had not brought him success.

The moment seemed opportune to the leading nobles for taking steps towards the recovery of their rights. A month had scarcely elapsed after the king's return, when the barons, under pretence of celebrating the festival of the martyr-king, repaired from all quarters to St. Edmundsbury. At their private meetings, the charter of Henry I. was again produced: they defined their rights and liberties, and they resolved to demand from the king a confirmation of them by a new charter under his own seal. Having come to an agreement, they all assembled in the church, and,

advancing one by one in order of precedence to the high altar, they swore that, if the king refused their demands, they would renounce their allegiance, and make war upon him until their liberties were achieved. Then,
after agreeing to present their demands immediately after the Christmas festival, they separated to their homes to make their military preparations.

The king held his Christmas court that year at Worcester; but, after one day, finding himself almost unattended, he suddenly hurried to London, where he took up his abode at the Temple. In a few days the barons began to arrive in warlike array; and, on the Epiphany, they formally demanded the confirmation of “the liberties of the kingdom and church of England.” The king at first endeavoured to overawe the nobles; but, finally promised that, if time were given him for deliberation, he would, at Easter, answer every demand to their satisfaction; and he offered the primate, the bishop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke, as sureties for his good faith. With much reluctance the barons consented to the delay; and the menacing assembly dispersed.

Notwithstanding, however, his promises and his sureties, John was determined not to yield. He immediately began to put his castles into a state of defence, and invited to his standard numerous bands of Flemish and Poitevin knights. To win over the clergy, he suddenly granted to them the long-contested right of freely electing their prelates. He once more required that all freemen should swear fidelity to him alone. Lastly, he took the cross. By this means he not only sheltered himself behind the wide privileges of a crusader, but acquired a sure title to the protection of Innocent III, who was at this time energetically promoting a new Holy War against the infidels.

In the meantime, envoys from both parties had proceeded to Rome, and appealed to the pope as their superior lord. Each put forward their services and titles to the favour of the pontiff. By the barons it was asserted, that the merit of the treaty with Pandulf was theirs; that John had consented, “not of his own accord, not out of devotion, but under compulsion from them.” Nevertheless, Innocent determined to uphold the king. He wrote to Langton, declaring that it was not just to deprive John of the prerogatives which his father and brother had enjoyed in peace; intimating that the archbishop himself was the instigator of the late commotions, and enjoining him to use all his authority to restore concord. The pope wrote also to the barons, reproving their attempt to overawe their sovereign; and engaging, on their good behaviour, to obtain from the king every reasonable concession. He wrote to the king,
admonishing him to hearken to their just petitions. But he made it known, both to the primate and the barons, that he annulled every confederacy entered into since the peace of Dover, and that he forbade, under pain of excommunication, all similar associations for the future.

Meanwhile, Easter having passed, almost the whole nobility of England had met in arms at Stamford; and thence, followed by 2000 knights, with a numerous force of men-at-arms and infantry, they advanced to Brackley. The king, who was then at Oxford, sent the primate and the earl of Pembroke to meet them and receive their demands. These were delivered in writing, with a threat that, if they were not assented to, the barons would take the royal fortresses into their own keeping. When the paper was read to John, he asked, derisively:—"Why have not the barons also demanded my kingdom?" Then, breaking into fury, he swore with horrible oaths that he never would grant liberties that would render him a slave. The commissioners, however, were sent back, with orders, first, to notify the king's appeal to the pope; then, to offer the abolition of the "evil customs" introduced during the present or the last reign; and lastly, if they found it necessary, to declare that the king was ready to take the advice of his court upon any grievances dating from the time of his father. These offers were rejected; upon which, Pandulf and Simon, bishop of Exeter, strongly urged the primate to issue sentence of excommunication against the barons. But Langton refused. He well knew, he said, the mind of Innocent. For himself, he demanded that the king's foreign mercenaries should be sent away; otherwise he would turn his spiritual arms against them. John then offered to submit to the decision of nine arbitrators, of whom the pope was to be one; but the barons rejected this proposal also, sent their defiance to the king, and at once prepared for war.

The first step of the confederates was to elect Robert Fitz-Walter their general, with the title of "Marshal of the army of God and of the Holy Church." They then laid siege to Northampton; but having made no progress, either by force or negotiation, at the end of a fortnight they marched to Bedford, where the gates were opened to them by the governor. There also they received a deputation from their chief partizans in London, who invited them to advance at once upon the capital. Breaking up their camp, they immediately pushed on to Ware: whence a forced march during the night brought them to London early in the morning of
Sunday, the 24th of May. They scaled the walls by means of some ladders which were being used for the repair of the defences, opened the gates, and entering while the people were generally attending divine service, took military possession of the city, with the exception of the Tower. Having received security from the citizens, plundered the Jews, and used the stones of their houses to strengthen the fortifications, the barons despatched letters to the earls, barons, and knights who had not yet joined the association, inviting them to abandon a perjured sovereign, and to aid in the struggle for liberty and peace. If they refused, they should be treated as open enemies, and the confederates would "destroy their castles, burn their houses and other buildings, and lay waste their parks, warrens, and orchards." Meanwhile, the exchequer and sheriffs' courts ceased to act, for no one dared appear on behalf of the king; and thus the collection of the revenue was entirely stopped.

Six earls, those of Pembroke, Salisbury, Chester, Warrenne, Albemarle, and Cornwall, with about fifteen barons, had hitherto held aloof from the confederacy, although many of them were supposed to sympathize with its objects. The greater part now joined Fitz-Walter and the rest of their order at London.

This general defection warned the king that he must now yield, or appear to yield. Once more, therefore, selecting the earl of Pembroke as his envoy, he sent him to inform the barons that, for the sake of peace, he would willingly grant the laws and liberties which they required; and he asked that they would name a place and time for an interview. The barons appointed the field called Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, as the place, and the 15th of June as the day. At the time appointed, the barons, moving forward from the town of Staines, appeared upon the plain, and there pitched their camp. Under the banner of Robert Fitz-Walter were ranged nearly the whole nobility of England. The king arriving from Windsor castle, fixed his pavilions, and remained apart. He was attended by the primate, the archbishop of Dublin, and seven bishops; by Pandulf and the Master of the English Templars; the earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Warrenne, and Arundel, with Hubert de Burgh, seneschal of Poitou, and a few other nobles and gentlemen. It was, however, no secret, that many who followed the king were of one mind with, and would use all their influence in favour of, his opponents.
This party, with Langton at their head, acting as mediators, soon arranged the terms of peace. The demands of the barons were embodied in the form of a charter, which, though it was accompanied by stringent securities for its due observance, was assented to by the king with an extreme facility and appearance of content. On the field of Runnymede, in sight of all,

and to the joy of all, he signed the charter, (ever after to be known as the Great Charter,) with its supplementary instruments. Then conversing graciously with the barons, he asserted his conviction that in so terminating the controversy he had done a wise and happy thing: and he promised that he would most faithfully perform all his engagements. Copies of the
charter were despatched to every county, with orders that the sheriffs should oblige all men to swear obedience to its provisions, and to the twenty-five barons who had been chosen conservators of the public liberties.

The profound deceit of the king completely imposed upon the greater part of the assembly at Runnymede: and the barons, believing that a change had at last come over the heart of their sovereign, broke up their camp, and dispersed in great joy. John, meanwhile, left alone with his household and confidential advisers, gave way alternately to the deepest dejection and the most frantic outbursts of rage. His counsellors gradually taught him to contrive the means of obtaining vengeance. His first measure was to invoke the interference of the pope against his "unjust and rebellious" vassals. To obtain this, ambassadors were despatched to Rome, with an invidious account of the late events, and a paper containing some only of the articles of the charter, artfully selected from those "which seemed most to help the cause of the king." Nor did John hesitate to affirm that he had made his recent concessions solely "through fear."

At the same time, Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester, the chancellor, and other ministers, hastened abroad to allure by the most magnificent promises mercenaries from Poitou, Guienne, Picardy, and Flanders, to serve the king of England from the following Michaelmas. The foreign captains already in the kingdom received orders to prepare for war. While waiting the effect of these and previous measures, the king visited the southern ports, and took much pains to ingratiate himself with the hardy seamen, their inhabitants.

These intrigues did not entirely escape the knowledge of the barons. In their first joy they had proclaimed a tournament, to be held at Stamford, on the 2nd of July: but, having received warning of a plot to recover during their absence the city of London for the king, they postponed the jousts for a week, and changed the place of meeting to Hounslow. A deputation from the nobles waited on the king at Winchester, to ascertain, if possible, his intentions: but although John met them with an unclouded aspect, and swore that he intended nothing underhand, they returned unsatisfied. Still negotiations continued; which the king contrived to renew and spin out until the end of August. Then he proceeded to Dover to receive the foreign mercenaries, who now began to arrive in such numbers, that John soon found himself at the head of a truly formidable host. He
immediately laid siege to Rochester castle, which had just been given up to the barons by Langton. The garrison, under William d’Albiney, defended themselves in the most gallant manner for seven weeks; and then, having eaten the last of their horses, they threw themselves on the mercy of the king. John, furious at his losses in men and money during the siege, would have hanged them all, had not Savaric de Mauleon, a distinguished foreign captain, objected to the execution, on the ground that the barons might make reprisals on him and his fellow mercenaries. The king then sent the nobles and knights as close prisoners to Corfe castle, but he ordered the crossbowmen (who had inflicted much loss upon his troops) to be hanged.

All this time, the barons, after a feeble attempt to relieve the defenders of Rochester, remained inactive at London, as if perplexed what course to pursue. Scarcely had the king taken the field, when the news arrived that the pope had solemnly annulled the charter. He had condemned it, as extorted by the barons in violation of their allegiance and of the rights of the Roman church, contrary to the recent conciliatory advice of himself, and to the privileges of a prince who had taken the cross. In a letter to the barons, Innocent communicated the grounds of his decision; declared the charter to be worthy of reprobation, “chiefly on account of the means used to obtain it;” but while, on the one hand, he would protect the king in his rights, on the other, he would not suffer him to oppress them “by evil customs or unjust exactions;” finally, he invited them to send representatives to join the English prelates at the general council which he was about to hold, (principally to expedite the crusade); promising that he would so ordain, that “the king should be content with his rights and honours; and the clergy with the people rejoice in the peace and liberty which was their due.” No attention having been paid to either his censures or his promises, the pope directed Langton to publish a general sentence of excommunication against “the disturbers of the kingdom.” But Langton refused until he had consulted the pontiff; upon which, he was suspended from his functions by the bishop of Winchester and Pandulf. He still proceeded to the council at Rome: but, being there accused of treason by the envoys of John, his sentence was confirmed by the pope. About six weeks afterwards, on the 16th of December, 1215, the principal barons were excommunicated by name, and
the city of London was laid under an interdict. The party of the barons
immediately split. One section prepared at once to submit to the decision.
The majority and their adherents, however, declaring that these sentences
had been obtained by falsehood, and, moreover, concerned affairs over
which the pope had no authority, paid no regard to the excommunication
and the interdict. This party determined to offer the crown of England
to Louis, the eldest son of the king of France, who had married Blanche
of Castille, a niece of John. Saher de Quinci, earl of Winchester, and
Robert Fitz-Walter, with letters under the seals of all their associates,
hastened to announce the election to Philip and Louis, to urge them to
take immediate advantage of it, and to deliver the barons of England from
their tyrant.

Greatly elated at the condemnation of his enemies, and eager to follow
up the blow, John marched from Rochester to St. Albans. There he
caused the suspension of Langton to be authenticated under the seal of
the abbey, and thence published far and wide. Then dividing his forces,
he left one army under his brother Longsword, to hold in check the barons
at London, while with the other he marched to the north. He advanced
without opposition, and the castles of the barons were everywhere surren-
dered or abandoned by their guardians. Yet John would not forego the
gratification of his revenge. He laid waste the lands of his opponents,
burned their houses and farms, carried off every species of property, and
delivered over their vassals to be tortured and plundered by his mercen-
aries. Thus he proceeded, until he came to the Scottish border, which
he crossed, declaring that he would "unkennel the red fox," as he called
the young king, Alexander II. After burning many towns and villages, he
was suddenly checked in his career by unfavourable intelligence from
England; and he returned to the south by a different route, everywhere
as he went making desolate the lands of the confederate barons. Mean-
while, the foreign troops under the earl of Salisbury were acting with like
wantonness and cruelty in all the eastern counties. The bands under Falke de Breauté, and the Brabanders under Walter Buc, laid waste the
country, plundered the churches, and tortured all, whether clerical or lay,
from whom they expected thereby to extort a larger ransom.

The only hope of the barons had rested upon the speedy arrival of
succours from France. To their great joy, therefore, they beheld a body
of knights arrive at London by way of the Thames, with a letter announcing the coming of Louis immediately after Easter. This news it was that had caused the sudden return of John from Scotland. He had sent the bishop of Winchester and the earl of Pembroke to induce Philip to stay his son; but the ambassadors had not been able to obtain an audience; and John, instead of laying siege to London, posted himself at Dover, to bar the way against his rival, whose armament might be seen on the opposite coast. The French prince had nearly completed his preparations, when Gualo, cardinal of St. Martin's, the new papal legate to England, arrived in France, and forbade the expedition under pain of excommunication. Philip at first appeared willing to obey; but Louis, having obtained his consent, and despatched an embassy to plead his cause before the pope, hurried to Calais, and embarked for England. On the 21st of May he effected a landing in the isle of Thanet; while John, distrusting his army, which was so largely composed of French mercenaries, retreated first to Guildford, and thence to Winchester. Louis, meanwhile, proceeded to London, where he was received with great rejoicing by the barons and citizens. Having been conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, he received the homage of all present, after which he swore to grant good laws, and to restore every man to his rights. Simon Langton, brother of the primate, was appointed his chancellor.

Louis lost no time in taking the field. He speedily overran Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Dover castle alone, which was defended by the Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, held out in the south-east. Meanwhile, Robert Fitz-Walter reduced to obedience Essex and Suffolk. The king of Scots and the barons of the north acknowledged Louis as king of England. The cause of John again began to fail. The news had arrived that his great protector, pope Innocent III., was dead. His French mercenaries deserted his banner in great numbers, either to join their natural lord, or to return home. Several of the nobles, who had hitherto stood by the king in the worst of times, now abandoned him for the party of Louis. Amongst these was his brother, the earl of Salisbury. The support of the legate, however, and the possession of all the great fortresses, still maintained John upon the throne. Louis and the main army of the barons wasted their strength and much precious time in besieging the castles of Dover and Windsor; while John, with an army drawn from his
garrisons, laid waste the estates of his enemies, from the Humber to the borders of Wales. At the same time, the mariners of the Cinque ports continually interrupted the communications with France, and the people of the south-eastern counties began to revolt against the tyranny of the French. In Sussex, especially, numerous bands of archers, under the leadership of “a certain Wilkins,” rendered themselves the terror of the strangers. John did not fail to profit by this movement against his enemies; and he seized the moment to announce his intention, not only to preserve, but to increase the liberties of his faithful subjects. The barons themselves saw with jealousy that Louis confined his chief confidence to his own countrymen; and their discontent was increased when he bestowed the earldoms of Sussex and Lincoln upon two foreigners,—the count of Nevers and Gilbert de Gant. Many of them anxiously desired to be free from the bond of excommunication, and were ready to submit to their native sovereign, could they but trust him. Some actually joined him; while others, to the number of forty, sent deputies to open negotiations.

After inflicting terrible ravages on the lands of his enemies, John had proceeded to Lynn, a town devoted to his interests. Thence he put his army in motion for Newark; but, as he crossed the sands of the Wash, a sudden rising of the tide nearly overwhelmed him and his escort. He escaped with great difficulty, after beholding his rear-guard, with all his baggage, treasures, plate, and regalia, swallowed up before his eyes. His anguish at the loss threw him into a fever, which he greatly aggravated by a surfeit of peaches and new cider at the convent of Swineshead, where he passed the night. Nevertheless, he continued his journey to Skertford, and thence with great pain and difficulty to Newark. There he confessed himself to the abbot of Croxton, (who was also his physician,) and prepared to die. Having appointed his eldest son, Henry, to succeed him, and commended the boy to the protection of the new pope, Honorius III., he expired during the night of the 19th October, 1216, in the fifty-first year of his age, and in the eighteenth of his reign.

In person, John was below the middle height, and, towards the end of his life, became excessively fat.
HENRY III.

HENRY of Winchester, the eldest son of John and Isabel of Angoulême, had not reached his tenth year when the death of his father left him face to face with a most formidable rebellion. He was, however, chosen king by such prelates, barons, and others as the legate was able to assemble on the instant at Gloucester; and he was crowned the next day by Gualo himself, with a plain circlet of gold, for want of a diadem. William, earl of Pembroke, marshal of England, was appointed guardian of the king and kingdom. This nobleman, acting in union with the legate, soon completely changed the face of affairs. Their first act was to issue a royal proclamation, promising an amnesty for the past, and secure liberties for the future. The great council of the kingdom was summoned to meet at Bristol within fifteen days, to receive the new sovereign. To this assembly it was announced, that the young king was ready to grant a revised form of the Great Charter, from which certain clauses were omitted, but reserved for the consideration of a fuller council. This grant was accepted with joy by the members present, and produced an excellent effect wherever it became known.

Louis had no sooner learned the death of John, than he abandoned the siege of Dover, and directed his operations towards the heart of the kingdom. He had already taken Hertford, Berkhamstead, and St. Albans, when he heard that the sentence pronounced by Gualo would certainly be confirmed by the new pope. This induced him to pause. He signed a truce with the earl of Pembroke, and returned to France for counsel and help. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, with the eldest son of the marshal, and many other nobles, immediately submitted to king Henry.

On the expiration of the truce, the royalists of the north laid siege to Mountsorel. The earl of Winchester, to whom the fortress belonged, prevailed upon Louis, who had now returned with large succours from France, to make a great effort for its relief. A combined force of 600 knights and 20,000 followers, under the count of Perche, the earl of Winchester, and Robert Fitz-Walter, set out from London on the enterprise. The disorder and violence of these unpaid bands, particularly of the French foot-soldiers (who were mostly the refuse of their nation), alienated the whole
country through which they marched. At their approach, however, the earl of Chester retired from Mountsorel to Nottingham. Instead of pursuing, the allies turned off through the vale of Belvoir, and went to the assistance of Gilbert de Gand before the castle of Lincoln, which had long been defended against him by the lady Nichola de Camville. The earl of Pembroke immediately prepared to take the field. At his summons a large force assembled at Newark. There the legate excommunicated, by name, Louis, and all his principal supporters, gave the papal absolution and blessing to the royal troops, and sent them forward, full of enthusiasm, to encounter their enemies. From Stowe, the army advanced in seven divisions, every man wearing a white cross upon his breast, like a crusader. A body of crossbow-men led the way, while the baggage followed at some distance in the rear. The count of Perche, deceived by the standard which each noble had left with his baggage, took this train for a large supporting force; and, contrary to the opinion of Fitz-Walter and the earl of Winchester, resolved to remain within the city until the castle was taken. Communication with the fortress being thus laid open, the royalist commanders ordered Falkes de Breauté, a skilful mercenary leader, to enter by a postern with his division and all the crossbows, and open to them the city gates. De Breauté succeeded. The royalists forced their way into Lincoln, and, by using the crossbows against the horses of the enemy, obtained a complete and almost bloodless victory. The count of Perche, fighting gallantly against a multitude, and scornfully refusing to surrender "to English traitors," was slain by a lance-thrust in the eye. All the principal barons, with 300 knights, were made prisoners. The French, for the most part, escaped from the place; but, in their flight towards London, numbers were slain by the exasperated country-people. The victors,— rejoicing in the plunder they had acquired from the baggage of the allied nobles, the sack of the city, and the pillage of the churches,—named the battle:—"the Fair of Lincoln." When the day was won, the earl of Pembroke, without touching food, rode back to Stowe, and announced to the king this decisive triumph.

The guardian followed up his advantage with the utmost vigour. In a few weeks, he had recovered the southern counties for the king, and had shut Louis within the walls of London. The French prince now looked eagerly for the appearance of the succours from home for which he had
urgent applied on learning of the disaster at Lincoln. His consort, Blanche of Castile, had collected by great exertions a fine body of troops, and these were embarked on board a fleet of 80 ships, under the command of a celebrated pirate, called Eustace the Monk, who had formerly been in the service of king John. Warned of these approaching enemies, Hubert de Burgh determined to prevent their landing in England. Having given the strictest charges to his lieutenants at Dover not to give up the castle there, even to save him from death, Hubert put to sea with about 40 vessels, chiefly from the Cinque ports, and encountered the French fleet not far from Sandwich. A furious battle ensued, which soon, however, ended in the complete discomfiture of the invaders. Their ships were taken or sunk, and the remnant of their crews captured. Eustace the Monk, himself, was dragged from the hold of a vessel, and beheaded on the spot by Richard Fitz-Roy, a son of king John.

This event completely broke the spirit of Louis. He at once announced to the guardian and legate, that he would accept any honourable terms, and retire from the contest. They sent him, in reply, articles of peace, to which he assented; and the treaty was ratified near Staines a few days afterwards, in the presence of Henry and the chief men of both parties. By this it was agreed, that all the supporters of Louis should be restored to the possessions which they had held before the war; and should enjoy all the rights and liberties of the kingdom: that they should be released from all obligations to the French prince, and should swear fidelity to their own sovereign. Louis, with all his lay adherents, was then absolved by the legate; and, having received 5000 pounds to defray his expenses, was honourably escorted to the coast by the earl marshal. The general joy on this occasion was not shared by the clergy who had taken part with Louis and the barons. They were at first excepted from the amnesty; and were visited by the legate with fines, suspension, or deprivation. The next year, however, all, or nearly all, received a pardon at the hands of Pandulf, who then came to replace Gualo as legate.

On the departure of Louis, the young king made his solemn entry into London, where he was received with the greatest magnificence and honour. His chief advisers immediately addressed themselves to the work of restoring peace, law, and order throughout the kingdom, abolishing evil customs, and healing the noxious dissensions generated by the late
conflict. They consented to a new grant of the Great Charter; and this, as the king was not of age, was guaranteed by the seals of Cuijo, of Langton, (who had been restored to his see), of the archbishop of York, and of the earl marshal. Amongst other reforms under their administration, the ordeals by fire and water were abolished, as usages prohibited by the church. By mingled vigour and conciliation, the guardians were so successful, that, two years afterwards, when Henry was crowned with fitting solemnity at Westminster, the oldest of the assisting peers declared, that they had never known such concord and tranquility in the land.

This tranquillity, however, was but comparative, and it did not prevail long. The barons—and especially the great royalist earls of Chester and Albemarle—refused to give up to the king the crown lands and castles, which the regents, acting under instructions from the pope, now demanded of them. The malcontents, however, were compelled to submit; and the king, in consideration of their recent services, granted a general amnesty.

On the death of the earl of Pembroke, in 1219, the chief place in the government was disputed between Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciary, and Peter des Roches, a Poitevin, bishop of Winchester, and guardian of the young king. Hubert was gradually gaining the upper hand, when an incident occurred which enabled him to secure a complete ascendency. Among the adherents of Des Roches was one Falkes de Breauté, a Norman adventurer, whose unscrupulous courage and fidelity in the service of King John had gained him high rank and large possessions in England. This man, irritated by an adverse decision of the king's court at Dunstable, ordered the judges to be seized, and actually imprisoned one of them in his castle of Bedford. Hubert immediately led the king against the fortress, took it after a fierce resistance, and hanged all the knights of the garrison. De Breauté, who had escaped into Wales, now gave himself up. His life, in consideration of his services, was spared, but he was stripped of all his property, and banished for ever from the kingdom. The bishop of Winchester, discredited by the fall of so prominent a supporter, resigned his secular office, and departed on a pilgrimage to the East.

Hubert was now by far the most powerful man in the kingdom. In addition to his office of Justiciary, he was constable of the Tower, warden of the Cinque ports, and he had the custody of almost all the royal castles. Every year he grasped at new estates, forfeitures, and wardships. He was
created earl of Kent; and he obtained a grant of the great office of Justiciary for life.

Hubert was a sagacious, energetic, and faithful minister of the king. He held in check the turbulent nobility, and by vigorous measures cleared the land of the banditti who infested it. On the other hand, he disregarded every right, liberty, and law which impeded his course. Although the king had confirmed the Great Charter,—first, on the pacification of the kingdom, and again, at the requisition of Langton, as soon as he had been declared of age,—Hubert persuaded him, when he had attained his twenty-first year, to cancel every act that had been previously done for or by him; and this, on the ground that he had hitherto been under tutelage. The Justiciary next compelled all holders of grants and privileges to renew them under the great seal, and to pay at his dictation for their rights. These and similar acts rendered the very name of Hubert hateful to large and powerful sections of his countrymen: but, as the king was still his friend, their hostility did not avail.

Henry had no sooner reached to man's estate, than he became desirous of recovering the fair provinces which his father had lost. At that very moment, his own territory was being invaded; and the loyal Poitevins were calling for help against Louis VIII., who had lately succeeded Philip Augustus on the throne of France. But Hubert de Burgh, surrounded by rivals at home, showed no vigour in his foreign administration; and the petty revolt of De Breauté served to disconcert his efforts until Poitou was lost. Richard, indeed, the king's brother, (lately created earl of Cornwall and Poitou,) under the guidance of his uncle Longsword, reduced the disaffected Gascons, and repelled the French from that province: but this was the only success achieved under Hubert. Neither the troubles which disturbed the minority of Louis IX.; nor the invitations from the nobles coalesced against the queen-regent; nor the loyal deputations from Normandy, Aquitaine, Poitou, and Gascony, induced the veteran soldier to strike a blow. When, however, Peter, duke of Brittany, seeking help against his suzerain, came to England, and did homage to the king for his duchy, Hubert prepared an expedition for his relief. In company with the king and a gallant army, he crossed over to Brittany; but after five months had been spent in inactivity, Henry returned to England, deeply dissatisfied.
A few months afterwards, the bishop of Winchester, after an absence of five years in the Holy Land, returned to England. He was warmly received by the king; and was not long in gaining more than his former favour and influence. Some audacious and successful inroads of the Welsh gave him an opportunity of overthrowing the Justiciary. He complained of the impunity with which the late ravages had been committed. The king pleaded his poverty. "If you are poor," replied Des Roches and his friends, "blame yourself for it; for you alienate all the vacant honours and trusts, which should be emoluments of the crown. Your ancestors derived a vast revenue from this kingdom." Incited by such counsel, the king demanded a strict account from all his fiscal officers, and removed many of them on charges of fraud. Another step was the dismissal of the treasurer, Ralph the Breton; who was replaced by Peter de Rivaux; and, finally, the great Justiciary himself was deprived of his office, which was given to Stephen de Segrave.

A few days afterwards, a storm of charges fell upon the disgraced minister. The king demanded of him an immediate account of his whole administration, and of all the rents, taxes, fines, and other moneys which had passed through his hands, not only in the present, but in the late reign. He was also accused, in the king's name, on several serious charges:—that he had dissuaded the duke of Austria from giving his daughter in marriage to Henry; that he had persuaded the king not to invade Normandy and his other rightful dominions; that he had iniquitously abused his trust in order to make the princess of Scotland his wife; and that he had taken from the treasury a jewel which rendered the wearer invincible in war, and had sent it to Llewellyn of Wales, the king's enemy. Hubert, in this emergency, asked for time to prepare his answer; and having with great difficulty obtained the delay of five weeks, he retired in alarm to the priory of Merton.

On the appointed day, Hubert failed to appear; upon which the king ordered him to be taken from Merton, dead or alive; but, on the remonstrance of the chancellor, he recalled this hasty order. The archbishop of Dublin, (the only open friend of the fallen minister) then obtained for him a further respite of four months. Hubert now, thinking himself at liberty, left Merton, and proceeded to join his countess at St. Edmunds-bury; but the king, fearful that his object was to escape, or even to excite...
an insurrection, instantly despatched Geoffrey de Cracombe, a member of the council, with a band of soldiers, to secure the earl, and lodge him in the Tower of London. Hubert, warned of their approach, left his bed, and fled to the church of Boisars, where, with a crucifix and the Sacrament in his hands, he awaited his pursuers. De Cracombe ordered him in the king's name to accompany them to London; but meeting with a positive refusal, he laid violent hands upon the earl, and carried him to the Tower. The bishop of London, however, induced the king to restore his prisoner to the sanctuary whence he had been torn. In the end, Hubert was compelled by hunger to surrender himself. Henry ordered him to be set at liberty, and to take his trial. The earl thereupon submitted himself to the
mercy of the king, who was now content with a partial forfeiture, and the
bail of four earls for the safe custody of Hubert. "I had rather," said
Henry, on this occasion, "be accounted a weak king, than a tyrant"

The administration of the bishop of Winchester lasted only two years.
His appointment of Poitevins to the chief places of the household, and
his introduction of foreign garrisons into the kingdom, gave the greatest
offence. The indignant barons refused to attend the great council; and
finally, a small section, under Richard, earl of Pembroke, took up arms
against the ministers. This party allied themselves with Scots and Welsh;
ravaged the lands of their enemies; obtained several successes over the
royal troops; and set Hubert de Burgh at liberty. At last, the king,
yielding to the advice of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, (a man of
the highest character), pardoned the revolters, dismissed Des Roches with
all his colleagues, and discharged the foreign mercenaries. This peace
came too late for the earl marshal, who had previously been killed by the
royalists in Ireland: but Hubert recovered his honours, and the favour
of the king, which (with a short interruption) he enjoyed until his death.

At the commencement of the year 1236, Henry married Eleanor,
daughter of Raymond, count of Provence. Her uncle, William, bishop
of Valence, at once became his most trusted counsellor, to the great dis-
pleasure of the English nobility. As a protection against them, Henry
applied for a legate to reside at his court. The arrival of the cardinal
Otho at first swelled the discontent: but the legate succeeded in effecting
a temporary accommodation. The king, however, nearly caused a revolt
of the barons by his favour to Simon de Montfort, a French nobleman,
who, in right of his mother, had become earl of Leicester, and who, by
his marriage with a sister of Henry, was now admitted into the royal
family. Fresh jealousy was provoked when Peter and Boniface of Savoy,
uncles of the queen, were advanced, the one to the earldom of Richmond,
the other to the primacy of England. But the angry fears of the nobility
were excited to the utmost when Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's
brother, (in whom, on his return from Palestine, they hoped to have found
a leader and champion,) married the younger sister of the queen, and thus
rendered the foreign interest completely dominant at court.

The family affections of Henry impelled him into an unprovoked war
with France. Yielding to the solicitations of his mother, who, after the
death of king John, had married her former lover, the Poitevin count of La Marche, Henry resolved, in opposition to the advice of his baronage, to support his stepfather in a contest upon which he had entered with his suzerain, Louis IX. of France. By this course, Henry hoped to recover at least Poitou, if not his other ancestral dominions. On the 10th of May, 1242, the king sailed from Portsmouth, with his queen, his brother Richard, the earl of Leicester, six other earls, a considerable body of troops, and thirty casks of treasure; and on the fourth day after arrived in the Gironde. The complaints which he thought it necessary to make having been unanswered by Louis, he declared the existing truce at an end. Louis was already entering Poitou with a numerous and well-equipped army, with which, after seizing many fortresses belonging to the count of La Marche, he occupied Taillebourg on the Charente. Henry, who, deceived by the lord of Taillebourg, had neglected to hold that city, made a rapid march to bar the passage of the river; but on seeing the force opposed to him, he bitterly reproached his stepfather, and ordered a retreat to Saintes. At this moment, the French under Louis in person attacked the bridge. They were, however, held at bay until the advance of a division of their army, which had crossed the river lower down, placed the king of England in danger of capture. In this emergency, the earl of Cornwall, unarming himself, took a palmer’s staff in his hands, and crossing the bridge, asked to see the count of Artois. He was received with the utmost respect,—for during the late crusade he had redeemed great numbers of the French from captivity,—and was presently introduced to the king, who granted him a truce until the morrow. Henry took advantage of the pause to extricate himself from his critical position. He rode that night to Saintes; followed, but more slowly, by his army. The next morning, the French as they arrived in pursuit, were furiously assailed by the count of La Marche, who, as the cause of the war, felt bound to do some desperate feat of arms. The rest of the army followed him, and a long and desultory fight took place in the narrow roads between the vineyards around the city. The English, under the earls of Leicester, Salisbury, and Norfolk, fought with so much gallantry, that they must have gained a great victory but for the smallness of their number. As it was, both armies held their ground. The count of La Marche, however, despairing of the cause, from this moment sought to make his peace with the king of France. Henry, becoming
aware of his infidelity, and abandoned by the men of Saintonge, retreated towards the Garonne with such precipitation, that his military chest and even the treasures of the royal chapel were left behind. A severe illness stopped Louis in the pursuit; and, as his army suffered greatly from the same scourge, he consented to a truce which was to last for five years. A long series of negotiations followed, which terminated in 1250, to the entire advantage of France. Louis induced Henry to renounce all claim to the provinces he had lost, but gave him in return some unimportant districts in the south, and recognised him as duke of Guienne and peer of France.

Henry was an easy, affectionate, and generally religious man; fond of the arts; averse to cruelty or manifest wrong. But he was weak, extravagant, careless of his word, and easily governed by his relations and flatterers. Thus he proved an incompetent and unpopular ruler. He had commenced his reign with a strong distrust of his nobility; he had subsequently alienated the majority of them by his disregard of the chancers, his frequent rejection of their advice, and, above all, by his constant employment of foreigners in his councils and service. He excited the discontent of the mass of the clergy, by his vacillating course during the great controversies upon the exercise of papal taxation and patronage in England. But his acceptance from pope Innocent IV. of the crown of Sicily for his second son, more seriously affected his popularity. The barons, who had opposed the act, saw their advice contemned. The clergy, who were equally hostile, were compelled to contribute largely to the expenses of the undertaking. If Henry had not so directly given umbrage to the middle classes, their rapidly increasing wealth and importance rendered them more prone to resent his tallages and arbitrary regulations. He had deeply offended the Londoners, in particular, by establishing a great fair at Westminster.

Unfortunately for Henry, he had, while daily losing the affections of his subjects, mortally affronted a man whose hostility was in the highest degree dangerous. This was his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had acted as his lieutenant in Guienne, but who was, in 1253, removed to make way for Prince Edward, the eldest son of the king. The earl, austere in morals, a warrior famed for his deeds in Palestine and Guienne, the friend of bishop Grosseteste, the idol of a large portion of the clergy, and now personally discontented, found himself naturally at the head of all who desired the reform of abuses.
It was at this juncture that Henry summoned the parliament to meet at Westminster. The earls, barons, and knights assembled in their best arms, and proceeded to the great hall. At the entrance they laid aside their swords, and advancing, respectfully saluted the king. "What is this, my lords?" asked Henry, in some alarm,—"am I your prisoner?" "No, my lord king," replied Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk,—"No. But we demand that the wicked and intolerable Poitevins and other foreigners shall depart the land; that, for the honour and advantage of yourself as well as the kingdom, you swear in future strictly to follow our advice in the government; and, moreover, that a council of twenty-four bishops, earls, and barons be appointed, to reform and conduct the administration."
The king was obliged to submit. He took the oath; and with him, though most unwilling, his eldest son. Twelve of the new commissioners were to be named by the king: the other twelve, by a parliament which was to meet at Oxford. In return for his submission, the barons undertook to pay the debts of Henry, and to support with all their power the claim of Prince Edmund to Sicily.

The barons, having secured the sea-ports, and called out their military tenants, appeared at Oxford with an overwhelming force, which they ostensibly intended against the Welsh; but really, against the foreigners. The commission of twenty-four was appointed. It then elected a new council of state, of fourteen members, with Boniface of Canterbury as president; but, though the number of each party was equal, all the chiefs of the barons were chosen, all the principal royalists were excluded. The ministers, the entire household, the sheriffs, and the governors of twenty royal fortresses, were removed. Their successors were obliged to swear obedience in the first place to the commission and the council of state. Thus the king was rendered powerless. The following ordinances were then enacted:

1. That four knights should be elected by the freeholders of every county to report to parliament the abuses of the royal authority.
2. That the high sheriffs should be elected annually, and by the freeholders of each county.
3. That the treasurer, chancellor, justiciary, and all sheriffs should render an account every year.
4. That the parliament should meet thrice a year;—in February, June, and October. It was arranged, however, that twelve members, elected by the whole "commonalty," should represent the parliament, and act with the fullest powers in conjunction with the council of state.

The next step of the barons was to expel from the kingdom the most obnoxious of the foreigners, and, by the same blow, to strike terror into all other enemies of the new constitution. Guy, William, Aymer, and Geoffrey, the aterine brothers of the king, were at once assailed by a number of legal charges, and called upon either to swear obedience to "the Provisions of Oxford," or to depart the realm. They refused the oath, and fled in alarm to Wolvesham, a castle belonging to the see of Winchester, of which Aymer was bishop elect. They were at once pursued and beleaguered by the barons; their offers of submission were rejected; and they were compelled to leave the kingdom with a grant of 6666 marks. The other chiefs of the royalist party, including Prince Edward, then yielded, and took the
The barons appeal to Innocent IV.


Quarrel between De Montfort and De Clare.

Petition of the "Bachelors." 

Answer of Prince Edward.

Reforms.

The barons appealed to Innocent IV. To secure the sanction of the pope, the barons informed him, that Henry had consented to reform his government, "by the advice of the peers and great men, without whom he could not govern his kingdom." They complained that the king, in his love for his brothers, had disregarded all law: that he and prince Edward had been "infatuated" by those relatives: they demanded the removal of Aymer from Winchester: and they begged that a legate might be sent to co-operate with them in their work of reformation.

Strong and popular as the new government was, its chiefs were alarmed when intelligence arrived that the king of the Romans was returning to England. They consequently sent a deputation to forbid his landing until he had sworn to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and to exclude his brothers from his train. Richard, whose lack of funds necessitated a visit to his estates, was obliged to yield; and on arriving at Canterbury, he took the oath, with the consent of king Henry.

The nobles had been but a few months in power, when the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, their principal leaders, quarrelled in the most violent manner; and De Montfort, after accusing his rival of obstructing the course of reform, left England in disgust. This step alarmed their associates, who compelled Gloucester to change his course: and a reconciliation was affected. Still the barons delayed the reforms expected by the nation. They had, indeed, directed Hugh Bigod, the new Justiciary, to make a circuit through the country, and to follow up the investigations of the four knights in every county, by a rigorous punishment of the guilty. But eighteen months had passed, and nothing more had apparently been done. A petition from "the community of English bachelorhood" demanded that the king should fulfil the proposals of his barons, and that the barons (who had hitherto attended only to their own profit) should effect their promised reforms. To this the prince answered, that he would keep his oath: and he announced to the council, that he would stand by the petitioners "even unto death." The barons then, seeing the danger of delay, proceeded with their task. At the next parliament, a number of feudal abuses were condemned; and measures were taken for improving the administration of justice. Inspectors were appointed to watch the conduct of the judges and sheriffs; and the selection of the latter was assigned to the barons of the exchequer.
For more than two years Henry had apparently resigned himself to his exclusion from power. But he was deeply discontented, and eagerly waited for an opportunity to recover his authority. He had already applied to the pope for absolution from the oath which he and his subjects had taken to observe the Provisions of Oxford—an oath which he declared he had sworn against his will. In February, 1261, he judged that the popular feeling had changed, and that his opportunity was come. Assembling the council, he reproached the members with breach of the compact made at Oxford. They had pursued their own advantage only; they had not improved the revenue; not paid his debts; they had made him their servant. He would therefore seek a remedy for himself. He followed up this attack by seizing the Tower, the Mint, and the fortifications of the city; and summoned a parliament to attend him in arms. The barons, on their part, assembled from all quarters, and encamped before the city. Neither side, however, wished to commence the war: and a truce was made until the arrival of prince Edward from France. In the meantime, the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, alarmed by their danger, renewed their alliance; and Edward, though he returned in company with William of Valence, immediately joined the opponents of his father. The king, nevertheless, having now received the letters of absolution which he had asked of the pope, pursued his course. At Whitsuntide, he laid the bulls before the council, immediately dismissed the Justiciary, chancellor, and household given him by the barons, named new sheriffs and governors of the royal castles, announced that he had resumed his authority; and boldly appealed to his subjects for their confidence and support. Much negotiation now ensued between the two parties: and, in the end, the barons consented to abandon the greater part of the Provisions, the king confirming the remainder. De Montfort immediately quitted the kingdom. "I will never," said he, "trust the faith of a perjured king."

The peace thus obtained did not last long: for prince Edward, the recent associate of the barons, gave the greatest offence by entertaining within the kingdom bands of foreigners as a guard for himself and his castles. De Montfort returned to England, and, forming a new confederacy among the barons and an alliance with the Welsh, prepared to take advantage of the first opportunity to regain the ascendancy. The king ordered the oath of allegiance to be taken to himself and his eldest son. The
young earl of Gloucester refused the second oath: and the barons rose in arms. Under the command of De Montfort, they laid waste the property of the queen, the prince, the foreigners, and the advisers of the late measures. The bishop of Hereford was cast into prison. The bishop of Norwich was driven into sanctuary. The army under De Montfort, swelling in numbers at every step, advanced upon London. At its approach, the king seemed disposed to yield; whereupon the queen resolved to join her son and his foreign guard at Windsor. But as she came from the Tower, her large was intercepted at London bridge by the populace, who received her with curses, and drove her back with showers of mud and stones. She ultimately took refuge at St. Paul’s.

Henry now saw that it was necessary to submit: and by the mediation of the king of the Romans a form of peace was arranged. The Provisions of Oxford were once more accepted; the royal castles to be delivered to the barons; and foreigners to be banished by a certain day. The king, however, regarded himself as the victim to rebellious force; and he soon began to rally a strong party to his cause. The adhesion of some of the most powerful nobles encouraged him to take the field: but, though he failed in an attempt upon Dover, and, again, in capturing the earl of Leicester at Southwark, his party was now so formidable that the barons accepted a proposal which they had before rejected, and agreed to submit to the arbitration of the king of France. Both parties, therefore, swore that whatever that prince should ordain, they would observe in good faith.

Louis, having summoned both parties to appear before him at Amiens, there held his court with great splendour on the day appointed. The king of England attended in person. Some of the barons also appeared: but Leicester and the chiefs sent their procurators. When both parties had been heard, Louis pronounced absolutely in favour of the king of England. Declaring the Provisions and statutes of Oxford contrary to the royal rights, and detrimental to the kingdom, he quashed and annulled them; released Henry and his subjects from the oaths they had taken to observe them; affirmed the right of the king to appoint all his officers, and to introduce foreigners into his council; and restored him to the powers which he had held before the late statutes. But he declared, that by the present sentence he no way intended to derogate from the royal charters, liberties, laws, and laudable customs of England which existed before the Provisions of Oxford.
Finally, he charged the king and the barons to dismiss all rancour against each other. His sentence was subsequently confirmed by the pope.

But before this, the barons had rejected the award. It was, they complained, the decision of a king for a king; obtained by female influence; and inconsistent, because the Provisions were but the carrying out of the Great Charter. The two parties immediately rushed to arms. The Londoners, under the Justiciary Despenser, rose, destroyed the property of the king's friends, imprisoned all the royal judges, plundered the foreign merchants, and massacred the Jews. The king, who had summoned his friends to meet him at Oxford, marched thence to Northampton, stormed the town, and captured Simon de Montfort the younger, with several other bannerets, 60 knights, and a large force of men-at-arms. Henry then proceeded through Leicester to Nottingham, where he was joined by a strong body of Northern and Scottish adherents. Hearing now that the earl Warrenne, whom he had despatched from Oxford to the south, had been driven into Rochester by De Montfort, the king hastened to his relief. At his approach, Leicester retreated to London, where he concentrated his forces from all quarters, and then marched into Sussex to give battle to the royalists. From Fletching he, with the earl of Gloucester, assured the king that they proposed to overthrow, not him, but his and their enemies. To this Henry replied, that they alone were the disturbers of the kingdom; they alone his enemies; that they had injured his loyal friends; that he rejected their fidelity and love, and defied them. The king of the Romans and prince Edward, in the name of the loyal barons, repelled the accusations made against them, and defied the confederates as public enemies. The barons then sent the bishops of London and Worcester to offer compensation for the ravages committed by them, if the king would confirm the statutes of Oxford; but this offer was rejected. To fight was now inevitable; and the followers of De Montfort, having prepared themselves for death, and received absolution from the bishop of Worcester, advanced towards Lewes. The royalists, informed of their approach, issued from the town in three divisions; the first under prince Edward, the second under the king of the Romans, and the third under Henry himself. Edward commenced the fight; and his furious onset at once overthrew the first division opposed to him. Then scattering the Londoners, he pursued the fugitives for four miles, slaughtering without
intermission, in revenge for the attack upon his mother. When he returned, he found the field covered with slain, the royal army dispersed, and his father and uncle prisoners in the hands of the earl of Leicester. The prince, however, was still so formidable, that De Montfort deemed it advisable to conclude a treaty with him, which was known as "the Mise of Lewes." It provided that all prisoners on both sides should be released; that Edward and his cousin Henry should act as hostages for their fathers; and that the much-disputed statutes should be revised by the next parliament, or, if necessary, by another arbitration.

The two kings taken.

The "Mise of Lewes."

Conduct of Leicester. A.D. 1264.

The earl of Leicester now, finding himself master of the king and kingdom, showed no disposition to execute the terms of the treaty of Lewes. He had, indeed, no sooner gained possession of the royal fortresses, than he committed the king of the Romans, with his son and prince Edward, to strict custody at Wallingford and Dover. Henry himself, though nominally free, and treated with every show of honour, was in fact a captive in the train of his subject, and his great seal was used without his knowledge or against his will, to confirm his subjection. A parliament which had been chosen by the agents of De Montfort having enacted that Henry should resign the selection of his counsellors to a commission of three;—a writ in his name immediately nominated the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester, to perform that office. They appointed a council of nine; but reserved to themselves the supreme authority.

Meanwhile, the new government was threatened by a combination of danger from abroad; for while queen Eleanor and Peter of Savoy had collected a large army and fleet on the Flemish coast, pope Urban IV. had despatched Guido, cardinal bishop of Sabina, to intervene in favour of Henry. To repel the queen, Leicester assembled an immense army at Canterbury, and with the squadrons of the Cinque ports watched the narrow seas. The legate was forbidden to enter the kingdom. He, nevertheless, excommunicated the king's enemies; but finding that the convocation had appealed to the pope or a general council, he returned to Rome, where he was himself almost immediately elected pope. The army at Bruges, after waiting several weeks for a favourable wind, utterly dispersed for want of supplies; and thus the perils from abroad were averted.

Great as was the power and reputation of the earl of Leicester within
the kingdom, and idolised as he was by the masses of the people, upon whose support he threw himself more and more, he was still environed by difficulties and dangers. The royalists were numerous and formidable; but his own associates were now his most dangerous enemies. Pressed, probably, by both parties, the earl found it necessary to release the hostage princes from their close confinement. It was then that—after having extorted from the king and his eldest son an approval and confirmation of all that had been done against them—he summoned the memorable parliament of January 22, 1265, to confirm the treaty. Withholding the writs from his opponents, he directed the proper authorities to elect and return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each town in the county. The parliament so chosen ratified the agreement; and then, for the first time, "the commonalty of the realm" were formally joined with the king, the peers, and the prelates.

From the moment of victory, the selfishness and rapacity of the barons began, as usual, to dissolve their union, and led in the end to their discomfiture. The earls of Gloucester and Derby could ill brook the superiority of De Montfort. They complained that he, a foreigner, should presume to hold the sovereignty in his hands; and accused him of engrossing the emoluments which ought to be divided with his associates. His refusal to give up the king of the Romans and the other prisoners made by the earl of Gloucester, exasperated that nobleman in the highest degree. Alarmed by the sudden arrest of Derby, the young earl raised his vassals, recalled the lords of the Welsh March whom Leicester had outlawed, and allied himself with the earl Warrenne, and William of Valence, who had taken refuge in his earldom of Pembroke. De Montfort, taking with him the king, the prince, and a strong body of troops, marched at once upon Hereford to quell the rising; but, while some of the prelates were endeavouring to effect a reconciliation, prince Edward made his escape to the royalist camp. The next day he met the earl of Gloucester at Ludlow, and readily came to an understanding with him.

On learning the escape of Edward, De Montfort, uncertain of his movements, remained for some time inactive at Hereford. Aware, however, that a most dangerous opponent was now in the field, he prayed the bishops to excommunicate all disturbers of the peace, summoned the military tenants of the crown to assemble at Worcester, and, calling to his
aid Llewellyn of Wales, began to lay waste the earl of Gloucester’s territories with fire and sword. Meanwhile Edward, having drawn a large force from the counties of Hereford, Salop, and Chester, determined to isolate the earl of Leicester from his resources, and hem him in among the barren mountains of Wales. Descending the Severn, therefore, he destroyed everywhere the bridges and boats, left guards at the fords, and occupied the important towns of Worcester and Gloucester. The succours advancing to the aid of Leicester were surprised, taken, or dispersed, before they reached the point of concentration; while De Montfort himself, foiled in a bold attempt to transport his diminished forces by sea from Newport to Bristol, was compelled to fall back upon the exhausted country about Hereford. At this crisis, it was announced to Edward by a female spy in his employ, that Simon de Montfort the younger, who was on his march from Sussex with a large force to the aid of his father, had halted for the night at Kenilworth. Edward rode that night from Worcester, reached Kenilworth before sunrise, and completely surprised the bands under Simon which were sleeping in the village and priory. The earl of Oxford, many other nobles and bannerets, most of their followers, with all their horses and valuable baggage, fell into the hands of their assailants; Simon himself with a few attendants escaping with difficulty into the castle.

Edward had scarcely returned that day in triumph to Worcester, when the earl of Leicester crossed the Severn by a ford about three miles from the city. Declining a battle with the greatly superior forces of the prince, De Montfort resumed his march towards Kenilworth, and during the night reached the town of Evesham. There he halted to feed and rest his army; for he had apparently been lulled into security by an ostentatious movement of Edward towards Bridgenorth. But the prince, by a rapid march to the east, again interposed between the earl and his son; and in the morning advanced upon Evesham by the Kenilworth road. As his troops displayed the banners they had lately taken, De Montfort at first supposed that his son was at hand; but the sudden raising of the royal banner had no sooner revealed the error, than he was informed that the earl of Gloucester had appeared from the south, and Roger Mortimer from the west. “Then the Lord have mercy on our souls,” said he, “for our bodies are theirs.” Nevertheless, he undauntedly prepared for his fate, and battle was joined. At the first shock, the old king, who had been placed in the front,
was wounded in the head by one of the royalists. "Do not kill me," he cried, "I am Henry of Winchester, your king," upon which he was rescued by Adam de Montalt; and the prince, who rushed to the spot on hearing his father's voice, led him to a place of safety. In the meanwhile De Montfort charged into the thickest of the press, fighting so heroically, that if a single arm could have changed the fortune of the day, his

At length, his horse having been killed under him, he was assailed on all sides, and fell beneath the blows of a multitude of enemies. With him died Henry, his eldest son, Hugh Despenser, the Justiciary, and almost all his principal adherents. The body of the earl
was vindictively cut to pieces; and his head was sent, as a grateful present, to the wife of his enemy, Roger Mortimer.

By the advice of Edward, the king summoned a parliament of his friends, to meet at Winchester on the 8th of September. With its sanction, Henry proceeded to chastise the vanquished. The family of De Montfort was banished. The city of London was deprived of its liberties; and the chiefs of the popular party there imprisoned and heavily fined. All who had taken part against the king were disinherited, and their estates bestowed amongst the royalists. This measure of confiscation, which was opposed by many of the best friends of Henry, drove the outlaws to despair, and provoked a vindictive warfare, which was not finally suppressed until after two calamitous years had passed. The insurgents, however, excommunicated by the newly arrived legate, repudiated by the mass of the nation, and opposed by the genius of prince Edward, never seriously endangered the government, although in some quarters they long defied its power.

After the Act of Confiscation, the young Simon de Montfort had left Kenilworth, and maintained himself for some time in a strong position at Asholm, among the fens of Lincolnshire. But finding the royal forces closing round him, he submitted to the arbitration of the legate and his uncle the king of the Romans. As he had saved the life of that uncle, he was kindly received by Henry, but directed to reside abroad until quieter times. The outlaws in Kenilworth, however, notwithstanding his orders, scornfully refused to surrender; and, having seized a royal messenger, they cut off his hand, and sent him back to the king with an insolent message. Meanwhile, prince Edward, after recovering the castle of Dover, had taken Winchelsea by assault, and by the terror of that example reduced to obedience the piratical inhabitants of the Cinque ports. Marching thence to join his father before Kenilworth, the prince delivered the royalists of Hampshire and Surrey from the disinherited bands which harassed them. Surprising the outlaws at sunset in Alton wood, he singled out Adam de Gordon, their gigantic leader, engaged him in single combat, and severely wounded him. Charmed, however, by his valour, Edward pardoned him, and ever after found him a devoted adherent. About the same time, the forces under the earl of Derby were surprised and routed at Chesterfield by Henry, son of the king of the Romans: the earl himself being taken, and brought prisoner to London.
In the meantime, Henry with a powerful army had invested Kenilworth, the garrison of which, treating his summons and the ban of the legate with equal contempt, prepared for a vigorous defence. At the end of four months of active warfare, the defenders still held the castle, but their military engines had been destroyed, and their provisions began to fail. At this juncture, cardinal Ottoboni, the legate, with others who had always disapproved the Confiscation Act, intervened, and obtained from Henry the appointment of a commission which should revise that measure, and reconcile the former and present proprietors of the forfeited estates. And first, an oath was taken by the king and all present, that they would inviolably observe whatever award should be pronounced. The commission unanimously agreed upon a sentence which was called "the Dictum of Kenilworth," and which was afterwards confirmed by the king and parliament. It divided the offenders into three classes; and enacted:—that each one, according to his class, should have the power to redeem his estates from the present holders, by paying a fine equal to seven, five, or two years' purchase; that each estate might be gradually recovered, according as the third, the half, and the remainder of the fine was paid: but that if the former owner could not redeem, the possessor might hold the estate until he had recovered the amount. From the benefit of this award the heirs of De Montfort and of the earl of Derby were alone excluded. Kenilworth surrendered immediately afterwards.

While, however, the king was intent upon the siege of Kenilworth, the insurgents in the eastern counties had again gathered strength and audacity. They ravaged at pleasure the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, routed the forces of the sheriffs and bishops, stormed the towns of Cambridge and Norwich, carrying off the Jews and other rich men, to furnish their exchequer. But their successes ended with the surrender of Kenilworth. The royal forces then set free speedily drove them into the isle of Ely, and there blockaded them. The king and his sons were preparing to storm this last stronghold of their opponents, when the news came upon them that the earl of Gloucester was in revolt, and that London was in his hands. Discontented for some time past, the earl had opposed the Dictum of Kenilworth, and now embraced the cause of the insurgents. In this emergency, the king remained on the defensive, while messengers were despatched to every quarter for aid. He was soon joined by the
northern barons, a large force of Scots, and the counts of Boulogne and St. Pol, while a fleet from Guienne sailed up the Thames. Intimidated by this formidable gathering, the earl of Gloucester accepted the mediation of the king of the Romans, assented to the Dictum, swore fidelity to Henry on the altar of St. Paul's, and gave half of 10,000 marks for his future good behaviour. Three weeks afterwards, prince Edward opened a way into the isle of Ely, and received the submission of the outlaws to the award of Kenilworth. There now remained only Llewellyn to be chastised for the part he had taken against the king. At the recommendation of the legate, however, he was admitted to grace; and before the close of the year peace was everywhere restored in England. To consolidate the general reconciliation, the king held a parliament, and laying before it a certain number of the Provisions of Oxford, adopted, and passed them into law. These reforms were afterwards known as the Statutes of Marlborough.

Cardinal Ottoboni now, seeing all things tranquil, held a council at St. Paul's, London, which was attended by all the prelates of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and wherein were adopted many reformatory decrees for those churches. The legate then solemnly released from every ecclesiastical censure all those (including the late earl of Leicester) who had risen in arms against their sovereign. He then resumed his preaching of a new crusade. His success was extraordinary. Though a most bitter civil war had scarcely closed, and though the kingdom was still suffering in every way from its effects, the chief supporters of the throne had the boldness to depart upon a far-distant enterprise, confidently leaving a weak and aged monarch to the loyalty of the nation at large. Prince Edward, with his brother Edmund, his cousin Henry, and a numerous body of nobles and knights, received the cross at Northampton from the legate, who thereupon returned to Rome. One dangerous man, at least, the prince took measures to remove from the kingdom. He bound the earl of Gloucester by oath to accompany or to follow him on the crusade. The earl found means to remain at home; but ever after remained a loyal subject.

On taking the cross, Edward lost no time in concerting measures with Louis of France, who, in spite of his sufferings during the last crusade, had again assumed the badge of warlike pilgrimage. At the request of the prince, Louis advanced him 70,000 marks towards his expenses, on the security of Guienne; but when Edward sent one of his sons as an addi-

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He is forced to submit. June, 1267.

Peace restored.

Statutes of Marlborough. Nov. 18, 1267.

Reforms of Ottoboni.

He absolves De Montfort and his party.

Preaches a crusade.

Edward takes the cross.

Gilbert de Clare.

Edward, and Louis, prepare for the crusade.
tional pledge, the French monarch immediately returned the boy with great
honour to his father. Many months elapsed before the princes were ready
to depart. At length, Louis set sail from Aigues-Mortes, in the delta of the
Rhone, and proceeded, in the first instance, on an expedition against Tunis.
Nine weeks later, Edward followed from the same port. When he arrived
in the Christian camp, he found it in mourning for the death of Louis, who
had died of the plague on the 25th of August. The English princes
were received with every honour by the kings of France, Aragon, Navarre, and
Sicily; but as the king of Tunis had made his submission, the campaign
was at an end, and the crusaders returned to Sicily for the winter.

At Palermo, Henry of Almaine took leave of his cousin Edward, and
then proceeded homewards by way of Italy. Travelling in company with
the kings of France and Sicily, he arrived at Viterbo, where the cardinals
had assembled to elect a new pope. One morning, after having heard mass
in the church of St. Sylvester, he was still at prayer before the altar, when
his cousins, Simon and Guy de Montfort, entering the place in complete
armour, and attended by some of their Italian friends, fell upon him and
slew him, together with a priest who attempted to defend him. Then, hav-
ing mutilated the body, they rode off in triumph, and effected their escape.
They were all, however, at once excommunicated by the conclave.

The last years of Henry's life were spent in almost undisturbed peace.
The single exception was a murderous riot at Norwich, arising out of some
disputes on the right of sanctuary in one of the convents. The populace
rose, put to death some of the monks, burned and plundered the principal
church. Henry was much irritated. "By the affection due to our Lord," he
exclaimed, "I will examine into this crime in person, and repay the
criminals according to their demerits." After consulting his parliament, the
king, in company with the earl of Gloucester and a strong force, marched
on Norwich. Five only of the rioters were executed; but the town was
mulcted heavily in compensations and other fines.

On his return from this expedition, Henry fell ill at St. Edmundsbury.
He died at Westminster, on the 16th of November, 1272, in the sixty-sixth
year of his age, and fifty-seventh of his reign. His brother, the king of
the Romans, had preceded him to the tomb but a few months before.

Henry was of middle stature, compact and strong. His face was hands-
some, except that one eyelid drooped so as to hide part of the pupil.
HE body of Henry was no sooner laid in the tomb, than the earl of Gloucester, with all the assistant nobles and clergy, proceeded to the high altar, and swore fidelity to Edward, though they knew not whether he was alive or dead. In the meantime, his cousin Edmund, earl of Cornwall, and Gilbert of Gloucester, were unanimously appointed regents.

In the spring of 1271, Edward had proceeded to the Holy Land, and, by the mere news of his arrival at Acre, had sent the sultan Bibars Al Bondocdar back into Egypt. As, however, the whole force at his disposal did not exceed seven thousand men, the prince called to his aid the Christians of Cyprus, and endeavoured to direct against the Turks the rising power of the Tartars. Meanwhile, he led an expedition as far as Nazareth, and twice afterwards defeated the Mahommedans in his excursions from Acre. Unimportant as were these successes, the growing fame of Edward excited the fears and the hatred of the sultan. By the express orders of Bondocdar, an Assassin was sent against him. This man, by frequently bearing letters and presents from an emir who feigned a desire to embrace Christianity, obtained after a short time easy access to the prince. At last, one evening, having found Edward alone in his chamber, and reclining on a couch, the Assassin suddenly drew a concealed dagger, and sprang upon him. But the prince, catching the uplifted arm, wrested the dagger from the miscreant, and slew him with it; not, however, before he had received more than one wound from the poisoned weapon. When he recovered, perceiving that no efficient aid was to be expected from the Eastern Christians, and pressed by his father to return, he took advantage of a truce for ten years which the sultan, in fear of a Tartar invasion, had concluded with the king of Cyprus, and embarked for Europe.

On his arrival in Sicily, he was received with the highest honours by Charles of Anjou. During his stay, he received the intelligence of his father's death, and of his own accession to the crown of England. From
Sicily, Edward proceeded to Rome, and thence to the papal court at Orvieto. The pope, Gregory X., had, when archdeacon of Liege, visited England, had taken the cross there, and was actually at Acre with Edward, when he received the news of his elevation to the papal chair. He now showed the king of England every mark of respect and personal regard. On the requisition of Edward, he cited before him the murderers of Henry of Almaine, and declared Guy de Montfort excommunicate and infamous, until he should appear and make his submission. Then Edward took leave of the pope, and resumed his homeward journey. As he passed through Italy, the cities vied with one another in paying him honour. At Milan, he was compelled to accept a noble present of horses. Between Italy and Burgundy, he subdued a certain robber baron, and delivered him over to the count of Savoy. In Burgundy, Edward was met by a deputation of prelates and nobles who had come from England to salute and escort their sovereign. But the king had no immediate intention of proceeding to England. After visiting his cousin Philip III., at Paris, he hastened to Guienne, where a retinue of some of the nobles had made his presence necessary. He had also accepted a challenge from the count of Chalons to meet him in a tournament: and he persisted in keeping the appointment, notwithstanding that the pope,—besides reminding him that such dangerous sports were prohibited by the church,—warned him that assassins still thirsted for his blood. He sent, however, to England for some of his companions in arms, and appeared at Chalons attended by a thousand men. Both parties were now, probably, suspicious and irritable; and the lists soon became the theatre of a sanguinary conflict. Edward was peremptorily assailed by the count of Chalons, who, after trying lance and sword against him in vain, seized the king round the neck, and attempted to drag him from the saddle. But Edward finally hurled his antagonist to the ground, and angrily refusing his sword, compelled him to surrender to a simple knight. In the end, the English spectators, bursting into the lists, assisted the champions of their country to gain a complete victory.

Having subdued the malcontents of Guienne, Edward turned his attention to the settlement of a quarrel which had raged for some years between the governments of England and Flanders, and which, though war had not ensued, had caused much distress by suspending the trade in wool and cloth. The countess of Flanders, whose subjects and revenues had suffered
the most, now found herself obliged to give way. Her son accordingly waited upon the king of England at Montreuil, and made an apology and promise of reparation, which were graciously accepted. Edward had already ordered all things to be prepared for his coronation; and he now only awaited the return of the English prelates from the general council, (which was being held at Lyons,) in order to proceed to England. He was soon gratified by the announcement, that the pope had pronounced his eulogy before the assembled representatives of the Latin and Greek churches, declaring, that to him alone was humanly attributable the existence, at that time, of any portion of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

On landing in England, Edward was received with the highest honours by the earls of Gloucester and Warremne. They were able to deliver to him a kingdom tranquil and contented; and to boast, that the only attempt made to disturb it had been at once suppressed. The coronation was celebrated at Westminster with great pomp; and the gratification of Edward on the occasion was enhanced by the attendance of his brothers-in-law, Alexander III., king of Scotland, and John, duke of Brittany.

Scarcely had Edward taken possession of his throne, when Llewellyn of Wales, as if infatuated, provoked a quarrel with him. Invited to the coronation, he had neglected to attend. Summoned then to do the homage which he owed, he declined compliance, unless the son of Edward, the earl of Gloucester, and the chancellor, should be given as hostages for his security. Edward, though highly indignant, suspended all action until a parliament of the prelates and nobility, which he had called to sanction some important changes in the laws, had completed its work. Then he moved his court to Chester, and once more summoned the Welsh prince to his presence. But Llewellyn was now exasperated in the highest degree. His betrothed bride, Eleanor de Montfort (daughter of earl Simon), had been intercepted by the English on her passage from France; and Edward, rejecting every offer of ransom, had refused to allow her marriage with “his enemy.” Llewellyn, therefore, commenced hostilities, and Edward prepared to reduce him to obedience by force. Having gained over some of the native chieftains, the king invaded North Wales with a great army, while his fleet watched the coasts and supported his operations. Cut off from foreign succour, upon which he had relied, Llewellyn soon found it necessary to submit. He consented to pay a heavy fine, to surrender
nearby the whole of his territory, to hold Anglesea by an annual rent, to do homage to the king, and to give hostages for his future fidelity. No sooner, however, had the treaty been ratified, than Edward remitted the fine; and he successively released the prince from the rent, sent back his hostages, and consented to his marriage with Eleanor de Montfort.

Edward had now provided, as he thought, for the peaceable union of Wales with the English realm. His plan, however, was marred by the ambition or patriotism of David, the youngest brother of Llewellyn. This prince, formerly driven out of Wales by his brother, had acted for some years as the partisan of England. In reward, he had received from Edward the honour of knighthood, the hand of a daughter of the earl of Derby, and the castle of Denbigh, with valuable lands in both countries. Soon after the peace, he became discontented; complained much of the conduct of the English officers, and, finally, reconciled himself with Llewellyn, who was now chafing under the restraints imposed by the supremacy of Edward. The whole Welsh people, irritated by the introduction of new laws and customs, as well as by the common arrogance of a conquering race, were ready again to try the fate of arms. The issue of a new coinage by Edward revived an ancient prophecy, attributed to Merlin, which declared, that whenever the English used round money, a British prince should be crowned in London. On Palm-Sunday night, David surprised the castle of Hawarden, and slew the whole of the garrison, except the Justiciary De Clifford, whom he carried off to the wilds of Snowdun. Llewellyn immediately took the field; and the brothers, while laying siege to the new fortresses in Wales, sent fire and sword far into the English territory.

The first rumour of this revolt found Edward incredulous. Awakened to the truth, however, he ordered troops from all quarters to assemble. Meanwhile, he despatched the primate to induce Llewellyn to lay down his arms. That prelate obeyed; but having failed in his mission, he laid the Welsh under excommunication and interdict. About two months after the storming of Hawarden, Edward entered North Wales with a powerful army, driving the natives before him into the mountains, while a force from the Cinque ports took possession of Anglesea. The Welsh, nevertheless, maintained the struggle for eighteen months, with great gallantry and occasional success. At length, Llewellyn, leaving David in command at Snowdun, led part of his army to oppose an English force which was advancing from
the south-west. To stop their progress, he occupied a strong position on the right bank of the Wye, part of his force holding the bridge of Grewyn, the rest being posted on the heights above. The English making no apparent movement, Llewellyn, attended by a single page, descended into the lower grounds, and entered a barn. Meanwhile, a body of English cavalry had crossed the river, and gained the rear of the defenders of the bridge. The Welsh prince, alarmed too late, was hastening towards the crest, when he was slain by a knight named Adam de Frankton. After the rout of the Welsh, the head of Llewellyn was cut off, and sent to the king, who ordered it to be paraded through London, crowned with ivy, and then set up on the Tower. The death of Llewellyn virtually terminated the struggle. Most of the Welsh chieftains at once submitted. David, however, despairing of pardon, betook himself to the woods and mountains, and for some months escaped all pursuit. Betrayed, at length, by his own countrymen, he was delivered to Edward, who summoned a military parliament to decide upon his fate. The last of the Welsh princes was hanged at Shrewsbury; his quarters distributed to four principal towns; and his head sent to London, to be placed beside that of his brother.

The year 1284 was passed by Edward in superintending and reorganizing his new conquest. At Carnarvon, queen Eleanor gave birth to a son, who was named Edward; and who was, in 1301, created prince of Wales.

From the regulation of his kingdom, Edward now turned his attention to the state of his continental dominions, and of his relations with the neighbouring princes. He had been summoned by the young king of France to do homage for Aquitaine and his other fiefs. He proceeded to visit Philip, but refused to do homage unless conditionally. His terms were accepted: and when he asked the fulfilment of the treaty between his father and Louis IX., his request was acceded to, in words. The king of England was indeed at that time the most powerful and renowned prince in Europe; and it was hoped that his influence might terminate a war which, from the time of the Sicilian Vespers, had been raging between the kings of France, Sicily, and Aragon. At the request of the pope, Edward undertook the task; and even while engaged in counteracting a dangerous conspiracy against his authority in Guienne, he earnestly carried on the negotiations. The princes of Aragon, who had victoriously held Sicily in defiance of excommunication, and against every effort of the French and Italians, were
less eager to treat than their opponents: but the efforts of Edward were finally rewarded by the conclusion of a peace between France and Aragon.

After an absence of three years, the king returned to England. Yielding to the popular voice, he immediately banished the Jews from England. Falling then upon the judges, he removed eleven of them from their offices for corruption. These measures procured him a fifteen from the commons, and a tenth from the clergy.

It was at this moment that Edward was tempted to add Scotland to his other dominions. Alexander III. was killed by a fall from his horse. Of his children by the sister of Edward, not one survived; and an infant grandchild, Margaret, daughter of the king of Norway, was sole heir to his kingdom. Edward immediately resolved to marry her to his son Edward. He had overcome every difficulty, obtained the papal sanction, and arranged the terms of the future union, when his plans were destroyed by the premature death of the Maid of Norway. The direct line being thus extinct, the crown was claimed by no fewer than thirteen competitors. It soon appeared that the nation rejected the pretensions of all but the descendants of David, brother of William the Lion; but that it was divided between the claims of John Baliol, the grandson of his eldest, and Robert Bruce, the son of his second daughter. The regents, apparently, were about to pronounce in favour of Baliol, when Bruce and his party appealed to the king of England. In this Baliol was afterwards induced to concur.

The way being thus prepared, Edward summoned the representatives of both kingdoms to meet him at Norham, a village on the border. He directed the attendance also, on his own side, of the most learned clergymen and canonists, with deputies from the monasteries, to produce their records and chronicles. On the evidence of these, the English parliament declared their sovereign to be undoubtedly lord paramount of Scotland. Edward then invited the Scottish deputies to attend him in the parish church of Norham; and there, by the mouth of Sir Roger Brabazon, his chief justice, announced that he had come, at their request, to decide their great controversy; but, that he might be the better enabled to fulfil the office, he required their preliminary acknowledgment that he was their superior lord. The Scots requested time for consultation; and three weeks were given. The bishop of Louth, chancellor of England, then visited the Scots at Upton- lington, and demanded whether they were ready to obey the sentence of his
master as lord paramount of Scotland. Bruce was the first, Baliol the last, to give his assent. The day after the submission of Baliol, the states of both countries met once more in the church of Norham. The English chancellor asserted the personal right of his sovereign to the crown of Scotland, but declared his intention to do strict justice to the other claimants. Edward confirmed all that the chancellor had stated or promised. The competitors present then came forward and subscribed a document, by which they "of their own free-will, without any manner of compulsion," consented to receive judgment from the king of England as the sovereign lord of their country, and promised to abide by his decision. Those who so bound themselves were, Florence, earl of Holland, Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, John Baliol, lord of Galloway, John de Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, John de Vese, Nicholas de Soulis, and William de Ros.
The next day, Edward obtained a grant of seisin of the land and royal castles of Scotland, in order that he might put his judgment in execution at the proper time. Having then arranged that a mixed commission of Scots and English should sit at Berwick to try the claims of the competitors, the king returned well satisfied to the south.

The trial of this great cause occupied sixteen months. In the end, Edward, having received the unanimous opinion of an united parliament in favour of primogeniture against proximity in blood, gave sentence for John of Baliol. Possession of the royal fortresses was immediately given to the new king, who, after his coronation at Scone, appeared before Edward at Newcastle, and did homage to him as “sovereign lord of the realm of Scotland.”

Edward had now rendered himself supreme within the British seas: but he had scarcely effected his object, when his own suzerain inflicted upon him an injury which more than balanced the advantages he had gained over Scotland. It happened that two English sailors, visiting a Norman port, were drawn into a quarrel with some of the native seamen. A fight ensued, from which one of the Englishmen, after killing a man, escaped to his ship, and was rescued from the pursuers. The Normans in their rage boarded the first English ship they encountered, and hanged one of the passengers side by side with a dog. The English retaliated; cruelty was repaid by cruelty: the mariners of all the neighbouring countries joined in the strife; and a piratical war spread in every direction. At last, the hostile navies met, by arrangement, at a certain point in the channel: the Normans aided by the French, Genoese, and Flemings; the English, by the seamen of Ireland, Gascony, and Holland. The battle ended in the complete triumph of the English, who slew nearly the whole of their enemies, and brought into port their entire fleet with an immense booty.

This defeat excited the utmost indignation in France; and Philip promptly took advantage of the event to further his own designs. He demanded that the Gascons who had taken part with the English should be delivered into his hands; ordered certain lands belonging to Edward to be seized; and when the French officials were expelled by the lieutenant of Guienne, summoned Edward to appear at Paris and answer for his offences. The king of England had answered the first complaints of Philip with much haughtiness. “I have my court here,” he said; “if any have
cause of complaint, let them attend. I will do justice quite as well as Philip." Now, however, he endeavoured to propitiate his suzerain. He proposed that compensation should be made to the merchants on both sides; to abide by arbitration; to submit to the decision of the pope. These offers having been rejected, he sent his brother Edmund as ambassador to Paris. This prince was persuaded that the honour of Philip would be satisfied if Gascony were placed in his hands for forty days, and that "on the word of a king," it should then be faithfully restored to its immediate lord. Edward, blinded by his desire to marry the sister of Philip, gave his consent. The lord St. John, seneschal of Gascony, delivered over the chief towns and fortresses to the officials or troops of the king of France. When the forty days had expired, however, Philip began to make excuses for delaying to restore the province, and presently answered the demands of prince Edmund by a peremptory refusal. Then, although he had previously abandoned all proceedings against Edward, he suddenly resumed them, and gave sentence of forfeiture against him for non-appearance. A powerful army, held in readiness, immediately invaded and took possession of the provinces so long attached to the crown of England.

At the news of these events, Edward summoned John of Scotland and a parliament to attend him at London. Describing the conduct of Philip, he asked their advice and assistance: declaring that he would pursue this quarrel to the death, even though he should be followed but by a single horse and groom. The parliament unanimously promised its support; and separated to prepare for war. But after a powerful armament had been prepared for the recovery of Gascony, Edward was detained at Portsmouth for eleven weeks, waiting for a favourable wind; and when, at last, he was on the point of sailing, the news arrived that the Welsh were once more in general revolt. Exasperated by new and heavy imposts, they had risen, massacred all the English within their reach, and carried fire and sword into the Marches. The king instantly hastened to the point of danger; directing prince Edmund and the earl of Lincoln to follow him with a considerable portion of the troops which had been destined for the French war. Several months were now wasted by Edward in harassing and ineffectual operations; during which the earl of Lincoln was severely defeated, and the king himself for some days in imminent peril. With the return of fine weather, however, the superiority of the English speedily
became manifest. Madoc and Morgan, the leaders of the revolt, made their submission to Edward, who spared their lives, but committed them to secure custody. Having put to death the most cruel of their associates, and bestowed the lands of the insurgent chieftains upon their nearest relatives, the king left the province in sullen tranquillity.

The Welsh being thus subdued, Edward hoped now to be able to employ all his resources for the recovery of his continental dominions. He therefore evaded or repelled the attempts made by the new pope, Boniface VIII., to bring about a peace, or even a truce of any duration, between France and England. But he had scarcely completed his preparations, when he found himself, for the second time, compelled to forego the prosecution of his revenge, and to turn his forces against enemies (whom he himself had made) within the island. The Scots, smarting under the supremacy which Edward had asserted over them, and indignant at the frequent humiliations to which he had subjected their king, had resolved to assert their independence on the first favourable opportunity. To this end, they virtually superseded king John, and placed the real government in the hands of twelve "peers." An alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded with France; and a marriage was arranged between Edward, the son of Baliol, and a niece of Philip. Meanwhile, the king of England had requested from his royal vassal some aid towards the French war; but receiving only ambiguous replies, his suspicions were aroused or confirmed. He therefore demanded that Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be placed in his hands till the end of the war. To this demand an absolute refusal was returned; and Edward, committing the conduct of the French war to prince Edmund, marched to the Scottish border with the greater part of his forces. His summons to Baliol to attend his court at Newcastle was entirely disregarded; and the Scots presently commenced hostilities. With an army of 40,000 men he advanced, and immediately took Berwick by assault. The Scots, on their side, invaded Cumberland, besieged Carlisle, burned Hexham, and despatched in Baliol's name a renunciation of his allegiance to the king of England. "Foolish traitor!" exclaimed Edward, "if he will not come to us, we must go to him." Three weeks afterwards, the earl Warrenne and Surrey, who was besieging Dunbar, defeated with great slaughter the Scottish army which came to relieve it. Fear and despondency rapidly spread in every quarter. Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and
Stirling were surrendered to the invaders, and Edward marched on in triumph to Perth. In these straits, king John made the most humble submission to the conqueror; but Edward, nothing appeased, compelled him to resign his crown, and sent him to dwell in free custody at the Tower of London. At the intercession of the pope, Baliol was afterwards permitted to retire to his ancestral estates in Normandy.

Meanwhile, Edward, having received at Berwick the renewed homage of the Scottish prelates, nobility, and tenants of the crown, returned to the south, leaving his conquest under the care of the earl Warrenne, to whom he gave the title of Guardian. For a time all seemed tranquil; but in the spring of 1297, the numerous outlaws made by the English officials commenced a vindictive warfare upon the invaders. Soon the name of William Wallace began to be known, to be famous. His successes encouraged his countrymen to make another effort for independence. They rose, and massacred the English in every quarter. The movement was now openly joined by Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, the Stewart of Scotland, sir William Douglas, sir Andrew Moray, sir William Lindsay, sir Richard Lundy, and, lastly, by Robert Bruce the younger. Jealousy, however, and discord soon raged amongst the Scottish leaders; and the English armies under Warrenne and Percy had no sooner crossed the border, than Lundy, despairing of the cause, submitted to the invaders. His example was followed by Bruce and all the other men of high rank, who, in return for a pardon from Edward, engaged to bring their countrymen peaceably under his dominion.

While the earl Warrenne at Berwick was hoping to bring Scotland to submission by means of the nobles, Wallace and Moray had withdrawn with the bulk of the army to the forest of Selkirk. They were now regarded by the people as the faithful champions of their country, and their camp was soon crowded by volunteers from every quarter, even from the very households of those who had deserted the cause. The Guardian, at length, perceiving that the influence of his adherents was producing no result, put his fine army in motion to crush all resistance. On reaching Stirling, however, he was joined by the Stewart and the earl of Lenox, who prevailed upon him to suspend operations until they had once more tried the effect of persuasion. They failed, as perhaps they intended, and rejoined the English without the military aid which they had promised. The Guardian, who did not share the eagerness of his troops for vengeance, made
a last attempt to induce the peaceable submission of the Scots. Two Dominican monks were selected as the bearers of his proposals. They found the Scottish host encamped upon the hills above the abbey of Cambuskenneth, and delivered their message to the leaders. "Tell your countrymen," answered Wallace, "that we have come here, not for peace, but for war—to revenge ourselves and liberate our country. Let them come on: we will meet them to their beards." The envoys returned, and their report was generally hailed with joy in the English ranks. There were some, however, who doubted the prudence of advancing by the long and narrow bridge of Stirling, the most direct approach to the enemy. Sir Richard Lundy offered to lead a body of troops round by a ford, and
attack his countrymen in the rear, while the Guardian effected the passage of the bridge; but his plan was rejected. The council still hesitated, when Cressingham declared vehemently against wasting the king's treasure in protracted operations. "Let us cross," he said, "and do our duty." Upon this, Warrenne gave the order, and his troops began to file over the bridge. Not a fourth had passed, when the Scots poured down from the hills, rushed impetuously on their enemies, seized the northern head of the bridge, and cut the English army in two. Nearly all who had crossed (to the number of about 5000) fell beneath the weapons of the Scots, or were drowned in attempting to escape, while their commander and the main body looked on, helpless to avert their fate. Amongst the slain was Cressingham. The Guardian, after placing a garrison in the castle of Stirling, hurriedly retreated to Berwick.

Moray and Wallace lost no time in following up their victory by an invasion of England. Disregarding the border fortresses, the Scots overran Northumberland and Cumberland; burned, slew, and ravaged without check for three weeks, and swept an immense amount of booty into their own country. Their excesses, however, were not always sanctioned even by their fierce leaders. "Remain with me," said Wallace to the canons at Hexham, "for my people are evil-disposed, and may not be restrained." On his return, Wallace was elected, by a meeting of the states, Guardian of the realm, and general of the armies of Scotland. Few of the nobles, however, concurred in this appointment. Selfish, jealous, and afraid of Edward, they generally held aloof from the national movement. Without them, therefore, the new governor proceeded in the most vigorous manner to organize the military resources of his country; and at the same time envoys were despatched to invoke for Scotland the protection of the Roman see.

Unfortunately for the Scots, pope Boniface VIII. had at last succeeded in effecting a cessation of hostilities between England and France. The two kings had consented to refer their quarrel to his decision, not as a superior, but as a private person. Edward thus released himself from the contest with his most formidable adversary. But, before he could turn the weight of his power against the patriots of Scotland, he had yet to satisfy the various classes of his own kingdom, whom his arbitrary measures had of late years greatly offended. Though resolved to recover his full...
authority at a more favourable moment, he granted every demand of his subjects, and so obtained the support he needed for the Scottish war. By his order, a large army was collected at Roxburgh; and at the end of June he took the command in person. As he advanced, however, he found the country laid waste, and sought in vain for an enemy in the field. Provisions failed him; the fleet which he had ordered to bring supplies along the western coast was detained by contrary winds. Edward had determined upon withdrawing to Edinburgh, when the earls of Dunbar and Angus informed him that the Scottish army was only a few miles distant. Wallace had indeed advanced to Falkirk, to harass the retreat of the English. Edward instantly turned upon him. The next morning, he found the Scots in battle array, their spearmen disposed in four circular bodies, connected by lines of archers, with their cavalry in the rear. Edward ordered the attack; and the first division of his cavalry, led by the earl Marshal and the Constable, at once moved forward, but coming upon a wide ditch, was obliged to make a circuit towards the west, to avoid it. Meanwhile, the second division, under the bishop of Durham, had passed round the eastern extremity of the ditch, and fallen upon the left of the Scots. Almost at the same moment, the two earls charged their right; and the Scottish cavalry fled without a blow. The fury of the English first fell upon the archers, who nearly all died where they stood. The horsemen, however, were compelled to recoil before the circles of spearmen, who held their ground until showers of arrows and stones from the English archers and engineers broke their formation. The cavalry then burst in, and a frightful slaughter ensued. At least 20,000 Scots are said to have fallen on this fatal day. Wallace escaped; but, dispirited by the hostility of the nobles, he presently resigned his high office, and, passing to the continent, went to plead the cause of his country at the courts of France and Rome. Meanwhile, Edward, unable to maintain his army in the field, had placed garrisons in the chief towns, and again proceeded to the south, where his presence was now required.

The award of pope Boniface had been received. It ratified the existing truce; proposed that peace should be confirmed by the marriage of Edward with Marguerite, the sister, and of his eldest son with Isabel, the daughter of Philip; decreed that both princes should make restitution; and that, in the meantime, all the territories seized by Philip, as well as
all still held by Edward, should be delivered to the pope. This sentence
was accepted by the two kings, and by the parliament of England. It
was, however, so late in the year before the marriage of Edward with
Marguerite was celebrated, that the barons refused to follow their king
to Scotland at that inclement season. The consequence was the loss of
Stirling, which surrendered soon after to the Scottish regents. Before
Edward had made much progress in the next campaign, he was induced
by Philip to grant a truce to the Scots, and thus the year 1301 was spent
in peace.

In the meanwhile, pope Boniface had resolved to interpose with vigour
in behalf of the Scots. Adopting the suggestions of their envoys at his
court, he bade Edward remember, that the kingdom of Scotland had be-
longed from the most ancient times to the Roman mother-church; and
denied that it ever had been a fief of the kings of England. Pronouncing
the course of Edward to have been offensive to the Divine Majesty, de-
rogatory to the apostolic see, and gravely scandalous to the faithful, he called
upon him to release his captives, withdraw his officers from Scotland, and
then to submit whatever claim he might have upon that kingdom to the
pontifical judgment. The king was furious at the receipt of this mandate;
but, as Guienne was still in the hands of the pope, he determined that the
answer should be given by the English baronage, which he immediately
summoned to meet for the purpose at Lincoln. The barons unanimously
resolved, that the English had always had direct dominion over Scotland;
that the kings of England never had submitted their temporal rights to any
judge, ecclesiastical or secular; that their sovereign should not acknow-
ledge the pope as judge in this or any other temporal quarrel; and that,
even if the king wished to allow such "strange, undue, prejudicial, and
umbered of" claims, they would not permit him to do so.

The pope, environed by enemies, and engaged in a bitter contest with
the king of France, now looked to Edward for support. Philip, too,
desired his adhesion. Edward seized the advantage of the situation; ob-
tained the restitution of Guienne, and completed the conquest of Scotland.
The nobles once more made their peace with the conqueror. Wallace
alone refused; and Edward set a price upon his head. He was betrayed
to the English by sir John de Menteith, sent to London, and brought into
Westminster hall with a crown of laurel placed in mockery on his head.
He admitted that he was the enemy, but denied that he ever was a traitor to the king of England. Sentence was, however, at once pronounced, and he was hanged and decapitated the same day. His head was fixed on London bridge, and his quarters gibbeted at Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth.

After many years of conflict, and much expenditure of blood and treasure, Edward had thus brought all his foreign enterprises to a triumphant issue. During the same period, however, he had been engaged in a series of contests at home, in which he had not been so successful. From the commencement of his reign, he had paid the utmost attention to his revenue; and to his resolution to keep his treasury well supplied was due much of his ascendancy. But the means to which he had recourse were often most oppressive. One of his first acts was a searching inquisition into the titles by which the landowners of England held their estates; a measure which produced a large amount of forfeitures and fines. The discontent, however, which this measure provoked, compelled him greatly to modify its stringency. It was on occasion of this inquest, that the earl Warrenne, having been called upon to show his title, produced an antique and rusty sword. "This," said he, "is my warrant. My ancestors, coming in with William the Bastard, won their lands with the sword; and with the same I will defend them against all aggressors:" an answer which produced its intended effect.

Besides the grants which the king received from the barons and clergy, and the tallages which he levied on the commonalty, he extracted during many years much treasure from the Jews; he borrowed immense sums from the Italian merchants and bankers—the Bardi, the Frescobaldi, the Giudiccioni, and others; and he obtained, under pretence of a new crusade, a tythe of all benefices for six years. At length, on occasion of the French war in 1294, he caused all the money belonging to, or deposited in, the monasteries, hospitals, and colleges, to be seized on the same day, and brought into his treasury, with the name of a loan. In the same manner, all the wool and hides destined for exportation were appropriated for the king’s use. And lastly, after having obtained from the commonality of the land the tenth, and from the burgesses the sixth penny, Edward demanded from the clergy the half of their property for the year. As, however, there were some symptoms of a determined resistance to this demand, he sent a knight to the convocation,
who thus addressed it:—"My reverend fathers, if there be any one among you who dares to oppose the king, let him stand forth that he may be known." This threat succeeded. The next year, the king required a third, or a fourth. The clergy offered a tenth, which was finally accepted. The clergy, however, now applied to the pope for his protection; and Boniface VIII. answered their appeal by a bull, excommunicating every layman who imposed, and every ecclesiastic who paid, any tax unauthorised by the Roman see. When, therefore, the king next demanded an aid from the church, the papal prohibition was pleaded; but Winchelsey, the primate, offered to apply for leave to grant one. Edward immediately outlawed the whole of the clergy, and seized all their temporalities. It was announced from the bench, that no remedy would be granted them for any injury whatever; but that all men might have justice against them. After a time, however, the king permitted such as chose to redeem their property on payment of a fine, equal to the fifth which he had originally demanded. Numbers availed themselves of this compromise. Others left the sum required where the royal agents might find it. Archbishop Winchelsey, however, entirely stripped of his property, preferred rather to live on alms in a country parish than to give way to the king.

During this contest, the laity of England had in general looked on with indifference, or had taken the side of the crown. It was, doubtless, hoped that the triumph of the king would ensure relief to them. But the warlike policy of Edward demanded for its sustentation all that he could extract from every class of his subjects. At this very moment he was increasing instead of diminishing the burdens of the laity; and an arbitrary requisition on the landowners now provoked the wrath of a class which had the power as well as the will to resist. To provide for the exigencies of his war with France, Edward not only seized a large proportion of the year's wool and hides, but ordered each sheriff to furnish him with 2000 quarters of corn, as many of oats, and a corresponding supply of beef and pork. The great nobles were now roused, and they at once made their anger felt. It was the design of Edward to lead one army from England to Flanders, while he sent another to operate in Gascony. On assembling, however, his parliament at Salisbury, he found the barons disposed to thwart his plans. Humphrey, earl of Hereford, constable, and Roger, earl of Norfolk, marshal of England, declared that they were ready to fulfil their hereditary offices,
but only in attendance upon the king himself. Edward, addressing himself to the marshal, pressed him to take a command in Gascony, "I am not bound to go," answered the earl, "and I will not go without you." "Pardieu, sir earl," exclaimed Edward, bursting into fury, "you shall either go or hang!" "By that same oath, sir king," returned Roger, "I will neither go nor hang!" and together with the constable he unceremoniously withdrew from the parliament. The two earls were immediately joined by many barons, 30 bannerets, and 1500 cavalry,—a force which gave full effect to their declaration that no single thing beyond the ordinary should be taken by the royal officers, except from those who were willing to give.
Notwithstanding this check, the king continued his preparations for the war in Flanders. When, however, the nobles who were to accompany him began to assemble in London, their spirit and counsels showed Edward that he was pursuing a dangerous course. He instantly sought a reconciliation with the clergy. The primate was received into high favour, his estates were restored to him, and he was appointed guardian to prince Edward, and one of the council of regency. The king did not rest there. He resolved to win the people also. A great meeting was convened in front of Westminster hall; and there Edward, after his son had been acknowledged as heir to the throne, addressed the multitude in person, excusing himself for his exactions, on the ground that these had been necessary for their defence against the enemies who thirsted for English blood. "I am going" he said in conclusion, "to risk my life for you. If I return, receive me as you have now received me, and I will make amends to you. If I do not return, crown my son, and he will requite your fidelity." At these words, Edward was affected to tears; and the people, sharing his emotion, stretched out their hands, and renewed their oaths of allegiance. Letters were then despatched to the sheriffs, commanding them to protect the clergy from molestation; an able defence of the government was sent into every county; and the king, now thinking that he might safely disregard the efforts of his opponents, proceeded on his way to Flanders. At Winchelsea, however, he was overtaken by deputies, who placed in his hands a remonstrance, in the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and all the commonalty of the land. It complained that the community, afflicted by various tallages, aids, and seizures, was reduced to such poverty, that it could not perform its due service, nor scarcely even subsist; that it was not treated according to the laws and customs of the realm, nor enjoyed its ancestral liberties; that the Great Charter and the charter of the forests were habitually violated; that the duties on wool alone amounted to a fifth of the whole income of the land; and that the departure of the king would encourage the Scots, who were already in arms. To this memorial Edward gave no answer, but that he must wait for the advice of his council; and then, with a hope that the authors would keep the peace during his absence, he sailed for Flanders.

The earls of Hereford and Norfolk, however, were resolved upon
obtaining redress. The king was no sooner gone, than they forbade the barons of the exchequer to levy the eighth which he had imposed with the consent of the nobles who adhered to him. The primate denounced sentence of excommunication against all invaders of ecclesiastical property except the king and his sons. All classes were now united against the government. Then came the news of the defeat at Stirling, and of the irruption of the Scots into the northern counties. In these perilous circumstances, the council of regency saw that it was necessary to satisfy the popular demands. The primate and the earls were invited to a conference, and the parliament was summoned to London. Some discussion followed, but no real opposition. Prince Edward, in the name of the king, confirmed the Great Charter and the charter of the forests, with additional articles to the former of the most important kind. It was then conceded:—that no tallage or aid should thenceforth be imposed without the consent of the prelates, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the realm; that no property whatever should be taken for the king without the consent of the owner; and that the clergy and laity should for the future enjoy their full rights and liberties. These documents were transmitted to the king, with an intimation that, if he wished to retain his kingdom, he would at once return them duly confirmed. Edward hesitated for three days, and then yielded, granting at the same time a full pardon to all who had opposed him.

The struggle, however, was not yet over. Rumours got abroad, that Edward regarded his act of confirmation as of no effect, because it had been granted in a foreign country. At York, therefore, as the king was on his way to Scotland, Hereford and Norfolk required him to confirm the charters anew; but they were appeased when some of his friends swore “on his soul” that he would gratify their wishes at the end of the campaign. After the victory of Falkirk, however, the king, deeming himself strong enough, added the clause, “saving the rights of our crown,” and disregarded the indignation of the popular leaders. To try the temper of the people, his council ordered the charters in their new form to be read to a great meeting in St. Paul’s churchyard. The sight of the charters, with the royal seals appended, caused the utmost joy; but when the saving clause was heard, shouts of execration burst from the multitude. The king immediately summoned a new parliament, and then confirmed the charters.
In spite, however, of repeated engagements, Edward not only renewed his arbitrary measures at every favourable conjuncture, but found means to punish in some degree all his principal opponents. After the submission of Scotland in 1304, he even applied to the pope for an abrogation of all his concessions. The answer was favourable; but it saved the previous rights of the nation; and it was never made public.

Fortunately, perhaps, for the liberties of England at that time, the king was suddenly compelled once more to devote his mind to the affairs of Scotland. Early in the year 1306, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick,—who had, after many changes of party, resolved on striking for the Scottish crown,—slew John Comyn, his principal rival, in the Franciscan church at Dumfries, and raised the standard of revolt. A general insurrection followed; and within three months Bruce was crowned at Scone. Edward, in high wrath, ordered the earl of Pembroke to reinstate his authority; and after knightmg the prince of Wales, with 300 of the young nobility, publicly vowed never to rest until he had avenged the death of Comyn, and chastised the perjury of the Scots. Shattered in health, however, he was unable to take the field, but remained with his council on the border. Bruce could not withstand the forces which were now directed against him. Before the winter he was a fugitive: and before the ensuing spring, his brothers Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, his brother-in-law Seton, with the earl of Athol, Simon Fraser, and many of his chief adherents, had been taken and hanged. Suddenly Bruce reappeared; the Scots rose again; Pembroke was defeated; and the earl of Gloucester was besieged in Ayr. Edward, in his impatience, once more mounted his horse; but though in four days he had only proceeded six miles from Carlisle, the exertion was fatal to him, and he suddenly expired in the arms of his attendants, at Burgh-on-the-Sands. He was then in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Edward was handsome, strong, and very tall. His legs were of unusual length; and his left eyelid, like that of his father, somewhat drooped.
EDWARD of Carnarvon, the eldest surviving son of the late king, was in London when his father died. He had, however, before parting from him, received his final instructions and commands. Of these the principal were: that he should devote a certain sum to the succour of the Holy Land; that he should persist in the conquest of Scotland, carrying the bones of his father with the army until that work was achieved; and that he should not recall his favourite, Piers de Gaveston (a young Gascon, whom the king had lately banished) without the consent of parliament.

Every one of these commands was directly violated by the young king. His first act was to send for Gaveston: and before his arrival he had conferred upon him the royal earldom of Cornwall. He hastened indeed, to the north; but, having received at Dumfries the homage of some of the Scots, he left the war to the earl of Pembroke; and, directing that the body of his father should be sent to Westminster for interment, he returned to the south in company with Gaveston. The old ministers and judges were nearly all dismissed. Langton, bishop of Coventry, the treasurer, and chief executor of the late king, who had formerly reproved the extravagance of the prince and his favourite, was thrown into prison. Gaveston received the money left for the crusade; was made lord chamberlain; betrothed to Margaret de Clare, niece of the king; and presently, when Edward went to marry Isabel of France at Boulogne, left regent of England, without reservation or restriction.

The jealousy of the great nobles was already excited; but when they beheld the king, on his return, rush into the arms of the favourite without regarding them; and when they saw Gaveston take precedence of them all at the coronation of Edward, their anger burst forth. Three days after the ceremony, they called upon the king to dismiss his minion. Edward deferred the matter until the parliament should meet, hoping by that time to soothe their resentment. All his efforts, however, were rendered nugatory by the pride and imprudence of Gaveston. In a great tournament at Wallingford, he discomfited the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Pembroke, and Warrenne. Stung to the quick, they led the parliament to demand the expulsion of their rival. Edward was obliged to give way; and Gaveston

to swear that he would never return. The king, however, escorted him to Bristol with every mark of honour, and mortified his enemies still more by appointing the exile his lieutenant in Ireland.

While Gaveston was acquiring credit by expeditions against the Irish septs, the king had summoned a parliament, and asked for a supply. Whatever his faults, he had steadily set himself to discharge the vast debts left by his father, and his own. The commons voted him a twenty-fifth, but added the important condition, that certain grievances, which they specified, should be corrected. Edward promised to attend to their complaints.

From the day of Gaveston's departure, the king had used all his influence to obtain his recall. He gratified the earl of Lancaster by the office of steward of England; and by other favours and promises gained the adhesion of the powerful earls of Lincoln, Warrenne, and Gloucester. He solicited the intervention of the pope; and having obtained a conditional abrogation of the oath taken by Gaveston, ordered him to return. Receiving him in person at Chester, he brought him to meet the parliament. Here, having granted the recent petition of the commons, he induced the bishops and peers to consent that his favourite should remain in England; but they added,—as long as he conducted himself well.

In a very short time, however, the absolute ascendancy of Gaveston over the king, his ostentation and presumption, had revived the animosity of the barons. Lancaster and his friends refused to attend the next parliament. Edward, who wanted money, found it necessary to yield. He prorogued the parliament to London, and leaving Gaveston in retirement, repaired to the capital. The great barons attended with such a military force, that Edward was obliged to grant all their demands. A committee of seven prelates, eight earls, and six barons (under the name of ordainers,) was appointed, with full powers to redress the grievances of the nation. The king, in disgust, almost immediately left London, and undertook an expedition against the Scots. Bruce retired before him; and Edward, after laying waste the Lowlands as far as the Forth, returned to winter at Berwick. In the spring, he sent the earl of Cornwall in pursuit of Bruce. Gaveston penetrated far beyond the Forth; but, unable to bring the enemy to decisive action, he was obliged to return without the glory which he and his master had hoped that he would acquire.

Meanwhile, the ordainers had prepared their articles of reform. Six of
those had already received the royal assent. Edward was now called upon to accept the remaining ordinances, of which one banished Gaveston for ever from the dominions of the crown. The king vehemently resisted, but at last signed the articles under protest, and Gaveston retired to Brabant. Edward, however, had no sooner freed himself from the parliament, than he hastened to the north, and recalling Gaveston once more, restored him to all his honours and estates.

While Edward, rejoicing in the recovery of his favourite, imagined that his ascendency was secure, the barons had resolved to appeal to arms, and had chosen for their leader the most powerful of their number, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, cousin of the king. So well were their measures taken, that they nearly succeeded in surprising the court at Newcastle. Edward, however, escaped to Tynemouth, and leaving the queen behind, took ship with Gaveston, and arrived in safety at Scarborough. Leaving his favourite in that strong fortress, the king hurried to York, and summoned his vassals to arms. The barons, meanwhile, had arrived before Scarborough; and Lancaster, committing the siege to the earls of Warrenne and Pembroke, posted himself to intercept any relieving force. Gaveston succeeded in repelling one fierce assault, and then, finding his resources fail, he surrendered, with the consent of the king, to the earl of Pembroke. It was, however, agreed that, if a general accommodation were not effected before a certain day, Gaveston should again receive possession of Scarborough; and for the fulfilment of this convention the earl and lord Percy pledged their lands, limbs, and lives. But as Pembroke was conducting his prisoner to Wallingford, he left him for the night, under a slender guard, at the castle of Deddington, near Banbury. Before morning, Gaveston was seized by the earl of Warwick, who carried him off to his own castle.

At Warwick, the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, with others, had met to pronounce the doom of the prisoner. There was, even then, some hesitation among them; but one of those present having remarked, that if they let the prey go, they would have to hunt it again, it was determined that Gaveston should die. It was in vain that the unhappy favourite humiliated himself before the earl of Lancaster, and begged for life. He was hurried at once to execution; but as it was thought advisable that he should suffer within the jurisdiction of the earl of Lancaster, a royal prince, he was led towards Blacklow, a knoll at some distance on the road to
Coventry. His judges—with the exception of the earl of Warwick, who remained in the castle—followed at a distance, that they might see the end. Gaveston had no sooner reached the appointed spot, than, by an order from Lancaster himself, he was delivered into the hands of two Welshmen, one of whom struck off his head. The fact was at once announced to Lancaster; but he was not content until the head of his enemy had been brought for his inspection. The three earls then retraced their steps to Warwick: while a Dominican monk, who had witnessed the proceedings, wrapping the head of Gaveston in his cloak, went his way, and carried it to the king.
The news of this audacious deed affected the king with the most passionate grief, to which was quickly added a fierce desire for revenge. His anger was not diminished when the barons followed up their blow by a peremptory demand that the ordinances should at once be carried into effect. He replied by summoning his friends to arms; and, collecting as he went a considerable force, marched to London. One of the first to join him was the earl of Pembroke, who vehemently denied any complicity in the act done at Warwick. The barons, in powerful array, advanced as far as Dunstaple; and everything portended a civil war, when the earl of Gloucester and the prelates, alarmed at the dangers impending over the kingdom, assembled at St. Albans, midway between the hostile forces, and made the most strenuous efforts to effect an accommodation. They were aided by the cardinal of St. Prisca, and Louis, the queen’s brother, whom the pope and the king of France had sent to reconcile Edward with his nobility; but for some time every exertion was vain. The birth, however, at this juncture, of a son and heir, rejoiced the heart of Edward, and weakened his desire for vengeance. Still, nine months passed before peace was made. At length, the terms were arranged. The parliament assembled in Westminster hall, and Edward having taken his seat on the throne, the earl of Lancaster and his associates knelt before him, and solicited a pardon for the acts which had offended him. Taking each petitioner by the hand, the king bestowed upon him the kiss of peace, promised, and the next day published, a general amnesty. As a signal proof of amity, he invited his late opponents to his table, and on a subsequent day accepted an entertainment from the earl of Lancaster.

The struggle between the king of England and his barons had lasted for more than six years; and during that time the Scots had nearly recovered their independence. Their progress had been slow, and almost unnoticed. Robert Bruce, taught by experience, had resolved upon avoiding a pitched battle with the English. For some time, his power was chiefly directed against his own countrymen, the adherents of the Comyns, the Balliols, and the invaders. Gradually his authority was established in the more remote districts,—was acknowledged by every patriotic Scot. The strongholds of the English began to fall into his hands. All such were dismantled. A truce obtained for Scotland by the king of France, in 1329, and renewed in 1310, enabled Bruce still more to consolidate his power.
It was in vain that the English attempted to crush him. When their forces were concentrated, he withdrew into the Highlands. When the enemy had separated again, he attacked them in detail, or made destructive inroads into England. Aberdeen, Perth, Dumfries, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh, were successively recovered by the king and his lieutenants; and by the summer of 1313 almost the only important fortress remaining in the hands of the English was Stirling. It was now besieged by Edward Bruce, the brother of the king. After a brave defence, De Mowbray, the governor, proposed a truce until the Feast of St. John the Baptist in the following year, offering to surrender if he was not relieved before that day. The offer was accepted by Edward Bruce in the absence of his brother, and the king, although greatly displeased, confirmed the truce.

Edward now resolved to make a vast effort to relieve the brave garrison of Stirling, and to re-establish the English domination in Scotland. He summoned his vassals of England, Wales, and Ireland to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June; directed a fleet to be prepared, and collected from all quarters stores, provisions, and military engines. The greater part of the barons, however, were deeply dissatisfied at the non-execution of the ordinances; and they seized this moment to obtain their enforcement. The king resisted. The clergy declined to grant an aid. The earls of Lancaster, Warrene, Warwick, and Arundel refused to join the army. Notwithstanding these defections, Edward was able to assemble at Berwick a magnificent army, under the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, including 3000 cavalry, clad in mail; and this he put in motion for Stirling on the 16th of June.

In the meanwhile, Robert Bruce had carefully prepared a strong position behind the burn, or brook, of Bannock, about two miles from Stirling castle. Edward Bruce commanded on the left; Randolph in the centre; James Douglas and the Stewart on the right. His reserve, including a small force of cavalry, lay behind; and, still more distant, on a ridge, but out of sight, was a numerous body of camp-followers.

On the 23rd of June, the day previous to that appointed for the surrender of the castle, the English army approached the position of the Scots. A body of cavalry under Sir Robert Clifford was presently detached to pass stealthily round the left wing of Bruce, and join the garrison; but the movement was discovered, and, after a sharp combat, the English were obliged to retire. Meanwhile, another body of English cavalry had pushed
forward near the spot where Bruce himself, mounted on a small palfrey, and battle-axe in hand, was giving orders in front of his lines. Sir Henry Bohun, a brave knight who was cousin to the earl of Hereford, recognizing the king by the crown encircling his helmet, rode straight at him, lance in hand: but Bruce, skilfully avoiding the shock of his adversary, clove his helm as he passed, and laid him dead on the field. And so closed the operations of that evening,—to the great encouragement of the Scots.

The next morning, the English advanced to the attack. They were forced, however, by the skilful arrangements of Bruce, to fight on a narrow front; and their numerous divisions, massed one behind another, could
neither join their comrades, nor manoeuvre against the enemy. But as yet
all were full of confidence; and the first attack, directed by the earls of
Gloucester and Hereford, was made with the utmost spirit. The resistance
of the Scots, fierce and successful for some time, at length began to falter
beneath the shafts of the English archers. The danger was noted by
Bruce. He brought up his reserve of cavalry; and these horsemen, sud-
denly rushing upon the flanks of the archers, slew or dispersed the whole
force before succour could arrive. The rest of the English infantry, now
exposed to the efforts of the Scottish bowmen, gradually gave way; the
masses of their cavalry, wedged together in a confined space, became
unmanageable; the earl of Gloucester, charging gallantly, was slain; and
confusion began to prevail in every direction. Observing this, Bruce threw
himself with his whole army impetuously against his enemies, and—largely
aided by the sudden appearance of the camp-followers marching like
another army to his help—converted the already disheartened English into
a panic-stricken crowd. Edward was urging his charger into the fight,
when the earl of Pembroke, seizing his bridle, forced him from the field.
Beside the earl of Gloucester, twenty-seven barons, two hundred knights,
and some thousands of inferior rank were slain that day. The spoil left
behind by the vanquished was enormous.

The victory of Bannockburn secured the independence of Scotland.
Far from renewing the invasion, the English were unable for the time even
to defend their own country. The dissensions between the king and his
barons paralysed the government. The people, ordinarily so warlike, lost
their spirit, and began to yield shamefully before their enemies. Men,
money, and supplies of every kind failed at once. The constant drain of
men for the Scottish war had impeded the due cultivation of the soil; and
the disaster of Bannockburn was followed by a deficient harvest. A wet
season succeeding, brought upon the country famine and pestilence, which
prevailed with great though fluctuating severity for nearly two years.

The Scots did not fail to take advantage of these calamities. Before
the middle of 1315, they had thrice invaded the northern counties, each
time returning victorious and encumbered with booty.

The success of the Scots excited the Irish also to attempt to shake
off the yoke. At their invitation, Edward Bruce repaired to their assistance.
A wide-spread insurrection took place; the allies obtained many

advantages; and Bruce, with the consent of the O’Nial, was crowned king of Ireland. But the Scots were too few, and the natives too ill-armed and undisciplined, to gain a permanent triumph. King Edward, after a brilliant career, fell in battle, and the ascendancy of the English was re-established.

Throughout all the calamities of the kingdom, the earl of Lancaster and his friends had steadily pursued their object of enforcing the observance of the ordinances. The means, however, which they employed to subdue the obstinacy of the king,—their refusal to attend him to the field,—turned chiefly to the advantage of the Scots. The loss of Berwick, however, induced Edward to seek a reconciliation with his opponents. He promised the full execution of the ordinances, and adopted the measures required by his cousin. The Lancastrians now rallied round the king, who with a fine army quickly laid siege to Berwick. At a most critical moment, however, Lancaster, in renewed discontent, withdrew his forces; and thereby not only broke up the siege, but enabled a Scottish army, which had dashed into Yorkshire, to escape.

Some time after the death of Gaveston, the ordainers had imposed upon the king, as chamberlain, a young man named Hugh le Despenser, son of one of the great barons. From an object of dislike, he soon became the favourite, and afterwards the chief minister of Edward. With his father, he had ably supported the king in his resistance to the Lancastrian party, and he had become especially odious to it. But, however loyal and devoted, the chamberlain was undoubtedly rapacious; and a harsh attempt to enforce the feudal law for his own advantage, excited the lords Marchers of Wales to arm against him. Under the earl of Hereford, they stormed his castles, slew his vassals, and destroyed his property. The earl of Lancaster soon joined them; and the united barons, marching upon London, decreed that the Despensers, (who were both absent,) should be dispossessed and banished for ever. The bishops protested; but the king and his friends were forced to assent to this lawless proceeding.

Two months afterwards, the queen, returning from Canterbury, was refused admittance into the royal castle of Leicester by the lady Badlesmere, and some of her attendants were slain at the gate. The king, indignant at the insult, hastened to avenge it. Lord Badlesmere adopted the act of his wife, and called the earl of Hereford and the Marchers to his aid. They instantly took up arms; but, (influenced, it is said,) by Lancaster, who hated
The king avenges it: and regains his secondancy.

Alarm of Lancaster.

He calls in the Scots.

The king takes the field.

Combat at Burton.

Lancaster retreats to the north.

Fight at Boroughbridge: March 16.

Lancaster taken.

Brought before the king at Pontefract.

Badlesmere,) did not advance beyond Kingston. Edward took the castle, hanged twelve knights of the garrison, and sent lady Badlesmere to the Tower. This incident gave the king a popularity of which he was not slow to take advantage. He recalled the Despensers, and commenced the reversal of their illegal judgment.

The earl of Lancaster, alarmed by the sudden vigour of the king, assembled his principal friends, to advise with them upon the course now to be pursued. It was resolved to form a close alliance with Bruce and the Scots: nor was this determination changed by the irruption, which presently followed, of Randolph and Douglas into Northumberland. The negotiations still continued; and it was speedily arranged that Bruce should come in person to the help of the earls of Lancaster and Hereford; they, in return, engaging to procure for him the peaceable enjoyment of his crown and kingdom. But the king had already taken the field. His first blow was directed against the lords Marchers. They retired before him, and called upon Lancaster for aid. The earl instantly called his partizans to arms, and assaulted the royal castle of Tickhill; but failing in his attempts, he hurried southwards to stop the advance of Edward at Burton-on-Trent. The king, however, forced the passage of the river, and the barons retreated hastily to Pontefract. There a stormy council was held. Lancaster was for making a stand at that point; but, overborne by his associates, he resumed the retreat, with the view of awaiting the junction of his Scottish allies at Dunstanburgh, a fortress in Northumberland. At Boroughbridge, however, he found the way barred by a strong force under sir Andrew Harkeley, governor of Carlisle, and sir Simon Ward, sheriff of Yorkshire. After a vain endeavour to gain the adhesion of Harkeley, who had formerly received knighthood at his hands, Lancaster resolved to force the passage of the bridge; but the earl of Hereford having been slain in the attempt, and an attack by a ford having also been repulsed, earl Thomas took refuge in a chapel, saying, as he looked upon the crucifix:—“Lord, I render myself to Thee and Thy mercy.” He was, nevertheless, dragged out by the royalists, who, despoiling him of his rich surcoat, clothed him in a common livery, and conveyed him down the river to York, where he was received with every kind of insult. Thence he was taken to Pontefract, and presented to the king. The death of Gaveston was now to be avenged. The earl of Lancaster was brought a prisoner into his
And sentenced to die.

Thomas, earl of Lancaster, led to execution.

March 22, A.D. 1322.

Edward II was in his own hall; and there the king, with the earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, the elder Spenser, and other royalist barons, condemned him, as a notorious traitor, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded. Edward, however, remitted the more degrading parts of the sentence. The earl was at once delivered into the hands of a band of Gascons, who put an old cap on his head, set him on a lean white pony, and led him out to immediate execution. The presence of his confessor, a Dominican monk, who walked by his side, did not save the earl from the insults of the royalist rabble. They threw pellets of dirt at him, and derisively saluted him as "King Arthur." In this manner he was conducted to the summit of a hill without the town, where he was ordered to kneel, with his face towards his friends the Scots.
and then his head was stricken off by "a villain of London." Like William Fitz-Osbert and Simon de Montfort, Thomas of Lancaster was regarded by the people as a saint and martyr; and such was the resort of pilgrims to the place of his execution, that Baldock the chancellor stationed a guard of Gascons to prevent all access to the spot.

The deaths of the earls of Lancaster and Hereford did not satisfy the vengeance of Edward. About thirty of their principal adherents, who had been taken in arms, were selected for execution, and hanged without trial at various towns. Others, including Roger, lord Mortimer of Wigmore, were sentenced to death, but doomed instead to imprisonment for life.

In the meanwhile, a parliament had assembled at York; and proceeded at once to revise the ordinances. Some of these were confirmed; others annulled. No change was in future to be valid, unless made by the united assent of the king, the prelates, the peers, and the commonalty in parliament. The sentence against the Despensers was reversed. The father was created earl of Winchester, and large compensation was made to both. Sir Andrew Harkeley was made earl of Carlisle.

Edward now thought that he might resume with effect the war against the Scots. A great army assembled at his call; but when it crossed the border, it found the whole country void of supplies, and no enemy in the field. After having pushed as far as the Forth, Edward was obliged by famine to return without having obtained any success. He had no sooner disbanded his troops, than Bruce, swiftly and cautiously following, made a rush upon the royal quarters at Biland abbey. Edward escaped; but his cousin, the earl of Richmond, the French ambassador, and many others, were captured by the Scots, who withdrew in triumph to their own country. The new earl of Carlisle, accused of treasonable complicity with Bruce, was degraded and hanged.

The English ministers, at length convinced that the conquest of Scotland was hopeless, concluded a truce for thirteen years with that country; without, however, any formal recognition of Robert Bruce as king.

Necessary as this measure was, it added greatly to the odium which was gradually accumulating against the Despensers. They had already incurred the deadly hatred of the Lancasterian or baronial party, and of all who believed in it as the bulwark of their liberties. They had disgusted the princes of the blood and the great nobles of the king's party,
by whom it was said, that Hugh Despenser, like Gaveston, had bewitched the king. They now deeply offended the church, by contemning the privileges and seizing the temporalities of no less than four of the bishops who belonged to the Lancastrian party. The favourites were not ignorant of the animosity they had excited. Their enemies commenced a partizan warfare in many places; an association was formed to murder the earl of Winchester; a desperate attempt was made to liberate the state prisoners at Wallingford; and, at length, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, the most formidable of the hostile barons, broke out of the Tower, and escaped to France.

Suddenly, it became evident that Charles IV., king of France, the brother of Edward’s queen, was bent upon forcing a quarrel upon him. Upon the most frivolous pretexts, he seized the Agenois, and, disregarding both the mediation of the pope and the offers of Edward, threatened the whole of Guienne. As a last resource, Edward,—acting upon a suggestion which had been mysteriously thrown out,—despatched his queen to Paris to negotiate with her brother. The treaty which she made was so humiliating for her husband, that his council did not dare even to discuss it: but Edward, though reluctant, gave his assent, and was already on his way to do homage for Guienne, when he fell ill at Dover. Another suggestion was immediately made from the French court, that if Edward would bestow Guienne on his eldest son, the homage of the prince would be accepted by Charles in lieu of that promised by his father. The Despensers,—equally loth to accompany the king to France, and to remain in England without him,—eagerly adopted this device. Prince Edward proceeded to Beauvais, and performed the homage: but he was now in the hands of his mother; and she, defying the reiterated commands of her husband, and alleging fears of Sir Hugh Despenser, absolutely refused to return to England. But this was not all. She made Lord Mortimer steward of her household, and became the open patroness of the Lancastrian and other exiles. The king of France was at last obliged to send her out of his dominions. She retired, however, to the court of his vassal, the count of Hainault, where, under the direction of Mortimer and Orleton, bishop of Hereford, she prepared all things for the invasion of England.

Edward was well informed of the plans of his wife; but all his precautions were nullified by treachery. Towards the close of September, 1326,
Isabel landed at Orwell, in Suffolk, with a small but well-appointed army of Hainaulters and exiles. Royalists and Lancastrians immediately hastened to her standard. It was supposed by the greater number that her object was simply the removal of the favourite. The proclamation, issued in the name of the queen, the prince, and the earl of Kent, denounced Hugh le Despenser as "the manifest tyrant, and enemy of God, of holy Church, of our very dear lord the king, and all the realm." After a vain attempt to rouse the Londoners in his cause, Edward fled with the two Despensers, the chancellor, and a few attendants, to the Welsh Marches; but finding no support there, he left the earl of Winchester to defend Bristol, and ultimately took refuge in South Wales. The old Despenser was speedily besieged in Bristol by the queen; and having been compelled to surrender, was there embowelled and hanged, at the age of ninety. The pursuit of Edward was entrusted to Henry, earl of Lancaster, the brother of earl Thomas: and he, by means of the natives, at length captured the unhappy king, with his favourite and chancellor. Despenser was led to Hereford with every indignity that his enemies could devise, crowned with nettles, and hanged on a gallows fifty feet high. The earl of Arundel and two other nobles were beheaded the same day. Baldock, being a priest, was brought to London for trial, but was so maltreated by the populace, (who had already murdered his late colleague, the bishop of Exeter,) that he died in Newgate of the injuries which he had received.

When the parliament met, the bishop of Hereford invited it to decide whether a vindictive prince should be restored to power, or whether his son should fill his place. It was tumultuously declared that the young prince should be king. This election was afterwards confirmed, on the motion of Stratford, bishop of Winchester. An assent to these proceedings was said to have been obtained from the deposed prince; and his son was proclaimed and crowned.

Edward of Carnarvon did not long survive his fall. He was soon removed by Mortimer from the care of the earl of Lancaster, who was supposed to be too favourable to his cousin. Before the end of the year, Edward was foully murdered at Berkeley castle, by Gournay and Ogle, two of his new keepers.

In person, this unhappy prince was tall, handsome and strong.
EDWARD III.

EDWARD of Windsor, crowned early in his fifteenth year, was too young to have taken any real part in the dethronement of his father; and he now remained under the absolute control of Isabel and Mortimer. The parliament, indeed, had appointed the earl of Lancaster guardian to the young king, and had named a council of regency; but the guilty pair contrived gradually to monopolize the whole direction of affairs.

Scarcely had Edward been crowned, when Bruce, deeming the moment favourable for extorting an acknowledgment of the independence of his country, recommenced hostilities. An army of 24,000 cavalry, under Randolph, earl of Moray, and lord James Douglas, poured over the border, and began ferociously to lay waste the country. It was six weeks before Edward, who had erected the royal banner at York, was able to take the field; and when at last, guided by the smoke of burning villages, he arrived with a splendid force in presence of the enemy, his generals were baffled in every attempt to bring them to action. Leaving the Scots to work their will, the English took up a position on the Tyne, with the view of intercepting their return; but after suffering much from rain, cold, and want of every supply, the army once more proceeded in search of the invaders. They were found in a strong position behind the Were at Stanhope park.

To an invitation to fight on the open ground, their chiefs replied, that they had come to England to burn and ravage, and that if the king was displeased theretat, he might attack them. This the English commanders did not venture to do; and the Scots, after holding them at bay for more than three weeks, escaped unmolested to their own country. Before they retired, however, Douglas, with 200 knights, burst one night into the English camp, and succeeded in reaching the royal pavilion. The courage of the attendants saved their master; and Douglas, finding the alarm given, retired.

The young king, though doubtless mortified at the inglorious result of his first essay in arms, still continued to be ruled by Mortimer. He therefore consented to make peace with Robert I.; to affiance his sister Jane to David, the only son of Bruce; and to renounce all claim of suzerainty over Scotland. In return for these concessions, king Robert paid 20,000 pounds, which the queen and Mortimer appropriated to themselves.

The treaty with Scotland gave a powerful impulse to the hostility which the pride, the pomp, and the usurped authority of Mortimer had already excited against him. He had now been created earl of March; and his assumption of regal state was such that his own son, in apprehension of the result, called him "king of Folly." He was still, however, far too powerful to be assailed with impunity. The earl of Lancaster, guardian of the king, and legal head of the government, attempted to assert his authority by arms; but the earls of Norfolk and Kent, the king's uncles, having been induced to abandon him, he was compelled to purchase a pardon by the sacrifice of half his estates. The earl of Kent next incurred the animosity of Mortimer and the queen. That weak prince was induced by their agents to believe that his brother, Edward of Carnarvon, was still alive at Corfe, and letters which he wrote to the imaginary captive were delivered to the queen. At the next parliament the earl, with the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, and others, was charged with conspiring to replace his brother on the throne. He was tried before Mortimer, and condemned to death. The sentence was carried into effect by order of Isabel, to the great grief, it is said, of the king.

It was, perhaps, this last act which determined Edward (now a husband and a father) to make an effort to emancipate himself from his thraldom. He confided his design to William, lord Montague, who entered into it with zeal. The lords Molineux, Ufford, Stafford, and Clinton were gradually enlisted in the cause, and it was finally resolved to seize the government during the meeting of the parliament at Nottingham.

When the court arrived, Isabel and Mortimer took up their abode in the castle, with the most minute precautions against danger. The king and queen alone were allowed, or rather constrained, to lodge with them; while the royal household was quartered in the town. In these circumstances, Montague boldly resolved to win over sir William Eland, the governor. First administering an oath of secrecy, he then communicated to him the will of his sovereign. Eland readily promised his aid, and revealed to Montague the existence of a secret subterranean passage from the town of Nottingham to the castle keep. Through this, he said, the king's friends could enter. Every point having been arranged, Montague and his associates rode into the country to await the hour appointed for the enterprise. Whether their departure aroused the suspicions of Mortimer, or whether
he had acquired some knowledge of the design, he announced that afternoon to the council, that a plot was in agitation to destroy the queen-mother and himself; and he charged the king with being privy to it. But precautions were now in vain. Before midnight, Montague and his associates, well armed, were guided through the secret passage by Eland, and, having been joined by the king, burst into the room where the earl of

March was engaged in council with the bishop of Lincoln and others of his friends. Sir Hugh Trumpington, Steward of the Household, a creature of Mortimer, attempting to oppose their entrance, was slain. The earl himself was seized, in spite of the entreaties of Isabel, who, hearing the tumult, rushed from her chamber, crying:—"Fair son, spare my gentle
Mortimer;” Both were secured. The next day, Edward announced that he had assumed the government, and summoned a new parliament to meet at Westminster on the 26th of November.

No sooner had the parliament met, than a bill of impeachment was presented against Mortimer. It charged him with having falsely persuaded queen Isabel that she was in danger from her husband; with usurping the power of the regency; with the murder of the late king; the attack on the earl of Lancaster; the ensnaring and execution of the earl of Kent; and the embezzlement of the royal treasures. The peers found all the charges to be “notoriously true, known to them, and all the people;” and, as his proper judges, sentenced him to be drawn and hanged as a traitor and enemy of the king and kingdom. Mortimer was executed at Tyburn. The queen-mother was sent under ward to the manor of Risings.

Scarcely had Edward become his own master, when a difference arose with Scotland. During the long war between the countries, the barons of each had lost the lands which they had possessed in the other. When the peace was made, no restitution was offered on either side; but a few claims were provided for in the treaty. Edward now demanded that these should be satisfied. The regent Randolph—Robert I. was dead—showed no disposition to comply; whereupon the whole body of the English claimants determined to appeal to arms. At their head was Edward, the son of John Baliol, who also pretended to the Scottish crown. The English government forbade any expedition across the border; but Baliol took ship, landed in Fife, and in less than two months was crowned at Scone. He had scarcely, however, concluded a secret treaty with the king of England, when he was expelled from his new kingdom. The Scots in their anger now made some incursions into England; and Edward joyfully declared war. He laid siege to Berwick; defeated and slew the regent Douglas at Halidon-hill; recovered Berwick; and placed Baliol once more upon the throne. The indignation of the Scots again burst out, when they saw the whole Lowlands made over to the English monarch. They resumed the struggle for independence, and at last drove Baliol and his allies over the border.

The attention of Edward, however, had ere this been directed to other quarters. In 1328, Charles IV. of France, the last of the sons of Philip the Fair, died without male issue; upon which, the English parliament, under the influence of Isabel, determined that her son Edward was entitled to the
crown of France as the heir to her brother. His claim, however, was rejected by the three estates of France, who, in strict accordance with precedent, gave the crown to Philip de Valois, the nearest heir in the male line; and Edward himself, by doing homage to Philip, had recognised him as king of France. Now, however, irritated by the constant aid afforded by Philip to the Scots, and incited by Robert of Artois, a vile French exile, he suddenly renewed his claim. The parliament gave its support; and Edward proceeded to enlist in his cause the emperor Louis of Bavaria, the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the counts of Hainault and Namur, and other princes. Proceeding to Coblenz, he was received with great honour by the German princes, and was publicly invested by the emperor with the office of vicar of the empire. On his return, he was met at Antwerp by Jacques van Artevelde, the great brewer of Ghent, who ruled in Flanders with absolute sway; and who promised, in return for enlarged freedom of commerce, the good will and active aid of the Flemings.

It was another year before Edward was able to collect his allies in the field. At length, on the 20th of September, 1339, at the head of a combined army of English, Germans, Hainaulters, and Brabanters, he laid siege to Cambrai, a town belonging to the empire, but which had received a French garrison. Making no progress, however, he raised the siege, and advancing into France, commenced his reign by ravaging the country up to the gates of St. Quentin, Peronne, and Laon. Before the king passed the frontier, his brother-in-law, the count of Hainault, who, as a subject of the empire, had hitherto obeyed him, turned back; then, after a short interval, he repaired to the French camp as a vassal of Philip. That prince had assembled at St. Quentin the kings of Bohemia, Navarre, and Scotland, the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorraine, and Athens, with 26 counts, 5,000 knights, 15,000 men-at-arms, and 20,000 infantry. Confident of victory, he invited his rival to wait for him "on some open ground, free from water and other obstructions." Edward replied, that if the French wished it, they would find him; and, after the delay of one day, slowly moved off towards Hainault. On the fourth evening, Philip, to the great joy of the English monarch, announced that he would fight the next day. In the morning, therefore, Edward disposed his army for battle on an open plain between La Flamengrie and Vironfosse. Placing his horses and baggage in a small wood behind him, he drew up his whole
force in three divisions, with English archers and Welsh spearmen in front. The French also formed in three great divisions on the field; but, at the last moment, Philip was persuaded by his council, sorely against his will, not to risk a battle when his adversary was already retreating. Letters had come, too, from Robert, king of Sicily, "a very great astrologer," counselling him not to fight against Edward in person. The king of England, therefore, awaited his enemies the whole day in vain. The next morning, he learned that they had withdrawn; upon which he retired into Hainault, and broke up his army, after having expended vast treasure and incurred an immense debt, without acquiring one single advantage.

Pope Benedict XII., taking advantage of the cessation of hostilities, now renewed the offers of mediation which he had made during the short campaign. In reply, Edward extolled his own patience under the injuries inflicted upon him by the lord Philip de Valois,—the usurpation of the French crown, the confiscation of Aquitaine, the aid given to the Scottish "rebels,"—and expressed his readiness to accept any reasonable terms which the pope or Philip might offer. This answer, however, had scarcely gone, when Edward, at the suggestion of Van Artavelde, took,—though with some reluctance,—the decisive step of assuming the title of king of France, at the same time quartering the French lilies with his own arms. Proclamations were immediately issued from Ghent, announcing to the French that Edward had taken the style and the government of the kingdom; and calling upon all to submit to him before the ensuing Easter.

From Ghent Edward passed over to meet his parliament at Westminster. He obtained a grant for two years of every ninth lamb, fleece, and sheep, from all who were bound by barony to attend parliament, and of a tenth from the clergy who were not so bound. In return, however, for this liberal vote, Edward was obliged to remit all fines, reliefs, and other dues of the crown, and, moreover, to confirm anew the Great and Forest Charters.

Philip had assembled a great fleet, manned by Genoese, Bretons, Normans, Picards, and Spaniards, to act against the English coasts and commerce. Hostilities were no sooner declared, than his admirals surprised the town of Southampton, one Sunday morning while the inhabitants were at church, sacked the place, and carried off their booty in triumph to Dieppe. Edward vowed revenge. The following year, as he was about to return to Flanders, he received information that the great fleet was on
the watch to intercept his passage. He immediately called to his aid all
the naval force available at the moment, and, in spite of every remon-
strance, set sail from Orwell direct for Sluys. Approaching that port,
he saw the French ships drawn up within, their masts looking "like a
forest." The next morning they appeared at the entrance, formed in four
lines, and secured, one to the other, by great iron chains. Edward and
his marshals, having set the English fleet in order, hoisted sail, and stood
out a little to sea. They waited only until the sun and wind should be
more in their favour, and then bore down upon the enemy. They were
received with destructive volleys of stones from the tops, but the English
archers at length gained the ascendancy. Every ship in the first line
was then boarded, and captured after a frightful massacre. At this sight,
the second and third lines were abandoned in a panic by their crews, who
sank by hundreds in their frantic efforts to escape. Still there remained
the fourth line, consisting of about sixty large vessels, whose defenders
were now joined by the bravest of the survivors. This force maintained a
desperate resistance until nightfall, when a few of the ships effected their
escape in the darkness. All the rest remained in the power of the English.
The next day, Edward landed, and immediately set out on foot to the church of Ardenbourgh, to return thanks for his victory.

The king of England, well provided with money, was soon again surrounded by his allies. At the head of 100,000 men, under the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the margrave of Brandenburg, the count of Hainault, and Jacques van Artavelde, he invested the strong city of Tournay, which was defended by the constable of France and 30,000 picked troops. The attack and defence had lasted several weeks, when the king of France approached with a great army to raise the siege. Edward challenged him to decide their quarrel by single combat, or to name a day for a general engagement. Philip replied, that the king of France would eject his liegeman from the kingdom whenever he thought proper. He had not, however, yet ventured to give battle, when his sister, Jane of Hainault, the mother-in-law of Edward, and now a nun at Fontanelle, came from her convent to induce the rivals to suspend hostilities. It was with the utmost reluctance that Edward yielded; but his military chest was again empty, and his allies would not remain in the field without pay. He therefore consented to a truce for nine months, thus losing Tournay when it was within his grasp.

Exasperated by the abortive issue of the campaign and by the pressure of his creditors, Edward turned his wrath upon the ministers at home. Suddenly crossing over to England, he arrived at the Tower during the night, and instantly removed the chancellor, the treasurer, and the chief justice, and threw others into prison. Archbishop Stratford, however, the principal object of his resentment, escaped to Canterbury, whence he rebuked the king for his illegal proceedings, issued anew the ancient excommunication against the violators of the Great Charter, and called for a parliament to investigate the causes of the late failure. In reply, Edward accused him by proclamation of misappropriating the supplies. Stratford, in a circular letter, defended himself; and the king angrily rejoined. When the parliament met, Edward ordered the archbishop to be excluded, and to be indicted before the court of Exchequer. Obliged by the lords to allow Stratford to take his seat, the king accused him to the commons; whereupon the lords unanimously resolved, that no peer could be tried except by his peers. To obtain a supply, Edward assented not only to this claim, but to several demands of the clergy and commons. No sooner, however, had he attained his end, than he revoked all his concessions.
Edward III.

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Edward now, deeply involved in debt, deprived of his vicariate by the emperor, and deserted by the German princes, gave evidence of a willingness to come to terms with his adversary; but Philip refused even to treat until he had renounced the title and arms of France. Almost on the instant, an event occurred which rendered Edward more formidable than ever. The death of John III., duke of Brittany, in April, 1341, was followed by a contest for the succession, between Jeanne de Penthièvre, his niece, and John de Montfort, his brother. Philip declared for Jeanne, who had married his nephew: Edward supported the male competitor. In the first campaign, de Montfort was taken prisoner by Charles of Blois, the husband of Jeanne; his countess, however, heroically maintained the struggle, until the English, first under lord Manny, then under the king, turned the scale in her favour.

The English had now become impatient of their burthen: and in 1345 the parliament unanimously prayed the king to end the war, either by a battle or by a good peace. The earl of Derby (son of the earl of Lancaster) was immediately despatched with an army to Guienne, where he commenced operations with spirit and success. The attention of Edward was first directed towards Flanders; but the murder of Van Artavelde deranged his plans in that quarter. The next year, he assembled a fine army at Southampton, giving out that he intended to join the earl of Derby in Guienne. On getting to sea, however, the king altered his course, and landed at La Hogue, in Normandy. His force consisted of about 4000 knights and men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, with two considerable bodies of Irish and Welsh infantry. After knighting the prince of Wales, who had just passed his sixteenth year, the king marched through Normandy, his troops wasting, burning, and plundering as far as they could reach. Edward avoided the fortified places, for he was anxious to strike at Philip without loss of time. On reaching the Seine, however, he found the bridges everywhere broken, and his adversary guarding the northern bank with forces which daily increased.

At last, by a skilful feint towards Paris, Edward deceived the enemy, and passed the river by a repaired bridge. Disregarding a challenge to battle from Philip, he continued his march to join the Flemings in the north. But the line of the Somme had been strongly guarded, and the English were repulsed in three attempts to force their passage. At the last moment, however, Edward discovered a ford, and cut his way into Ponthieu. Here he faced about, and, near the village of Crecy, made careful preparation for battle.
On the morning of the 26th of August, the whole army was dismounted and formed in three divisions: the first under the nominal command of the young prince of Wales, who was assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford; the second under the earls of Northampton and Arundel; and the third, or reserve, under the king himself. When all was prepared, the English sat down upon the ground in their ranks, each man with his weapons before him, and quietly awaited the moment for action. After riding along the lines of his army, and addressing words of confidence and encouragement to his barons and knights, Edward took up his station upon an eminence near a windmill, from whence he could survey the whole field, and there he eagerly expected the approach of his foe.
About three o'clock, the French, who had left Abbeville at sunrise, arrived in front of the English position in four great masses, but so fatigued and disordered, that Philip's wisest captains advised him to defer the battle until the morrow. The French king at first acceded to this counsel; but on beholding the English standing in tranquil array, his anger was so excited, ("for he hated them"), that he passionately ordered forward a division of Genoese crossbowmen, under Antonio Doria and Carlo Grimaldi, to commence the fight without delay. The Genoese, weary with their march and the weight of their arms, reluctantly made their way to the front, and prepared for the attack; when a terrible storm, accompanied by a thick darkness, fell upon the two armies. Already in position, however, the English had better noted its approach, and their archers had taken care to cover up their weapons. Not so their enemies.

In a brief space, however, this "marvellous tempest" passed away, and the sun blazing forth behind the English lines, poured its rays full in the faces of the French. The Genoese, nevertheless, were formed and led to the attack by their leaders, while a magnificent body of cavalry, under Philip's brother, the count of Alençon, followed in support. Uttering three shrill cries, the Italians advanced and discharged their missiles against the opposing ranks. The English archers, in return, poured such a hail of arrows amongst the Genoese, that these troops, whose bowstrings had been injured by the rain, soon gave up the contest and began to retire. At this sight, the king of France ordered the count of Alençon's division of cavalry to cut down "all that rascalry which was stopping the way without any cause." Upon this, a fearful conflict ensued between the French and Italians, during which the English yeomen continued to send their flights of arrows wherever the throng was densest, smiting horseman and archer alike; while the Irish and Welsh, darting to the front, did much execution upon the wounded with their long knives.

At length, his front having been cleared in this disastrous manner, the count of Alençon, collecting a mass of the French chivalry, passed round one flank of the English archers, and fell upon the line of men-at-arms under the prince of Wales and the earls of Warwick and Oxford. The count of Flanders did the like on the other flank; but these attacks, although gallantly supported by the other divisions of the French, and renewed again and again with the utmost obstinacy, were repulsed on every
occasion with heavy loss. The division of the prince of Wales, however, was so severely pressed at one moment, that the experienced captains who assisted him deemed it necessary to send Sir Thomas Norwich to the king for succour. "Is my son dead, or badly wounded?" asked Edward. "No, sire," answered the knight. "Sir Thomas," rejoined the king, "return to him and to those who have sent you, and tell them in my name that whatever betides, they are not to seek aid from me so long as my son is alive. Say that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I wish, if God so will, that he and those to whose charge I have entrusted him shall have the honour of the day." This message being reported to the prince and his companions, greatly encouraged them; and with the assistance of the second division, (and, perhaps, also by the potent aid of cannon), they
maintained their position against the fiercest assaults of the French to the end of the day. When darkness set in, the English, without quitting their ground in pursuit, had slain eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, besides a multitude of inferior rank, whose number report swelled to thirty thousand men. Amongst the princes were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Alençon, and the count of Flanders. The king of France seemed bent upon adding his name to the fatal list; but after receiving two wounds, and having had a horse killed under him, he was forced from the field by John of Hainault, the uncle of Edward's queen, and with a small escort arrived in safety next morning at Amiens.

That he might reap some solid benefit from the consternation which the tidings of his great victory at Crecy had spread far and wide over France, the king of England resolved to possess himself of Calais, a town which offered manifold advantages as a base for future operations, and as a port affording the easiest communication with his own kingdom. The town, however, strong in itself, was defended by a numerous garrison under John de Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, whose reputation foreboded a long and obstinate defence. Edward therefore determined on reducing the place by famine; and to this end his first care was to lodge his army well before the coming winter. By his orders, a town of wood was rapidly constructed in front of Calais: and this town, which he named Ville-nueve à Hardie, was soon supplied by the merchants of England and Flanders with every necessary and every luxury which the army demanded. Careful of his men and of his artillery, Edward would allow no attempts to be made on the place, but remained quiet on that side, sending out, however, from time to time, detachments to scour the country as far as Boulogne and St. Omer. While the fortress was thus watched on the land side, the English fleet guarded the approaches to the harbour, and Calais was completely beleaguered.

While the king of England was in this manner preparing to secure that important prize, his lieutenants and his allies were elsewhere signal success. The earl of Derby, freed from the duke of Normandy's army, (which Philip had called away to the north), had assumed the offensive, ravaged the Agenois, Saintonge, and Poitou, stormed the city of Poitiers, and returned, laden with booty, into Guienne. In Brittany, the countess of Montfort captured her rival at Roche-d'Errien.
Philip had no sooner learned the arrival of Edward at La Hogue, than he wrote to David of Scotland, urging him to invade England, now denuded of troops, and to take vengeance on the common enemy. David immediately summoned a parliament, which was unanimous for war; and before many weeks had passed, the king had entered Cumberland with 33,000 cavalry, and had extended his ravages almost to the gates of Durham. It was more than three weeks before the archbishop of York and the great northern barons could collect a force sufficient to meet the invaders. At length, however, having assembled some 16,000 men, they advanced so rapidly that the Scots were taken by surprise. A division under the famous sir William Douglas of Liddesdale was driven in with great loss; and David had scarcely time to arrange his troops on the broken ground where he then was, when the English were upon them. The Scots, hemmed in by enclosures, could make no effectual defence against the archers. Their right wing at last gave way; and the main body, under the king himself, was then assailed in flank as well as front. The earls of Moray and Strathern, the constable, marshal, chamberlain, and chancellor of Scotland, were slain; and, finally, David, after a gallant struggle, was taken prisoner by John Copeland, a Northumbrian gentleman, who immediately carried him off to his castle of Ogle. The earls of Fife, Menteith, and Wigton, with nearly forty barons, shared the fate of their king; while more than 15,000 of their countrymen were left dead on the field.

When John de Vienne perceived that the king of England intended to reduce Calais by famine, he collected all the poorest inhabitants and sent them out of the town. Edward not only allowed them to pass through his lines, but ordered that a good meal and two pieces of silver should be given to each. Twice did the French attempt to relieve the place by sea. On the first occasion, a small squadron entered the harbour; on the second, the whole fleet was captured. Again the governor drove out some hundreds of the townspeople. But Edward this time refused a passage; and the whole number, rejected by besieged and besiegers, died of cold and hunger. Philip at length resolved to force the English to raise the siege. He approached their lines at the head of 150,000 men; but when his officers saw the nature of the ground, and the works erected by Edward, they pronounced against any attempt to force them. At this moment, the cardinals of Naples and Clermont arrived, and endeavoured to bring the rival
monarchs to terms; but as both princes insisted upon the possession of Calais, every effort of the mediators failed. Philip then challenged Edward to leave his lines and fight; yet, when his challenge had been rashly accepted, made difficulties, broke up his camp, and retired to Amiens. The defenders of Calais, now utterly hopeless, immediately offered to capitulate. The king of England would hear of no terms but that of unconditional surrender to his will; and he gave out that he intended to put some eight of the principal townsmen to death. There was no remedy. John de Vienne issued from the town, riding on a hackney, accompanied by six gentlemen unarmed and bareheaded, holding their swords by the points, and one of them bearing the keys of the town and castle at the end of a lance. These warriors the king raised as they knelt, and desired them to pass on. They were followed by four burgesses and four shipmen, each with a halter round his neck. Edward preserved—or affected to preserve—to the last moment his stern determination; and it was only when queen Philippa earnestly besought him to have mercy on these unhappy men, that he released and placed them at her disposal. Nevertheless, every inhabitant of Calais who refused the oath of fidelity to Edward was expelled the town, and their places filled by English.

The fall of Calais afforded the legates an opportunity to resume their efforts, which were now successful. A truce for six months only was at first agreed upon; but it was, by fresh exertions, prolonged during six years.

It was now that Edward, fulfilling a project which he had meditated for some years, instituted a secular order of chivalry, under the patronage of St. George, the members of which were to be called knights of the Garter.

Notwithstanding the truce, a crafty attempt was made by a French nobleman, during the winter of 1348, to recover Calais for his sovereign, Geoffrey de Charny, who with extensive powers commanded at St. Omer, applied to sir Amerigo de Pavia, a Lombard, whom Edward had appointed admiral and governor of Calais, offering him 20,000 crowns if he would deliver up the town. The Italian accepted the proposal; but at once informed his master of it. He was directed to continue the negotiation to the end; and it was arranged that he should admit the French troops into Calais on the last night of the year. Before that time, however, Edward had secretly arrived in the castle, with the prince of Wales and a chosen force under the command of Walter lord Manny. De Charny was thus
completely entrapped. A detachment which he had sent forward to receive possession of the castle was enclosed and captured; while his main force, waiting in the darkness for the opening of the town-gates, was suddenly assailed by the English under Manny. The French defended themselves gallantly, but before day were nearly all killed or taken. Edward, who

fought incognito under the banner of Manny, greatly distinguished himself in single combat with Eustace de Ribeauvill, a brave French knight, whom he at length compelled to surrender. The prisoners having been brought into the castle, the king discovered himself, and invited all to sup with him that evening. After the feast, during which the prince of Wales
and the English nobles served the first course, Edward walked through the hall, addressing a few words to each of his guests. To De Charcy alone did he evince any displeasure. But when he came to De Ribaucourt, taking a rich chaplet of pearls from his own head, he placed it on that of his late adversary, and said:—"Sir Eustace, I give this to you, as the best combatant on either side; and I desire you to wear it for my sake. I also free you without ransom. Depart when and where you will."

In the year 1349, a fleet belonging to the maritime cities of Biscay had captured a number of English ships laden with Bordeaux wine. Edward resolved to intercept the Spaniards as they returned from Flanders: and, having assembled a fleet at Winchelsea, he embarked with the very flower of the nobility and knighthood of England. Towards evening the Spaniards were seen coming from the straits with a good wind, and they bore down upon the king's fleet in full confidence of victory. An obstinate and sanguinary conflict ensued. Edward commanded that his ship should be laid in the way of the nearest Spaniard. The violence of the shock dismayed the enemy, and opened a dangerous leak in the royal vessel. The king did not know his peril; but his companions, in desperation, boarded and captured a great ship, and transferred him on board of it. In like manner, the vessel of the prince of Wales was shattered and in danger of sinking. It was in vain that he and his knights attempted to board their huge antagonist. They were repelled in every attack; until the lately-created duke of Lancaster, seeing their danger, ran his ship on the other side of the enemy, shouting—"Derby to the rescue!" The Spaniard was soon taken, every one of her crew having been slain or thrown into the sea; and scarcely had the prince and his men established themselves on her deck, when their own vessel went down. At last the Biscayans drew off; and Edward, after much loss, but leading twenty-six prizes, returned in triumph to Winchelsea.

Influenced, perhaps, by the miseries of his people, Edward had offered to renounce his claim to the French crown, in return for the full sovereignty of the provinces which he now held under it; and John, the new king of France, had almost pledged himself to the compromise. His prelates and nobles, however, refused their consent, upon which Edward renewed the war. In the first campaign, John laid waste Artois before his adversary, and kept at a distance, until the Scots, bursting into the north of England, compelled the king to hasten to its defence. In the meanwhile, however,
the prince of Wales had invaded Languedoc, and, after burning more than 500 cities, towns, and villages, had returned with immense spoil to Bordeaux.

In the following summer, the prince, understanding that his father was about to repeat his invasion of the north of France, marched from Bordeaux with about 14,000 English and Gascons, and directed his course through Querci and the Limousin towards the centre of the kingdom. A petty expedition to Normandy, however, was all that was attempted by Edward in the north; and when the prince had passed Bourges, he learned that king John was at Chartres with a very large army, and that he had strongly secured every passage of the Loire. A retreat was immediately resolved upon; and the English, still burning and destroying, made their way through Touraine into Poitou, ignorant that the king of France, by a series of rapid marches, had interposed his whole army between them and Bordeaux. Near Poitiers, however, the prince discovered that the enemy had got before him: “God help us!” said he; “we have now only to fight!” and he at once occupied an excellent position amongst hedges and vineyards, which he fortified still more with his baggage-waggons. The next morning, the French generals perceived that their splendid cavalry was nearly useless; and the king drew up the greater part of his force on foot. He had just ordered the attack, when two cardinals arrived on the field, and obtained, though with difficulty, permission to negotiate. “Save our honour,” said Edward to the cardinal de Talleyrand, “and I will accept any reasonable conditions.” The French, however, insisting upon the surrender of the prince, with one hundred of his knights, he rejected the demand with scorn. The next day, the French advanced to the attack, throwing forward a select body of cavalry to disperse the archers. But these horsemen, entangled between hedges, were shot down by almost invisible enemies, and driven in confusion upon the columns behind them. The division of the duke of Normandy had no better success, and was beginning to waver, when Sir John Chandos said to the prince:—“Sir, push on, and the day is ours.” The order was given; the cavalry mounted; and the whole English army rushed furiously on the enemy. A panic had already commenced; and while some divisions were wildly flying, others, pushing forward, srove in vain to save the day. King John displayed the most obstinate valour, but at last was obliged to give himself up to Denys de Morbeque, a knight of Artois in the service of Edward. With him were taken his son Philip and several princes.
In the evening, Edward entertained at supper in his pavilion the king of France and the greater part of his noble captives. He placed the king and his son at a well-covered board, giving them as companions the lords James of Bourbon and John of Artois, with a few other nobles of the highest rank. The rest of his guests sat at separate tables. Upon all he waited with the greatest humility, resisting every entreaty that he would seat himself at the royal table. Seeking to raise John from his dejection, he said to him:—"Dear sir, do not make a poor meal because the day has gone against you. Be assured that my father will treat you with every consideration, so that you will hereafter always remain friends. In my opinion, indeed, you should rather rejoice, in that evil fortune has enabled
you to acquire so high a personal renown. This I do not say to flatter you: for it is the unanimous opinion of all our best judges, that the prize and garland of valour belongs this day to you." These and such-like words were received with mumurs of applause by all present; and the French nobles declared, that their host, if he lived, would be one of the most gallant princes in Christendom.

The next morning, the prince resumed his march for Bordeaux, and esteemed himself fortunate that he was able to bring his prisoners and rich booty in safety to that city. In the spring, Edward proceeded with his royal captive to England, after having been obliged to distribute 100,000 florins among the barons of Aquitaine, as their share in the prize. Great had been the joy of the English at the news of the victory of Poitiers. Solemn thanksgivings had been offered up, and bonfires lighted, in every town and village. And now orders were given to the citizens of London to receive the king of France with all the honour due to his high rank.

The young Edward and his prisoner landed at Sandwich, and after making their offerings at Canterbury, came on the fourth day to London. At Southwark, they were met by the lord mayor, with the city companies, each in different liveries, and were conducted in the greatest pomp through the crowded streets of the capital. The king of France was provided with a white charger, richly caparisoned, while his conqueror rode modestly by his side, on a small black hackney. And thus they proceeded, amidst the loudest acclamations, to Westminster hall, where king Edward, surrounded by his peerage, received his rival with every mark of friendship, and led him at once to a magnificent banquet. Amongst the spectators on this day was the aged queen Isabel, who came from her retirement to witness the triumph of her grandson.

Edward had now in his hands the kings of the two countries of which he claimed to be the rightful sovereign. But he had secretly abandoned all hope of conquering either France or Scotland; and his resolution had already been taken to make the best terms possible with both nations. In 1355, he had consented to release king David for a ransom of 90,000 marks, to be paid in nine yearly instalments; and the treaty was on the point of execution, when John of France, by a distribution of 40,000 moutons d'or among the Scottish nobles, induced them to reject the treaty, break the truce, and cause an effectual diversion in his favour. This breach
of faith was revenged by Edward in the most savage manner. Resuming for a moment his project of conquest, he purchased of Balliol his claim to the crown, and then entered Scotland, burning every town, village, and dwelling within twenty miles of the coast, not even sparing the churches and monasteries. His fleet, however, having been driven off by a storm, the absolute dearth of food drove Edward back to England, thus ending an expedition which the Scots long and vindictively remembered as "the burnt Candlemas." Negotiations for peace, nevertheless, were resumed; and, after the great defeat of their allies, earnestly pursued by the Scots. It was at length arranged, that David should be restored to his people, who, in return, should pay 100,000 marks in ten years. To ensure the fulfilment of this obligation, bonds were given by the Scottish nobles, clergy, and burgesses; and three earls, with twenty youths of high rank, were delivered as hostages. On these terms was David released, after a captivity of eleven years.

Meanwhile, the cardinals of Perigord and Urgel, who had been charged to bring about a peace between France and England, had arrived in London, and resumed their labours. They found the demands of Edward high; but such as were not unreasonable, considering the great advantages he had gained, and the distracted condition of France at that time. He offered, indeed, to renounce his claim to the throne of France; but he required that not only Aquitaine, but all the provinces held by his ancestors, should be made over to him in full sovereignty; moreover, that he should be recognized as suzerain of Brittany: and he demanded 4,000,000 golden crowns, as ransom for his royal and other captives. John hesitated for many months; but at last signed the treaty, and despatched it to be ratified by the states of France. That assembly, however, indignantly answered, that it were better that the king remained in England than that France should be diminished. Edward, in great wrath, declared that he had been deceived, and that, on the expiration of the truce, he would compel the French to make peace. Never before did he make such preparations; and when his army had assembled at Dover, he announced to them his determination not to return to England until he had brought the war to an honourable issue.

It was late in the autumn of 1359 before Edward was ready to take the field; but the army which he then led from Calais was the largest, the best equipped, and the best commanded, that England had ever sent forth, and
it was now augmented by great numbers of foreign knights. It marched in three divisions, skilfully disposed so as to guard the immense trains of waggons and baggage-horses which accompanied them. The king himself commanded the first division; the prince of Wales, the second; and the duke of Lancaster, the third. Under them served the three sons of Edward,—Lionel, John of Ghent, and Edmund,—the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Hereford, and Northampton, with Chandos, Manny, Cobham, and Percy, the heroes of Crecy, Poitiers, and Neville’s Cross. Avoiding the fortified towns, the invaders moved slowly through Artois, the Cambresis, and Picardy, into Champagne, and laid siege to Rheims. It would seem that Edward designed to have himself crowned there in the seat of the kings of France. But after blockading the city for two months in the depth of winter, he raised the siege, and put his army in motion towards Burgundy.

Cautious as the French had hitherto been, it was far from their intention to confine themselves entirely to the defensive. A fleet had been equipped with great secrecy; and suddenly appearing on the English coast, sent out a force which surprised and sacked the town of Winchelsea with circumstances of unusual barbarity. Men of every class, in alarm and indignation, rushed to arms in every quarter. The vigour of the council under prince Thomas, the youngest son of the king, speedily collected a numerous fleet, which they entrusted to sir John Paveley, prior of the knights of St. John; but the French had had full time to withdraw to their own ports, and little was done to molest them.

In the meanwhile, Edward, after having put the duchy of Burgundy to ransom for the sum of 200,000 moutons d’or; had drawn near to Paris, and challenged the dauphin to battle. Charles, however, who relied upon the rigour of the season and the distress of his enemies for supplies, was not to be provoked to unnecessary action. He kept his troops, therefore, within the walls, even when the lord Manny, with an inconsiderable force, rode up to the very barriers of the city: and Edward, finding his position untenable, put his troops in march for the fertile country along the Loire, resolved to lay siege to Paris after the harvest. He had not proceeded far, when he was overtaken by commissioners sent by the dauphin with proposals of peace. But Edward, although his army was daily diminished by cold, wet, and hunger, still held the most haughty language, and refused
to listen to any reasonable terms. The French commissioners, nevertheless, still followed his march, and vainly continued their negotiations; when, in the neighbourhood of Chartres, there came such a storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied by such violence of hail and snow, and such destruction of life, that the boldest were stricken with terror.

The king, in dismay and remorse, stretched his hand towards the cathedral of Chartres, and vowed that he would no longer be an obstacle to peace. In little more than three weeks, a treaty was signed at Brestigny. Edward renounced all claim to the crown of France and the greater part of the continental possessions of his ancestors; but, in return, the full sovereignty of Guienne, Poitou, and Ponthieu, was assured to him by the dauphin, in
the name of king John. It was also arranged that he should retain Calais, and that he should receive 3,000,000 crowns of gold as ransom for his captive. It was, however, three months before the treaty was confirmed; and, even then, the renunciations on both sides were postponed until all other stipulations should have been performed. The two kings, kneeling before the altar in the church of St. Nicholas, at Calais, swore on the host and the gospels to be faithful to their engagements. The next day, John was escorted by the prince of Wales to Boulogne, where he was received with great rejoicings by the dauphin and his people. The ceiling provinces were successively delivered to Edward; but the ransom was paid very slowly; and the renunciation of sovereignty was so hateful to the French, that the king did not venture to make it. Many were the delays, difficulties, and complaints on both sides. At length, in 1363, king John, conceiving his honour compromised, (especially by the conduct of his son, the duke of Anjou, who had broken his parole,) insisted upon returning to his captivity. He was received with great honour by Edward, but died shortly after, at the Savoy.

At the end of the war, a large proportion of the foreign soldiery who had served Edward, finding themselves without pay, organized under chosen leaders, and began to make war on their own account. The "Free Companies," as they were called, daily increased in numbers and audacity, occupied wide tracts of country, and, defying alike the pope and the neighbouring princes, maintained themselves by pillage for several years, until at last employment was found for them in Italy and in Spain.

At this time, the king of Castille was Pedro IV., a prince whose acts had well earned for him the surname of "the Cruel." Enrique of Trastamara, the eldest of his illegitimate brothers, had led a revolt against him, but failing, had been obliged to take refuge in France. There his cause was widely favoured, and the more warmly, because his adversary had deserted, imprisoned, and murdered his virtuous queen, Blanche of Bourbon. A proposal was made that Enrique should lead "the companies" into Spain, and dethrone the tyrant. The pope and the king of France advanced the funds. The king of Aragon promised every aid. It was not long before a fine army, under Bertrand Duguesselin, was at the disposal of Enrique, who marched through Aragon into Castille, and possessed himself of the crown almost without a blow. Pedro fled into Portugal, but failing of succour there, took ship at Corunna, that he might seek it from his allies, the English.

Edward, prince of Wales and Aquitaine, was at this time holding his court at Bordeaux. He no sooner heard that Pedro was at Bayonne than he repaired thither, and gave the fugitive the most honourable reception. It was in vain that the council of the prince reminded him that Pedro was a cruel tyrant, banned by the church. Edward, like his father, was determined to support the ally of the English against the ally of the French. He accordingly made a treaty with the Castillian, engaging to do his utmost to replace him on the throne. Pedro, on his part, bestowed upon the prince “the land of Biscay,” and guaranteed the whole charge of the expedition, under pain of being held as “perjured and infamous.”

The will of the prince was no sooner known, than all the English and some thousands of “the companies” left the service of Enrique, and returned to serve under their old banner. Four months were spent by Edward in collecting money and troops; and in January, 1367, after he had been joined by a division from England, he found himself at the head of 24,000 picked cavalry, ready to cross the Pyrenees. Meanwhile, Enrique, informed that an invasion was imminent, had assembled 60,000 men between Burgos and the Navarrese frontier. In this position he kept his main body, until he learned that Edward had crossed the Ebro. Then, contrary to the opinion of Duguesclin, he advanced to give battle on the plains of Najara. There he received a herald with a letter from the prince of Wales, who informed him that he had come determined to replace Don Pedro on the throne; but offered to act as mediator to effect a friendly arrangement. Enrique replied, that he had been called to the throne by God and the people; and that he should defend the independence of Castile. The next morning, both armies advanced to the combat. At the first onset, however, the cavalry under Don Tello, a brother of Enrique, took to flight, followed ere long by the remainder of the left wing. The Spanish slingers, too, were at once driven by the English archers from the field. Duguesclin, nevertheless, with the French, and Enrique himself, made a gallant fight: but the efforts of Edward, John of Ghent, Chandos, and Don Pedro, at last gave them a decisive victory. Enrique fled, leaving his brother Sandio, Duguesclin, and many of his principal adherents in the hands of the English.

The next morning, which was Sunday, the prince had scarcely come out of his tent, when Pedro arrived, eager to get into his power the Castillian prisoners. “Fair cousin,” said he, as soon as he had received the honours
due to a king, "I beg that you will deliver up to me the wicked traitors of my country, Sancho and the rest, that they may receive their deserts." Edward,—who was already much displeased at an execution which Pedro had commanded the evening before,—answered, that he could not comply:

The prisoners belonged to their captors; and that the gentlemen in his service were men who would not for any price deliver over their captives to be slaughtered. It was not, he said, by cruelty that Pedro would recover his throne; and he finally requested him, as a personal favour, to grant a pardon to all his subjects. Pedro, not daring to refuse
his powerful benefactor; yielded, though most unwillingly, to his prayer. He embraced Don Sancho, and assured the other prisoners of his favour, on condition that they once more took the oath of fealty to him. One exception, however, is said to have been allowed by the prince: and Pedro immediately ordered Gomez Carillo, his brother's chamberlain, to be beheaded before his royal tent.

The victory of Najara laid his former kingdoms at the feet of Don Pedro. Such was the terror inspired by his allies, that every thought of resistance was abandoned: and in a few weeks deputies from all the provinces did homage to him at Burgos. Having thus seen the Castillian in full and peaceable possession of his kingdom, Edward, whose troops were in want of pay, requested him now to fulfil his engagements. Pedro, protesting his good will, craved a little delay; and departed, as he said, to raise money at Seville. But four months passed, and nothing was done for the allies who had restored him to the throne, and who were now being decimated by heat, disease, and scarcity. The Biscayans, probably in concert with Pedro, refused to receive a foreign prince. The king not only failed to send the promised supplies, but demanded that the "companies" should be ordered out of his kingdom. At last Edward, sick and dispirited, led the remnant of his army back to Guienne. Of his Englishmen, scarcely a fifth returned.

It was now more than seven years since the peace of Brétigny, and its most important articles were as yet unconfirmed. The policy of Charles V. of France was to gain time; to retain his claims; to prepare; and to watch his opportunity for renewing the war with advantage. The English expedition to Spain materially promoted his designs. In order to discharge the debts which he had incurred in the cause of Pedro, the prince imposed upon Aquitaine a hearth-tax for five years. The nobles of upper Gascony, however, not only resisted the impost, but appealed to the king of France, as if he were still their suzerain. Charles affected for twelve months to decline all jurisdiction; but having concluded an alliance with Enrique, (who had again raised the Castilles in his favour,) and having assured himself of a strong party in the English provinces, and gained over the "companies," he summoned the prince of Aquitaine to answer in person before the French chamber of peers for his oppressions. "I will appear at Paris on the appointed day," said the indignant prince; "but it shall be helmed, and
with 60,000 men.” His father, however, once more endeavoured to obtain from Charles the renunciation of his suzerainty, but was answered by a declaration of war. The exertions of King Edward to meet the crisis were great; but his call to arms of all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty, clergy as well as laity, revealed the exhaustion of England. Meanwhile, the Gascons were in revolt: Enrique, after killing Pedro, had become king of Castille: the French were taking town after town; while the prince of Wales, still wasting under the disease he had brought from Spain, lay unable to mount his horse. By a last effort, however, he recovered the city of Limoges; and, after staining for ever his name by the massacre of the inhabitants, returned to England, a gloomy and confirmed invalid. It was in vain that his brothers, the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, and again, Sir Robert Knolles, penetrated and traversed France in different directions. They plundered the country, indeed, and spent their strength in skirmishes, but could not force the enemy to a pitched battle. In 1372, Enrique, provoked by the claim which John of Ghent had set up to the Castilian crown, sent his fleet to co-operate in the siege of Rochelle. The earl of Pembroke, coming from England with large succours in men and money, was encountered off the port by the French and Spaniards, (the last furnished with cannon,) and his whole fleet sunk or taken, after a gallant struggle. Rochelle surrendered: and in three years more, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Calais, and a few other towns, were all that remained to the English.

The long contest for the crown of France, however burdensome, and at last disastrous, it had proved to the English nation, had at the same time steadily increased the importance and power of the commons. To obtain the necessary supplies, the king was compelled to call his parliament at least once a year, and on nearly every occasion to grant some reform or promise of reform. And if in his days of triumph and popularity the parliaments had ventured to withstand him, in his season of decline they became still more bold. When the parliament met in 1376, the duke of Lancaster, who for the last few years had directed the government, was become extremely unpopular: and when a subsidy was demanded for the king, the commons refused to answer until they should have consulted the bishops of London, Norwich, Rochester, and Carlisle. To these prelates were subsequently joined four barons and four of the most powerful earls. The commons then, through their speaker, Sir Peter de la Mare, complained that the vast
sims drawn from the people had been spent without benefit to the king or kingdom; and they demanded an account of the expenditure; adding, that it was incredible that the king could want “such infinite treasure,” if his ministers were faithful. They obtained the admission of twelve new members to the council; impeached and drove from office some of Lancaster’s adherents; while others were imprisoned. Nor did they stop here. They exerted from the king, and recorded, a severe rebuke to Alice Perrers, a married lady, who, since the death of queen Philippa, had acquired the most complete ascendancy over his mind.

While “the good parliament,” (as it was called,) was thus pursuing its success, the prince of Wales, whose influence had given it irresistible strength, expired at Canterbury, to the deep grief of the nation. The whole parliament attended his funeral at Canterbury; and even at Paris a solemn requiem was said for him by order of the king. The death, however, of his brother emboldened John of Ghent to propose that the crown should be settled only on the heirs male of the king, a step which, on the decease of his nephew, Richard of Bordeaux, would have made the duke heir presumptive. The commons not only refused their consent, but petitioned that Richard might at once be brought to parliament as heir apparent: which was done. The power, nevertheless, of the parliament was now on the wane: and it had no sooner been dissolved, than the duke of Lancaster recovered his authority; gained over lord Percy by conferring upon him the staff of marshal; dismissed the other new councillors, and restored his friends. The vengeance of Alice Perrers and other criminals was at once gratified by the illegal imprisonment of De la Mere, the late speaker, and by the prosecution of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, the late chancellor.

The next year, the duke, by means of the sheriffs, obtained a majority in the commons; and his steward, sir Thomas Hungerford, was elected speaker. But there still remained a bold minority, which demanded the trial or release of De la Mere; while the bishops took up with zeal the cause of Wykeham. It happened at this moment that the bishops had summoned before them, on a charge of unsound teaching, the celebrated John Wycliffe. Partly out of favour to Wycliffe, but more out of animosity to the prelates, the duke of Lancaster and the lord Percy attended the accused to his trial at St. Paul’s. The Londoners, however, disliked the duke; and an insult which he addressed to their bishop, (who was also one
of the popular leaders,) excited such a tumult that the court was broken up in disorder. The next morning the populace rose, and stormed the Marshalsea and the Savoy, the residences of the duke and lord Percy, putting to death a priest whom they mistook for the latter in disguise. Lancaster and Percy escaped across the Thames to Kennington; and finally the exertions of the bishop of London restored order. Vainly, however, did the lord mayor and aldermen offer submission to the duke. He removed them all, and placed creatures of his own in their room.

From an early period in the thirteenth century, an altered state of feeling towards the Papacy had gradually spread and established itself in England. It was in origin and progress almost wholly temporal. The right of taxation and patronage which the pontiffs claimed over all Christian churches, and their frequent exercise of those rights, had generated a spirit of resistance and of criticism which had much weakened the reverence formerly felt towards the Roman see. The long sojourn of the popes at Avignon, and the election of so many natives of France to the supreme dignity, had implanted the idea that the popedom was French, and, therefore, anti-English. Of all these feelings the kings of England had known how to take advantage; and while professing the utmost submission to their spiritual father, the parliaments had ventured from time to time to set limits to his authority. Thus the claim of Boniface VIII. to judge the right of Edward I. to Scotland had been rejected. Thus the patronage of the popes had been transferred to the kings by the statutes of Præmunire, in 1343, 1351, and 1353. And thus the tribute conceded by John had been finally refused in 1366. Then Wycliffe arose: a priest in high repute for austerity and learning, who, after vehemently denouncing the monastic orders, proceeded to assail the persons and authority of the popes. Chaplain to the king, and professor at Oxford, he continued his course for several years unmolested; but at length, in 1377, was reprimanded by the primate, and ordered to be silent.

Edward had now reigned for more than fifty years. His last public act was the knighting of his grandson Richard. Death overtook him at Shene, where he dwelt with Alice Perrers. She had told him that he was in no danger; and at the last, with all his household, abandoned him. A poor priest, however, hastened to offer his services. Edward was speechless; but, weeping, he kissed the crucifix, and so died, in his sixty-fifth year.
RICHARD II.

RICHARD of Bordeaux, the second son of Edward the Black Prince, had, by the death of his elder brother in 1372, become heir to the crown of England. He was now in his eleventh year: and, dear to the people for the sake of his father, he ascended the throne amidst the most hopeful anticipations of his subjects. After his coronation, which was performed with extraordinary splendour, the prelates and peers held a council to arrange the form of the young king's government. As if in distrust of his uncles, no protector was appointed, but the administration was confided to the chancellor and treasurer, with a council of twelve, thus composed:—two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four knights.

The first care of the new government was to provide for the immediate defence of the realm; for the French and Spaniards were off the coasts, and, still imagining that Edward was king, had destroyed the town of Rye. The formation of two armies was instantly ordered; the one at Dover, under the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, uncles of the king; the other near Southampton, under the earl of Salisbury. Great spirit and determination was everywhere displayed: clergy as well as laity hurried to repel the invaders: yet the French and Spaniards for some months commanded the seas, and interrupted the commerce of England. They ravaged the Isle of Wight, and burned Hastings, Poole, Portsmouth, and other places. At Southampton, however, they were beaten off with much loss by the earl of Arundel; at Winchelsea, by the abbot of Battle.

To obtain supplies, a parliament was called. The majority proved identical with that of 1376, and De la Mere was again appointed speaker. The duke of Lancaster, however, by a vehement speech, drew from the whole parliament an expression of confidence; and, thereupon, reconciled himself with the commons. A liberal supply was voted; and the commons obtained that John Philpot and William Walworth, merchants of London, should be the treasurers. They succeeded, too, in bringing Alice Perrers to justice. But when they attempted to control the appointment of the great officers of state, they were checked by the lords, who reserved that privilege to themselves.

The exploits of the duke of Lancaster did not fulfil the hopes which he
had raised. With a fine army he landed in Brittany, and laid siege to St. Malo. Baffled by the courage of the garrison, and by the proximity of Duguesclin, whom he could not bring to action, John of Ghent returned without honour to England. The Scots, breaking the truce, now joined in the war; and some of their ships, under one Mercer, captured all the vessels in the port of Scarborough. Upon this, Philpot, the London merchant, fitted out a small force, went in search of Mercer, and took him, with all his prizes, and sixteen Spanish ships; an action for which he was rebuked by the council. In July, 1380, the earl of Buckingham marched un molested from Calais, through Artois, Picardy, Champagne, the Gatinois, Beauce, Maine, and Anjou, to Brittany. But the duke, whom he had come to aid, having soon made his peace with France, the earl was glad to extricate his army in safety from the province, and set sail for England.

Meanwhile, the debt incurred by the government had risen to the sum of 160,000 pounds; and the parliament resolved that about two-thirds of the amount should be raised by a poll-tax of three groats for each man and woman above fifteen years of age. It proved a fatal expedient.

The great mass of the population of England was at this time deeply discontented. In spite of the ameliorations which had been effected in their condition by the church and by the state, the majority were still practically bondsmen. But they were serfs who had learned that they had a right to be free. Preachers had been among them, who taught that the destruction of their sinful rulers would be a deed acceptable to Heaven. They had heard, too, of the efforts of their brethren on the continent; and the recent success of the Flemish communities against their lords had encouraged them to attempt the like. Such was the temper of the multitude at the time when this poll-tax (the second within five years) was imposed. No resistance, however, was offered, until the government, disappointed in the returns, farmed the tax to some speculators. The insolence and rigour of the collectors thereupon redoubled. The people of Fobbing, in Essex, rose, slew the assessors and taxing clerks, and carrying their heads on poles, called the country round to their aid. In Kent, an artisan of Dartford, enraged by the brutality of the collector, laid him dead with his hammer, and roused the whole district in his defence. About the same moment, sir Simon Burley, a powerful courtier, claimed one of the burgheers of Gravesend as his serf, and committed him to Rochester castle. The
fortress was immediately stormed, and the man set free. The people rose simultaneously in every direction, slaying without mercy every lawyer, courtier, and retainer of the duke of Lancaster whom they could lay their hands upon. In a short time, an immense but ill-armed multitude had assembled on Blackheath, under a leader who took the name of Wat Tyler, and John Ball, a priest who had been repeatedly excommunicated and imprisoned for his teaching. By these a message was sent to the king, who had taken refuge in the Tower, desiring that he would come and confer with them for the good of the realm. Richard accordingly proceeded down the Thames in his barge; but his attendants, alarmed by the wild concourse which thronged to meet him, induced him to return to the fortress. The insurgents, in great wrath, instantly marched upon London; and having extorted an entrance from the fears of the citizens, destroyed the Savoy, the priory of St. John, and the Temple, and put numbers to death. In the hope of propitiating them, the king went out from the Tower, and at Mile-end received the demands of the men of Essex and Hertford. They were four:—1. That all should be made free. 2. That their land should never be more than fourpence the acre. 3. Liberty of buying and selling in all places. 4. A general pardon. To each demand Richard assented; and charters having been rapidly drawn up, these insurgents retired to their homes. In the meanwhile, however, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw had broken into the Tower, and seizing upon Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, Apuldore, the king's confessor, with serjeant Legge, farmer of the poll-tax, and three of his colleagues, had beheaded them on the spot.

The next morning, Richard rode to attend mass in Westminster abbey. After paying his devotions at the shrine of the Confessor, he had returned as far as Smithfield, when he suddenly came upon a multitude of the insurgents. The king immediately reined in his horse, saying, that he would inquire what troubled the people, and would seek to appease them. On the other side, Wat Tyler, seeing the king, ordered his associates to remain tranquil, and rode alone to meet him. After a short parley, however, his demeanour became so threatening, that William Walworth, the mayor, almost demanded permission to arrest him. The king at last gave the word, upon which Walworth, drawing a short scymetar, brought Tyler to the ground, where he was despatched by one of the royal esquires, John...
Standish. The insurgents, seeing their leader fall, bent their bows, and advanced, crying:—“They have killed our captain. Slay them all!” In this moment of peril, Richard showed the utmost courage and presence of mind. Commanding his attendants to remain behind, he rode up to the enraged multitude, and said:—“What are you about, my friends? Tyler was a traitor. I am your king. I will be your captain.” The rebels, taken by surprise, refrained from violence, and, though irritated and suspicious, suffered the king to lead them across the fields in the direction of Islington.
In the meanwhile, the peril of the king having become known in the city, his friends sounded to arms, and in a short time a large force had sallied out to his rescue, commanded by the veteran soldier, Sir Robert Knolles, some of the aldermen; and Nicholas Bramer, the king's draper. Richard knighted Walworth, Standish, and Bramer on the field; but, at the intercession of Knolles, he refrained from attacking the misguided multitude. He sent, however, to demand back the royal banners which had been given to them the day before, and ordered them to disperse. The insurgents, overawed by his assumption of superiority, delivered up the banners, and then, as if panic-struck, cried for mercy, or fled in confusion towards London. A proclamation was immediately issued, commanding all strangers to quit the capital before nightfall; and the rebellion was virtually quelled. "Thank God, Madame," said Richard, when he rejoined his mother; "for I have this day regained my kingdom, which I had lost."

At the first outbreak of the insurrection, the higher classes, taken by surprise, had shut themselves up in their castles and houses; but when the discomfiture of the rebels at London was known, the lords everywhere issued forth in arms. The king, revoking his recent grants, (which were in fact illegal,) took the field at the head of 40,000 cavalry; and in a short time the masters with unsparing cruelty crushed every attempt at resistance. John Ball, Jack Straw, and several hundreds of the insurgents, were executed. "The king, however, suggested to the next parliament the abolition of all bondage; but was met by the most peremptory refusal from both lords and commons. On the other hand, measures were taken to remove some secondary grievances; and soon—on the occasion of the king's marriage with Anne of Bohemia—a general pardon was granted to each of the parties in the late struggle.

No sooner had Courtenay, the successor of the late prince, been appointed, than he convened a synod, which condemned as heretical or erroneous all the chief doctrines of Wycliffe and his disciples. Abandoned now by the duke of Lancaster, and deprived of his professorship, Wycliffe appealed to the parliament, which he invited to reform the church. But though he obtained the repeal of an act which had just passed, for the repression of his itinerant priests, men in general were not as yet prepared to change the established doctrine. Wycliffe, therefore, following the advice of the duke of Lancaster, made a profession of faith which was accepted by
the authorities, and retired to his rectory of Lutterworth, where he died in about two years. He had, however, by delivering the Scriptures into the hands of the people, and making them the ultimate judges of doctrine, surely prepared the way for the most momentous changes.

From the commencement of Richard's reign, the attention of his confidential advisers had been divided between the war with France, the schism in the church, and the supposed ambitious designs of the duke of Lancaster. In the contest which was raging between pope Urban VI. and the antipope, Clement VII., of Avignon, England remained in obedience to the former; and the government readily promoted a crusade which he ordered against the French, who had set up his rival. The effort, however, failed, and the war altogether languished. In the meanwhile, the constant opposition of the duke of Lancaster to the ministers gave rise to suspicions of his loyalty. The king at one moment believed the reports against his uncle; at another, rejected them. At one time, the duke took refuge in Scotland; at another, in his strong castle of Pontefract. Now, the king resolved upon his arrest; again, he gave him a guard for his security. At length, in 1386, the king of Portugal having solicited the duke to go to his assistance against Enrique of Castile, Richard joyfully sanctioned and aided the expedition. John of Ghent departed with a fine armament for Spain. His troops for the most part perished; but he succeeded nevertheless in marrying his daughter Catherine to the heir of Enrique.

The principal favourites of Richard were the chancellor, sir Michael de la Pole, a veteran soldier and statesman, and Robert de Vere, the young earl of Oxford. He had lately created the one earl of Suffolk, and the other marquess of Dublin; at the same time raising his uncles Edmund and Thomas to the dukedoms of York and Gloucester, and his cousins Henry of Lancaster and Edward of York to the earldoms of Derby and Rutland. The new duke of Gloucester, however, aimed at power; and, by the help of the great nobles, organized a strong opposition to the government. When the parliament met, the lords and commons refused to apply to any business until the ministers (especially the chancellor) had been removed. The king was obliged to give way. Suffolk was impeached by the commons for undue use of his influence; and, though acquitted on four out of seven charges, sentenced to fine, and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. It was next proposed that a council should be appointed to
reform the state. At this proposition, Richard threatened to dissolve the parliament. A member of the commons thereupon moved for the statute deposing Edward II.; and the king was, by desire of Gloucester, warned that death might be the penalty of a continued refusal. He yielded. The commission was appointed; and Gloucester and his friends, who formed the great majority, were masters of England.

In yielding, Richard limited the duration of the commission to a year. Much of that time was employed by him in progresses through the land, giving audience, granting favours, and attracting adherents. He consulted with the principal judges as to the legality of the late proceeding. They replied, that the commission was subversive of the constitution, and that all its abettors were traitors. The king, having bound them by oath to keep the matter secret, resolved to bring his opponents to trial before those very judges. Sending for the sheriffs, he enjoined them to use every exertion to secure a majority for him in the next parliament. All his measures having been taken, Richard returned to London a few days before the expiration of the commission, and was received with an extraordinary show of loyal respect. Meanwhile, the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, informed, through one of the judges, of their secret decision, had assembled a large force, and followed the king to London. They were joined at Waltham-cross by the earls of Derby and Warwick; and there, before the commission of state, which went out to meet them, challenged, or "appealed," the chief advisers of the king as guilty of treason. The commissioners then returned, and notified the appeal to some of the accused, and to the king, who, finding his adherents completely overawed, at length consented to receive it.

On the Sunday following, Richard, in his royal robes and holding the sceptre, took his seat on the throne in Westminster-hall, in presence of a multitude of every degree. There he waited for nearly two hours the arrival of the lords appellants. They, in the meanwhile, were advancing through the city with every military precaution. At length, having occupied all the approaches with their troops, the duke of Gloucester, accompanied by the earls of Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Nottingham, all in armour, entered the hall. Thrice, however, between the door and the step of the throne, did they kneel with every sign of respect. The king rose, grasped the hand of each, and then demanded, by the mouth of the chancellor,

Commission of reform proposed.
The king considered.
And superseded.
Nov. 10, 1386.
Richard works to recover his power.
Secretly consult with the judges.

Returns to London.
Nov. 14.

"The appeal of treason."
Nov. 14.

Richard meets the appellants.

They cross the armed.
what was their object. They replied, that their purpose was the good of the king and his kingdom; and that therefore they desired the removal of the traitors who were about him: that these traitors were, Alexander Neville, archbishop of York; Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland; Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk; Sir Robert Tresilian, false judge; and Sir Nicholas Bramber, false knight of London. Then casting their gauntlets on the floor, the appellants offered to prove by arms the justice of their cause. The king answered, that he would call a parliament to decide the quarrel; and that, in the meantime, both parties should remain under his protection. Then inviting the lords to his own apartments, he conversed amicably with them, pledged them in wine, and repeated the assurances which he
had just publicly given. It was determined that the parliament should be summoned to meet in the first week of February.

The obnoxious counsellors now saw that the king was powerless to save them; and, conscious of guilt, or hopeless of justice, they all took flight. The archbishop of York, disguised as a simple priest, found refuge on the Scottish border. The earl of Suffolk, after failing in one attempt, escaped to France. The duke of Ireland, equipped as an archer, made his way to the extremity of Cheshire, a county devoted to the king. It was not long, however, before he began, in concert with his master, to raise forces under the royal banner; and, with the aid of Molyneux, constable of Chester, and the lords Vernon and Radcliffe, he soon collected 5000 men from Lancashire, Cheshire, and Wales. At the news, the duke of Gloucester held a consultation with his principal associates at Huntingdon. He had taken ecclesiastical and legal advice upon the cases in which a vassal would be justified in renouncing his homage; and he now proposed to depose the king, and to take the crown into his own custody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick and sir Thomas Mortimer approved the design; but the resolute opposition of the earls of Derby and Nottingham caused it to be laid aside. All, however, were firmly united against the royal favourite. Rapidly, secretly, by night marches, they brought their numerous forces upon all the roads by which he could reach the metropolis.

The duke of Ireland, imagining that the swiftness of his advance had secured the passage of the Thames, was approaching Radcot bridge, when the troops of the earl of Derby were discovered in formidable array on the other side. Undismayed, however, and leading on his men with the royal banner displayed, De Vere rode to the foot of the bridge; but seeing then the narrowed roadway, with a triple barrier across it, he turned off to seek another passage. But he soon found that the duke of Gloucester was in his front, while the earl of Derby had followed in pursuit. Throwing away his gauntlets and sword, he plunged into the stream, gained the other side unobserved, and so escaped. Of his followers, Molyneux was killed by sir Thomas Mortimer; others were drowned; the rest were captured, stripped of everything, and dismissed to their homes.

Six days after their victory at Radcot, the lords arrived at Clerkenwell, with a splendid army of 40,000 men. After an ostentatious display of their force before the city walls, they sent envoys to inquire whether the
Londoners held with them and the commons, or with the traitors. A deputation, headed by the mayor, went out to lay the keys of the city at their feet. The king, unable to resist, consented to receive them, and sent them also the keys of the Tower. A sufficient guard having previously entered the fortress, the lords left their army and a vast multitude without, and proceeded, linked arm in arm, to visit the king. Showing him his letters which they had intercepted, they completely subdued his spirit. He assented to every demand. Then they led him to the ramparts, that he might behold their forces and the people. Richard marvelled at the numbers. “They are not,” said Gloucester, “a tithe of the multitudes who, with us, are ready to exterminate traitors.” Thus instructed, the king saw without resistance the arrest of his friend sir Simon Burley and ten others of his household, and the expulsion from court of the bishops of Durham and Chichester, (the second his confessor), ten peers and knights, and three ladies.

When the parliament met, the duke of Gloucester, kneeling before the king, complained that he had been suspected of designs upon the crown. Richard hastened to declare that his confidence in his uncle was unshaken. The lords appellant then presented their impeachment of the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian, and sir Nicholas Bramber. The principal charges were, that the appellants had “by falsehood induced the king to give them his love, trust, and credence; making him hate his faithful lords and lieges, by whom he ought of right rather to be governed;” and that the same traitors had conspired the overthrow of the commission and the destruction of its members. Bramber was in prison; and as the others did not appear, the accusers demanded judgment upon them for default. The decision, however, was adjourned till the next day; meanwhile, all the judges who had given the secret opinion to the king were arrested in court, and consigned to the Tower. In the end, all the accused were found guilty; and all, except the prelates, condemned to death. De Vere, however, the archbishop, and Suffolk, were in safety; but Tresilian, Bramber, and two others, were immediately executed. The bishop of Chichester and all the judges were banished to Ireland.

Of all the prisoners, the one whom the king most wished to save was sir Simon Burley. This aged knight had long served the late king and the Black prince; had been governor to Richard; had negotiated his marriage with Anne of Bohemia; and had escorted her to England. He loved, and
was beloved by, his royal master and mistress, who now spared no effort to rescue him. But when Richard denied the guilt of Burley, and interceded for him, he was told by Gloucester that, if he desired to remain king, he must abandon his favourite. It was in vain that the queen, on her knees, pleaded long and earnestly for the life of her faithful servant:

Gloucester and Arundel remained deaf to every entreaty. It was in vain that their own associate, the earl of Derby, vehemently took the side of mercy, and displayed the utmost anger when his prayer was denied. The duke and his party were resolved that Burley should die; and, after an obstinate struggle in the next session of parliament, succeeded in their purpose. In the absence of the king and his friends, it was voted that Burley was guilty of compassing the death of the chief reformers; and
the prisoner was delivered to the earl marshal for execution the same day. On account of his ancient services, and because he was a knight of the Garter, he was spared from being drawn and hanged, but the sentence of beheading was forthwith carried out near the Tower of London. A few days afterwards, three other ancient friends of the king were executed.

Satisfied with its work, the parliament then proceeded to bind the king never to disturb it: and having rewarded the lords appellant by a grant of 20,000 pounds, and exacted from each of its members an oath never to consent that any judgment or statute therein passed should be reversed or repealed, it was at last dissolved.

The duke of Gloucester was now supreme in England, checked only by a commission which he had virtually nominated. No measure of importance distinguished his rule at home; and no increase of vigour marked the conduct of the war with France and Scotland. The capture of a merchant fleet was the principal triumph of the earl of Arundel: while in the north the Scots, under James, earl of Douglas, were allowed to ravage the country up to the gates of York. As they withdrew, however, they were attacked at Otterbourne by Henry, lord Percy, surnamed Hotspur. Douglas was killed in the desperate action which ensued; but Hotspur and his brother Ralph were taken, and the Scots remained masters of the field.

For eleven months, Richard had keenly watched the course of public affairs, gained adherents, and then recovered his authority by a single act of personal vigour. One day, at the council board, he suddenly demanded what was his age. "Your highness," answered Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," returned the king, "I am of full age to govern my household and kingdom. Why should I be denied what is conceded to the meanest of my subjects? I thank you, my lords, for your services, but henceforth I will act for myself." Following up his advantage, he demanded on the spot the great seal from the archbishop of York, and the keys of the treasury from the bishop of Hereford. Gloucester and his friends were quietly deposed; and a new government formed under the duke of York, the earl of Derby, and Wykeham as chancellor. Gloucester retired to his country seat: while Richard announced by proclamation that he had assumed the government, promised to observe the recent statutes, and declined to levy the last subsidy until he should actually need it.

Richard now reigned for seven years in peace and prosperity. He
RICHARD II.

lived happily with his consort, "the good queen Anne," and his ministers obtained the confidence of the parliaments and the nation. A truce for three years was concluded with France and Scotland; and thus the people were materially relieved from their burdens. With the general content, the power of the king increased, so that he was able, on the one hand, to admit his uncle Gloucester to the council, and, on the other, not only to obtain the recall of the surviving judges from their exile, but to celebrate in the most public manner the obsequies of his friend the duke of Ireland.

In the year 1394, Richard lost his queen, to his intense grief. Nevertheless, he immediately offered his hand to the princess Isabel of France; and to occupy his mind, passed over to Ireland. There he displayed a conciliating spirit; knighted the four principal kings, O’Nial, O’Connor, O’Brien, and Mac Murrogh; and admitted in private that the “Irish rebels” had reason to be so. In the meanwhile, the followers of Wycliffe, who were now called by the name of Lollards, were exhibiting so much boldness in England, that the bishops appealed to the protection of the king. Richard hastened his return: sent for the Lollard chiefs, and by his passionate menaces somewhat checked their zeal. In the autumn, he was married at Calais to the princess Isabel; and now, thinking his power irresistible, he resolved to execute a design long hidden in his breast.

Richard had never forgotten the overthrow of his authority in 1386, and the pursuing to death of his favourites. For nine years he had secretly worked his way towards vengeance, and he now believed that the hour for it was come. Having obtained the concurrence of his uncles of Lancaster and York, and of the earl of Derly, he proceeded with the utmost craft and decision. With personal dishonour he entrapped the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and sent them away to distant prisons. Then riding with a strong escort to Pleshy, he arrested the duke of Gloucester, and delivered him to his former associate the earl of Nottingham, who swiftly and secretly conveyed him to Calais. The king then repaired to Nottingham, where the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerset, and Salisbury, with the lords Despenser and William Scrope, appealed the three prisoners of treason, and asked to be allowed to prove their charge. Richard directed them to attend the next parliament.

The next step was to select a friendly parliament. It was opened at Westminster, in the midst of a great display of military force. Bussey,
speaker of the commons, immediately prayed and obtained that the commission of 1386, with the statute confirming it, and every pardon granted to Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, should be annulled. The commons then impeached Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, for having, as chancellor, supported the commission: and, on the next day, the appellants charged the imprisoned peers with having threatened the life of the king, conspired to depose him, and outraged him by putting sir Simon Burley to death. The earl of Arundel was immediately put upon his trial. He boldly denied his guilt, appealed to a jury, and pleaded the royal pardon. Bussey told him that his pardon had been revoked by the king, lords, and faithful commons. "The faithful commons are not here," retorted the earl. Refusing then to plead, he was sentenced to death by the duke of Lancaster, and executed the same day. An order was next sent to the earl marshal at Calais directing him to bring the duke of Gloucester before the king in parliament. He answered, that the duke was dead. No inquiry was made: and Gloucester was unanimously declared a traitor. Derby, Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and Nottingham, were created dukes of Hereford, Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Norfolk: the earl of Somerset, marquis of Dorset: the lords Despenser, Neville, Percy, and Scrope, earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Wiltshire.

Not long afterwards, the new duke of Norfolk, chancing to encounter his associate Hereford, expressed to him his conviction that the king would yet revenge himself upon them for the affair of Radcot bridge. Hereford repeated the conversation to his father, who informed the king. But Norfolk, on being questioned, denounced Hereford as a liar, and challenged him to battle. Richard appointed the lists to be held at Coventry.

While the two champions were preparing for the duel, the greatest efforts were being made to prevent it. To this end, the duke of Lancaster used all his influence. The king of France also urged Richard to avert the scandal. Richard, however, still ordered every preparation to be made; and, at the appointed time, proceeded with the committee of parliament to Coventry, where a vast multitude, from every quarter of England, had already assembled. The lists had been erected on Gosford green, without the city walls; and were guarded by a strong force under the duke of Albemarle, constable of England, and the duke of Surrey, who had been appointed earl marshal in place of Norfolk. The king, accompanied by the primate
and the chief nobles of England, with the duke of Brittany, the count of St. Pol, and many foreign visitors, having taken his seat under a rich canopy, the champions prepared for the encounter. The duke of Hereford had already put his horse in motion, when the king, throwing down his warder, took the combat into his own hands. The antagonists were conducted to their chairs, where they remained for two hours, waiting the result of the council which the king was holding with the committee of
parliament. At length they appeared, and Bussey the speaker announced to the duke of Hereford that for the sake of the public peace it had been determined that he should go into exile for ten years. The sentence of the duke of Norfolk was banishment for life. Each was permitted by special patent to succeed to any inheritance that might accrue to him. When Hereford departed from London, thousands lined the ways to do him honour. He proceeded no further than Paris. Norfolk went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died of a broken heart, the next year, at Venice.

Richard, now intoxicated with his triumph, set no bounds to his tyranny. The last parliament had rendered him independent of all control, by granting him for life the taxes on wool and hides, and by placing at his disposal a permanent committee of twelve peers and six commoners, which served to give the force of law to every edict of his will. He had, moreover, established a strong guard of Cheshire archers, men completely devoted to him; and he imagined that his power was irresistible. In his earlier years he had several times remitted the subsidies voted to him by parliament; now his rapacity became extreme. He had recourse to forced loans; compelled the supporters of the commission of 1386 to purchase charters of pardon; and, for the sake of extorting fines, put seventeen counties "out of the law" at once, under pretence that they had favoured his enemies against the duke of Ireland. When, only three months after the banishment of his son, the duke of Lancaster died, Richard, in direct violation of his recent patent, disinherited his cousin, and seized the vast estates of his uncle for himself.

This act sealed the fate of Richard. The nation, already exasperated under his tyranny, began to look towards Henry of Bolingbroke as their deliverer. The duke of Lancaster, on his part, was preparing to undertake the enterprise, when an event occurred which made clear the path before him. His cousin Edmund, earl of March, heir presumptive to the crown, was slain by the Irish; and Richard at once determined to revenge his death in person. It was in vain that the discontent of his subjects at home, and the risk of leaving the kingdom, were urged upon the king. Having appointed the duke of York regent of England, he passed over to Waterford, and marched against the Irish. But Art Mac Murrogh, the prince who directed the war, avoiding a battle, Richard was soon obliged to extricate his troops from a wild and desolate region, and retire to Dublin.
Meanwhile, Henry, learning that the king had departed, had resolved to return at once to England. Under pretence of a visit to the duke of Brittany, he left Paris, hurried to Vannes, set sail with three small vessels, and arrived in safety at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland came quickly to meet him, and on receiving at Doncaster his oath that he sought nothing but his patrimony, they joined him with all their following. At every step his force increased; and as he pursued his rapid march to the south, the timidity and indecision of the government revealed its consciousness that the nation was hostile. The earl of Wiltshire, Bussey, and Greene fled to Bristol. The regent, who had raised the royal standard at St. Albans, made no attempt to defend the capital, and drew off his forces towards the west. Henry, therefore, without striking a blow, made his triumphal entry into London amid the most signal testimonies of affection and delight. He lost not a moment, however, in following his uncle to the west. He came up with him on the Severn, and, in a secret interview at Berkeley, obtained his adhesion. Bristol was immediately given up to him. The next day, the earl of Wiltshire, Bussey, and Greene, were executed without trial.

Totally ignorant of what was passing in England, Richard had resumed his pursuit of Mac Murrough. Three weeks after the fact, he was informed that Henry had landed. The earl of Salisbury was immediately despatched to raise the Welsh, the king promising to follow him in six days. The earl succeeded in collecting a large force at Conway; but twelve days having elapsed without any tidings of the king, his host dispersed. A week later, Richard arrived at Milford; but, to his dismay, the greater part of his army took the first opportunity to desert. Putting on the dress of a priest, he fled with a few friends towards Conway, where he expected to find the army of Salisbury. On discovering the truth, he allowed the dukes of Exeter and Surrey to proceed to Chester, and open negotiations with his opponent. Henry instantly despatched the earl of Northumberland to secure the person of the king: an object which that nobleman very craftily effected. Richard was ensnared, and carried off to the castle of Flint, that he might there be presented to the duke of Lancaster.

When the near approach of the duke was announced, the king, still in his disguise, went down into the court, attended by the Bishop of Carlisle, the earl of Salisbury, and the few others who remained faithful to him.
Scarcely had he descended, when the duke arrived with a small retinue. Armed at all points except the helmet, and holding a white rod in his hand, he advanced respectfully towards the king, bowing twice as he approached, and finally bending his knee to the ground. "Fair cousin of Lancaster,"

said Richard, putting back his hood, "you are right welcome." "My lord," replied Henry, again bending the knee, "I am come before you sent for me, and for this reason: the common report of your people is, that you have now, for twenty or two-and-twenty years, governed them very badly and very rigorously, inasmuch that they are not well contented therewith. But,
II.

Wales, governor of them, and his rivals. A deputation was sent to the parliament, and then Henry escorted his prisoner to London. On their arrival, Richard was sent to the Tower.

Whatever his original intention, it was now evident that Henry had determined to obtain the crown. Nor was that object difficult of attainment. The tyranny of Richard had been so sharp and so recent, that the mass of his subjects were eager to depose him. The earl of March, the next legal heir, was a child, and totally unknown to the nation. Henry, on the contrary, in the prime of life, versed in affairs, a warrior who had gained renown against the infidels in Barbary and Lithuania, had long been the idol of the people; and the wrongs of which he had lately been the victim had greatly increased his hold upon their sympathy and affection. Thus many (and perhaps the Percies were of the number) who had at first only intended to restore the duke to his hereditary honours and estates, found themselves driven by the popular will to assist in placing him on the throne. The difficulty was, to clothe the act with legal forms.

As a first step, before the meeting of parliament, the most strenuous endeavours were used to obtain from Richard a renunciation of his authority. On the day before the opening, a deputation from the two houses, headed by the archbishop of York, visited him at the Tower. There the earl of Northumberland reminded him, (so, at least, it was recorded,) that he had, while still at liberty in Wales, promised that he would resign his crown and dignity, on account of his incompetency. Richard (it was said) declared that he was ready to perform that promise; and having read, from a paper which had been prepared for him, a confession of incapacity and unworthiness, with a renunciation of all regal authority, he designated his cousin of Lancaster (whom he had desired should be sent for) as his successor, and gave him the signet ring from his own finger.

The next day, the lords and commons met in Westminster hall, surrounded by a dense crowd of the people. At the upper end was the throne,
covered with cloth of gold, and near it, on the left, sat the duke of Lancaster. The session having been opened, the resignation of Richard was produced and read; upon which every member rose in his place and accepted it, the multitude testifying its joy by repeated shouts. But the resignation of Richard was not sufficient; he must now be deposed by parliament. After the coronation oath, therefore, had been read, thirty-three articles of impeachment were brought forward, in which the late king was accused of the murder of Gloucester, of the revocation of the pardons which he had granted, and of a number of other high crimes and misdemeanors. No one ventured to defend him. His deposition was voted unanimously, and the sentence at once proclaimed by the bishop of St. Asaph.

After a short pause, Henry rose, and made the sign of the cross. "In the name," said he, "of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and the appurtenances; as that I am descended by right line of the blood coming from the good lord Henry III.; and though that right, that God, of his grace, hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance, and undoing of good laws." His claim was admitted without question by all present; and then the archbishop of Canterbury led him to the throne, on which, after a few moments spent in prayer, he took his seat amid tumultuous applause. The primate then, addressing the assembly, enlarged upon the text:—"A strong man shall rule the people," and maintained that an inexperienced prince was a curse to a nation. He was followed by the new king, who, after thanking all the estates of the land, repudiated every intention of using the right of conquest to the injury of any of his subjects, except, indeed, such as had set themselves against the wellbeing of the realm. After summoning the members present to meet as a new parliament in six days, and appointing new officers of state and justice, Henry retired to prepare for a grand banquet to the nobles and gentry.

The next day, sir William Thyrning, the chief justice, proceeded with other commissioners to the Tower, and communicated to the prisoner the sentence of parliament. Richard heard him with calmness, and only expressed a hope that his cousin would be a good lord to him.
IX days after the deposition of Richard, the same men who had condemned him met again as a new parliament. An address from the commons was immediately presented to the king, setting forth that "it was not to be supposed that Richard, lately deposed for high crimes and misdemeanors, could have committed the same without the advice of some who were about him;" and therefore the commons prayed for the production of certain records and persons. Henry granted their petition, and adjourned the parliament until after the coronation. On the following Sunday, the king rode from the Tower to Westminster, preceded by forty-six newly created knights, in long robes of green. The next day, which was the anniversary of his going into exile, he was crowned king of England in the abbey church; the earl of Northumberland bearing unsheathed at his side the sword which he had worn on his landing at Ravenspur. In reward of his great services, that nobleman had already been appointed constable of England. He now received a grant of the isle of Man. The earl of Westmoreland, who had been made earl marshal, was also gratified with the earldom of Richmond. At the first opportunity, Henry of Monmouth, the eldest son of the king, was created in full parliament prince of Wales; receiving from the hands of his father a golden rod and coronet, the ensigns of his rank. The young earl of March and his brother had already been consigned by Henry to an honourable captivity at Windsor.

When the parliament re-assembled, the commons, having now obtained the records which they sought, resumed their pursuit of the counsellors of the dethroned monarch. All who had "appealed" the late duke of Gloucester and his friends were now put upon their defence, and the most furious passions were kindled during the discussions which ensued. A paper, purporting to be the confession of John Hall, a retainer of the duke of Norfolk, was publicly read, which charged the duke of Albemarle with complicity in the murder of Gloucester. The duke at once denied the fact; whereupon the lord Fitzwalter rose, and turning to the king, said:—"The duke
of Albemarle denies it, but I say that he was the cause of that murder, and this I will prove with my body. Here lies my gage,” continued he, casting his hood upon the floor. Twenty other lords instantly threw down their gages in the quarrel against Albemarle. “I never consented to the

death of Gloucester,” repeated the duke, fiercely addressing himself to Fitzwalter; “and you lie falsely!” Saying which, he, too, cast his hood upon the ground. The king here interposed, and directed that all the pledges of battle should be placed in the hands of the constable and marshal. The animosity of the hostile factions, nevertheless, continually broke out during the session. The earl of Salisbury was “appealed” and challenged by the lord Morley. Charges of falsehood and treason were bandied about, until no less than forty of the peers had called each other to the field. The king, however, prevented any recourse to arms; and it was finally determined, that the lords who had “appealed” the duke of Gloucester should surrender the honours and estates which they had received in reward for that act. The dukes, therefore, of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, with the marquis of Dorset, again became earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and Somerset; the earl of Gloucester again became lord le Despenser.
A seeming peace having been now obtained, the new government introduced and carried several important measures of reform. The crime of treason was once more confined to the limits established under Edward III.; appeals of treason were abolished, and accusers referred to the ordinary courts; any future delegation of the authority of parliament to a permanent committee was forbidden; and the severest penalties were denounced against all, except the king, who should give livery or badges.

In the fourth week of the session, the earl of Northumberland appeared in the lords with a message from the king. The strictest secrecy was immediately enjoined upon all present by the primate; and the earl then said, that their advice was desired as to the future treatment of Richard, but that the king was determined to spare his life. The lords answered, that he should be conveyed secretly to some remote castle, and kept, under trusty guard, from all communication with his friends. Upon this counsel Henry acted; and after repeatedly transferring his captive by night from one prison to another, finally lodged him in the castle of Pontefract.

At this very moment, Henry himself was in the most imminent peril. Four of the lords appellants of Gloucester, who had been degraded at the beginning of the parliament, and another, the earl of Salisbury, had quickly matured a plan to revenge themselves and their former master. Proclaiming a grand "mumming" at Oxford, for the 6th of January, 1400, they invited the king to attend, designing to fall upon him during the festivities, to put him to death, and then to restore Richard to the throne. Henry accepted the invitation, which was conveyed to him by his brother-in-law, the earl of Huntingdon; and then went to keep his Christmas at Windsor.

On the appointed day, the earls of Salisbury, Kent, and Huntingdon, with the lords Despenser and Lumley, assembled in arms at Oxford. They looked in vain, however, for their chief associate and instigator, the earl of Rutland. The king did not appear. Fearing treachery, yet hoping still to succeed, the conspirators made a forced march that night, and at daybreak arrived at Windsor castle. They were too late. The earl of Rutland, whose secret had been discovered by his father, the duke of York, had been driven to betray his friends to the king; and Henry had hastened that morning to London, where he was at that very moment levying troops and issuing writs against his enemies. Obliged by his advance to take a sudden resolution, the lords determined to call the friends of Richard every-
where to arms. The earls of Kent and Salisbury, carrying off on their way the young queen Isabel from Suming, retreated to the west, proclaiming Richard in every town and village as they passed along. To rouse the loyalty of the country, Maudelyn, a chaplain of Richard, whose likeness to his master was remarkable, rode in their midst, arrayed as a king. But the orders of Henry had preceded them, and his friends were already on the alert. Kent and Salisbury were assailed during the night by the mayor and inhabitants of Cirencester, their whole force captured, and they themselves beheaded by the rabble. The lord Despenser made his way to the west, and took ship for Cardiff; but being discovered, was brought back to Bristol, and beheaded in the market place, together with the lord Lumley.

The earl of Huntingdon, who had directed his course towards his estates in the east, was not more successful. He was taken on his way, carried to Pleshy, and put to death there by the tenantry, in the presence of Joan, countess of Hereford, sister of the late earl of Arundel, and mother-in-law of Henry. Thus were the principal enemies of Henry removed from his path, before he had had time to strike a blow against them. By his orders, their heads were sent to the capital, and fixed on London bridge. Maudelyn and another chaplain of Richard were executed in London; two knights, and about twenty others, at Oxford. The bishop of Carlisle was condemned to death; but, in consequence of the strenuous intervention of the pope, his execution was delayed; and afterwards he was pardoned by the king.

Within a month after the suppression of the insurrection, Richard of Bordeaux died at Pontefract. How he died is unknown. It was afterwards said, by the friends of Henry, that, distracted by the dreadful fate of his brothers and his other friends, and despairing of his own safety, the unhappy prince refused to touch food, and so voluntarily terminated his life. The friends of Richard, on the other hand, asserted that he was murdered: some said, by starvation; others, by the hands of assassins.

At this time, the king of France was actively preparing to espouse the cause of his son-in-law. Henry became seriously alarmed: and not daring to ask for supplies from the commonalty, he appealed to the lords spiritual and temporal alone. They promised their aid; but war was not declared. The king of France suddenly announced to the world that he should not disturb the truce which he had made during the lifetime of his dear son,
Richard, king of England, on whose soul he prayed God to have mercy; and he demanded the restoration of his daughter Isabel. The Privy Council of England now deemed it advisable to request of the king that Richard, if alive, should be put in safe keeping; and, if dead, that his body should be "shown openly to the people." The result was an acknowledgment that Richard was dead, and an order that his corpse should be brought at once to London. It was conveyed on an open car in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where it lay for two days, in order that the people might know for certain that he was dead. Henry himself assisted at the funeral service. By his orders, the body was then again removed, and interred at Langley.

Notwithstanding this public display, the English friends of Richard long refused to believe that he was dead. The body, according to them, which had been shown in London was that of Maudelyn, whose likeness to Richard was notorious. Thus doubt still lingered in the public mind.
Meanwhile, the king of France persisted in his demands for the restoration of his daughter. But as he also required that her dowry and jewels should be returned, Henry endeavoured to avoid compliance. Hoping to obtain support, he asked the two universities whether he was bound by the obligations of his predecessor. They replied, that he was. Finally, Charles received his daughter and her jewels only.

Instigated by France, the Scots were now pushing with settled purpose the hostilities which they had commenced upon the expiration of the long truce in the autumn of 1399: and an intercepted letter of the regent Albany, which described the king of England as "a pre-eminent traitor," had greatly stimulated the wrath of Henry. He summoned his military vassals to meet at York; called upon Robert III. and his nobles to do homage to him at Edinburgh; and promptly invaded Scotland. With a humanity until then unexampled, however, he spared the peaceful inhabitants, and forbade all needless destruction. Nor did he change, when the caution of Albany, the strength of the castle of Edinburgh, and the dearth of provisions, had marred his campaign, and obliged him to return disappointed to England. A sudden outbreak in Wales then diverted his attention from Scottish affairs.

During the late revolution, lord Grey of Ruthyn, a powerful Marcher, had despoiled of some property Owen Glyndower, a Welsh gentleman, and a faithful servant of the deposed prince. Before entering the household of Richard, Glyndower had studied the law; and he now appealed for justice to the king in parliament: but his petition, notwithstanding the warm support of the bishop of St. Asaph, was rejected with contumely. Owen then raised his friends, and recovered his land by force. He was outlawed. He answered by assuming the title of prince of Wales. His countrymen rushed enthusiastically to arms, and under his skilful guidance, set the whole power of England at defiance. It was in vain that the king and his son Henry penetrated again and again into the country. They were baffled on each occasion by the policy of Glyndower, and by the elements, which seemed to fight on his side. Lord Grey of Ruthyn and sir Edmund Mortimer were severally defeated and made prisoners.

But the revolt of an outlying province was not the only evil with which Henry had to contend. The friends of Richard were again beginning to raise their heads. Reports were actively circulated that he was still alive;
and letters purporting to be his announced that he was coming with a great
Scottish army to reclaim his own. An individual who was affirmed to be
Richard himself was actually living under the protection of the Scottish
court. Henry issued repeated warnings against the inventors and
propagators of false reports; and then acted with unsparing severity. Sir
Roger Clarendon, an illegitimate son of the Black prince, the prior of
Lande, a Franciscan prior, with ten brothers of his order, and several other
persons, were hanged for asserting that Richard was still alive.

About the time announced by the pretended Richard, the Scots invaded
England; but without bringing him in their company. After a successful
raid, they withdrew. Returning again, however, they were defeated by
their countryman, Dunbar, earl of March, who, on account of a grievous
afront from the heir apparent, had transferred his allegiance to Henry.
Archibald, earl of Douglas, bent upon revenge, quickly gathered 10,000
men, and swept the English border to the gates of Newcastle. But as
he retired, encumbered with spoil, he was intercepted at Homildon
hill by the earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur, with their associate
March, and completely defeated by their archers alone. He himself,
(wounded in five places,) together with the earls of Fife, Moray, and Angus,
and a number of other chiefs, remained in the hands of the English.

When Henry received the news of this decisive victory, he was just
entering upon his fourth expedition against Glyndower. He thanked
the victors well, and granted to them the estates of Douglas: a reward which
had still to be won. The Percies were already secretly discontented with
the king, because (as they thought) their great services had not been
adequately rewarded. They complained, too, that they could not obtain
the funds necessary for the war and the service of the Marches. But their
chief quarrel arose from their connexion with the house of Mortimer.
Hotspur had married the sister of that Edmund Mortimer whom Glyndower
had taken, and whom, as the uncle of the young earl of March, the
king regarded with so much suspicion, that he refused him permission to
ransom himself. Hotspur renewed the application; but was positively
denied. He nevertheless persisted in negotiating the release of his brother-
in-law: and once at least visited Glyndower upon the subject. It is said,
that a formal treaty was arranged for the partition of England between
Glyndower, Mortimer, and Northumberland. It is certain that Mortimer

soon married a daughter of Owen, and secretly apprised his vassals, that he was leagued with the Welsh prince to restore king Richard; or, if that prince were dead, to place the earl of March upon the throne.

These intrigues did not escape the notice of the king. Not long, indeed, after the battle of Homildon, he had been informed that the Percies were arming against him. He showed, however, no marked distrust: but, wary and vigilant, awaited the development of their plans; while they, under pretence of winning their Scottish lands, made the most vigorous and public preparations for war. Suddenly, Hotspur with a considerable force hastened towards Wales, raising in the name of Richard the men of Lancashire and Cheshire as he passed. His uncle Thomas, earl of Worcester, governor of the prince of Wales, abandoning his charge, immediately hurried with his vassals to join the revolt. But Henry was already on his way to the north: and on learning the advance of his enemies, moved so rapidly to the west, that he reached Shrewsbury before them. Hotspur, astonished at the sight of the royal banner, fell back a short distance; and then sent a defiance to the king, as a perjured usurper, murderer, and oppressor. Henry replied, that he had no time to write, but that his sword should prove that the charges of the Percies were "false and feigned," and that he doubted not of victory over such perjured traitors. Both sides then prepared for battle the next day. To the deep disappointment of Hotspur, his ally, Glyndower, did not appear.

The royal army advanced in three divisions: the vanguard led by the young earl of Stafford, that day appointed constable of England; the second commanded by the prince of Wales; and the third under the king himself. The hostile armies were already drawn out against each other, and all were expecting the signal of attack from Henry, when two peaceful messengers—the abbot of Shrewsbury and the clerk of the Privy Seal—left his side with an offer of conciliation to the rebel leaders. After a long delay, they returned unsuccessful—baffled, it was said, by the earl of Worcester. Then at last Henry ordered the trumpets to sound, and his banner to advance. The royalists shouted:—"St. George for us!" Their enemies responded by cries of:—"Esperance, Percy!" and, without waiting to be attacked, fell furiously on the army of the king. Hotspur and his late enemy, the earl of Douglas, followed by about thirty knights, burst through the opposing ranks into the centre of the royal troops. Their object was to reach the king.
They slew the earl of Stafford, sir Walter Blount, and two other knights, who all wore the royal arms; beat down the king's standard, and dispersed his guards. But as they cut their way back, after prodigies of valour, Hotspur was slain by an arrow. The news of his fall spread dismay amongst his troops. Henry, shouting "Victory!" redoubled his efforts; and the rebels giving way in every direction, fled wildly from the field. The
earl of Douglas himself took to flight, but falling over a precipice, was captured and brought to the royal quarters, where he was treated with the courtesy due to his rank. The earl of Worcester (deserter from both Richard and Henry) was taken, and beheaded two days afterwards at Shrewsbury, together with sir Richard Vernon and the baron of Kinderton. No other executions took place; but the number of the rebels slain in the battle is said to have amounted to 5000 men, of whom at least a fifth were of gentle blood. The loss on the Lancastrian side was also very severe.

At this moment, the earl of Northumberland, whom illness had prevented from taking the field with his son, was marching with additional forces to join him. The morning after his victory, the king who had at first imagined that the whole power of the rebellion was with Hotspur, sent orders to the earl of Westmoreland, sir William Gascoigne, and others, to raise troops for his service in Yorkshire and the north. The old earl, however, on receiving the fatal news from Shrewsbury, hurried back to his castle at Warkworth, and dismissed his followers. Summoned by the king to attend him at York, he repaired thither with every sign of humility, protesting that Hotspur had rebelled in opposition to his commands, and that he himself had only intended to act as a mediator. Henry placed him under arrest, and referred his case to the next parliament.

As soon as the parliament met, the earl petitioned the king for his grace, confessing that he had violated the laws, but dwelling upon his prompt submission, and the promised leniency of the king. Henry desired to obtain the opinion of the judges upon the degree of the earl’s guilt; but the lords, declaring that they alone were his proper judges, pronounced him innocent of treason or felony, and decided that a fine should be the penalty for his “trespasses.” Henry contented himself with requiring from the earl a new oath of allegiance (on the cross of Canterbury) to himself and his children, and with deprivings him of his high offices.

But though Henry had thus overcome all open resistance to his authority, he was environed by secret foes, who ever looked for support to the foreign enemies of the kingdom. He had, moreover, greatly weakened his popularity by his frequent, but necessary, demands for money; and in an attempt to regain the favour of the commons, he had disturbed the loyalty of the clergy and of the nobility. Being greatly in need of a supply, yet fearing to ask it of the people, he suggested a resumption of the crown
lands, and an appropriation of certain possessions of the church. His project was eagerly supported by the commons: but the strong remonstrance of the convocation induced him at once to abandon it; not, however, before he had excited a deep feeling of distrust among the clergy.

Henry had, indeed, need of all his resources: for not only were the Welsh making head against the efforts of his son and lieutenant; but the French—who, without any declaration of war, had been infesting the coasts and commerce of England—were now preparing an expedition in aid of Glyndower, whom they had recognised as an independent prince. Anxious to push hostilities with vigour, the king summoned the peers alone to London, and requested an aid. They demurred. A few weeks later, he united them with the clergy at St. Albans, and renewed his request; but nothing was granted to his most urgent solicitation.

The wide spread of discontent among the usual supporters of the king raised again the hopes of his enemies. Immediately after the council of the peers at London, a bold attempt was made to liberate the young earl of March, and thus obtain a rallying point for the disaffected. His cousin Constance (widow of the lord Despenser who had been put to death at Bristol) obtained entrance to his apartment at Windsor, conducted him and his brother out of the castle, and rode for the Marches of Wales. The party, however, was quickly pursued, and after a sharp skirmish brought back. When led before the council, lady Despenser accused her brother Rutland, now duke of York, of being her accomplice. In spite of his denial, he was committed to prison; but after a few months he recovered his liberty and lands. Thomas, lord Mowbray, son of the late duke of Norfolk, who had been accused of participating in the design, was also pardoned by the king.

Upon the defeat of the Percies, their confederates, the Scots, had obtained from Henry a temporary truce. It was still in force, when Robert III., fearing the ambition of his brother, the regent Albany, (who was suspected of having removed his elder nephew) determined to send James, his only surviving son, to France for his education. The young prince, however, was captured off Flamborough by an English privateer, and sent to the king. Without the shadow of right, Henry resolved to detain him. "I am an excellent French scholar," the king remarked, "and his education should have been entrusted to me." While consigning,
therefore, the prince to captivity, he ordered that every instruction and every indulgence should be given to him.

No sooner had the council of St. Albans broken up, than two at least of the peers hurried to the north, resolved to take advantage of the discontent which prevailed. Thomas, lord Bardolf, who had distinguished himself by his vehement opposition to the government, now sought out the earl of Northumberland, and advised him again to try the fate of arms. The earl agreed; and his views were adopted by Clifford, the governor of Berwick. Such was the ferment in the north, that prince John of Lancaster and the earl of Westmoreland drew together their forces, and prepared for action. Meanwhile, lord Mowbray, with an armed following, had visited the archbishop of York, bitterly complaining that Henry should have given to another his hereditary office of earl marshal, and expressing his determination to have redress. The archbishop approved his purpose. He himself, a brother of the late earl of Wiltshire, considered Henry as a usurper, and had already declared in private that all who had assisted in his elevation were bound to undo the wrong. He ascended the pulpit in his cathedral, rehearsed the grievances of the nation, and exhorted the assembled crowd to assist in remedying them. A paper, accusing Henry of perjury, rebellion, usurpation, the murder of Richard, and other high crimes, was fixed on all the church and monastery doors in and about York. Men of all classes instantly took up arms, for Scrope was exceedingly beloved in his diocese; and soon a force of 8000 men was collected at Shipton-on-the-Moor.

On the same day, the insurgent army was encountered by a smaller force, under prince John and the earl of Westmoreland. Instead of attacking, however, the earl sent a respectful message to Scrope, inviting him and his principal friends to meet the royal commanders in the open space between the two armies. The archbishop consented, and persuaded the more suspicious Mowbray to accompany him to the conference. There he stated that he had taken the field not to bring about war, but peace; and to that end he enumerated the reforms which the kingdom required. Westmoreland professed to approve all that he heard, and to believe that concord had been securely restored. He called for wine; and the leaders were seen by both armies, shaking hands and drinking together. The archbishop and his friends then proceeded within the royal lines, where they remained, while their followers, either panic-struck, or in obedience
to a real or pretended message from them, were induced to disperse. Scrope and Mowbray were led prisoners to the king, who had already arrived at Pontefract. In his train they were brought to Bishopthorpe, a manor of the archbishop, near York. There the king commanded Sir William Gascoigne, Chief Justice of England, to pass sentence of death upon them, as guilty of high treason. But Gascoigne absolutely refused. "Neither you, my lord king," said he, "nor anyone in your name, can lawfully condemn a bishop to death." The earl marshal too, he declared, was beyond his jurisdiction, and could only be tried by his peers. Ruffled by this upright judge, Henry had recourse to a knight named Fulthorpe, who, without the least form of trial, sentenced the two prisoners to death. They
were straightway led to execution. Scrope protested he had never intended injury to the person of Henry; encouraged his companion; requested the executioner to give him five wounds in honour of the Passion; and died with the utmost composure. By his flock he was looked upon as a martyr, and pilgrimages were made to the place of his death, until the king put a stop to them.

Having laid a heavy fine upon the citizens of York, Henry resumed his march against Northumberland and Bardolf, with an army of 37,000 men, and a great siege-train of machines and artillery. The earl did not venture to wait his arrival; but, after leaving garrisons in his principal strongholds, and delivering Berwick into the hands of the Scots, retired with lord Bardolf to Edinburgh. The king first possessed himself of Warkworth, (the chief seat of the Percies,) and then marched upon Berwick. At his approach, the Scots set fire to the town and fled; but the castle defied the royal summons. The first shot, however, of an enormous "gun," which accompanied Henry, produced such ruin and consternation, that the garrison immediately surrendered. After hanging the governor and his principal officers, the king turned southwards again; and, taking as he went the castles of Alnwick, Prudhoe, and Cockermouth, hastened to the assistance of his eldest son in Wales.

Early in the year 1403, at the time when Owen Glyndower appeared most threatening, Henry of Monmouth, then little more than fifteen, had been appointed lord lieutenant of Wales and the Marches, with the fullest powers of the crown. He had scarcely entered upon his office, when he was summoned to join his father in his march against Hotspur; and at the battle of Shrewsbury had exhibited equal coolness and bravery, notwithstanding a severe wound which he received in the face. Returning immediately to his post, he resumed the contest with his formidable rival. For eighteen months the Welshman maintained at least his equality in the field. At length, however, Griffith, his son, having descended upon the town of Grosmont in Monmouthshire, the young prince sallied forth and defeated him, with the loss of nearly a thousand men. This blow was followed up by the siege and capture of the strong castle of Lampeter in Cardiganshire. But Owen had despatched, during the last year, an embassy to conclude an alliance with the king of France: and now, after more than one abortive attempt, an expedition of several thousand men.
arrived to his assistance. The French commanders, the marshal de Rieux and the lord of Hugueville, after taking Carmarthen, formed a junction with Glyndower; and their united strength compelled Henry of Monmouth to fall back to the neighbourhood of Worcester. Before, however, they ventured upon bringing him to battle, the king arrived from the north. Both armies now remained watching each other, until the allies, wanting food, were obliged to retire. The French soon afterwards withdrew to their own country; and Henry being now free to supply his able son with all necessary aid, from that time the cause of Owen began to decline. At last, after some years, the Welsh chieftain was reduced to wage a predatory warfare from the recesses of his native woods and mountains; but in spite of repeated offers of pardon, he never submitted to the English.

If Henry, by his daring execution of the archbishop of York, had inspired fear, he had also excited a strong feeling of horror among his subjects: and a leprosy which attacked him soon afterwards was commonly regarded as a brand of Heaven for his crime. The pope, Innocent VII., immediately excommunicated all who had taken part in the deed. To excuse himself, Henry pretended that his troops had taken the archbishop in a great battle; and that he had consented to the execution only to prevent his indignant followers from taking the law into their own hands. After many months, this explanation was admitted by the new pope, Gregory XII., who empowered the bishops of Durham and Lincoln to absolve all the participators ("of whatever rank") in the death of Scrope, provided that they humbly acknowledged their guilt.

When the parliament met in 1406, the temporal peers, at the demand of Henry, unhesitatingly condemned Northumberland, Bardolf, Eurebridge, and others, as traitors. But with regard to Scrope and Mowbray, they were reserved. The case, they answered, according to the information given by prince John, seemed to be treason; but that they would fully consider it in the next session, when every peer should be ordered to be in his place; and then so pronounce, as that no error should thereafter be found in their decision. Warned by this reply, the king made no further attempt to obtain the sanction of the parliament.

Meanwhile, the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf eagerly watched for an opportunity of restoring their fortunes; and busily plotted with the enemies of Henry in Scotland, Wales, France, and Flanders. The
discontent which prevailed throughout the year 1407 raised their hopes; and early in the following spring they entered Northumberland with a small band of Scots, proclaiming that they had come to liberate the country from oppression. Acquiring strength as they advanced, they penetrated to the heart of Yorkshire. At Grimbold bridge, however, near Knaresborough, their path was closed by Sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff, who followed them up, and brought them to bay on Bramham moor, not far from Tadcaster. The fight was desperate. Northumberland, determined not to be taken, was slain in the midst of his enemies. Bardolf, badly wounded, was made prisoner, but died almost immediately. The bishop of Bangor and the abbot of Hales were also captured: and the latter, because he had borne arms, was hanged by order of the king. At the first alarm, Henry had repaired to the north; and he now replenished his treasury by a most abundant harvest of fines and forfeitures.

All his domestic enemies, being now finally crushed, Henry had leisure to turn his attention to their foreign sympathizers and abettors. Surrounded by difficulties and perils at home, he had been compelled, almost from the commencement of his reign, to endure injury upon injury at the hands of the French. From the moment when the death of Richard was ascertained, the relations and countrymen of his queen had displayed in every way their detestation of the supposed murderer. The count of St. Pol, at once a French nobleman and an independent prince of the empire, who had married a half-sister of Richard, declared war on his own account against Henry. He then caused to be made an effigy of the earl of Rutland in his proper coat-of-arms, and had it hung one night upon a portable gallows opposite the gate of Calais. The duke of Orleans invited the king of England to meet him on the marches of Guienne, with one hundred knights on each side; and on receiving a contemptuous refusal, plainly accused Henry of rebellion and murder, and challenged him to single combat. The king promptly replied,—that he was surprised that the duke did not approve the manner in which he had obtained his dignity, seeing that he had made the duke fully acquainted with his intentions before he left France; at which time the duke not only approved of them, but promised his assistance.

"In regard," continued Henry, "to that passage in your letter where you speak of the decease of our very dear cousin and lord, (whom God
pardoned! adding—"God knows how it happened, and by whom caused"—we know not your intent in using those expressions: but if you mean, or dare to say, that his death was done by our order or consent, we say you lie, and will lie every time you utter it: and this we will prove, as a Christian prince should, in personal combat, if you will or dare to meet us."

But though Henry thus expressed his willingness to meet his accuser, he directed his ambassadors to complain of the duke of Orleans as an infringer of the truce. The French had not recognised Henry; they had not admitted his envoys to the presence of Charles VI.; and their reply was:—"Neither the king nor his council have ever broken, nor will they ever break, their engagements. This is the only answer that can be returned." With an insane king, and a royal family distracted by hatred and jealousy, France was not in a condition to undertake a war. The government, therefore, affected to be at peace, while the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, the princes of the house of Bourbon, the count of St. Pol, and the highest officers of the kingdom, invaded Guienne, ravaged the coasts of England, preyed on her commerce, or went to the assistance of her enemies.

Henry had submitted to all these acts without declaring war; but he had met them from time to time in the same irregular manner,—his naval commanders landing at various points on the French coast, and ravaging the country as far as they could reach. At length, however, the time had come, when he could repay more fully the injuries which he had received. The murder of his great enemy, the duke of Orleans, by his cousin of Burgundy, divided France into two hostile camps, so intent upon the ruin of their opponents that they ceased to molest their foreign neighbours. At first the Burgundians prevailed: but gradually the Armagnacs (as the party of Orleans were now named, after their leader) became so formidable, that duke John applied to "the king of England" for aid. Henry promptly sent him 800 lances and 1000 archers, under the ears of Arundel and Kyme, and sir John Oldcastle, lord of Cobham: a reinforcement which enabled the Burgundian to raise the siege of Paris, and regain the ascendancy. In their despair, the Armagnacs now also appealed to Henry for his support. To obtain it, the dukes of Orleans, Berri, and Bourbon, with the count of Alençon, acknowledged him as duke of Aquitaine, and bound themselves to serve him and his heirs in all their just quarrels. The king
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was greatly elated by this transaction. "Do you not see," said he to the
primate, "how events are disposed in our favour? We will go to France,
and obtain our rights with little cost." To the astonishment of all who
knew the state of his health, he prepared to lead in person the force which
was to succour the Armagnacs. He was, however, at last persuaded to
entrust the command to his second son, Thomas, duke of Clarence.

The health of Henry had been for several years on the decline. Although still in the prime of life, he was now unable to walk or ride
without difficulty. Frequent fits of epilepsy had reduced his strength,
and a hideous leprosy rendered him an object of pity or disgust. Tri-
umphant though he was over all his enemies, he now saw the vanity of
earthly things, and sought to make his peace with Heaven. Among his
most weighty cares was the conduct of his eldest son, who, in the intervals
of military service, spent his time in the most vicious society of the metrop-
olis, and was accused of disrespect, at least, if not of disaffection, towards
his father. So far (it is said) did he carry his turbulence, that on the arra-
ignment of one of his evil companions before the King’s Bench for felony, he
attended the court, demanded the discharge of the prisoner, and on being
refused, drew his sword upon Gaseigne, the chief justice. But (it is
added) when that courageous magistrate ordered him into custody, he in-
stantly submitted to the penalty of his fault.

Under the accusation of disloyalty, however, the prince was not so
patient. He wrote letters to the chief peers, strongly denying the charge;
and went at the head of a formidable gathering to demand the punishment
of his detractors. Arrayed in a singular garb, he proceeded to the apartment
where the king, with a few friends, waited to receive him. Then throwing
himself on his knees, he presented a dagger to his father, beseeching him
to take his life, since he believed him capable of usurpation. Henry, un-
able alone to protect his friends, referred the matter to the next parliament.

It was on account of the continued disagreement between the king and
his heir, that the duke of Clarence, his second son, had been selected to
command the expedition to France. The young prince, with his cousin,
the duke of York, the earl of Dorset, and a force of 8000 men-at-arms and
archers, landed in Normandy about the middle of August, 1412. In the
meanwhile, however, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, subdued for the
moment by the prospect of English intervention, had agreed to live in
peace; and Clarence was speedily informed that his allies no longer needed his assistance. But the duke was not so to be played with. He demanded compensation for the expenses of the expedition, and directed his march towards the Orleanois, laying waste Maine and Anjou on the way. The duke of Orleans, in alarm, hastened to the English camp, and paid down 200,000 crowns. Clarence expressed his satisfaction; but, nevertheless, he led his army on through the French provinces, and brought it peacefully to Bordeaux.

Meanwhile, the life of Henry was drawing to a close. As he was praying, one day, before the shrine of Edward the Confessor, he fell in a fit. He was carried into the apartments of the abbot of Westminster, and there died, in a room called "Jerusalem." He was then only in his forty-seventh year.

In his early manhood, Henry was supposed, like his father, to be a favourer of the doctrines taught by Wycliffe. From the moment, however, of his accession, he sought to identify himself with the established church. One of his first acts was to assure the convocation of his intentions; and he subsequently exhorted the bishops and clergy to take measures against the itinerant priests, the disseminators of error; promising his favour and support for so salutary an object. His sentiments having been also communicated to the parliament, he received the thanks of the commons, who moreover joined the clergy in a petition that stringent measures should be taken against the teachers and professors of the new doctrine. A statute was passed, empowering the bishops to arrest persons accused or suspected of heresy, and to imprison them until they should clear themselves, or be convicted. In the latter case, the prelates were enabled to punish in the first instance by imprisonment, and fine to the king. But it was further enacted, that if the heretic should refuse to abjure, or if, having abjured, should relapse, the sheriff or the municipal authorities were, on the requisition of the bishop, to receive the prisoner, and cause him to be burned on a high place before the people.

About the same time, William Sawtre, a priest of St. Osith's, London, petitioned the parliament to hear him on the subject of religion. He was summoned instead by the convocation, which pronounced him a relapsed heretic. Henry, after consulting the peers, ordered the law to be put in force, and the unhappy Sawtre was burned in Smithfield.
From the deathbed of his father, Henry of Monmouth retired to his chamber, and remained in solitude for several hours. When he came forth, he was a changed man. That night he sought out a confessor among the Carthusian monks, and before him vowed to amend his life for the future.

The companions of his pleasures were immediately dismissed: the friends of his father—with one illusrious exception—were confirmed in their offices and assured of his favour. It must, however, be added, that Sir William Gascoigne was either superseded, or, at the least, permitted to resign his office of chief justice of England. In other respects, the conduct of the new king was highly magnanimous. One of his first acts was to release his rival, the young earl of March, from the confinement in which he had been so long kept. Another, was to recall from exile the youthful son of Hotspur; and he afterwards bestowed upon him the title and estates of his grandfather, the earl of Northumberland. He ordered the body of Richard (who had both knighted and imprisoned him during his last sojourn in Ireland) to be brought from its resting-place at Langley, and to be placed by the side of Queen Anne in Westminster abbey. He himself attended as chief mourner at the ceremony; and he arranged that a solemn Dirge and Requiem should be said every week for his unhappy predecessor.

On the eve of his coronation, Henry bestowed the honour of knighthood upon five hundred young noblemen and gentlemen. The next day, the new knights rode before him to the abbey, where the ceremony was performed with great splendour. It was noted, as a proof of the change that had come over Henry, that he did not seem even conscious of the presence of the crowd of noble ladies who attended in his honour.

A parliament was immediately held, from which the king requested a supply, in order that he might act with energy against his enemies in Wales, the Marches, Ireland, and Aquitaine. A liberal subsidy was granted.

Notwithstanding the statute for the fining, imprisonment, and burning of heretics, and its occasional enforcement in the extremest form, the followers of Wycliffe and of his disciples had greatly increased in number since the commencement of the century. By this time, however, the temporal lords had become alarmed for the security of their possessions, if the
doctrines of the Lollards should prevail. The commons, too, although they had twice proposed to despoil the church of what they deemed its superfluous wealth, had yet joined the lords in declaring that, if speedy resistance were not made, the new preachers would move the people to take away the possessions and inheritances of the temporal lords. The prince of Wales had been one of the supporters of this petition; he had attended in person the execution of a Lollard in Smithfield; and since his accession to the crown, he had strongly expressed his intention to support the church. The Lollards, however, confiding in their numbers, and in the ever existing discontent of the masses, now determined to intimidate their enemies. While the parliament was still sitting, papers were affixed by night to the church doors in London, announcing, that if any attempt were made to suppress the new doctrines by force, a hundred thousand men were ready to draw the sword in their defence.

At this time, the man who chiefly swayed the councils of the dissidents was Sir John Oldcastle, a knight who, in right of his wife, had been called to the house of peers as Lord Cobham. As a soldier, he had distinguished himself in the Welsh war, and in the expedition against the Armagnacs. He had held office about the person of Henry, when prince of Wales, and had been one of his most familiar companions. Before the coronation, however, he had been dismissed from the royal household, though he still was supposed to retain the private friendship of the king. His open support of preachers who could not obtain faculties from any ordinary, drew forth the complaints of the bishops and clergy of London, Rochester, and Hereford. The primate, unwilling to proceed against him without the permission of Henry, led a numerous deputation to the foot of the throne, and denounced Oldcastle as a maintainer of false doctrine. The king requested that time should be given, and undertook to convert his old associate. Finding, however, that his arguments did not prevail, he had recourse to threats; upon which Oldcastle fled from Windsor to his stronghold of Cowling, in Kent. Henry, who now believed that the placards menacing a revolt had proceeded from his former friend, issued a proclamation for the arrest of all itinerant preachers; and authorized the primate to commence proceedings against Oldcastle. But it was in vain that the officials of the archbishop attempted to serve the citation. Oldcastle refused them admittance within his walls; and finally the summons...
was attached to the monastery doors at Rochester, three miles from his residence. As he did not appear, he was excommunicated by the primate.

After a time, lord Cobham waited on the king with a confession of his faith; but Henry, alleging that such matters did not pertain to him, refused to receive it. Oldcastle then offered to prove his freedom from heresy by the oath of himself and of one hundred men of the same rank, or by single combat. At last, being pressed by the king with the inquiry, whether he would submit to the judgment of the bishops, he appealed to the pope: whereupon Henry, saying that he should he held securely until the result of that appeal was known, committed him to the custody of sir Robert Morley, constable of the Tower of London.

On the day appointed for his trial, Oldcastle was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Winchester and London, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's. He was reminded by Arundel, that he stood under the ban of the church, and he was asked whether he would make his submission. He made no answer to the question; but taking a paper from his breast, he read his profession of faith, and handed it to the primate. "There are many good things here, sir John," said the archbishop; "but you must answer concerning the Sacrament of the altar, the power of the Church, and many more." Another day was named for his reply. On every point, he rejected the teaching of the authorities of the church. "The clergy," said he, "is Antichrist; the pope is his head; the bishops his limbs; and the friars his tail." Then turning to the people, he told them, that the men who sat there to judge him would lead them to eternal ruin. He was finally condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular arm.

The prosecution of lord Cobham was followed by a royal proclamation, ordering the civil powers to stop all unlicensed preachers,—men, it declared, who were "sowing the pestiferous seed of Lollardy and evil doctrine;" and forbidding, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation, the king's lieges to attend such preachings. Exasperated by the measures of the government, the Lollards were already prepared to rise, as they had threatened, in defence of their doctrine, when Cobham escaped from the Tower. He was concealed by his numerous partisans with extraordinary fidelity; and immediately began to organize a revolt against the existing powers in church and state. His first plan was to surprise the king at Eltham during
the Christmas festivities: but Henry, warned by some of those who were in the secret, suddenly removed to Westminster. A few days later, he was informed that an armed assembly of the malcontents from all quarters was to be held in St. Giles's fields on the morrow of the Epiphany. Henry immediately resolved to anticipate his opponents. Concealing his preparations until the last moment, he secured all the city gates, and marching out at midnight on the 6th of January, occupied with a strong force the place of meeting and all the adjacent roads. The insurgents fell into the snare. Many were captured; many were disarmed and set free; some were slain. Cobham escaped; but his chief associate, sir Roger Acton, a knight of large fortune, was soon afterwards taken, and shared the fate of more than thirty of his party, who, after trial by a special commission, were hanged and then burned.
As if London were not secure, Henry summoned the parliament to meet at Leicester. There the commons warmly congratulated Henry upon his late escape; and laws of increased severity were passed against the Lollards. From this time, it was to be the care of the civil power to discover, and to deliver them over to the bishops for judgment.

Henry had scarcely ascended the throne, when he sent his cousin, the duke of York, to Paris, to open the subject of a marriage between him and the princess Katherine, daughter of Charles VI.; and, as some thought, to observe more nearly the distracted state of the land. From that time, the king had eagerly watched the ever-increasing weakness of the French government; and he had no sooner seen his own authority firmly established, than he suddenly demanded the crown of France, as the heir of Isabel, daughter of Charles IV. Embarrassed as they were, the French refused even to entertain the question. Henry then required the cession of all the provinces that his ancestors had ever possessed; the payment of the ransom of king John; and the hand of the princess Katherine, with a dowry of 2,000,000 crowns. The duke of Berri and his colleagues still refused; but they persuaded themselves, even after Henry had recalled his ambassadors, that he would be content with the whole of Aquitaine, and 800,000 crowns as the portion of Katherine. The king was actually on his way to embark and commence the war, when the archbishop of Bourges and the count of Vendôme arrived to renew this offer. He received them in the bishop's palace at Winchester; and replied by the mouth of Chicheley, the new primate, that he would invade France unless all that his ancestors had ever possessed were restored to him. The king himself added, that the crown of France was his right, and that he should take it in spite of every opponent. To these declarations, the archbishop of Bourges returned a most spirited reply; and the ambassadors departed.

Henry had assembled at Southampton a navy of 1,200 vessels, and an army of 6,700 cavalry, and 24,000 archers, gunners, and artisans. Intent upon the overthrow of his foreign adversaries, he was urging on the embarkation, when he discovered that some of his most trusted officers were plotting against his throne and life. His cousin, Richard of York, whom he had recently created earl of Cambridge, Henry, lord Scrope of Masham, his principal minister and most intimate friend, were accused of conspiring with sir Thomas Grey of Heton, to call in the Scots and give the crown to
the earl of March. Grey was found guilty by a jury of the county, and executed immediately. A court, composed of all the peers in the army, (except the duke of York,) sentenced Cambridge and Scrope also to die as traitors; and the king sent both to the block, though the latter affirmed that his object in joining had been to defeat the conspiracy.

Leaving England under the care of his brother John, duke of Bedford, Henry set sail, and speedily entered the mouth of the Seine with his whole armament in safety. As soon as he had disembarked his men and stores, he beleaguered Harfleur by land and water. The place was strong, and defended by a brave garrison under the lord de Gaucourt, who by frequent sallies impeded the approaches of the besiegers. In less than a month, however, the governor sent out to pray that Henry would suspend the "intolerable" fire of his artillery; engaging to surrender if the place were not relieved within a week. No succour appearing, De Gaucourt gave up the keys at the appointed time; and Harfleur passed under the dominion of the English, after they had lost, in five weeks, more than 2000 men, (including the earl of Stafford and the bishop of Norwich,) by sickness alone.

After the king had placed a sufficient garrison in his new conquest, and sent home the sick and wounded, he found that he had not more than 9000 men fit to take the field. Nevertheless, he resolved, though fully alive to the peril of the undertaking, to march through Normandy, Picardy, and Artois, to Calais. On the 6th of October, he put his little army in motion, and pursued along the coast his way towards the Somme, which he intended to cross, as his great-grandfather had done, at the ford of Blanchemaque. Finding, however, that the French had strongly fortified the passage, he turned inland, and marched up the left bank of the river in search of another ford. For seven days every effort was vain. The constable d'Albret, with a greatly superior force, watched all his motions from the opposite bank, and easily repulsed an attempt upon Pont St. Remi. At length, having nearly reached the head of the river, Henry discovered, near St. Quentin, a ford which had been left unguarded. He instantly threw part of his force across; and in twelve hours the last of his rearguard had followed him to the northern side. The French, who had determined to give battle only after a certain day, when all their levies would have joined, now fell back rapidly towards the centre of Artois.

The next day, three heralds presented themselves at Montreuil, where
The French announce a battle.

Reply of Henry.

The king advances through Artois.

Hilts at Montereau.

Confidence of his army.

Battle of Azincourt, Oct. 25, 1415.

Advance of the English.

Defate of the first French division.

Value of the French main body.

Peril of Henry.

the king of England had his quarters, and informed him that the constable and the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon intended to give him battle; inquiring, at the same time, by what road he intended to march. "By that which leads straight to Calais," answered Henry; "and if my enemies attempt to intercept me, it will be at their peril."

According to his word, the king continued his route through Artois to Blangi, where his vanguard arrived in time to prevent the destruction of the bridge. The whole army had scarcely passed, when the French were discovered in large masses before them. The king immediately prepared for battle; but, as evening closed, he resumed his march until, coming upon an extensive village, he halted there for the night, and gave his weary troops better food and quarters than they had met with for many days. The glare of the watch-fires had already announced to them that an immense army was in their front. Still, in spite of fatigue, cold, hunger, and the danger of their position, the English were confident and even cheerful. Most of them, however, devoted part of the night to confession and prayer.

In the morning, after matins and mass, Henry drew up his army between two woods, with his archers in front. Before him, upon higher ground, lay the French; and the intervening slope of newly-harrowed land was soft with recent rain. The constable had determined to receive the attack. Henry, therefore, who expected to be assailed, was at last compelled to order the advance of his small force. Sir Thomas Erpingham hurled his truncheon into the air, shouting: "Now strike!" and the archers ran forward with loud huzzas, stopping at intervals, and discharging their arrows in clouds. A chosen body of cavalry attempted to disperse them; but such a hail of arrows was poured upon them, that their horses, wild with pain, clashed into the ranks behind, and threw the whole of the first division into confusion, at the very moment when a party of English cavalry, issuing with a loud cry from the woods, put it to the rout with great slaughter. For some minutes, however, the English had been in much peril.

Notwithstanding the fate of the first division, the main body of the French, under the dukes of Bar and Alençon, stood firm, and maintained the fight with the most determined gallantry. For two hours did the English renew their assaults in vain. The duke of Clarence was wounded, and was only saved from death or captivity by the exertions of Henry himself. The king was attacked by a band of French knights, who had
sworn to kill or take him prisoner. He was for some time in great peril, but in the end the knights were all slain. Then the duke of Alençon broke through the English line, and forced his way up to the king. He struck to the ground the duke of York, and when Henry darted forward

to raise his cousin, dealt him a blow on the helmet that smote off part of the royal crown. Before he could repeat the stroke, however, the king's guards were upon him. "I am the duke of Alençon," he cried to Henry, "and I yield myself to you," but before the king could save him, the gallant prince was slain. The main body of the French, having lost their
chief commanders, (for the duke of Bar had also fallen,) now gave way, and abandoned the field in dismay. Henry gathered his forces, and was preparing to attack the third and largest body of the enemy, when an alarm was given, that a fresh division had arrived in his rear. He instantly commanded that every prisoner should be put to death. Discovering, however, that the danger had been exaggerated, he promptly revoked his order; but not before great slaughter of the captives had taken place. The alarm had been caused by a body of the country-people, who had entered Maisonneuves, and carried off some of the horses and baggage of the English. Meanwhile, the third division of the French, which had just before presented so formidable a front, now began to break and fly. Only a few hundred followed their commanders, the counts of Fauquemberg and Marle, in a desperate charge upon the English; and nearly all were killed or taken. The victors were too much exhausted to pursue their enemies; and they contented themselves with securing their prisoners and immense booty. As Henry rode over the field, he saw Montjoye, the French king-at-arms, who, along with his own heralds, was examining the fallen. Calling these officers round him, he said:—"It is not we who have made this slaughter, but the Almighty, as we believe, for the sins of France." Then asking the name of a neighbouring castle, he was told, Azincourt. "Let this battle, then," said he, "be known for ever as the battle of Azincourt."

The slaughter of the French had indeed been fearful. Seven princes,—the dukes of Bribbart, Bar, and Alençon, the counts of Nevers and Marie, the constable d’Albret, and John of Bar; the counts of Dampierre and Vaudemont, the admiral of France, the lords of Rambures, Heilly, and Vercin, with more than 300 other lords and about 8000 gentlemen, lay dead on the field. "The commonalty was not numbered." The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Richemont, Eu, and Vendôme, the marshal Bourbon, the lords of Harcourt and Craon, with many more, were prisoners. Of the victors, the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, four knights, with David Gam, a Welsh squire, and about 1600 men, had fallen. Henry, astonished at his own triumph, ordered the clergy and the whole army at once to offer up their thanksgiving on the field of battle itself.

The next morning, the English resumed their march for Calais, where Henry immediately held a council of war. In accordance with its decision, he returned to England to seek the means of pursuing a claim which was
now supposed to have been manifestly sanctioned by Heaven. He found
his people frantic with joy. At Dover they rushed in crowds into the sea,
and carried him to the shore. At every town and village on the road
to London he received the most rapturous welcome. At Blackheath he
found the lords, commons, and clergy, the mayor, aldermen, and city com-
panies, who escorted him in the greatest pomp to Westminster; every street
on his way being decorated with all possible skill and magnificence. The
satisfaction of the parliament was marked by an extraordinary measure:
not content with voting all the supplies that were asked for, they settled
upon the king for life the subsidy on wool and leather.

Before Henry was ready to renew the war, a strenuous effort was made
by a powerful mediator to restore peace between England and France.
The emperor Sigismund, whose great ambition it was to terminate the
schism which had so long rent the Church, had found the mutual hostility
of these two nations a serious obstacle to his success; and he now resolved
to use his personal influence to effect a reconciliation. He first repaired
to Paris; and, after many conferences with the king and his ministers, con-
tinued his journey to London. Henry had made the most splendid prepa-
rations to receive his imperial guest; but he was resolved to maintain to
the utmost his own independence. When the vessel which conveyed the
emperor approached the shore at Dover, Humphrey duke of Gloucester,
brother of the king, the earl of Salisbury, and the lords Talbot and Haryng-
ton, with drawn swords, rode into the water, and asked if the august visitor
intended to assume any jurisdiction in England. Repudiating any such
design, he was received with the highest honours, and splendidly escorted
to London.

Henry neglected no means to honour his guest, and to impress him
with the power of his entertainer. He gave up to him the palace at West-
minster. He installed him at Windsor as a knight of the Garter. He
filled the capital with the nobles and gentry of England. Although the
business of the session was done, he detained the parliament in London,
that he might still be able to consult them. When negotiations were begun,
he professed himself desirous of peace, and offered to be content with the
execution of the treaty of Brétigny. All the obstacles came now from the
French; and when Sigismund at last departed, he carried with him the most
favourable impressions of England and of its sovereign.
Although the archbishop of Rheims and other French envoys had followed the emperor to London, the war was still proceeding. The count of Armagnac, who now governed in the name of Charles VI., was determined to recover Harfleur from the English. Notwithstanding a severe repulse which he sustained in the open field, he drove the earl of Dorset within the walls, and by the aid of a combined French and Genoese fleet, reduced the garrison to such straits that 400 died of hunger. The king would himself have hastened to their relief, but for the presence of his guest. In his place he sent the duke of Bedford with the earl of Huntingdon, who, after a stormy transit, arrived in the Seine, totally defeated the opposing fleet, and raised the siege. The earl of Dorset, for his staunch service, was created duke of Exeter.

Henry, greatly rejoicing, now followed the emperor to Calais. The duke of Burgundy came to meet them; and long conferences were held, nominally on the state of the church, and on a treaty of commerce; but the Armagnacs at least suspected that an alliance between England and Burgundy was the real object of the meeting. Mortally, however, as John the Fearless hated his French opponents, he was not prepared to support the pretensions of Henry; and no treaty was concluded on this occasion. The congress, indeed, had no sooner separated, than the duke proceeded to meet the new dauphin, and to conclude with him a league against the Armagnacs, and against the English. The dauphin John, however, died soon afterwards; and the duke immediately issued a proclamation, charging the Armagnacs with having removed him by poison, and calling upon all good Frenchmen to aid in reforming the government and bringing the traitors to justice. The civil war was renewed with the greatest animosity: queen Isabel joining the duke of Burgundy against her husband, her son Charles, and the count of Armagnac.

In the meanwhile, Henry was energetically preparing for a second invasion of France. It was, however, nearly a year before he was ready for the expedition. At length, with about 30,000 men, he set sail from Southampton, and landed unopposed at Touques in Normandy. His policy now was to subdue the country as he advanced, and to that end to occupy every important stronghold. Contrary to his hopes, he found the Normans generally devoted to France. Bayeux and a few other places promptly submitted, and were treated with favour. Caen made a brave defence. A
breach, however, having been made, it was stormed by the earl of Warwick. To strike terror, Henry ejected the whole population; but he allowed them to carry with them all their moveable property, and forbade, under pain of death, the slightest violence to be offered to man or woman. Lisieux, Alençon, and Falaise were successively reduced; and before the end of the year, the greater part of Lower Normandy was in his hands. The French attempted to stop his progress by negotiation; but Henry refused even to listen to any terms which did not give him the hand of Katherine, the regency of France during the life, and the crown after the death, of Charles VI.

In England, meanwhile, the Lollards were again exciting the apprehensions of the government. During three years, Henry had vainly offered a great reward for the capture of Oldcastle; but that dreaded leader, though once at least in great danger, had hitherto baffled every effort to discover his place of concealment. Continual rumours, however, of his hostile designs kept the government on the alert. It was now believed that he had invited the Scots to invade England, and that a general insurrection of the Lollards was to follow. The Scots, however, were driven back by the dukes of Bedford and Exeter; and Oldcastle, who had appeared in arms at St. Albans, fled to Wales. He was surprised soon afterwards, and taken, after a desperate resistance. On being brought before the peers, he declined to acknowledge that court while his lord king Richard was alive in Scotland; upon which, he was condemned to be hanged as a traitor and burned as a heretic. He died with great courage; rejecting to the last the offers of the duke of Bedford to send for a confessor.

After a short repose, Henry, having received reinforcements from England and Ireland, resumed his career of conquest. Before midsummer, Lower Normandy was his own; the duke of Brittany had submitted; while the duke of Burgundy was master of Paris; the Armagnac chiefs had been massacred; and the dauphin with the remnant of the party driven to the south of the Loire. Free from any fear of interruption, Henry now undertook the siege of Rouen; a city defended by strong fortifications, a numerous garrison, and a most resolute governor. The suburbs, including eight parish churches, had already been burned and levelled with the ground; and the energy of the defence corresponded to the end with this unflinching commencement. Henry at once proceeded to enclose the place, and
to cut off all entrance by land or water. After extraordinary exertions and much hard fighting, he attained his end: but Rouen held out for more than five months. At last, however, on the 16th of January, 1419, he made his triumphal entrance into that capital; and the rest of Normandy immediately submitted to his rule.

At the shock of this disaster, the Burgundian and Armagnac parties made a feeble attempt at reconciliation: but each presently drew off, and endeavoured, by uniting with the English, to obtain the power of crushing the other. The dauphin, however, after soliciting an interview with Henry, did not appear; upon which the duke of Burgundy also proposed a conference. The king, without suspending his operations, agreed: and the French and English courts met at Meulan, on the Seine. At the first interview, queen Isabel was accompanied by her daughter Katherine, whose grace and beauty made an obvious impression upon the king of England. She did not appear again: but Henry was already bent upon peace; and he again lowered his demands to the sovereignty of Normandy, and the fulfilment of the treaty of Brétigny. The French court, however, was now deluding him: for the dauphin, thoroughly alarmed, had made such proposals, that the Burgundian determined to unite with him against the common enemy. He broke off the conferences at Meulan, met the dauphin, and swore perpetual friendship with him. Henry paused for a time, as if incredulous; and then boldly advancing, seized Pontoise, and menaced Paris. His position, however, was extremely critical: when an event occurred which made him the arbiter of France.

On the 10th of September, scarcely two months after their reconciliation, John the Fearless was murdered on the bridge of Montereau, in the presence of the dauphin. Horror and indignation pervaded the greater part of France. Philip, the young duke of Burgundy, immediately sought the friendship of the English monarch. Isabel promised the alliance of Charles. Both consented that Henry should marry Katherine, assume the regency, and ultimately succeed to the crown of France. Henry, on his part, agreed to govern by the advice of native councillors; and to reunite Normandy to France, whenever he should succeed to the throne.

All the articles of the treaty being at length agreed upon, Henry, accompanied by his chief nobles and a chosen body of troops, proceeded to Troyes. He was met outside the gates by the duke of Burgundy, with...
a splendid retinue, who conducted him in state to the palace of Charles VI. The next day, the treaty was signed in the cathedral—Isabel and Philip acting for the king of France—and Henry was immediately afterwards affianced to the princess Katherine. Twelve days later, their marriage was solemnized by the archbishop of Sens, in the church of the

parish wherein Henry lodged. All the pomp and magnificence of the English, French, and Burgundian courts was displayed on the occasion; but duke Philip, while promoting the general festivity, and full of secret triumph, never laid aside his garb of deepest mourning. Little time, however, was spent in idleness: and two days after his marriage, Henry, with
the whole bridal party, was on his way to join the army before Sens. To those who wished to hold tournaments in honour of the marriage, he said: —"Let us lay siege to Sens, where the enemies of my lord the king are. There each one can display his prowess and valour: for the finest prowess in the world is to execute justice on the wicked, so that the poor may live in peace." When Sens was taken, Henry, turning to the archbishop, said: —"You gave me my bride: I restore yours to you."

The news of the treaty of Troyes, and the prospect which it opened of a strong and moral government, was welcomed with much satisfaction, especially by the townspeople, in a great part of France. No less than twenty important cities sent in their adhesion to it in the course of the first year after its conclusion. By this time, indeed, a strong sentiment of respect, if not of admiration, towards Henry, was spreading amongst the French. He was said to be a prince of noble form and presence; religious, prudent, wise, a lover of peace and justice; terrible to the proud, yet kind towards the poor; a friend of the learned; courteous to every order of men; a most strict maintainer of military discipline, and of military morals; sparing of words, truthful, and of wonderful equanimity of mind. It was known that, in Normandy, he had already abolished the hateful salt-tax; that under his rule the public tranquillity was generally secure; and lastly, that he had pledged himself by oath to govern France by the advice of native counsellors, and to uphold with all his power the authority of the courts of parliament.

Meanwhile, Henry, with the duke of Burgundy, had laid siege to Montereau, whence Philip had determined to carry off the body of his father. After several assaults, the town was stormed, and the duke attained his object. But the castle still holding out, Henry threatened to hang twenty of the prisoners, (who had insulted his herald,) unless the governor surrendered. The governor refused; the prisoners were executed; and the castle was taken. From Montereau, the two kings and the duke proceeded to Melun, which, in spite of fierce assaults, heavy battering, and pertinacious mining, held out gallantly until the winter; but was at last compelled to surrender, for want of supplies.

The season for active operations having come to an end, the allied courts turned towards the capital, into which Henry, Charles, and Philip made their triumphal entrance on the 1st of December. The two kings
rode side by side, followed by the dukes of Burgundy, Clarence, and Bedford, with a magnificent attendance of nobles, knights, and esquires. They were received with every demonstration of joy, although famine was in the city, and the poor were in many cases dying of starvation. But much was hoped from the wisdom and resources of the king of England. The wealthier classes everywhere displayed the red cross of St. George, and the clergy went to meet Henry, chanting:—"Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." Charles himself seemed disposed to give place to his son-in-law; and when the relics were brought forth from the churches to
do honour to the kings as they passed, he always made signs that Henry should kiss them first; but Henry, putting his hand to his hood, ever gave precedence to the king of France.

A few days afterwards, the three estates of France, which had been summoned by Charles to meet him at Paris, assembled at the Hotel St. Pol. Having heard their sovereign give at great length his reasons for concluding peace and perpetual alliance with the king of England, they received a copy of the treaty, that they might consider it with deliberation. It was returned with their unanimous approval. Three days later, Charles and Henry sat in state, surrounded by the parliament, in order to hear the plaint of the duke of Burgundy. Philip appeared, accompanied by his mother and the princes of his house, all in deep mourning. He demanded justice upon the murderers of his father: and they were all, but without one being named, declared guilty of treason, incapable of holding property, or of claiming obedience from any person whatsoever.

Leaving the earl of Huntingdon with a garrison at Vincennes, and the duke of Exeter as governor of Paris to watch over the feeble Charles, Henry, with his bride, slowly took their way towards England. There they were received with every mark of attachment and triumph: and after the beautiful queen had been crowned with unprecedented splendour at Westminster, Henry took her on a progress through her new country. In the midst of their festivities, however, there came bad news from France. The duke of Clarence, governor of Normandy, during an incursion into Anjou, heard that a body of Scots (whom the regent Albany had despatched under his second son, the earl of Buchan, to assist the dauphin) was in his vicinity. Impatient to chastise them, he refused to wait for his archers, and rapidly marched with his cavalry upon Beaugy. But there he found, beside the Scots, a large body of the French. A very fierce conflict ensued, during which the duke, conspicuous by his golden coronet, was unhorsed by Sir William Swinton, and slain by the earl of Buchan. With him died the earl of Kent, the lords Grey and de Ros, and about 1200 men. The earls of Huntingdon and Somerset were taken. Before the day was quite lost, the English archers arrived, upon which the French and Scots retired, leaving the body of Clarence on the field, but carrying off some 300 prisoners. For this victory the dauphin, in his gratitude, made Buchan constable of France.

Henry lost not a moment in taking measures to revenge the loss of his
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brother and restore the lustre of his arms. He obtained from the clergy a tenth; from the lords, power to demand loans. He summoned troops to assemble at Dover. He liberated James of Scotland, and from a prisoner converted him into an ally: promising to allow him to take possession of his kingdom within three months after the end of the campaign. The earl of Douglas, the lords Forbes and Gordon, with other friends of king James, engaged to follow the banner of England. By thus enlisting the king of Scotland in his cause, Henry at once attained the means of withdrawing the Scots from the service of the dauphin, and of punishing them as traitors if they fought against their sovereign. At the beginning of June, he landed at Calais with 4000 men-at-arms, (or about 12,000 cavalry,) and 24,000 archers; and, after dispatching reinforcements to his uncle Exeter at Paris, proceeded to concert operations with the duke of Burgundy at Montreuil. Then, having paid a short visit to his father-in-law, he hastened to fall upon the dauphin, who was at that moment besieging Chartres, while his cavalry extended their excursions almost to the gates of Paris. At his approach, these bands fell back, the siege of Chartres was hastily raised, and the dauphin retired toward the Loire. Without pausing, Henry detached the king of Scotland to besiege Dreux, vigorously pressed the enemy, seized Beaugency, drove the dauphin over the Loire, and followed him up to the walls of Bourges, in Berri. Withdrawing then from that exhausted country, he returned to the capital. After giving his troops a short repose, he led them, at the desire of the Parisians, to invest the city of Meaux, the governor of which had long been a terror to all his neighbours. The Bastard of Vauras was a fierce Armagnac, who massacred every Burgundian and Englishman that fell into his power, and tortured every person of whatever degree, age, or party, from whom he thought he could extort treasure. No open place within fifty miles of his lair was secure from his attacks: and, on his return, he was accustomed to hang upon a tree, called the elm of Vauras, the prisoners who had incurred his particular indignation.

Under this commander, the defence of Meaux was conducted with the utmost desperation. And when, at the end of ten weeks, the town had been carried by assault, the Bastard and his garrison betook themselves to a stronghold, called the Market-place, and there, for five months, defied every effort of the besiegers. In the meantime, a force despatched by the dauphin had approached, with the intention of entering by night, and
reinforcing the garrison; but it was routed by the English. At last, Vauruns
and his band were compelled by famine to surrender. His head was
immediately struck off, fixed on the point of his banner, and thus elevated
above the branches of his fatal tree.

While Henry had been engaged in the pursuit of the dauphin, and in
the reduction of Meaux, the king of Scots had taken Dreux; and the duke
of Burgundy, after defeating La Hire, and capturing Saintrailles, the chief
party of the dauphin in the north-west, had brought nearly the whole of
Picardy and Ponthieu under the authority of Charles and Henry. Thus,
at the commencement of the year 1422, the whole of France north of the
Loire, with the exception of Maine, Anjou, and a few scattered castles, was
submissive to the king of England and his allies.

In the meantime, early in the winter, queen Katherine had given birth
at Windsor to a son, who was named after his father. As soon as Henry
had completed the conquest of Meaux, his queen and child left England,
under the escort of the duke of Bedford, and landing at Harfleur, proceeded
to Vincennes, where her father and mother then resided. There she was
soon joined by Henry; and the two courts made their triumphal entry into
Paris together. But the contrast between the authority and splendour of
the foreign prince, and the contempt, deserted condition of their native
sovereign, wounded the pride and stimulated the patriotism of many among
the spectators.

At this time, the dauphin was once more preparing for a great effort.
He had collected near Bourges an army of 20,000 men, including a
considerable force of Scots, and he had entrusted the command to the con-
stable Buchan. Turning to the west, the earl crossed the Loire into the
Nivernois, stormed the town of La Charité, then rapidly marching to the
north, closely invested Cosne, another place of importance, and soon re-
cued it to extremity. The duke of Burgundy, to whom the Nivernois
belonged, urgently requested the aid of Henry. The king of England was
now beginning to sink under a disease which for some months had been
secretly gaining upon him. Nevertheless, he roused himself at the call of
his ally, and set out from Paris for the relief of Cosne. At Corbeil, how-
ever, finding his weakness increase, he delivered the command of the army
to his brother John, and returned in a litter by slow stages to Vincennes.
The duke of Bedford, by his advance alone, raised the siege of Cosne, and
drove the dauphin once more over the Loire. He was preparing to follow, when he was summoned to attend the bedside of his brother, the king.

Henry had not long returned to Vincennes, when it became evident that his malady must have a fatal result. He received the intimation with the most perfect composure; expressing no regret at being taken so early from his wife, his son, and the enjoyment of his conquests,—no doubt as to the justice of his claim upon the crown of France. His chief anxiety seemed to be for the preservation of harmony amongst the guardians and advisers of his son. Finding his hour approach, he sent for the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and the other confidential friends who were within reach. He told them that it was the will of his Creator that he should quit this world. Then, commending to their care his wife and son, he exhorted them to continue the loyalty they had hitherto exhibited, and always to live in peace together. He enjoined them to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and to offer him the regency of France; but if he should not accept it, to confer it upon his brother of Bedford. He appointed the earl of Warwick governor to his son; and nominated his brother of Gloucester guardian of England. Observing, that the issue of war was in the hands of Heaven, he forbade them to release the French princes taken at Azincourt, until his son should be of age; or to make any peace with Charles, calling himself dauphin, unless Normandy were ceded in full sovereignty to England. While all present were affected to tears, he inquired how long he had to live, and insisted upon knowing the truth. Being told that he could not survive two hours, he sent for his confessor and chaplains, and desired them to recite the seven penitential psalms. When they came to the verse—"Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem"—he stopped them, and said:—"It was my intention, if I had lived, after restoring peace in France, to go and rescue Jerusalem from the infidels. But I was not worthy of it: and am not now." Shortly after these words, death came upon him, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and in the tenth of his reign. His body was conveyed to England with an extraordinary display of funeral pomp: the king of Scots acting as chief mourner, accompanied by the dukes of Burgundy, Bedford, and Exeter, with a long train of great nobles, knights, and gentlemen. He was interred in Westminster abbey, amidst every demonstration of public and private grief.
The death of Henry V. was no sooner known in London, than the principal peers and privy councillors who happened to be there assembled issued new commissions in the name of Henry VI. to the various officers of the crown, and summoned a parliament to meet in two months. Before it assembled, the appointment of some representative of the sovereign became necessary; and the lords offered that post to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, with powers subject to the assent of the council. The duke objected to the limitation, but was obliged to submit. When the parliament met, Humphrey laid claim to the regency: because, next to the duke of Bedford, he was the nearest in blood to the king; and because the late king had appointed him to the office. It was answered by the lords, that, according to the constitution, neither of these titles were valid: but they consented that, in the absence of the duke of Bedford, he should be president of the council, with the title of "protector of the realm and church of England."

To Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, the accomplished knight whom Henry V. had appointed tutor to his son, was now joined Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, one of the sons of John of Ghent.

In accordance with the recommendation of the late king, the regency of France was offered by Charles and his council to Philip of Burgundy: and when he declined the office, it was conferred upon the duke of Bedford. He had hardly accepted it, when Charles VI. died; to the irreparable injury of the English power in France. Henry of Lancaster, however, king of France and England, was immediately proclaimed in Paris with great pomp: while, in a distant province, and surrounded only by a few gentlemen, the dauphin assumed the style of Charles VII. From that moment, the currents of opinion, of enthusiasm, began to turn in favour of the French prince.

The authority of the English, however, was very great in the northern parts of the kingdom. The parliament, university, and citizens of Paris took without hesitation the oath of fidelity to the infant king. The regent was met at Amiens by the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, the count of Richemont, the bishops of Paris, Tournai, Terouenne, Nantes, Amiens, and Beauvais: and there the princes swore to love each other as brothers;
to defend each other against every enemy; to do all in their power to relieve the poor of that kingdom, which had suffered so much; to which end they would banish war out of the realm, so that God might there be served and honoured, and commerce and labour have their course. To ratify this alliance, the duke of Bedford married one sister of the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Richemont another.

While the regent prepared with the utmost vigour to push the English conquests, he also set himself with great determination to reorganize the provinces under his control, and to mitigate the frightful evils under which the country was suffering. Since the murder of the duke of Orleans, fourteen years before, government had nearly ceased in France. Disorder, licence, barbarity, nearly everywhere prevailed. The country was so covered with bands of robbers that communication ceased, commerce and agriculture were ruined, and famine, with its attendant pestilence, became the ordinary condition even in the capital. For every evil Bedford attempted to provide a remedy; but his labours were continually interrupted and thwarted by the exigencies of the war. Charles was the first to resume the offensive. His general, Tanneguy Duckat, suddenly advancing into Burgundy, laid siege to the strong town of Crevant. The earl of Salisbury was immediately despatched to assist in its relief. He joined the marshal of Burgundy at Auxerre, and then marched upon Crevant. They found the French and Scots strongly posted, with the river Yonne and the town behind them. By forcing a bridge, however, Salisbury compelled the enemy to pass the river again; and when he attacked them in front, the garrison of Crevant fell upon their rear. The result was a decisive victory for the English and Burgundians, who entered Crevant in triumph, leading as prisoners the constable Buchan and the French commander, with a large proportion of their force. Of the Scots alone, more than 3000 had been killed or taken.

To put an end to the constant aid which Charles derived from Scotland, the English government now offered to set king James at liberty, on condition that he prohibited all such aid for the future. James accepted the condition; and returned to his native land, taking with him as his queen Jane Beaufort, the beautiful daughter of the earl of Somerset.

Meanwhile, the English found themselves assailed even in the northern provinces of France; and several places were seized by the partisans of
Charles. The regent, however, quickly recovered Compiègne and Crotou; and he was on the point of reducing Ivry, when the duke of Alençon, with Douglas, Buchan, and about 15,000 French, Scots, and Lombards, advanced to its relief. But the sight of his lines having convinced them that success there was hopeless, they swept round upon Verneuil, and seized it by a skilful stratagem. Bedford, however, after receiving the submission of Ivry, had followed on their track, and forced them to stand a siege, or deliver battle. They chose a battle. The fight was stubborn; but the English at last broke the hostile lines in many places, and obtained a great victory. The earls of Douglas, Buchan, and Moray, the counts of Aumale, Tonnère, and Ventadour, with about 5000 of their troops, lay dead on the field. The duke of Alençon and at least 200 nobles and gentlemen were taken. Seeing that the day was his own, the duke of Bedford immediately called his captains about him, and offered thanks for his victory.

All the efforts, however, all the successes of the regent, had already been neutralized by the selfish ambition of his own brother. During the lifetime of the late king, Jacqueline, duchess of Brabant, and heiress in her own right of Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, had separated from the duke her husband, and fled to England. There her hand was speedily sought by Humphrey of Gloucester, although a divorce had already been refused her by the pope, and although the cause of her husband had been warmly espoused by his cousin, the duke of Burgundy. Henry V. had discouraged the match; but six months had scarcely passed after the death of that prince, when, in spite of every remonstrance, the protector married Jacqueline; and at once laid claim to her hereditary dominions. Rejecting the advice of the regent, he marched with an English army into Hainault, and took possession of the country, provoking the duke of Burgundy to such a degree, that that usually cold prince challenged him to single combat. The duel was prevented; but Gloucester and Burgundy then made private war upon each other with the troops which should have been sent to the support of the regent; and from that moment Philip cooled in his friendship for the English. Thus, at the very juncture when vigorous operations might have secured, for some years at least, the ascendancy of Bedford, he was compelled to remain almost inactive. And after all, Gloucester left his new wife in Hainault, and returned to England with his favourite, Eleanor Coldham, whom he afterwards married.
The regent, however, was so confident of triumph, that he entirely disregarded an attempt of pope Martin V. to induce him to make peace. Again his plans were marred by the turbulence of his brother. For three years the protector and his uncle Beaufort had constantly differed in council. The bishop, in particular, had strongly opposed the war with Burgundy; and when Gloucester returned from Hainault, his anger had burst out with such violence, that Beaufort entreated the regent to return to England. The duke consented; and it was sixteen months before he felt justified in again leaving the kingdom.

While engaged, however, in composing the existing differences at home, Bedford did not neglect the duties of his own office; and he returned to France with reinforcements amounting to 10,000 men. Several councils of war were immediately held at Paris; and it was there resolved, contrary to the opinion of the regent, to undertake the siege of Orleans. The earl of Salisbury, its chief supporter, was appointed to conduct the enterprise. It was October, however, before his preliminary operations were finished; and when he arrived before the city, everything that skill and devotedness could effect had been employed to render it impregnable. Boldly crossing the Loire, Salisbury commenced his attack upon the works on the southern bank. They were carried; but as the earl was viewing the city from a tower, he was killed by a cannon shot. He was succeeded by the earl of Suffolk, who resolved to reduce the place by blockade; and gradually enclosing Orleans with no less than sixty detached forts, or bastilles, in five months brought the defenders to the verge of starvation.

The cause of Charles VII. now seemed hopeless. He himself had almost resolved to fly to Spain or Scotland; when a deliverer appeared from the most unexpected quarter. At this very moment there arrived, from a distant corner of Champagne, a young girl dressed as a man, who demanded to speak with Charles, announcing that she came commissioned by Heaven to save him and France. The king received the message with derision; his council deemed it wise to investigate the history of the sender. Her name was Jeanne Daré; and she was the daughter of poor peasants of Domremy, a hamlet of Champagne. From her earliest years she had been distinguished for her gentleness, piety, and love of solitude. As she grew up, she partook intensely of the sympathy of her family and neighbours for the calamities of her country, and she hoped with them that an
old prophecy would yet be fulfilled, which declared that France, ruined by a wicked woman, would be saved by a virgin from the neighbouring forest of Boischenu. At an early age she had seen, as she thought, the archangel Michael. Now again she saw him, accompanied by the saints of the village church, Katherine and Margaret, and he seemed to tell her that she was the maid announced by the tradition; commanding her to enter upon her mission at once; and assuring her that Katherine and Margaret would constantly direct her in her course. Overcoming herself, her family, and all around her, she had at last arrived, after escaping innumerable dangers, at Chinon; and she now demanded permission to march against the enemy.

Five weeks elapsed before the mission of Jeanne was admitted. But at length the parliament, the theologians, and other commissions having pronounced in her favour, thousands of every rank rushed to serve under her orders. The wondrous story of "the Maid" now flew in every direction, and before she took the field the confidence of the English had already been much shaken. Meanwhile, she had been provided with everything suitable to a knight. A veteran squire and a chosen guard had been assigned her. She sent for a sword which lay buried in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois. She had a banner made after her directions, with a figure of God the Father upon it, and caused it to be consecrated in the church of St. Saviour at Blois. When all was ready for the relief of Orleans, Jeanne sent letters to the English commanders, ordering them in the name of God to depart to their own country; and then, in company with Dunois and other famous captains of France, marched from Blois upon the great enterprise. It was successful. A large convoy of provisions entered without opposition; and Orleans was saved. Directed by the Maid, the garrison now became the assailants. The four strongest of the English forts were stormed: upon which Suffolk, after a vain attempt to provoke a battle in the field, burned the remaining forts, and slowly withdrew. In a few weeks, Jargeau, which the earl had made his head-quarters, was carried by assault, and he himself taken prisoner. The lord Talbot, his successor, began to retire towards Paris; but on meeting a reinforcement under sir John Fastolf, halted at Patay. Fastolf urged the dispirited condition of the troops: but Talbot refused to yield another step. The French in the meantime came up, and falling impetuously upon the English before these had formed, gained a complete victory, killing 1800, and taking the lords
Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford. The division under Fastolf fled at the first onset, carrying their commander with them. For this the regent deprived him of the Garter; but on hearing his defence, he restored it to him.

Jeanne now declared that the second part of her mission must be accomplished, and that Charles must be crowned in Rheims. To achieve that enterprise seemed impracticable, even to the bravest officers. But the enthusiasm of the Maid prevailed, and Charles set out with a large force of cavalry. No enemy appeared in the field. After six days, Troyes opened its gates; Châlons followed the example; and Rheims itself, on his approach, ejected the Burgundians, and received him with joy. Two days afterwards, Charles was crowned in the seat of his ancestors. Jeanne, in full armour, and holding her banner, stood at his side during the ceremony. When it was over, she threw herself at his feet, saying:—"Gentle king, now is the will of God accomplished." She did not, however, yet regard her mission as fulfilled. She had still to drive the English from France, and to obtain the release of the duke of Orleans.

In the meanwhile, the duke of Bedford was making the most strenuous exertions to stem the tide of ill-success which had so suddenly burst upon him. Neither men nor supplies were to be had from England, where the war had become unpopular, and, of late, even dreaded. But by weakening his garrisons in Normandy, and bribing his uncle, cardinal Beaufort, to make over to him a force which he was leading against the Hussites, he collected a new army of about 10,000 men. With this he alternately pursued the king, and defended Normandy against the constable Richemont. Neither side, however, desired to risk a great battle; and after the failure of an assault upon Paris, during which Jeanne was severely wounded, Charles withdrew his army for the winter behind the Loire. The failure, however, though it was caused by neglect of the advice of the Maid, gave a fatal blow to her ascendancy over both friends and enemies.

The Maid opened the next campaign by an advance to the neighbourhood of Paris, with the view of aiding a rising there in favour of Charles. But the combination having failed, she pushed on to the relief of Compiègne, which was besieged by a large Burgundian and English force under the duke in person. Defeating on her way a Burgundian division, she passed through the besiegers, and entered Compiègne. That evening she led a sortie against the enemy. It was at first successful; but the
Burgundians rapidly concentrating on the point of danger, the French were checked, and, in spite of the example and exhortations of the Maid, finally retreated in haste towards the town. Jeanne remained in the rear, gallantly endeavouring, with the aid of a few brave men, to check the pursuit: but at last, abandoned by all, she was dragged from her horse by an archer of Picardy, and gave up her sword to the Bastard of Wandomme, a knight in the service of John of Luxembourg. The news of her capture was received by the allies, and especially by the English, with the most joyful shoutings and huzzas. All crowded to gaze upon the prisoner, and the duke of Burgundy himself came immediately to visit her. Great, however, as was the exasperation of his own subjects and of his allies against the
Maid, Philip showed no inclination to enable them to gratify it: and John of Luxembourg treated her with humanity, as a prisoner of war.

No sooner was it known that Jeanne had been taken, than the university of Paris demanded that she should be given up to the vicar of the Inquisition; then, that she should be delivered to the bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken. No notice, however, was taken of these applications. Then the Bishop of Beauvais, a strong partisan of the English, (who had already been nominated by them to the archbishopric of Rouen,) claimed the prisoner as a witch and impostor. In the end, John of Luxembourg sold her to him for the sum of 10,000 francs.

Although Jeanne had been taken in the diocese of Beauvais, the duke of Bedford resolved, for greater effect, to bring her to trial at Rouen. The bishop of Beauvais claimed, and was admitted, to preside over the court, which at first consisted of more than a hundred members. By this tribunal was the Maid examined during sixteen days, and every effort made to induce her to confess that she had been deceived, and that she now knew that she had been the instrument of the spirits of darkness. But Jeanne so firmly maintained that she had done the work of God, as signified to her by His archangel and saints, that some of the judges began to take her part, to the great displeasure of the bishop of Beauvais. At the suggestion of one theologian, she appealed to the pope; but the bishop contrived to ignore that appeal. She was pronounced a heretic and impious impostor; a sentence which was ratified by the university of Paris. At last, the Maid, staggered by the authority and learning arrayed against her, and having seen the stake and the faggots prepared for her execution, consented to acknowledge and renounce her errors. She was then condemned to perpetual imprisonment. A few days afterwards, however, Jeanne declared that she had done wrong in recanting. She was taken to the market-place of Rouen, and there burned to ashes, embracing to the end a crucifix, and calling upon the name of her Saviour. The sight of her death caused many of the English to doubt the justice of their cause.

To neutralize the effect of the coronation of Charles at Rheims, the regent had determined that Henry should be consecrated in the same place. But as at the end of eighteen months the enemy still held possession of Rheims, it was arranged that the coronation should take place in Paris. The young king, therefore, was brought by a splendid escort to the capital,
and received there with much show of rejoicing. He was crowned in Notre Dame by his great-uncle, the cardinal of Winchester. Not one of the peers of France—not even the duke of Burgundy—was present; and their duties were performed by the earls of Stafford, Mortimer, and Salisbury. Of all the French bishops, only four or five, including those of Paris and Beauvais, attended on the occasion; and it was plain that the English interest had declined to a very low ebb. The presence of Henry during another year having produced no effect in his favour, he was advised to return to England.

For some time the duke of Bedford, abandoned by the government and people of England, sustained by the power of his name alone the authority of his nephew. The French war had become so unpopular at home, that the commons expressly limited the employment of their supplies to the defence of the realm; and when Bedford came to England to defend his administration, the whole parliament with the king entreated him to remain, and to assume the government. But the regent, devoted to the work assigned him by his late brother, returned to his post in France. Meanwhile, the death of his duchess had still further loosened the ties between him and Burgundy; and his somewhat hasty marriage with Jaquetta of Luxembourg completely destroyed the friendship of Philip.

Thoroughly alienated from the English, Philip was not long in consenting to be reconciled on his own terms with Charles. At the urgent invitation of the regent, indeed, he visited him once more at Paris; but only to announce that he had resolved, in conjunction with the pope, to mediate between the contending parties, and that the French had already agreed to send delegates to a congress during the ensuing summer. The English had no resource but to concur in this arrangement; and Arras was named as the seat of the negotiations.

At the appointed time, Philip received with a splendid hospitality representatives from almost every country of Europe. Ambassadors arrived from the kings of Castille, Aragon, Navarre, Sicily, Cyprus, Portugal, Denmark, and Poland; envoys from Milan and Brittany, Paris, Namur, Holland, Burgundy, and Brabant. The cardinal of Santa Croce represented pope Eugenius IV., who was prevented from attending. The cardinal of Cyprus appeared on behalf of the council of Basle. The cardinal of Winchester and the earl of Suffolk were the chief ambassadors from Henry:
while the duke of Bourbon and the constable Richemont, brothers-in-law of Philip, were entrusted with the interests of Charles. When the business commenced, the English were found willing to grant Charles all that he already possessed; but they insisted that Henry should be king of France. The French, while offering him Guienne, Gascony, much of Saintonge, and Normandy, to be held as fiefs, demanded that he should renounce all other claims upon France. Finding that the claim upon the French crown was generally condemned, the English ambassadors declared that they had no authority to un Crown their master, and withdrew from the congress. Negotiations immediately commenced between Burgundy and France. The fatal news was carried to Rouen; and in eight days more, John duke of Bedford was dead. A week later, the treaty of Arras rendered the triumph of Charles only a question of time.

The consequences of the reconciliation between Philip and Charles were at once foreseen in England. The Londoners, in their rage, immediately commenced a massacre of the Flemings and other subjects of Philip; nor was it without difficulty that the king suppressed the tumult. The war, however, was not supported with vigour. Seven months had passed, and Paris had been lost, before Richard, duke of York, the new regent of France, arrived at his post. The reinforcements which he brought scarcely amounted to 8000 men, but they sufficed at least to recover the towns which the enemy had gained in Normandy. In this crisis, the English commanders were not found wanting. John, lord Talbot, the king’s marshal in France, signalled himself in the highest degree. Dashing out of Rouen, he overthrew a French force which, in concert with a party within, was advancing to surprise it. He regained Pontoise for the English, by assaulting it during a hard frost with a body of troops dressed in white. Making that place his head-quarters, he swept the country round Paris, and nearly succeeded in recovering the capital for Henry.

In the meantime, Philip, who originally had intended to secure peace at least for his own dominions, became irritated in his turn by the violent anger of the English, and he resolved to deprive them of Calais. The duke of Gloucester eagerly prepared to encounter his old enemy; but before he arrived, the Flemings, either in panic or discontent, fled headlong into their own country, involving in their disgrace duke Philip and the constable de Richemont. When Gloucester landed, all was secure on that side.
Instead, however, of affording succour to the regent, Humphrey attempted to conquer for himself the earldom of Flanders, of which he had persuaded king Henry to make him a grant, in order to punish the "treason" of Philip. But notwithstanding the disaffection of the Flemings towards their duke, the English prince failed completely in his enterprise. Philip next laid siege to Cretoi, a town near the mouth of the Somme; but on the approach of Talbot, (who led his men across the ford at Blanche-tacque, with the water reaching their necks,) the duke retired to Abbeville. It seemed as if he scrupled to encounter his ancient companions in arms: and it was not long before he again began to wish for peace.

For five years more the war alternately languished and burst violently forth. On the one side, Talbot, on the other, Richemont, displayed the greatest ability. The constable recovered Meaux for Charles; Talbot regained Harfleur for his sovereign, and again and again relieved Pontoise; until at last that now isolated place was stormed by Charles VII.

Before this time, the disasters of the war, the hopeless nature of the contest, the exhausted state of the nation, and the visitation during two years of famine and pestilence, had formed among the English a party which saw the absolute necessity of peace. This view was strenuously advocated in the council by cardinal Beaufort and the earl of Suffolk. It was violently opposed by the duke of Gloucester and a strong minority; but in the end, from simple inability to carry the contest further, the advocates for war were obliged to yield. An armistice with Burgundy was, by the help of the duchess, arranged with little difficulty. The nation, however, even in demanding peace, was still so proud and irritable, that to accept any terms of which the French would now allow was found impossible. At length, the efforts of the duchess of Burgundy and of the duke of Orleans (who, after a captivity of twenty-four years, had been set at liberty) induced the French court to moderate its tone. The earl of Suffolk and the duke of Orleans met at Vendome, and there concluded an armistice for two years, during which it was hoped the negotiations for a lasting peace might be brought to a favourable issue.

At the time when the armistice was concluded, Henry was in his twenty-fourth year. Early removed from the care of his mother, (who had married a Welsh gentleman named Owen Tudor,) he had been educated under the superintendence of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, a man renowned
for his wisdom, valour, piety, and accomplishments. As the young king grew up, he showed himself gentle, studious, and religious; evincing neither inclination for war, nor capacity for government. In the meanwhile, the privy council with the utmost jealousy preserved the authority with which it had been invested by his first parliament. They made it their chief care to prevent any one person ascribing to himself the slightest independent power. They declared that during the king's minority the great council of parliament, or, in its absence, they, the perpetual council, were the sole depositaries of the royal power. They drew from the duke of Bedford an oath, and from the duke of Gloucester a promise, to submit to their advice. And they even refused the king himself a place at the board until he had attained his majority. In the contest which lasted for twenty years between the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester, the latter was generally in accord with the majority of the council and the parliament, while his nephew, in a strong but less numerous party out of doors, and especially among the Londoners. The constant struggle paralysed the government. In 1425, when the duke impeached his uncle, the regent was called from France at a critical moment to bring about a reconciliation. After the death of Bedford, the cardinal advocated peace: and at last succeeded, to the infinite mortification of Gloucester, in persuading the council to liberate the duke of Orleans, for the purpose of opening negotiations. Gloucester not only made a solemn protest in chancery against the release, but, when the French prince, previous to his release, was about to swear that he would observe his engagements, the duke ostentatiously departed to his barge.

This defeat was soon followed by a more severe blow. The duke had long been a great patron of learned men; and amongst those whom he entertained in his household, as chaplain, was Roger Bolingbroke, a famous astronomer and astrologer. This man was now charged with necromancy, and shown to the people at St. Paul's, surrounded by the instruments of his art. The duchess of Gloucester almost immediately took sanctuary. She was, however, arrested, and cited before the ecclesiastical authorities on charges of unlawful commerce with Marjory Jourdain, "the witch of Eve;" and with instigating Bolingbroke, and Southwell, a canon of St. Stephen's, to bring about the death of the king by magic arts. A wax figure of Henry, it is said, was made, by slowly melting which the conspirators expected to destroy the health of their sovereign, and, by his removal, to
place the duke of Gloucester upon the throne. The cause was tried in St. Stephen's chapel, before the primate and others. The duchess, after denying some, and confessing others of the charges, withdrew her plea, and submitted herself to the correction of the church. She was sentenced to walk that day, without a hood, from Temple Bar to St. Paul's, bearing in her hand a lighted taper, and to offer it at the high altar. This penance was to be twice repeated during the following week, in other parts of the city. Eleanor performed her part with much show of humility, and gained much sympathy from the citizens. By a royal order, she was then com-
mitted to prison for life, with an annual allowance of 100 marks. Southwell died before trial: Bolingbroke was hanged: and Marjory Jourdenain was burned. The duke of Gloucester still continued to attend the court and council: but he had the mortification to see the armistice with France concluded, and the marriage of the king with a French princess, notwithstanding his most determined opposition.

While negotiating to obtain the truce, the English council had also sought for their sovereign the hand of Margaret, daughter of René, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, and duke of Anjou. Charles VII., who, like them, hoped to profit by the influence of this beautiful and able princess, eagerly promoted the match. The earl of Suffolk had even consented to receive her for his master without a dowry, when it was also suggested that Henry ought to restore Anjou and Maine to her father. He hesitated, but finally consented; and the cession was ratified by the council at home. The earl, created marquis of Suffolk, acted as proxy for Henry, and conducted Margaret to England, where she was immediately married, and crowned. The duke of Gloucester joined the parliament in approving all that had been done; and Suffolk, the favourite both of the king and queen, now ruled supreme (for the cardinal had retired) in the direction of the government.

A few months after the marriage of Henry, the archbishop of Rheims and the count of Vendôme, with ambassadors from the kings of Castile and Sicily, came to London to treat of peace. But as the utmost that Charles would offer was Guienne, Querain, Perigord, the Limousin, Saintonge, Calais, and Guînes, to be held under the crown of France; and as the English would be content with nothing less than Guienne and Normandy in full sovereignty, the negotiation came to naught. The truce, however, was renewed for another two years.

During the time when the embassy was in London, Suffolk had ostentatiously proclaimed his respect for Charles, whom he declared that he honoured, next to his own sovereign, above all other men, not excepting the duke of Gloucester and the dauphin. No man could safely use such language in that hour of national humiliation: the favourite had many enemies; and he soon became the most unpopular man in England. The queen, too, was suspected of unduly favouring her countrymen. The influence of Gloucester increased to such a degree that the court became

alarmed. A parliament was summoned to meet at Bury St. Edmunds, and
was opened amidst a great display of military force. A week afterwards,
the duke of Gloucester arrived with four-score horse. On the same day,
the viscount Beaumont, constable of England, accompanied by the duke
of Buckingham, the marquis of Dorset, the earl of Salisbury, and the lord
Sudeley, went to his lodging, and arrested him on a charge of high treason.
Five days afterwards, the duke was found dead in his bed. Though his
health was bad, the enemies of the court easily believed and privately
asserted that he had been murdered by the queen and Suffolk. Five
gentlemen of his retinue were immediately tried for conspiracy to release
the duchess, murder the king, and raise the duke to the throne. They were
convicted, hanged for a moment, and then informed by Suffolk that the
king had pardoned them. In a proclamation, Henry asserted that his
reason for this act of mercy was, that “the Supreme Judge had smitten
certain persons who had been unfaithful to him.”

Cardinal Beaufort survived his nephew scarcely six weeks. Finding his
death approaching, he summoned all his neighbours to attend in the great hall
at Wolvesey, and there had the funeral service performed over him as he
lay in his bed. The office was repeated a few days later, his will was read,
he took leave of those present, and was carried away to die. The king
refused to receive anything from his executor, saying:—“He was always a
good uncle to me. Fulfil his intentions.”

The death of cardinal Beaufort was followed within the year by that of his
nephew, the duke of Exeter. Another nephew, the duke of Somerset,
became now the natural chief of the Lancastrian party, for the Lancastrians
had again become a party. The death of Gloucester had made Richard,
duke of York, who united the claims of March and of York, next heir to
the throne. The incapacity of Henry, the unpopularity of Margaret, and
the failure of the legitimate branch of the house of Lancaster, had brought
him without an effort to the first rank in the state. He was now lord lieu-
tenant of Ireland, whither, to his great offence, he had been removed, in
order to make way for Somerset in the more conspicuous position of regent
in France. For him, however, the change was beneficial. He was discon-
ected from the loss of France: and he had the opportunity of gaining
over, by his mild government, the whole Irish people to his interests.

Meanwhile, Charles had suddenly renewed the war, and poured his
armies at once into Normandy: As he advanced, the towns rose upon the English, and threw open their gates. The duke of Somerset and Talbot (now earl of Shrewsbury) were obliged to shut themselves up in Rouen, and with only 1,200 men to attempt its defence. For a time they contended against the besiegers and the inhabitants, but at last were driven by an insurrection into the citadel. After rejecting good terms, the duke consented to bad. He retired to Caen, was again besieged, and, after the total defeat of sir Thomas Kyriel, who came from England to his relief, was again compelled to surrender. In a few weeks, Normandy, and before another year, Guienne, had passed for ever from under the dominion of the English.

The English people had long been tired of the war; the parliaments had refused to grant supplies for it: yet, when defeat and losses ensued, the national indignation was excited to the highest pitch. The bishop of Chichester, the ambassador who had made the formal cession of Maine and Anjou, was murdered in a tumult. But the duke of Suffolk was regarded as the greatest criminal. On the loss of Normandy, the commons, whom he had summoned to provide for its defence, impeached him. To save him, Henry ordered him to go into exile for five years, during which he was not to enter any of the dominions of the crown. This sentence gave deep dissatisfaction to many in every rank. The next night, an armed multitude proceeded to Westminster in search of him: but the duke, aware of his peril, had withdrawn to his estates in Suffolk.

Before departing into exile, the duke assembled the gentlemen of his county, and in their presence took an oath upon the Sacrament that he was not a traitor, and had not sold Normandy to the French. He then embarked at Ipswich, and arrived off the coast of Kent with two ships. There he lay, awaiting the return of a pinnace which he had despatched to learn what reception he might expect at Calais. The pinnace, however, fell in with a squadron which was on the watch, and the commander of the principal ship having learned that the duke was at hand, bore down upon his ship, and sent a boat to order him on board the Nicholas of the Tower. The duke obeyed, and was saluted by the master with the words:—"Welcome, traitor!" He was detained in the Nicholas for two nights and a day, much of which time he spent, it is said, in writing to the king, and in converse with his confessor. A mock court having been formed among
the sailors, the fallen minister was arraigned before it on the articles of the impeachment, and condemned to death. The next morning he was lowered into a boat, in which was a block, and there the lowest of the crew, ("a knave of Ireland,"), telling him that he should be fairly dealt with, took a rusty sword and hacked off his head with four or five strokes. The body was taken ashore, and laid upon the sands at Dover. By an
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express order, however, from the king, it was delivered up to the widowed duchess, who interred it at Wingfield.

From this moment all respect for the authority of the king disappeared. A general agitation pervaded the nation. At each arrival from Normandy or Guienne, the discontent increased: the wildest charges against the court were circulated; and the people were everywhere threatening to reform the government by force. When the king summoned the parliament to meet at Leicester, it was attended by the new earl of Warwick and other great nobles, with strong military escorts: but whether they designed thereby to awe the court or the disaffected, is unknown. At the same moment, a daring agitator appeared in Kent, and taking advantage of a rumour that the king meditated a terrible revenge for the murder of Suffolk, summoned the people to arms. This man is believed to have been John Cade, an Irish soldier who had served in France. He is also said really to have been John Aylmer, a physician. He called himself Mortimer, cousin to the duke of York; and presently took or received the name of "John Amend-all." Within a few weeks, he was encamped on Blackheath with 20,000 men. Thence he sent to the parliament a document called "the Complaints" of the commons of Kent. These complaints were:—that Kent was to be turned into a royal chase, to revenge a murder of which the people were never guilty; that the king, while giving away the estates of the crown, was living upon the goods of the commonalty; that he excluded from his council the lords of his own blood, supplying their places by low-born persons who oppressed the people; that his captains and soldiers in France had been treacherously destroyed; that the commons of Kent in particular had been intolerably overtaxed by the sheriffs and their subordinates; and that free election had been superseded by the lords. Henry immediately dismissed the parliament, and hastened towards London. His forces increased as he moved, until, at Clerkenwell, nearly 20,000 men had gathered under the royal standard. In the meantime, Cade had sent in a second paper, called "the Requests by the Captain of the great assembly in Kent," which demanded that the king should resume the grants of the crown; banish from his presence the false family of Suffolk; employ the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk about his person; and punish the traitors who had murdered the duke of Gloucester, the holy father the cardinal, and the dukes of Exeter and Warwick, and who had
promoted the loss of Anjou, Maine, and Normandy. It required, moreover, the abolition of all extortions, and the chastisement of the great extortioners, Sleg, Cromer, Lisle, and East.

In answer to these demands, the royal troops were ordered against the insurgents; whereupon Cade, abandoning his position at Blackheath, fell back through the woody country towards Seven Oaks: then turning suddenly on a detachment which was following in headlong pursuit, defeated them, and slew Sir Humphrey Stafford, one of their commanders. The royal commanders now reported that their troops would not fight against men who laboured only for the common profit of the realm. News came, too, that the people of Wiltshire were in revolt, and had murdered the bishop of Salisbury, one of the council. To appease the discontent, Henry was persuaded to send to the Tower his chamberlain the lord Saye, and some other close adherents of the late duke of Suffolk. Nevertheless, his army was disbanded, and the court retired for safety to Kenilworth. Cade immediately advanced again, took possession of Southwark, and was admitted without resistance into the city. For one day he kept his followers in exact obedience, and withdrew them at evening into the Borough. The next morning he returned, obtained possession of lord Saye, dragged him before the justices who were sitting at Guildhall, and, after a kind of trial, beheaded him in Cheapside. Cromer, the sheriff of Kent, son-in-law of lord Saye, having been also discovered, suffered in the same manner. Their heads were carried about on poles, and set upon London Bridge. The following day, the insurgents began to plunder, and the citizens resolved to prevent their return. Their design, however, became known, and Cade assailed the bridge during the night; but with the aid of lord Scales, constable of the Tower, the citizens, after a severe fight, were victorious. The moment was seized by the primate and the chancellor to offer pardons under the great seal to all insurgents who would immediately return to their homes. Numbers,—and ultimately Cade himself,—accepted the pardon. Numbers with him, distrusting the intentions of the court, immediately resumed their arms; but recoiling from the capital, retreated to Rochester. Violent feuds broke out: and Cade, fearing to be betrayed, fled into Sussex. He was, however, overtaken by Iden, the new sheriff of Kent, and died of the wounds he received in the combat. Several of his followers were executed; confessing, as it was afterwards
asserted, that their object had been to place the duke of York on the throne.

Tranquility had scarcely been restored, when Richard suddenly arrived from Ireland with 4000 men, and overawing the forces sent to oppose him, visited the king, and demanded a parliament. Before it assembled, Edmund, duke of Somerset, returned from France, to the great joy of the king and queen, who expected that he would prove a sure bulwark to their throne. But he only brought fresh odium upon the court; for under his government it was that Normandy had been lost. He had scarcely arrived, when his lodging at the Blackfriers was plundered by the rabble. The same day, he was nearly murdered in the streets, and only saved his life by entering the barge of the earl of Devonshire. When the parliament met, the commons immediately passed two bills: the one, to attain the late duke of Suffolk; the other, to remove from the court the duke of Somerset, the duchess of Suffolk, and others. But Henry was firm. He utterly refused to sanction the first, and the main objects of the second. Then Thomas Yonge, one of the members for Bristol, moved, that as Henry had no children, the duke of York should be appointed heir to the crown. His motion, however, failed, and he was sent to the Tower.

An unquiet year had passed, when York, supported by the earl of Devonshire and the lord Cobham, suddenly took up arms to drive his enemies from power. Excluded by the king's friends from London, he marched round by Kingston into Kent, where he expected to be joined by large numbers. To his great disappointment, however, the Kentishmen, notwithstanding their promises, scarcely stirred. Henry followed him with a powerful force, and opened negotiations by the medium of the bishops of Winchester and Ely, who were accompanied by the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, two of the most ardent friends of the duke. York protested his loyalty to the king; but announced his intent to remove from him certain evil-disposed persons, by whose means the common people were grievously oppressed, and the commonalty greatly impoverished; of whom he named the duke of Somerset as the chief. The king consented to appoint a new council, which should include the duke of York, and decide all points at issue. Meanwhile, it was promised that Somerset should be committed to ward, there to abide, and answer such charges as the duke of York should bring against him. Satisfied with having gained so much, Richard
broke up his camp, and went unarmed to visit the king in his tent. There, to his astonishment, he found the duke of Somerset at large, and in attendance. A violent altercation ensued. Richard boldly charged the minister with treason, corruption, oppression, and other crimes. From these imputations Somerset not only defended himself with confidence, but retorted upon his accuser the charge of high treason, affirming that Richard, with his abettors, was conspiring to deprive the king of his crown, and to obtain it for himself. On retiring from the presence, York was placed under ward, and sent before the king to London. Somerset was eager to bring him to trial; but Henry shrank from all violence: and a report that Edward, earl of March, was hastening from Wales with a strong force to
the aid of his father, alarmed the council. Richard was offered his liberty, on condition that he renewed his oath of fealty to the king. He complied; took the oath at St. Paul's; and retired to his castle of Wigmure.

Scarcely had this dangerous movement been quieted, when a prospect opened of recovering some of the ground which had been lost in France. The Bordelois, discontented under the taxes imposed by Charles VII., sent a deputation to invite the return of the English. The government at once consented. A small army was speedily raised, and the command given to the renowned earl of Shrewsbury. His arrival in Guienne was hailed with the liveliest joy. Bordeaux at once opened her gates to him, and an almost general revolt against the French took place. The earl was soon joined by his son, lord Lisle, with the lords Camoys and Molineux, and 4000 men. In the spring, he recommenced operations by the taking of Fronsac. In June, however, the French advanced in overwhelming numbers, and, after taking several places, laid siege to Chatillon. The earl approached secretly to its relief, defeated a covering force at dawn, and attacked the entrenched camp of the besiegers. But the French with a numerous artillery mowed down the English by scores. A ball struck Talbot on the thigh, killed his horse, and stretched him on the field. Lord Lisle, attempting to defend his father, was slain with him, and the remnant of their army took to flight. Charles, who now came up, pushed the conquest to the gates of Bordeaux, which held out against him for nearly two months: and when the English garrison departed, there went with them a large number of the inhabitants. And so ended the long wars for the conquest of France.

While the earl of Shrewsbury was still pursuing his successes, it had been proposed that the king should join him, with his nobility, and 20,000 archers paid by the counties. But Henry was prevented from taking part in the war by a sudden attack which deprived him of the use of his limbs, of his memory, and, indeed, of his reason. His disappearance, and the fatal termination of the war in Guienne, gave a severe shock to the administration. And when the queen shortly afterwards gave birth to a son, the event did but increase the animosity and the malignity of the enemies of the court. The council was compelled to receive the duke of York among its members, and to send the duke of Somerset to the Tower. The two parties, however, were very evenly balanced. The duke of York opened the session as the representative of Henry; and when the lords had ascertained
the real condition of their sovereign, Richard was chosen protector. On
the other hand, the infant son of Henry (who had been named Edward)
was recognised by the whole parliament as prince of Wales; and the pro-
tector was ordered to resign his office to him as soon as he came of age.

After nine months, the king recovered his reason as suddenly as he had
lost it. He immediately informed the duke of York that his function was
at an end, and ordered that the duke of Somerset should be liberated on
bail. Earnestly wishing, however, to effect a reconciliation between the
rivals, he induced both to bind themselves to submit their quarrel to the
judgment of the primate and seven other arbitrators; and these were
directed to pronounce their award before the 20th of June.

The ends, however, of Richard were incompatible with peace; and,
more than a month before the date fixed for the award, he took up arms
at Ludlow. Having been joined by the duke of Norfolk and the earls of
Salisbury and Warwick, with about 3000 men, he marched at once upon
London. The king, with about an equal force, set out for Wales; but on
entering St. Albans the next morning, was surprised by the appearance of
the Yorkists in full march towards the town. The Yorkists were also sur-
prised. They consulted together for three hours; and then sent a herald
to the king with a strong protestation of their loyalty, but a demand that
Somerset, their mortal enemy, should be given up to them. A message was
returned, that the king ordered them to disperse, and that sooner than
abandon to them any lord who was faithful to him, he would die in the
quarrel. The duke of York then commenced the attack. He was fiercely
met by the royalists, until the earl of Warwick, breaking down palings and
buildings, gained the town in their rear. They then gave way. The duke
of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford fell bravely
fighting. The duke of Buckingham, with his son, the earl of Stafford, and
the lord Dudley, were disabled by wounds. Henry, who stood under his
banner, was wounded in the neck by an arrow. He took refuge in the
house of a tanner, where he was presently visited by York, who treated him
with every show of respect. A parliament was immediately called: and
there, after the king had granted a full pardon to York and his friends, all
the peers renewed their oaths of allegiance to him.

Before the end of the year, Henry again fell into a state of incapacity;
and the duke of York again appeared as his representative at the parlia-

The situation of the king had now become most difficult. He had at once to hold in check a formidable party which had twice lately tasted of power, and to restrain many of his own most faithful adherents, who were ready to provoke another conflict in the hope that they might take vengeance for the blood shed at St. Albans. The Yorkist leaders continually asserted that their lives were menaced by the king's friends. The Lancastrians as frequently complained that the crown was in danger. At last, after two years of agitation, Henry persuaded the leaders on both sides to submit to his arbitration. The duke of York and his friends came to London with strong escorts, and were received into the city. The young duke of Somerset and the Lancastrian chiefs, also in military array, were lodged in the suburbs. The lord mayor, with 5000 armed citizens, held the gates and kept the peace. Henry decided that York, Salisbury, and Warwick should found a chantry for the souls of the lords slain at St. Albans, and that they should pay various sums of money to near relatives of the deceased peers. This award was accepted on both sides: and then Henry, attended by the two parties, went in solemn procession to return thanks at St. Paul's.

To the great joy of the spectators, the Yorkist and Lancastrian leaders walked before him arm-in-arm, Richard leading by the hand the queen, the real head of her husband's party.

All the efforts, however, of the king were of no avail. At the first suspicion, the old passions broke out again. The Lancastrian lords might have forgiven the slaughter of their relatives: nothing would satisfy the partisans of York but the crown for their leader and power for themselves. Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, the ablest, the most daring, and the most popular of the nobility, had embraced with ardour the cause of Richard. By the king, however, he had been made governor of Calais and lord admiral. Within a few weeks of the reconciliation, he illegally attacked a fleet belonging to the Hanseatic league, which complained to the council. Warwick was summoned to London, and one day, as he left the palace, a fierce affray arose between the royal attendants and his retainers. The earl, declaring that his life had been aimed at, immediately left London, and after a hurried consultation with his father, the earl of Salisbury, and
the duke of York, returned to Calais. The queen now began to prepare against the approaching storm, which was announced by a renewed murmur of imputations upon the legitimacy of her son. It is said, that at this time she wished Henry to resign in favour of the prince; but that the Lancastrian lords would not suffer it. The rumour was probably caused by the fact, that the boy, during a progress of the court, was brought prominently forward, and employed to distribute everywhere his badge of the white swan.

The two parties were now so fully prepared, that the earl of Salisbury, who was the first to move, had no sooner put himself in march from Yorkshire to join the duke of York at Ludlow, than the lord Audley, with 7000 men, attempted to intercept him. They met at Bloreheath, in Staffordshire. Audley was drawn into a snare, and slain with 2000 of his followers; after which, Salisbury marched on to Ludlow, where his son also appeared with a veteran force from Calais.

Meanwhile, the Lancastrians had crowned to the standard of the king, in such numbers that he felt no doubt of victory, and sent to offer pardon to the Yorkists on condition of a prompt submission. They refused, on the ground, that they could not trust his friends, who had nearly murdered the earl of Warwick. The royalists then advanced towards Ludlow, where they found their opponents in a strong position, well furnished with cannon. The king was still a power; and when the soldiers from Calais discovered that he was before them, they passed over to him in a body. Richard and his principal friends then took to flight;—he presently sailing to Ireland; Warwick and Salisbury to Calais. A parliament was immediately summoned to Coventry; and the duke and duchess of York, their sons, Salisbury, Warwick, and a few others, were attainted.

The dukes of Exeter and Somerset were now despatched to deprive the earl of Warwick of his commands of the fleet and of Calais. But the earl had rendered himself so popular with the seamen, that part deserted to him, and the rest could not be trusted to act against him. Thus he not only retained Calais, but had also complete control of the sea.

Meanwhile, the friends of the duke of York were not idle in England. Everywhere they actively stirred up discontent, reporting that Henry really favoured the exiles, and that they would soon arrive to rescue him from a tyrannical faction. Suddenly, at the end of June, 1460, Warwick and Salisbury, with Edward, earl of March, the eldest son of York, and about
1500 men, landed in Kent. As they advanced, they were joined by the primate and the men of Kent. At their approach to London, the lords Scales and Hungerford withdrew into the Tower. The gates of the city were opened to them by the bishop of Exeter, a brother of Warwick. The three earls proceeded at once to St. Paul's, where the convocation was sitting, and swore on the cross of Canterbury that their intentions were perfectly loyal. In company with a papal legate, who had been sent to mediate, but whom they had gained over, they then marched in search of the king. They found him intrenched at Northampton. Henry refused to see them: but the legate excommunicated their enemies; lord Grey de Ruthyn deserted to them: the rain spoiled the king's artillery: and the Lancastrians were defeated with great slaughter of the nobles and gentry, to whom quarter was refused by the express order of Warwick and March. Henry was taken. Margaret and the prince escaped.

The king was treated by the victors with respect; the earl of Warwick bearing the sword before him as they entered the capital. His authority was employed to call a parliament, which reversed all the late measures. When the duke of York arrived from Ireland, he proceeded straight to the House of Lords, and laid his hand upon the throne; but the assembly remaining silent, he withdrew, and contented himself by expelling the king from the royal apartments. Within a few days, however, his counsel formally presented to the peers his claim to the crown. After long and anxious discussion, the lords proposed a compromise, which was accepted by all present. It was determined that Henry should continue to wear the crown, but that at his death, it should pass to Richard and his heirs.

The news of this transaction was received with the utmost indignation by the queen and her friends. Northumberland, Chitford, Dacre, and Neville instantly took arms in the north. Somerset, Exeter, and Devon marched to join them. Leaving the king in charge of Warwick, Richard, with his son Rutland and the earl of Salisbury, hastened into Yorkshire; but giving battle with inferior forces at Wakefield, he was there slain. Salisbury was beheaded the next day: and the young earl of Rutland, taken in his flight, was murdered by lord Clifford, in revenge for the death of his father at St. Albans. By order of the victorious lords, the head of Richard was fixed on the walls of York, and mocked by a paper crown.

Edward, earl of March, was engaged in levying forces in Wales, when
he received the intelligence that his father and brother were no more. As
soon as possible, he commenced his march to rejoin the earl of Warwick at
London. Jasper, earl of Pembroke, a son of Owen Tudor and Catherine
of France, followed him with a small army of Welsh and Irish; but Edward,
suddenly turning upon his pursuer at Mortimer’s Cross, near Wigmore, put
him to the rout with great slaughter. Owen Tudor was taken and executed.

In the meanwhile, the queen with her son had come from Scotland,
and joined her adherents at York. After too much delay, she advanced
towards the capital with an army largely composed of borderers, whom she
was unable either to pay or to curb, and whose lawless and sacrilegious
pillaging alienated the whole country. At St. Albans the earl of Warwick
attempted to stop her progress; but his army was forced back to Barnet,
and finally took to flight, leaving the king in the hands of his friends.
The next day, the lord Bowes and sir Thomas Kyriel were executed.

In this crisis, the Londoners, affrighted by the licence of the northern
troops, determined to hold the city against the queen. The same feeling
actuated the whole south; and the army of Warwick and March, who had
now formed a junction, became in a few days so formidable, that the Lan-
castrian chiefs retired again to the north. Edward then made a triumphal
entry into London; and after a rude species of election, confirmed by a
“great council” of prelates and peers, he was saluted and proclaimed king.

EDWARD IV.

WISELY postponing his coronation and all festivities, Edward
set himself with the greatest energy to the prosecution of the
war. This was the counsel of the earl of Warwick, who at
once led the way in pursuit of the enemy. On the eighth
day after his election, Edward himself took the field, and on
arriving at Pontefract, found himself at the head of nearly 50,000 men.

The advance of Edward was no sooner known, than the duke of Somer-
set, leaving Henry with the queen and prince in York, marched with 60,000
men to hold the line of the river Aire. Lord Clifford, pushing on with his
light horsemen, found that the passage at Ferrybridge had already been
seized by the vanguard of the Yorkist army. By a fierce attack, he recov-
ered the bridge, and slew the lord Fitzwalter who commanded there. A
few hours later, Clifford was surprised and slain, and the bridge retaken.
About nine in the morning the two armies approached each other, on open ground between the villages of Towton and Saxton. Each host had scarcely perceived the hostile force, when there came a fall of fine snow, which was driven by a violent wind directly in the faces of the Lancastrians. The lord Fauconbridge, an experienced captain, who led the vanguard of Edward's army, promptly took advantage of this storm. He ordered his archers to shoot a volley of flight-arrows against the enemy, and then retire. The Lancastrians, imagining that their opponents were now within range, immediately replied with a continuous discharge of sheaf-arrows, until they had nearly emptied their quivers, without the slightest effect. The Yorkists then fell upon them with the utmost impetuosity. Few battles have ever been more obstinately contested; but at length, the duke of Norfolk having arrived with a strong reinforcement for Edward, the Lancastrians began slowly to retire. They were hotly pursued until the afternoon of the next day; and as, by the express order of Edward, quarter was refused, the slaughter of his enemies was immense. The earl of Northumberland, six barons, and 28,000 men of inferior rank, fell in the battle. The earls of Devon and Wiltshire were taken, and beheaded. Henry, with his queen...
and the dukes of Exeter and Somerset, escaped to Berwick. Edward entered York in triumph; and taking down the heads of his father, brother, and cousin, substituted those of the earls of Devon and Kyme, whom he caused to be forthwith executed. He then returned to London; where, three months afterwards, he was crowned with great pomp. George and Richard, brothers of the new king, were created dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. The lords Bourchier and Fauconbridge were raised to the earldoms of Essex and Kent.

After the departure of Edward, the pacification of the north had been entrusted to John, lord Montague, a brother of the earl of Warwick. This commander gained a great victory over the Scottish army which the queen-regent, in return for the town of Berwick, had sent to the assistance of Henry; and before the end of autumn all resistance to the authority of the new king had ceased.

It was seven months after his election when Edward met his first parliament. The kingdom was now at his feet; and no breath of opposition was to be feared. The first act of the session was a declaration that the three last sovereigns had been usurpers, and that Edward had become seised of the kingdom as the rightful successor of Richard II. Most of the grants made by Henry IV., Henry V., and his son were recalled: but their judicial acts and creations of honour were recognised. Then an act was brought in and passed, which attainted, disinherited, and condemned to death Henry, the late king, queen Margaret, and their son Edward, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Devon, Northumberland, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, the viscount Beaumont, the lords Roos, Clifford, Neville, Grey of Rougemont, Iacre, and Hungerford, with nearly seven-score lay and clerical adherents of the house of Lancaster. Well satisfied with the manner in which the commons had ministered to his vengeance and his necessities, Edward thanked them in the warmest terms, and then dismissed them to their homes.

In this hour of accumulated misfortune for the Lancastrians, the greatest was, that no man of commanding ability showed himself among them. The queen alone displayed the great qualities of a leader. Unable to inspire the Scottish regent with vigorous counsels, she resolved to visit the continent, and seek from the princes and nobles of her native land the means of restoring her husband and son to their rights. Her first application was
to Francis II., duke of Brittany, who presented her with the sum of 12,000 crowns. From Nantes she proceeded to the French court. But Louis XI., who had lately succeeded to his father, cautious and penurious at all times, was at this moment threatened by a combination of his great vassals, and seemed inclined to refuse all assistance. On the offer, however, of Calais as security, he lent her 20,000 crowns, and authorized Peter de Brezé, the seneschal of Normandy, a very distinguished commander, to raise a force for her service. With her new ally, and about 2000 men at arms, she landed near the border; and having been joined by Somerset, Exeter, and other exiled nobles, as well as by a Scottish force, she burst into Northumberland, and gained possession of the strongholds of Alnwick, Bamborough, Dunstanburgh, and Warkworth. The speedy advance, however, of Warwick and Edward with overwhelming forces, destroyed every hope of immediate success. It was therefore arranged, that the lords should hold the conquered fortresses, while the queen and the French betook themselves for the present to their ships. But a violent storm having shattered the squadron, some of the ships were driven on shore and burnt; a fourth of the auxiliaries were killed or taken on Holy Island; while the queen with De Brezé escaped in a fishing-boat to Berwick.

In the meanwhile, Edward, suffering from illness, had been obliged to commit the direction of the campaign to Warwick. The force at his disposal enabled the earl to besiege Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh at the same time; but the time was winter; the garrisons were obstinate; and his troops suffered greatly. So great, however, was the importance of recovering them, that in return for the surrender of Bamborough and Dunstanburgh, Somerset, Percy, and others who submitted to Edward, were restored to their estates and honours, while Pembroke and the rest of the garrisons were permitted to retire to Scotland. De Brezé and the Scots attempted to relieve Alnwick; but neither army daring to attack the other, the chief Lancastrians cut their way out, and the castle was presently given up to the besiegers.

It was during these operations that Margaret, in traversing the country at night with the prince and De Brezé, fell into the hands of some freebooters, who took from them their money and jewels. The robbers, however, quarrelling violently over the spoil, the queen seized the opportunity of escape, and suddenly fled with her son into the thickest part of the wood.
There they were wandering in trouble and perplexity, when another outlaw appeared in their path. Unable to escape, Margaret advanced firmly to meet him, and said, as she presented the young prince:—"Friend, I entrust to your care the son of your king." The outlaw, touched by her confidence, offered himself to their service, and guided them both to the Lancastrian quarters. Seeing that all hope was now over for the present, Margaret, with the remnant of her friends, escaped to Flanders. After fruitlessly soliciting the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, she retired to her father's duchy of Bar. Henry, meanwhile, was concealed in Wales.

Scarcely twelve months had passed, when the very Lancastrian leaders who had submitted to Edward, and thereby recovered their honours and estates, were again in the field. Sir Ralph Percy once more raised the banner of the red rose. The earl of Kyme, the lords Roos, Molineux, and Hungerford, with great numbers of the northern people, took arms in various places. The duke of Somerset hurried from the south to take part in the movement. Henry himself was brought secretly from Wales to appear at its head. Before, however, any material concentration had been effected, lord Montague, the warden of the eastern March, fell upon Percy at Hedgley Moor, near Wooler, scattered his people like sheep, and killed him, fighting bravely. Hearing that Henry and Somerset were encamped near Hexham, Montague advanced rapidly upon them, crushed the small Lancastrian force after a desperate resistance, and beheaded the duke the same day. Two days afterwards, the lords Roos and Hungerford, with others, were executed at Newcastle: and about thirty individuals suffered there, at Durham, and at York.

Having thus in a few weeks suppressed this revolt, lord Montague repaired to York to meet the king, who, with Warwick, had come to his aid. Having been rewarded for his good service by the earldom of Northumberland, he went with his brother to lay siege to Bamborough, whither sir Ralph Grey of Heton had betaken himself after the flight from Hexham. The castle was battered by two great iron guns which Warwick had brought with him; a large portion of the wall was brought down, with Grey himself; and the garrison surrendered. Sir Ralph, on recovering from his hurts, was led before Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, constable of England, who sentenced him to be degraded from the order of knighthood, and beheaded. He suffered at Doncaster.

After the battle of Hexham, Henry had taken flight, and only escaped by the superior speed of his horse; three of his henchmen, with his helmet and cap of estate, being taken in the pursuit. He succeeded in reaching Westmoreland, where he long lay concealed amongst a faithful population. Occasionally he removed into the neighbouring counties: and at last was recognised by Canlow, a monk of Abingdon, who betrayed him to his enemies. He was taken at Waddington hall, in Yorkshire, and conducted to London. Near Islington he was met by the earl of Warwick, who formally arrested him, and having already forbidden that any respect should be paid to the unfortunate prince, led him through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower. There, however, he was treated with humanity; and all men not suspected by his keepers were permitted to speak with him.

From the very first days of his reign, (when he put to death a tradesman of London for a sarcastic jest,) Edward had endeavoured by the most unsparing cruelty to strike terror into all his subjects. On the other hand, he had neglected no art to make himself popular; and by his handsome presence and easy manners alone, had gained adherents in every quarter. He particularly courted the burghers and mercantile classes: confirming and augmenting the privileges of the ancient towns, and liberally bestowing new franchises upon those places which were still without them. Nor had he neglected to attempt the establishment of amicable relations with the other princes of Europe: and treaties of alliance with the kings of Castille, Aragon, Denmark, and Poland, and with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, attested the success of his efforts. An armistice with France, and a peace with Scotland, were additional blows to the Lancastrian interest. In truth, however, these advantages were rather gained for the king than by him. Plunged in amusements, self-indulgence, and vice, Edward seldom attended, except when danger pressed, to the cares of government; but usually left his affairs to the management of the earl of Warwick and his brothers, the chancellor and the earl of Northumberland.

Edward had ere this been frequently urged by his ministers to strengthen his position by marriage: and, from among the foreign princesses who were eligible, Warwick had warmly advocated the choice of the infanta Isabella of Castille. But Edward, who at first was unwilling to be in any manner restrained in his pursuit of pleasure, had lately contracted a secret marriage, which he anxiously sought a favourable moment to make known to
the world. It happened that Edward, during a hunting excursion in the forest of Wychwood, paid a visit to Grafton, the residence of the duchess of Bedford and her second husband, Richard Wodeville, lord Rivers. Their daughter Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian noble, who had been slain at the second battle of St. Albin's, hearing of

his arrival, threw herself at his feet, with a petition that he would reverse the attainer of her late husband. Edward, struck by her beauty, not only granted her suit, but quickly became a suppliant lover. Finding, however, that Elizabeth was not to be won, except by marriage, the king repaired secretly to Grafton, and the ceremony was there performed, in presence of the duchess of Bedford, of two female attendants, and of the priest's
clerk. Two days afterwards, the king, as he had arranged, repaired with the court to Grafton; and he bore himself so prudently, that the secret was not suspected. At the end of four days, the necessity of taking the field against the Lancastrians compelled the king to terminate his visit, and he returned for the moment to London.

After the complete overthrow of his enemies in the north, Edward deemed himself strong enough to disregard any hostility that might be evoked by the announcement of his marriage. No opposition, however, was offered; and when he called around him at Reading a special council of the peers, Elizabeth was introduced to the assembly by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick. She was received with every manifestation of respect, and saluted as queen. Later, an income of 4000 marks a year was settled upon her; and the most splendid preparations were made for her coronation. To draw attention to the nobility of her family, James of Luxembourg, her maternal uncle, was invited to the ceremony; and he came to London attended by 100 knights and gentlemen. The new queen was welcomed into the city by the lord mayor, aldermen, and the various companies: and after having been borne in procession through the principal streets, was crowned with unusual pomp at Westminster.

That the king should have raised Elizabeth Woodville to be queen of England had wounded the pride of the great nobility. His advancement of her family and kindred thwarted their ambition, and crossed their personal interests. Her father was created earl Rivers, and successively made lord treasurer and lord constable, in place of lord Mountjoy and the earl of Worcester, who were induced to resign those great offices. Her brother Anthony, with the hand of the heiress, obtained the title of the last lord Scales. Her sisters were married respectively to the duke of Buckingham, viscount Bourchier, son of the earl of Essex, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Kent, and the lord Herbert. Her son, Thomas Grey, was united to the heiress of the duke of Exeter: an alliance which was calculated to disgust the earl of Warwick, who had already asked the hand of that lady for his own nephew. But the greatest offence and scandal was given when John, the youthful brother of the new queen, married the dowager duchess of Norfolk, an heiress who had nearly reached her eightieth year.

Notwithstanding his original objection to the marriage of the queen, (for he had been anxious that Edward should ally himself with France or
Castille,) the earl of Warwick was at first favourably disposed towards her kindred. But when he found that these new men were opposing their council to his, and that the king no longer carelessly gave in to his advice, his wrath began to rise. It happened at this time, that the old duke of Burgundy was looking towards an alliance with England, and sought for his son Charles the hand of Margaret, sister of Edward. Warwick, who hated Charles, proposed a marriage with a French prince; and was sent ambassador to Louis XI. The honour with which he was received at Rouen excited suspicions of his fidelity. The great seal was taken from his brother, the archbishop of York: and when Warwick returned with an embassy from Louis, the king rejected their proposals. The earl upon this withdrew from court. By the efforts, however, of the archbishop and earl Rivers, a seeming reconciliation with the king was brought about, notwithstanding that the marriage between Margaret of York and Charles, now duke of Burgundy, had been finally arranged. The earl even took a principal part in the ceremonial at the departure of the princess; but there were few who believed that peace, and not a truce, existed between him and his sovereign.

It was not long before a new and abundant source of irritation arose between the king and his powerful subject. The duke of Clarence, the heir male to the throne, had seen with dissatisfaction the marriage of his brother, and the growing influence of the queen’s relations. It was natural, therefore, that he should espouse with warmth the cause of Warwick. But Edward soon had reason to fear that he meditated a union with Isabel, the eldest daughter of the earl. It was in vain that he expressed his disapprobation of the match. The duke and earl repaired to Calais, where the countess of Warwick and her daughters were then residing; and the marriage was performed by the archbishop of York, in the church of St. Nicholas.

At this very moment, a sudden insurrection broke out in Yorkshire. About 15,000 farmers and husbandmen, declaring that they would no longer pay tithe to the hospital of St. Leonard at York, assembled under one Robert Hilyard, called Robin of Redesdale, and marched upon York. The earl of Northumberland, however, with a small force, encountered them before the gates, and after a long conflict repelled them, taking Hilyard, and beheading him on the spot. He then entered York. The insurgents,
thus roughly handled by the earl, applied to his nephew and his cousin, heirs of the lord Fitzhugh and Latimer, to take the vacant command. They accepted it; and sir John Conyers, a soldier of reputation, undertook to advise them. Having no cannon to besiege York, it was resolved to make for London. At the news of the revolt, Edward had ordered the lord Herbert, whom he had created earl of Pembroke, to march against the rebels, promising to be with him shortly. Meanwhile, the insurgents advanced as far as Northampton, distributing as they marched "bills of articles," which accused the king of grievous oppressions, and demanded the punishment of the queen's principal relatives and their friends. The effect produced by these papers alarmed Edward, and made him call upon Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop, for their personal aid. They summoned their friends to arms, that they might present the petitions of the commons. By this time, Pembroke had met the men of Yorkshire at Edgecote, and suffered a complete defeat. He and his brother were beheaded at Banbury. The men of Northamptonshire, who had already taken arms, captured the earl Rivers with his son John, and struck off their heads.

In the meantime, Edward, still trusting in speedy aid from his brother and the great earl, was waiting their arrival at Olney. They came with a powerful force; but instead of proceeding to take vengeance on his enemies, they, with every form of respect, carried him prisoner to Warwick, whence he was transferred by night to Middleham in Yorkshire, and detained there in secrecy under the care of the archbishop.

As there appeared now to be no king in England, the duke of Clarence might have naturally ascended the throne, had not a fresh Lancastrian rising taken place in the north, under sir Humphrey Neville. By this Warwick was forced to summon troops in the name of Edward: and when men demanded to know where the king was, he was driven to produce him in public. The suppression of the revolt was easy: but after having chastised the enemies of Edward, the earl could not well relegate him to a prison. Edward was therefore restored to complete freedom; and in a great council of peers at London, granted a full pardon for all acts done against him.

But though Edward now spoke of Clarence, Warwick, and archbishop Neville as his best friends, his confidants held other language; and the minds of men remained unsettled. In spite of his words, the king was
The king visits George Neville: But flee from his house Feb., 1470.

Another reconciliation

Revolt in Lincolnshire.

Advance of Edward.

He beheads Lord Welles.

Defeats the insurgents at Kirkham. March 12.

Clarence and Warwick fly to France.

Project of the king of France.

He welcomes the exiles.

And reconciles Warwick with Margaret.

Unable to hide his distrust of the Nevilles. Having accepted an invitation from the archbishop to meet Clarence and Warwick at the Moor in Hertfordshire, a seat of that prelate, he proceeded to the house: but having there heard that treason was intended, he instantly fled to Windsor. This public affront exasperated Clarence and the Nevilles in the highest degree. Nevertheless, the good offices of the duchess of York brought about another accommodation between her sons and their principal friends.

Clarence and his father-in-law, however, had already set their friends in motion: and, at the very moment of their reconciliation with the king, the effects of their resentment became manifest. The men of Lincolnshire rose in insurrection against the extortions of the royal purveyors, and sir Robert Welles, to serve the purposes of Warwick, put himself at their head. The king, directing Clarence and Warwick to bring troops to his aid, promptly took the field. He had obliged the lord Welles to write to his son and command him to lay down his arms: but finding at Stamford that sir Robert had not obeyed, he caused the father to be executed at once. Then advancing rapidly upon the main body of the insurgents, he put them to the rout. Sir Robert, while bravely leading on his men, was taken. He was beheaded the same day, revealing before his death the real authors of the revolt. Hearing of his catastrophe, Warwick and Clarence, who were within one march at the time, retreated before the king into Yorkshire. Peremptorily scouting a royal summons which was delivered to them by Garter king-at-arms, they fell back upon Lancashire; but having failed to obtain the adhesion of the lord Stanley, they hurried to the south, embarked in the fleet at Dartmouth, and, after failing to gain admittance to Calais, sought refuge in France.

Louis XI. had now resolved to aid to the utmost the House of Lancaster; and he at once took measures to gain over to that party the man who had hitherto been its greatest and most fatal enemy. He gave orders that the English exiles should be received with all honour in his dominions, sent them money for their expenses, and directed the admiral of France to secure their ships from molestation by the Burgundian cruisers. Then inviting Warwick and Clarence to visit him at Amboise, he received them with every mark of distinction, and gained them over to his views. He had more difficulty in bending to his purpose queen Margaret, who, with her son prince Edward, was presently invited to join the conferences at the
French court. The thought of reconciliation with her ancient foe, and of sanctioning the marriage of her son with his daughter, was profoundly painful to her. At length, however, she consented to pardon every past injury; but only on condition that the earl should first confess that he had wronged and maligned her. Her terms were accepted; and Warwick,

having at last been admitted to her presence, repeated on his knees a form of recantation which had been agreed upon, and solicited a pardon; which Margaret, not without some harsh words, finally granted. The marriage of prince Edward with the lady Anne Neville was soon after celebrated; and the youthful pair were, by order of Louis, welcomed at Paris with royal
honours. Meanwhile, Louis furnished Warwick with arms and money; ordering, at the same time, the admiral of France to make every exertion to protect the passage of the expedition against the fleet which Charles of Burgundy had despatched to the aid of his brother-in-law.

On finding that his chief enemies had escaped him, Edward proceeded to Southampton, where the lord Scales had defeated an attempt on the part of Warwick to carry off a great ship of the royal navy, and had taken several of the attacking vessels. By order of the king, the prisoners were judged by the earl of Worcester, now again lord constable, who promptly condemned twenty gentlemen and yeomen to be hanged, and their bodies to be impaled. This earl was a great patron of letters: but his cruelty had gained him the name of "the Butcher," and on this occasion it materially injured the cause of his master.

Elated by the facile manner in which he had triumphed over the great earl of Warwick, Edward now, to all appearance, gave himself up to security. Nevertheless, he applied to the duke of Burgundy for his co-operation against the exiles: and he despatched a secret agent—a lady of the duchess of Clarence's household—to communicate with the duke his brother, and win him back to the interest of the house of York. He had already deprived John Neville of the earldom of Northumberland, and of the wardship of the east Marches: but while thus destroying his power, he had given him the higher title of marquis Montague, kept him at court, and affected to hold him in the utmost esteem and confidence. And as George Neville resided at his seat in Hertfordshire, far from his diocese, and watched by servants of the king, it was doubtless supposed that his means of hostility were limited. But the strength of Warwick did not depend upon the action of individual nobles: it consisted in his immense ascendancy over the people: yet—though this popularity was manifested in numberless ways—of it the king appeared to take no heed. He passed his time in hunting, feasting, and gallantry: and his only anxiety seemed to be, that the earl should not again be permitted to escape by sea, if once he ventured to land in England.

In the meanwhile, the earl of Warwick, with the help of Louis, had completed the preparations for his enterprise. He had brought with him from England about eighty vessels; and these, with the fleet under the admiral of France, lay at Harfleur, ready to depart with the first favourable
wind. But the mouth of the Seine was watched by a Burgundian fleet, greatly superior in numbers to those of the English and French united. The duke's fleet, however, was scattered by a hurricane; and Warwick with his armament immediately crossed the channel in safety to Dartmouth, the port whence he had sailed nearly six months before.

At the news that Warwick had arrived, his friends began to crowd to his standard. He lost no time in making known his intentions. A proclamation was at once issued, which announced, that the duke of Clarence and the earls of Pembroke, Warwick, and Oxford, acting under sufficient authority, had come to England in order to deliver their sovereign lord, "king Harry the Sixth," from his enemies, and restore him to his royal estate. The document further promised a reform of all the oppressions which prevailed in the realm; offered pardon of all past treasons committed against the rightful sovereign, excepting those of his "capital enemies:" and summoned all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to hold themselves in readiness to join the duke and earls.

According to preconcerted arrangement, the lord Fitzhugh, by a show of insurrection, had drawn king Edward to the north, and then retired over the border. This stratagem had laid the whole south open to the friends of Henry and Warwick, who accordingly appeared everywhere in such numbers, that the King-maker, leaving London to their care, marched first in search of Edward. Meanwhile, that prince had despatched couriers in every direction to summon his friends, and began to move slowly towards the south. But few answered his call; while, of the troops that he had already on foot, some showed symptoms of wavering. Suddenly, he learned that the marquis Montague, who was expected to his aid with 6000 men, had induced his contingent to tear off the badge of the white rose, and to declare for king Henry. Edward now moved into Lincolnshire; but he found the people there (who had not forgotten the slaughter at Erpingham) in a fierce excitement for Warwick and Henry. The earl, too, was within half a day's march of him, and he could trust but few. He resolved to fly. In company with his brother Richard, the lords Rivers, Hastings, and Saye, and about 800 trusty followers, he made for Lynn, where he found two Dutch vessels, with one of his own, ready to sail; and immediately embarking, he was conveyed to Alkmaar, in Holland.

At the news that Edward had fled, his principal friends in every quarter...
hastened into sanctuary, while the nation in general transferred its allegiance to Henry with alacrity. Queen Elizabeth took refuge at Westminster, where she soon afterwards gave birth to her first son, whom she named Edward. In the meantime, the earl of Warwick had entered London. Going to the Tower, he took king Henry from his cell, and led him to the royal apartments. Twelve days afterwards, the duke of Clarence, with the earls of Warwick and Shrewsbury, the lord Stanley, and a splendid company of nobles, gentry, and citizens, escorted the king in procession to St. Paul's, amid the most enthusiastic expressions of loyalty and joy.

A month later, the parliament met. It immediately proceeded to declare Edward an usurper; to attain his principal adherents; and to reverse his acts. The duke of Clarence was made heir to the crown on the failure of the issue male of Henry, and he was joined with his father-in-law in the protectorship of the realm during the minority of Henry's son. The Nevilles and all the Lancastrian lords recovered their rank and estates. Only one execution took place. The earl of Worcester was brought before the earl of Oxford, whose father he had sentenced to die; and the like sentence was passed upon him.

When Warwick had undertaken the recovery of England, it had been arranged that queen Margaret and her son should follow him as soon as possible with her portion of the army, which was not then quite ready. On the intelligence of his success, the queen at once embarked for England; but such was the violence of the prevailing wind, that she was compelled to land again; and she was delayed in France for several months.

From Alkmaar, in Friesland, the place of his landing, Edward had been conducted to the Hague, and thence to the duke of Burgundy at St. Pol. Charles was greatly disturbed by the arrival of his brother-in-law; and knew not what policy to pursue in the affairs of England. He was himself of the house of Lancaster; but the Lancastrians were now intimately connected with his great enemy of France. This last consideration decided him. By proclamation, he strictly forbade his subjects to engage in the service of Edward: but secretly he furnished the exile with money and ships, the things most wanted by him.

Having in a few months completed his preparations, Edward set sail from Vere, in the island of Walcheren, and, after an abortive attempt on the coast of Suffolk, landed at Ravenspur, in Holderness, with about 1500
men, of whom 350 were Flemings, armed with "hand-guns." Finding the population friendly to Henry, he proclaimed that his sole intention was to claim the duchy of York; he wore the badge of the prince of Wales; and he caused his followers to shout for king Henry as they passed along. By these devices he succeeded in reaching York without molestation; and attesting his loyalty by the most solemn oaths, he obtained entrance to the city. Thence he marched towards Pontefract, where lay the marquis Montague with a large force, which, however, suffered him to pass without opposition. By the time he had reached Nottingham, his friends had so crowded to his banner, that he once more took the title of king. In the meantime, the earl of Warwick, having waited in vain for Clarence to join him at Warwick, shut himself up in Coventry. Edward and Clarence then united their forces, and marching upon London, obtained admission through the treachery of archbishop Neville and some of the citizens, and again consigned Henry to the Tower. In two days, however, intelligence arrived that Warwick was rapidly approaching the town.

Edward, now fearing a combined attack from Warwick without, and the Lancastrians within the city, marched out of the capital on Easter-eve, and taking Henry in his company, advanced that evening to Barnet. Pushing still farther in the darkness, he lay so close to the position of Warwick, that the artillery of the earl, which kept up a continual discharge throughout the night, threw its shot far into the rear of the Yorkists. At early dawn both armies advanced, but so thick a mist lay upon the ground, that neither could discern the position or motions of the other. In the confused and desultory conflict which ensued, the Lancastrians more than once believed themselves the victors. Their right wing, after failing in vain for an enemy in front, came upon the left wing of Edward in flank, routed, and chased it through Barnet far along the London road; a disaster which, fortunately for the king, was concealed by the mist from the rest of his army. In like manner, the right wing of the Yorkists gradually closed round to its left, and falling upon the division of Warwick, brought most seasonable aid to their chief. Edward, as usual, fought with determined energy; but he owed the victory mainly to an accident. The troops of Warwick, mistaking the star, which was the badge of the Veres, for the sun with rays, a well-known device of Edward, attacked the vassals of the earl of Oxford with such impetuosity, that the earl, crying "Treason!" withdrew
his men from the field. The marquis Montague was killed; the duke of Exeter had fallen badly wounded; and Warwick, learning the death of his brother and the retreat of Oxford, began to give way, but, as he

passed through a tangled wood, was surprised and slain. Edward had lost his cousin, the lord Cromwell, the lord Say, sir Humphrey Bourchier, and many other devoted partizans; but every loss was compensated by the
death of Warwick alone. Having refreshed his troops, the king returned
the same day to London, and rode straight to St. Paul's, where, having
been received by the cardinal primate, he offered a thanksgiving for his
victory. The bodies of Warwick and of his brother were brought to
London, and exposed for three days on the pavement of St. Paul's, so that
all men might see that the great " King-maker" was no more. Henry was
consigned once again to his cell in the Tower.

Queen Margaret with her son, and a body of French knights and sol-
diers, had been waiting many weeks in Normandy for a fair wind. At last
she embarked again, and then again was detained by continual storms
for seventeen days, at the end of which she put to sea, and landed at
Weymouth. Only a few hours after her arrival came the intelligence of
Barnet field, of the deaths of Warwick and his brother, the scattering of
their host, and the renewed captivity of her husband. The shock was so
great, that she fell to the ground in utter despair. The cause, she thought,
was hopeless; and taking her son, she hastened to the abbey of Cerne
for sanctuary. Her arrival in England was no sooner known, than the duke of
Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, and several other noblemen came to offer
their services. Anxious for the safety of her only son, she wished to return
to France; but was finally persuaded by the lords to put herself at their
head, and try the adventure of another field.

Edward, meanwhile, had heard of the arrival of Margaret: and, five
days after the battle of Barnet, left London for Windsor, where he remained
for four days: partly that he might celebrate the feast of St. George; and
partly that he might learn the intentions of his enemies. It soon appeared
that they were marching towards Wales, with the view of forming a junction
with the earl of Pembroke. Their troops, however, were unable to pass the
Severn, and they had searched as high as Tewkesbury when Edward came
up with them. They determined at once to receive his attack.

The Lancastrians had successfully maintained their position, when the
duke of Somerset, leaving his intrenchments, suddenly fell upon the division
of Edward himself. Victory seemed within his grasp, when he was assailed
in the rear, and driven back to his lines with great slaughter. The Yorkists
now redoubled their efforts; and before long, the duke of Gloucester forced
his way into the intrenchment. Somerset seeing the day lost, and sus-
pecting lord Wenlock of treachery, rode up to him, and dashed out his
Defeat of the Lancastrians. A total rout ensued. Prince Edward was overtaken in his flight, and brought prisoner to the king, who demanded of him the reason of his presence in England. "I came," answered the prince, "to defend my father's crown and my own inheritance." Provoked by his spirit, Edward, it is said, struck the youth in the face with his gauntlet; whereupon

Murder of prince Edward. certain of the bystanders despatched the unhappy prince with their daggers. Meanwhile, some of the principal Lancastrians had taken sanctuary in the abbey church of Tewkesbury. Informed of this, Edward went in search of them, sword in hand: but a priest, who was saying mass at the time, came to meet him with the sacrament in his hand, and obtained from him

a promise of pardon for all who had sought asylum there. Notwithstanding, however, the royal word, on the Monday following, the duke of Somerset, the prior of St. John's, with thirteen knights and esquires, were brought before the duke of Gloucester and Norfolk, the constable and marshal of England, condemned as traitors, and beheaded without delay. Queen Margaret and the young widow of Edward of Lancaster were captured in a nunnery, and led in the train of the victors to London.

At the very moment when the king was exulting in the overthrow of his enemies, the capital had been in the greatest danger, and the release of the deposed monarch nearly accomplished. Thomas, bastard of Fauconbridge, the vice-admiral of the late earl of Warwick, still had a considerable fleet under his orders. Taking on board 300 soldiers from the garrison of Calais, he sailed up the Thames, raised Kent and Essex, and assailed London at once at the bridge and Aldgate. But having used his artillery too recklessly, he exasperated the commonalty of the city, which else had risen in his favour, and they now fought with such vigour that he was obliged to retire in despair.

After his victory at Tewkesbury, Edward had levied an army of 30,000 men; and escorted by this imposing force, he made his entry into London, exhibiting Margaret as a prisoner to augment his triumph. That night Henry was murdered in the Tower. The next day his corpse was taken, amidst a great concourse of military, to St. Paul's, his face being uncovered, so that all men might see it. The body was then removed to Chertsey.

In recognition of the good service done by the city, Edward knighted ten of the aldermen with the recorder; and then proceeded to trample out the remains of the Kentish insurrection. He soon induced Fauconbridge to submit; and filled his coffers by fines and confiscations. The only Lancastrian leader who still continued hostilities was the earl of Oxford. He by a subtle stratagem surprised St. Michael's mount in Cornwall, whence he levied contributions and revenged himself upon the partisans of Edward: but having been compelled to surrender, after a siege of four months, he was sent a prisoner to Hamme, in Picardy. The archbishop of York and the duke of Exeter were also placed in confinement. The earl of Pembroke and his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, escaped to Brittany. Nearly all the rest of the Lancastrian party submitted in silence to their fate, or formally made their peace with the victorious house of York.
Edward had no sooner established himself on the throne, than Charles of Burgundy despatched an embassy to congratulate him, and to invite him to join in a war upon their common enemy, Louis of France. This was an enterprise to which the king was well inclined; and he sent a member of his council to learn the exact views of the duke of Burgundy. But a violent quarrel between his brothers for a time disturbed the mind, and hindered the projects of the king. Upon the murder of the young Edward at Tewkesbury, Richard, duke of Gloucester, had sought the hand of his widow, Anne Neville. This design, however, was in the highest degree displeasing to Clarence, who had married her elder sister, and designed for himself the whole inheritance of Warwick. He endeavoured to conceal the lady Anne; but Richard discovered her in the disguise of a cookmaid, and placed her in sanctuary. The exasperation of the brothers now became so menacing, that an appeal to arms was apprehended; and the friends of the king prepared to rally round him. Edward, however, by a division of the property in dispute, brought about a hollow peace.

The king had already called a parliament, to obtain its sanction and aid for a war with France. He found the cause of Burgundy extremely popular; and received most liberal grants from both clergy and laity. Again and again were the grants repeated during two years and a half; yet all was not sufficient for the needs and the extravagance of the king. In this situation, Edward had recourse to an ingenious expedient. He applied in person to his subjects for gifts of money (which he called "benevolences") to aid him in his great enterprise; and in this manner obtained enormous sums.

At length, after long preparation, and having secured the neutrality of the Scots and of the Hanseatic league, Edward passed his army in 500 Dutch vessels from Sandwich to Calais. His force consisted of 1,500 men-at-arms, (each with three or four attendants) admirably armed, organized, and mounted; at least 15,000 archers, all on horseback; and a great number of gunners, artificers, and labourers. He had already despatched Garter king-at-arms with a defiance to Louis; and he now sent the lord Scales to urge the duke of Burgundy to the field. Charles had engaged to open the campaign three months before the English; but he had ruined his army for that season by a wild expedition into Germany; and when he made his appearance, it was only to excuse himself for his failure. His subsequent conduct, however, did not remove the discontent which his
breach of engagement had provoked. When the English had followed him
to his town of Peronne, he excluded them from the place: and when, at
his suggestion, they advanced to St. Quenin, (a stronghold of the count of
St. Pol,) their vanguard was fired upon from the walls. As the count was
uncle to their queen, the English were greatly enraged, and loudly inveighed
against him as a "traitor." But their displeasure was excited still more,
when Charles suddenly took his leave of the king, and departed: even
though he promised great things for the future.

In the meanwhile, Louis was employing every faculty to baffle the
formidable league which had been formed against him. By dint of presents
and crafty discourse, he had drawn from Garter most valuable information:
and he had not failed to cast doubt on the good faith of the allies of
England. At the very moment when Edward was murmuring at the de-
parture of his ally, a messenger in the garb of a herald arrived at the English
camp, and requested the lords Stanley and Howard to procure him an
audience of their sovereign. Having obtained it, the agent,—by skilfully
representing to the king the desire of Louis for his friendship, the selfish-
ess of his allies, the lateness of the season, with the excellence of the terms
which he might obtain,—induced him to allow of negotiation. Commiss-
ioners were immediately appointed on both sides: and after the English
had gone through the form of demanding the French crown, or at least
Normandy and Guienne, they offered peace, if Louis would consent to pay
to Edward 75,000 crowns before the end of the year; assure him a pension
for life of 50,000 more; conclude a treaty of commerce for seven years;
and marry the dauphin to the eldest daughter of their king. All these
demands were readily granted by Louis.

The articles of the treaty had no sooner been agreed upon, than it
was arranged that they should be confirmed by the two kings at a personal
interview. The place selected by the commissioners was Pecquigny, a
town not far from Amiens. There, by direction of Louis, a bridge was
thrown over the Somme; and in the centre of that bridge was erected
a small open lodge, divided down the middle by a strong grating, which
rendered the passage impracticable. Every precaution against treachery
having been taken, Edward and Louis, each with a numerous escort, came
to the river, and advanced to the grating, attended by twelve of their
principal subjects. The articles of the treaty were then read, and the two
kings, laying their hands on the missal and the cross, swore to observe their respective engagements. After some familiar conversation, during which Louis invited his new ally to visit him at Paris, and Edward readily accepted the invitation, the courtiers retired, and the monarchs remained for some time in private conference. The courtiers were then recalled, and the princes took leave of each other, Louis bestowing most gracious words, not only upon the king of England, but upon every one of his servants. The French monarch, however, was resolved to evade a visit from Edward at Paris. "I like not," said he, "his company on this side
the sea. On his own side, he shall be my very good friend and brother." Louis, accordingly, did not rest until, by a swift performance of the immediate articles of the treaty, and by a judicious continuance of his gifts, he had set the English in full march for Calais. To secure himself against any danger of their return, he bestowed pensions on the lords Hastings and Howard, and several other ministers and favourites of Edward.

Before finally assenting to the treaty, Louis had stipulated that Margaret of Anjou should be set at liberty, on the payment of 50,000 crowns. In return for very substantial advantages from her father, he advanced the ransom-money; and the unfortunate queen was at length released. Having formally resigned her title of queen, she lived in strict retirement until her death, five years afterwards.

The sudden peace with France, after so much preparation and expenditure, excited deep discontent in the army and people of England; and threats of vengeance were everywhere uttered against the advisers of the king. Edward, however, punished with the greatest severity the open murmurers in his camp; and when his troops, on being disbanded, took to pillage, he led the judges with him on a progress, and put to death all who were accused of this offence. But though he thus ventured to check the spirit of violence, he regarded with apprehension the irritation of the public mind, and he perceived that any general grievance would in a moment produce an insurrection. Avoiding, therefore, any new imposition, he turned his attention to other modes of supplying his necessities. With the aid of parliament, he resumed most of his grants. He reorganized the collection of the customs, drew large sums from the clergy, established a regular price for vacant benefices, and by the action of chancery levied heavy fines upon all who had at any time omitted the feudal formalities on taking possession of their estates. And, moreover, the king himself became a merchant, sending out his own ships laden with wool, fine cloths, tin, and other commodities, to be bartered in Italy and the Levant. By these and similar ingenious means, (added to the pension which he received from France,) Edward in a few years rendered himself personally one of the wealthiest princes of his time.

In spite, however, of his wonderful fortune and prosperity, Edward did not feel secure. His brother George again became an object of suspicion. In the late resumption of grants, that prince had been deprived of some
valuable domains, and had made no secret of his resentment for the loss. To this permanent injury, another, still more grievous, had since been added. On the death of Charles the Rash, his widow had proposed that her brother Clarence (whose duchess had recently died) should espouse the youthful heiress of the Burgundian dominions. But Edward, deeply jealous of his brother, and unwilling to thwart the projects of his ally and paymaster Louis, succeeded in preventing the match. The brothers now became open enemies: the king was not long in resolving to sacrifice his dangerous opponent. Two friends of the duke were first assailed. Stacey, an astronomer, was accused of magic arts, and induced by torture not only to confess his own guilt, but to implicate in some manner Thomas Burdet, a gentleman in the household of Clarence. Both were tried before the judges and temporal peers, and condemned to death. Both to the last denied their guilt. The next day, Clarence brought with him to the council a famous theologian, who had attended Stacey and Burdet at their execution, and who now, at the duke’s desire, read their dying protestation of innocence. This act gave the king his opportunity. He hurried from Windsor; accused his brother of a contempt of justice; and sent him to the Tower. A parliament having been speedily summoned, Clarence was brought before the peers. The king himself conducted the prosecution, and called his witnesses. In an elaborate address, he charged his brother with intending (after having formerly been pardoned for a like offence) to deprive him and his issue of the throne. The duke met the indictment of his brother by a peremptory denial; and offered, if he were allowed, to defend his conduct. But the peers were convinced by the statement of the king: and Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who had been appointed lord high steward for the occasion, pronounced sentence of death upon the prisoner. Some little delay having now ensued, the commons requested that justice might be carried into effect. Under this apparent pressure, the king gave orders that his brother should be privately put to death.

It was supposed by some of his councillors that Edward often felt remorse for this deed: and it is said that he would frequently complain that no one had raised a voice in behalf of mercy for his brother. No change, however, appeared in his way of life. He still ruled with inflexible severity, while indulging without restraint every luxurious inclination. His growing love of ease was somewhat disturbed by a quarrel which led to war with
Scotland; but, though violently irritated, he did not take the field in person. For many months hostilities were confined to border raids; but having at length raised an army by means of "benevolences," (for even now he did not venture to try his people by a tax,) he entrusted the command to the duke of Gloucester. In company with the duke of Albany, the disloyal brother of the Scottish monarch, Richard marched to Berwick. The town was speedily recovered; but the castle holding out, the lord Stanley was left to press the siege; and Richard advanced into Scotland, burning and destroying on either hand. The Scottish nobles had just put the favourites of James III. to death, and had carried him a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. The sceptre appeared to be within the grasp of Albany; when he suddenly joined the party of his captive brother. To satisfy his allies, the loyal barons consented to the surrender of Berwick castle, and to the repayment of all monies advanced to their sovereign by Edward. The duke of Gloucester, therefore, having accomplished his mission, returned with much credit to the border.

The recovery of Berwick brought some consolation to the mind of Edward, which had of late been much disturbed by the conduct of his ally of France. According to the treaty of Pecquigny, Louis should have espoused the dauphin to the princess Elizabeth as soon as she had completed her twelfth year, and from that date should have paid her an annuity of 60,000 crowns. But he had always assigned such plausible excuses for the delays which had occurred, that Edward had readily accepted them, notwithstanding that he had been warned from several quarters to put no trust in Louis. He dreaded the diminution of his case, and of his revenue, which must follow a serious breach with France; and thus he allowed himself to be deceived. At length, however, an event befell which forced the truth upon him. The young duchess of Burgundy was thrown from her horse while hawking, and died of her hurt, leaving by her husband, the archduke Maximilian, two infant sons and a daughter. Louis immediately sought the hand of the princess for the dauphin, obtained possession of the child from the people of Ghent, and contracted her to his son at Amboise, before the eyes of lord Howard, the English ambassador. Edward was furious; and thought of nothing but how he could best take vengeance. He called the parliament together; addressed the peers; complained of the wrong that had been done him; and requested their assistance. They
promised to attend him in the field. Even now he feared to ask a subsidy from the commons; but he solicited, and obtained from the clergy, the tithes next due. The parliament had hardly separated, when the king, who had neglected some malady which affected him, suddenly became dangerously ill. Perceiving his end approach, he turned his thoughts to prayer; and directed that restitution should be made out of his ample effects to all from whom he had extorted money. He sent for the principal members of the council, and earnestly charged them all, the relatives of the queen as well as his own favourites, to live in harmony and union. Soon afterwards he expired, in the forty-second year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign.

It was during the reign of Edward IV. that the art of printing was established in England. The first Englishman who is known to have carried on the work was William Caxton, a merchant, who, during a sojourn of some years in the Low Countries and in Germany, there learned and practised the art. Returning to his native land, he set up a press, by permission of abbot Easteney, within the precincts of Westminster; and with the additional patronage of the earls of Worcester and Rivers, commenced a prosperous career, which lasted until his death.

EDWARD V.

The time when his father expired, Edward, prince of Wales, was residing at Ludlow, under the care of his maternal uncle and brother, Anthony, earl Rivers, and the lord Richard Grey. The council immediately assembled in the presence of his mother; and there the jealousies and animosities which the late king had sought to terminate almost instantly broke out. After a day had been named for the coronation of the new king, a discussion arose on the number of troops that should escort him to London. William, lord Hastings, the chamberlain and favourite of Edward IV., with the lords Stanley and Howard, regarded with jealousy the kindred of the queen dowager; and they felt that the government would be in their hands, if the king came accompanied by a strong force under the command of the lords Rivers and Grey. Hastings demanded that the escort should not exceed 2000 horsemen: a number which he believed would be neutralized on the arrival of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, the princes of the
blood. Elizabeth yielded to his remonstrance, and wrote to her brother and son, to dissuade them from bringing a larger force.

In the meanwhile, the news of his brother’s death was being carried to Richard, duke of Gloucester, who was still on the Scottish border. On receiving the intelligence, he wrote letters to the queen dowager, condoling with her in her grief, and assuring her of his loyalty and obedience to the young king. To Edward he also wrote in the most respectful and affectionate style; at the same time addressing very friendly communications to the lords attending upon him. Other letters, of a different nature, he despatched to the duke of Buckingham and the lord Hastings. He then set out for York, with a retinue of 600 knights and gentlemen dressed in mourning; and there he caused a funeral service for his brother to be performed in the cathedral. Having summoned all the nobility of the north to swear allegiance to Edward V., he himself was the first to take the oath. With a much-augmented force he then resumed his journey towards the capital.

When the duke of Gloucester reached Northampton, he found the lords Rivers and Grey waiting for him on the part of the young king, who had passed on to Stoney Stratford. He received them in the most friendly manner, and invited them to supper. In the evening, the duke of Buckingham arrived, with a large following of horse. When Rivers and Grey retired to their lodging, the two dukes spent a good part of the night in council.

In the morning, all the entrances of the town were found to be guarded by the followers of Richard and Buckingham; but it was given out that the dukes were merely determined to be the first in the king’s presence that day. The four peers, therefore, rode on together in friendly converse, until they came near the entrance of Stoney Stratford; when Richard and Buckingham turned suddenly upon their companions, accused them of conspiring to sow dissention between the king and them, and, thereupon, placed Rivers and Grey under arrest. Proceeding then to the lodging of Edward, the dukes knelt before him, and paid their homage. But they immediately arrested in his presence his chamberlain, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse, another officer of his household. The young king wept at seeing his favourite servants thus removed; upon which Richard assured him that his only design was to protect his own life, which, he alleged, had been in danger from the men about the royal person. He then ordered
proclamation to be made, that all the former attendants of the king should forthwith quit the town under pain of death. The prisoners were sent under a strong guard to the castle of Pontefract.

When the intelligence of these events reached London, the queen,—be- warding the hour when she dissuaded her brother from levying an army about the king,—immediately left the palace at midnight with her second son, the duke of York, her brother, the marquis of Dorset, and her daughters, and took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster. The next morning, the whole capital was in commotion. Men armed themselves in every quarter; and while numbers gathered about the lord Hastings in the city, other bands hurried towards Westminster to protect the queen. Meanwhile, a meeting of prelates and peers was held, to decide upon the course to be pursued at this crisis. To this council Hastings repaired. His known fidelity to the children of his late master obtained him the fullest credence when he affirmed the perfect loyalty of the duke of Gloucester; and he succeeded in persuading his hearers to suspend their judgment, and await the arrival of the dukes. In order to excite the people against the queen's family, some barrels, containing armour, which had been taken at Stratford, were exhibited through the streets by the retainers of Gloucester and Buckingham, as clear proof that Rivers and Grey had intended to destroy those "noble lords."

Three days afterwards, Richard and Buckingham led the helpless king to the capital. At Hornsey, they were met by the lord mayor, the sheriffs, and the aldermen, in scarlet, with 500 citizens, in violet gowns, and all well mounted. Edward wore a long gown of blue velvet, but the rest of his suite were in the deepest mourning. Bareheaded, and demonstrative in his respect, Gloucester rode before his nephew, pointing him out to the admiration of the spectators, until he lodged him in the episcopal palace at St. Paul's. The lords spiritual and temporal, with the citizens, here took the oath of allegiance to the king. A great council was now held, at which it was decided that Edward should take up his abode, for greater safety, in the Tower. The seals were taken from the archbishop of York, and given to the bishop of Lincoln. Nearly every high official was removed: the lord chamberlain and a very few others retaining their posts. Richard was appointed protector of the realm, with the most ample power; and he thereupon styled himself:—"brother and uncle of kings, protector and defensor, great chamberlain, constable, and admiral of England."
Richard, thus invested with legal and unlimited authority, proceeded with equal craft and vigour to employ it for the attainment of the object which he had already proposed to himself. That time might not be wanting to the execution of his designs, the coronation of his nephew was postponed for seven weeks. That the delay, on the other hand, might not give rise to suspicion, he seemed to devote himself earnestly to the preparations for the ceremony. Meanwhile, with the utmost caution did the protector feel his way, gain over adherents, and take his measures for employing force at the proper time. The supporter upon whose aid he chiefly relied, was the duke of Buckingham, (descended through Thomas of Woodstock from Edward III., and chief of the ancient nobility), who is said to have been won by promises of a marriage between his daughter and the only son of Richard, and of the restoration in his favour of the great earldom of Hertford. John, lord Howard, another potent noble, was drawn over to their party. If Hastings and Stanley were sounded, they gave no encouragement to the tempter. His plans, however, being now well advanced, the protector divided the council: and while the greater part still continued to sit at the Tower, those in the secret met daily at Crosby place, his residence in Bishopsgate street. Four weeks had now passed: the intrigues of Richard were nearly ripe: when he despatched writs to fifty noblemen and gentlemen, summoning them to receive the order of knighthood in London before the approaching coronation. Notwithstanding, however, all the craft of the protector, distrust began to spread. The constant meetings at Crosby place appeared mysterious to the lord Stanley; but he was confidently assured by Hastings that nothing could be proposed there without coming immediately to his ears.

On the 15th of June the council met at the Tower. The members were soon joined by the protector, who, after some gracious speeches, withdrew for a time. When he returned, it was with a frowning brow, and he took his place in gloomy silence. Suddenly he asked, what those persons deserved who had compassed his destruction? Lord Hastings replied, that they deserved death, whosoever they might be. "They are," returned Gloucester, "that sorceress, my brother's wife, and others with her. See," he continued, "how she and that other witch, Shore's wife, and their accomplices, have wasted my body." Saying which, he bared his left arm, showing it thin and withered. The councillors, knowing that it had always
been so, sat in amazement; all but Hastings, who, touched by the allusion
to the friends of Shore's wife, said:—"Certainly, my lord, if they have so
done, they are worthy of condign punishment." "What?" returned the
duke, "dost thou serve me with 'if's' and 'an's'? I tell thee, they have
so done: and that I will make good upon thy body, traitor!" Then
striking the table loudly with his hand, the signal was answered by a cry of

"Treason!" from without; the door was thrown open; and a band of
armed men rushed into the chamber. The lords Hastings and Stanley,
(who was wounded in the head,) the archbishop of York, and the bishop of
Ely, were at once arrested. The three last were confined in separate cells:
Hastings was ordered by the protector to prepare for immediate execution. It was in vain that he inquired the cause. Richard,—swearing by St. Paul, it is said, that he would not die until he saw his head,—left him to his guards, who, allowing him but short space for commune with a priest, led him to the green beside St. Peter's chapel, and struck off his head upon a log of timber which happened to be there.

The chief men of the city were immediately invited to the Tower, where they found the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, equipped in common armour, as if on a sudden alarm. They were assured by the protector that Hastings and others had conspired to murder him and Buckingham that day at the council; but that the design had been discovered at the last moment, and punishment inflicted on the guilty. All this they were requested to make known to their fellow-citizens. A herald was also sent out with a proclamation, which, in denouncing the murdered chamberlain as much as possible, incidentally called the attention of men to the vices of the late king.

Some of the partisans of Gloucester, at his instigation, had already taken arms in the north; and on the same day that Hastings was executed at the Tower, Sir Richard Ratcliffe entered Pontefract, seized the lord Richard Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse, and beheaded them, without any form of trial. A week later, proclamations were spread over the whole north, commanding all men to rise and march upon London, under the earl of Northumberland and Lord Neville, to aid in subduing and punishing the queen, her family, and adherents, "who intended to murder and destroy the protector and his cousin the duke of Buckingham, and the old royal blood of the realm." Accordingly, when the earl of Northumberland arrived two days afterwards at Pontefract, Rivers was taken out of his prison, and beheaded.

In the meanwhile, the protector had resolved to obtain possession of the young duke of York, who was still with his mother and sisters in sanctuary at Westminster. It is said, that the council,—never dreaming that a child could need the protection of sanctuary,—decided that the young prince might lawfully be removed, if necessary. Anyhow, on the third day after the murder of Hastings, Richard proceeded by water to Westminster, attended by the council, and accompanied by a strong force armed to the teeth. At the Star-chamber, however, he stopped, and sent cardinal Bourchier,
the primate, with the chancellor and others, to try the effect of persuasion upon the queen. On being admitted, they represented to her that the king much desired the society of his brother; upon which Elizabeth, perceiving that resistance would not avail, sadly embraced her son, and left him to the deputation. The young prince was conducted with great ceremony to his uncle, who received him with many loving words, and led him away to the Tower.

A proclamation was now issued, informing the people that, for various great and urgent causes, the coronation was postponed until November. At the same time, rumours were diligently spread by the partisans of Richard, with the view of throwing doubt upon the legitimacy of the young king, and even upon that of Edward IV, himself. And as, for the former object, it was desirable to blazon as much as possible the immorality of the late king, Richard called upon the bishop of London to put the ecclesiastical law in force against Jane Shore, a citizen's wife, whom Edward had enticed away from her husband. She was sentenced to walk bare-footed, with a taper in her hand, through the streets of London: the memory of Edward was depreciated; while the protector appeared as the inflexible guardian of the public morals.

Meanwhile, the retainers and friends of the protector were hastening from all quarters up to London: thousands of borderers, Yorkshiremen, and Welshmen, had already arrived in arms. The city was completely in his hands; and the lord mayor was a devoted partisan. It was resolved, therefore, to take a decided step at the very moment when the members of both houses, assembling for the expected opening of parliament, should find themselves, as it were, in the power of the protector. Dr. Shaw, brother of the lord mayor, a preacher in the highest repute with the people, was selected to give the signal for the revolution, by a sermon at St. Paul's Cross. Ascending the pulpit before a dense audience, he took for his text a sentence from the Book of Wisdom:—"Bastard slips shall not strike deep root." Commencing by giving a number of examples from Scripture and profane history in confirmation of this sentence, the preacher went on to sound the praises of Richard, duke of York, of whom, he said, the protector was the worthy and only son. Edward, especially, resembled him neither in appearance nor in virtue. Edward, he asserted, before he was united to the lady Elizabeth Grey, had already married Eleanor, lady Boteler,
of Sudeley; and, consequently, the queen could not be regarded as his real wife, nor her children as legitimate. Again: neither Edward nor Clarence were ever surely reckoned as the children of Richard, duke of York; and, consequently, the queen could not be regarded as his real wife, nor her children as legitimate. But the lord protector, he exclaimed, that noble prince, the special patron of knightly prowess, both in all princely behaviour and in visage represented the noble duke his father. At these words the protector appeared, in company with the duke of Buckingham, and ascended a gallery, expecting a general outburst of enthusiasm in his favour. The people, however, rather astounded than excited by the extraordinary nature of the discourse, maintained a silence which completely disconcerted the plan of the conspirators. The protector retired in displeasure; while the preacher, overcome with shame, stole away to his home; and never more appeared in public.

After an interval of one day, a renewed attempt was made to procure some kind of popular election. On the Tuesday, the duke of Buckingham, with a company of noblemen, knights, and esquires, proceeded to the Guildhall, where they were received on the hustings by the mayor and aldermen. Silence having been proclaimed, the duke, who was a well educated and naturally eloquent man, stood up, and in a clear loud voice addressed the assembly. He said that he had come there to bring them what they had long wanted; what they had long desired; what they would have given much for; laboured hard for; in a word, safety for themselves, their families, and their goods. He then alluded to the extravagance, luxury, extortions, and lawless tyranny of the late king; touching on the cases of Burdet, alderman Cooke, and Shore, which were only examples of the habitual conduct of Edward. On the other hand, Richard was the rightful, virtuous heir, whom the nobles were resolved to have for their king; and he invited the citizens to join them in praying that prince to accept the crown. The proposal was coldly received; but at length some cheering having been elicited, the duke professed himself satisfied.

The next day, the lord mayor, with all the aldermen and a number of the principal citizens in their best array, proceeded to Baynard's castle, where the protector had taken up his abode. There they were joined by Buckingham, with the chief nobles of his party; and the duke, sending a respectful message to Richard, announced their arrival, and their desire to
treat with his grace upon high and important matters. The Protector, however, as though he were surprised, and somewhat alarmed, by the coming of his visitors, displayed some hesitation to grant them an interview, until he should learn more clearly their purpose. But at last, as if partly reassured by the communications of Buckingham, Richard came from his apartments, and appeared in a gallery above the deputations. Buckingham then presented to him an address, entitled,—"The consideration, election, and petition of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of England." By this document it was asserted, that the marriage of Edward with Elizabeth Grey had been brought about by witchcraft and sorcery; that it had been celebrated secretly, without publication of banns,
in a private chamber, contrary to the law of the universal church and the custom of the church of England; that at the time of that pretended marriage, and long after, the said king Edward was married and troth-plight to dame Eleanor Boteler, daughter of the old earl of Shrewsbury; which premises being true, as in very truth they were, it evidently followed that the said king Edward, during his life, and the said Elizabeth, lived together contrary to the law of God and of his church. Whence it also followed that all the issue of the said king Edward were illegitimate, and unable to inherit or claim anything by the law and custom of England. Then was recited the attainder of the duke of Clarence, by which his children were excluded from the succession; whence it appeared evident that the protector was the next heir to Richard, late duke of York. Whereupon, the petitioners humbly prayed and required, that his grace (according to the election of them, the three estates of the land, as well as by his true inheritance) would accept and take upon himself the crown and royal dignity, with all things thereto belonging.

To this address, Richard made answer, that although he partly knew the statements contained in it to be true, yet he so loved the memory and the children of his brother, so cared for his own good name, and so little regarded a crown, that he could not find it in his heart to yield to the prayer of the petitioners, lest in foreign nations it might be thought that ambition had impelled him to depose the prince. He thanked them for their affection and favour, begging them for his sake to transfer it to the prince, under whom he was and would be content to live, and to serve, doing his utmost (if the king should see fit to use him) to set the realm in good order, as already, in the short time he had held his office, he had begun, by special Providence, to do.

This answer given, the duke of Buckingham requested leave to confer with those about him, and, after a short consultation, announced the resolution of the people of England never to submit to the rule of Edward's issue. They had, he said, offered the crown to the lawful heir: they would gladly hear his consent to wear it; but if he refused, they should find a nobleman who would not fail to accept it. These words appeared to move the lord protector: and he presently replied, that since the people were determined not to suffer king Edward's line to govern them; and since he, who was the undoubted heir, had also been the object of their
choice, he had no resource but to take upon himself the royal estate and dignity. This declaration was received with great shouting, and cries of "King Richard!" The lords then went up to the king elect, and the rest of the assembly dispersed.

The next day, Richard, attended by nearly all the lords spiritual and temporal, went on foot with great pomp to Westminster hall, and seated himself on the marble bench, with the duke of Suffolk and the lord Howard on either hand. Addressing the spectators, he announced that he had chosen to commence his reign on the king's bench, because he considered that the principal duty of a sovereign was to administer the laws. He then proceeded in eloquent phrase to eulogize every class of his subjects separately; descanting upon the merits of the nobility, the merchants, the artisans, but especially of the lawyers. Lastly, he exhorted all men to cultivate peace and good will: declaring that he pardoned all offences which had been committed against him. To give a striking proof of his sincerity, he caused a gentleman who had fled to sanctuary for fear of him to be dragged before him, and then took him by the hand, to the great edification of the multitude.

Having been proclaimed king by the style of Richard III., the new king rode in solemn procession to offer his thanksgiving at St. Paul's.
As nearly every preparation had been made for the coronation of his nephew, Richard was enabled to appoint for his own consecration the tenth day from his accession. In the meanwhile, to add to his security, sir Richard Ratcliffe, with 4000 men, arrived from the north, and were quartered in London.

The new king lost no time in rewarding the men who had principally contributed to place him on the throne. The duke of Buckingham was already at the head of the nobility. No increase of rank was therefore possible for him, but every request of his was granted: and his power was now so great, that the number of retainers wearing the Stafford "knot" was remarked as equaling those who used formerly to display the "ragged staff," in the service of the King-maker. The lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk and earl marshal; his son became earl of Surrey; the lord Berkeley was made earl of Nottingham; and the lord Lovel, viscount Lovel and chamberlain to the king. But Richard also displayed a desire to conciliate his opponents. The countess of Richmond, the representative of the Somersets, was invited to court, and treated with the utmost distinction: while her husband, the lord Stanley, was not only released from his prison, but restored to his office of steward of the household, and, moreover, appointed lord high constable of England. It was said, however, that these concessions had been extorted from the new king by fear; and that the presence of lord Strange, the eldest son of Stanley, among his numerous tenantry in the north, was the real cause of this apparent magnanimity. The archbishop of York was released; and the bishop of Ely placed in the private custody of Buckingham.

Whatever may have been the hostility with which Richard was regarded, the nobility, almost to a man, attended at his coronation. On the 6th of July, the king, with his consort, Anne, (daughter of the great earl of Warwick,) went in procession from Westminster hall to the abbey—their trains borne respectively by the duke of Buckingham and the countess of Richmond. The ceremony was performed by cardinal Bourchier; and after it was concluded, the banquet took place in Westminster hall. According to custom, the king's champion appeared, and threw down his gauntlet in defence of the lawful title of Richard, whereupon the hall resounded with...
acclamations. There was nothing on that day to indicate that three violently hostile parties existed in the state.

Immediately after the coronation, Richard despatched an envoy to Louis XI. with letters announcing his accession, and offering his friendship. The French monarch, unscrupulous as he was himself, regarded Richard as a cruel tyrant, and therefore neither admitted the ambassador to an audience, nor returned any answer to the letters.

In the meanwhile, Richard was preparing to make a solemn progress through the kingdom. His objects were, partly, to execute the office of a king according to his ideal, by watching and controlling the administration of justice; partly to gratify his partisans, especially in the north, by displaying among them his triumph, which was identified with theirs. From Windsor he proceeded to Oxford, and thence to Gloucester: and, after bestowing new privileges on the place from which he had taken his title, he passed by way of Worcester to Warwick. But while he was dispensing graces, partaking in festivities, and exhibiting himself as the source of justice, he was secretly meditating the assassination of the nephews whom he had already so cruelly injured. It would appear, that he had scarcely left London, when he sent a confidential agent to sir Robert Brackenbury, the constable of the Tower, to urge him to put the two princes to death. Brackenbury, however, positively refused; and the agent rejoined the king at Warwick. Richard now had recourse to sir James Tyrrell, his master of the horse, an able, ambitious, and unscrupulous man, who undertook to do the will of his sovereign. Arrived in London, he delivered a letter from the king to Brackenbury, commanding that officer to give up his authority, with the keys of the Tower, for one night to Tyrrell. Upon this, Brackenbury withdrew: and Tyrrell prepared for swift execution of his orders. Selecting one of the four jailors of the princes, a notorious murderer, named Miles Forest, he associated with him John Dighton, his own groom, and instructed them to smother the young princes in their bed, without bloodshed. While the knight kept watch without, Dighton and Forest entered the chamber where the captives slept, and committed the murder. They then showed the bodies to Tyrrell, who ordered that they should be buried at the foot of the stairs; and the next day departed to rejoin his master in York.

Having thus freed himself from his innocent competitors, Richard continued his pompous journey to York, where he had determined to repeat
the ceremony of his coronation. He had made himself popular in the north, where he had resided for some years; and he was now received by the citizens of its metropolis with every mark of rejoicing. He was crowned in the cathedral church by archbishop Rotherham, the same whom he had so lately sent from the council board to a cell in the Tower. On the same day, the king created Edward, his only son, prince of Wales, investing him with the coronet and golden rod; after which he gave a series of most costly feasts and entertainments, in order to confirm the good will of the people. But Richard was not a prince to give himself up, even for the sake of policy, to idleness. He held much counsel with the great men of the north upon the disturbed state of the country; and he was diligent in providing remedies for the evils which existed. Then, after having added several gentlemen of those parts to his household and ministry, he returned to London, where by this time his presence was much required.

Scarcely had the forces of the new king withdrawn from the south, and he himself departed on his progress, when men began everywhere to raise their heads, and to canvass with more freedom the transactions of the last three months. A widespread sentiment of pity and indignation was the result: and there was not a county in the south and west in which confederacies were not spontaneously formed to act against the usurper. In all this agitation, the friends of the young princes would naturally take the lead: but there was little doubt that the long-suffering Lancastrians would eagerly lend their aid to a movement which must tend to the destruction of their enemies. The first object of the conspirators was the liberation of Edward and his brother from the Tower; yet even then there were some who felt the peril of those princes, and proposed that their sisters should be conveyed over sea, in order that the line of Edward IV. might be more securely preserved. This plan, however, was defeated by the vigilance of Richard, who surrounded the abbey of Westminster with guards, and cut off all unauthorized communication with the inmates of the sanctuary.

In the meanwhile, the enemies of Richard were actively pursuing their organization; and it soon became known among them that the duke of Buckingham, repenting of the share he had taken in the late revolution, would immediately put himself at their head. The duke had left London in company with Richard, and attended upon him as far as Gloucester, where they parted with every outward demonstration of good will; the one
then continuing his royal progress, the other proceeding to his castle of Brecknock, in Wales. In the eyes of the world, the duke had every reason to be content with the new sovereign. He had been made great chamberlain of England, chief justiciary of Wales, constable, steward, and receiver of all the royal castles and honours in Wales, Shropshire, and Hereford, lieutenant of the king in the additional counties of Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts, and he had been laden with other offices of influence and emolument. Yet suddenly, within a few weeks of the time when he had received these great rewards, he completely changed his views, and resolved to overthrow the man whom he had chiefly contributed to raise, and to replace upon the throne the prince whom he had been the main instrument in deposing. His pride may possibly have been wounded by the elevation of one who had lately been a plotting associate; he may have been thwarted, however gently, in some darling object: or he may have begun to fear the nature which had lately been revealed to him. It is more likely that, in the retirement of Brecknock, the influence of his duchess, who was the sister of queen Elizabeth, or that of his prisoner, Morton, bishop of Ely, converted him to their views.

Having taken his resolution, Buckingham at once announced it to the leading supporters of Edward. Full of spirit and confidence, these were now ready to rise in Kent, Essex, Berks, Sussex, Hants, Dorset, Devon, Somerset, and Wilts; when, to the general horror and dismay, a rumour began to spread that their young king and his brother had died in the Tower. There can be little doubt but that Richard, thinking thereby utterly to frustrate his enemies, had authorized the publication of the fact.

The promoters of the insurrection were indeed disconcerted for the moment. But they had now gone too far to recede. It was necessary at once to agree upon the choice of a leader for their cause; such a one as could be successfully opposed to Richard. It was immediately proposed by the bishop of Ely that the young earl of Richmond, male representative of the house of Lancaster, should be adopted as their candidate for the throne; but with the condition, that he should marry the princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV.; and thus unite the two great rival parties in an irresistible league against the usurper. This scheme was at once adopted by the duke of Buckingham; and a confidential agent was despatched to obtain the assent of the countess of Richmond, whose rights
by this proposal were to be transferred to her son. She, who was in fact, though not in name, a nun, willingly gave her consent, and by means of a physician communicated the plan to the queen dowager at Westminster. Elizabeth in great joy approved it; and promised the adhesion of all her friends, provided that the earl of Richmond bound himself by oath to execute his part in the contract. This condition was accepted by the countess on the part of her son; and two messengers were despatched by different ways to convey the tidings to him in his exile. He agreed to all that had been promised in his name; and undertook to be in England before the day appointed for the rising.

It was now more than twelve years since Henry Tudor, flying from England after the battle of Tewkesbury, with his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, was driven by a storm on the coast of Brittany. The fugitives were seized by order of duke Francis II., and though pertinaciously claimed by both Edward and Louis, were detained in a kind of honourable captivity. Once the duke, yielding to the great promises of Edward, delivered Henry into the hands of his envoys; but suddenly repenting, he allowed the prisoner to escape into sanctuary on the very eve of his departure for England. Since that time the earl had still been detained, but he was otherwise treated with kindness by the duke and his minister; and now, when he had become the chief of a great combination, they promised to assist him with men, money, and ships.

Well served as Richard was, he remained almost to the last moment unaware of the proposed coalition; and it was not until the answer of Richmond had been circulated among the allies, that his attention was awakened to the true state of affairs. Dissembling his knowledge, he invited Buckingham with many gracious words to court. Meanwhile, he summoned his forces to assemble at Leicester, and on the refusal of the duke to visit him, proclaimed him a traitor. The friends of the king were hastening to his standard, especially from the north, when the appointed day having come, the confederates took up arms. The marquis of Dorset and Courtenay the bishop proclaimed Henry at Exeter. Edmund Courtenay raised Devonshire and Cornwall in his favour. Wodeville, bishop of Salisbury, the lord Welles, and many others, declared for him in the west; while a Kentish force advanced into Surrey, and the gentlemen of Berkshire assembled at Newbury. Richard immediately marched on Salisbury.
In the meantime, the duke of Buckingham, with his Welsh vassals, had marched from Brecknock through the forest of Dean, intending to pass the Severn at Gloucester, and thence to effect a junction with the Courtenays and his other confederates in the west. But he found the bridges guarded, or broken down: and ten days of storm and rain had swelled the waters of the Severn, flooded the low country, and rendered the fords impassable.

His designs being thus frustrated, the duke turned towards Weobley, the seat of the lord Ferrers. His Welsh followers, however, suffering from the want of every necessary of life, rapidly dispersed, in spite of all his efforts to detain them. Finding himself almost deserted, the duke assumed a mean disguise, and succeeded in reaching the house of one of his tenants, named Ralph Banaster, who dwelt near Shrewsbury. This man had been much favoured and trusted by his lord; but now, whether from avarice or fear, he betrayed the duke to Mitton, the high sheriff of Shropshire, who,
coming with a strong force of men-at-arms upon the fugitive, seized him as he lurked in a grove near the dwelling of Banaster, and carried him off with cruel speed to Salisbury, where the king then was. In his extremity, the duke,—either hoping to soften by a personal appeal the heart of his former associate, or resolved to lay him dead by a sudden blow,—urgently implored to be admitted to an interview. But Richard sternly refused to see him. As the duke had confessed himself guilty of treason, no form of trial was gone through; and without respect to the sanctity of the day,—for it was Sunday,—he was led to the market-place, and there beheaded.

On the following day, the king resumed his march to the west. But the insurgents, intimidated by the disasters of Buckingharn and the absence of Richmond, did not venture anywhere to withstand him; and at his approach to Exeter, their whole force dispersed. The marquis of Dorset, the bishop of Exeter and his brother, the lord Welles, and other gentlemen, escaped to Brittany; some concealed themselves; others took sanctuary. Many were taken, however; and amongst them Sir Thomas St. Leger, the husband of the duchess of Exeter, a sister of Richard. The greatest efforts were made, and large sums offered to save his life; but the king was inflexible. St. Leger and several other gentlemen were beheaded.

In the meanwhile, six days before that appointed for the rising, the earl of Richmond had sailed from St. Malo with 5000 Bretons and a fleet of forty vessels. A sudden storm, however, dispersed his ships during the night; and the earl, at noon the next day, found himself off the mouth of Poole harbour with only one barque in company. Having waited in vain for the appearance of his fleet, and having escaped a snare which was set for him on the shore, he determined to return to Brittany. He was again, however, driven from his course, and considerable delay occurred before he learnt the fate of his friends in England.

After punishing inexorably such of his enemies as he could secure, and offering great rewards for the apprehension of those who had escaped, Richard returned to London, where he summoned a parliament to meet in the fourth week of the ensuing January. Although the treasures left by his brother had not all disappeared, the king was anxious to procure an ample supply. He found the parliament obsequious to his wishes. Its first measure was the adoption and confirmation of the petition presented to Richard at Baynard's castle. This was, in fact, to pronounce a decision upon the
disputed marriages of Edward IV., and there was some hesitation evinced; but the step was taken. Richard was declared to be undisputed king of England, as well by right of inheritance, as by lawful election, consecration, and coronation; and the succession was confirmed to the issue of his body, particularly Edward, prince of Wales. Not content with this, Richard caused an oath of allegiance to his son to be drawn up, which he induced nearly all the lords spiritual and temporal to subscribe. The punishment of his enemies was next undertaken; and a bill of attainder was passed against the late duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Dorset, three earls, the bishops of Ely, Salisbury, and Exeter, the countess of Richmond, and a long list of knights and gentlemen. The valuable spoils thus acquired went partly to increase the revenue of the crown; but by far the greater portion was distributed among the king's adherents, especially those of the north.

As it was the policy of Richard to render the memory of his brother Edward in every way odious, a bill was in this session introduced into parliament, which condemned in the strongest terms the exaction of "benevolences," and abolished them for the future. Richard gave his assent.

Although the parliament had now branded all the children of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Wodeville as illegitimate, Richard knew that the vote could easily be reversed; and he became more than ever desirous to get his brother's daughters into his hands. His anxiety was increased by a recent event. After the earl of Richmond had succeeded in returning to Brittany, the exiles from England had hastened to join him, and to take counsel together on their future course. Having come to a perfect understanding, they all repaired on Christmas day to the chief church at Rhedon. There Henry took upon the Sacrament his solemn oath, and pledged his honour, that immediately after he should be possessed of the kingdom of England, he would unite himself in marriage with the lady Elizabeth, daughter of king Edward IV. The exiled lords, in return, swore fealty to him, and did him homage as though he had been an anointed sovereign.

The queen dowager was now assailed by alternate promises and threats, that she might be induced to come from the sanctuary. At length, finding that he could by no other means prevail, Richard called an assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal, with the mayor and aldermen of London; and in their presence, laying his hand on the gospels, swore, "on the word of a king!"—that if the daughters of dame Elizabeth Grey would come to

him out of sanctuary, and be guided by him, they should be in safety of life and person, and should not be put into the Tower of London. Upon this, the widow of Edward came forth with her daughters from the sanctuary. All, but more especially the youthful Elizabeth, were treated with kindness. Scarcely, however, had the king accomplished this object, when his only son was attacked by illness, and died in a few days, at Middleham, in Yorkshire.

Though grieved to the heart by the loss of his son, Richard did not for a moment relax in his efforts to maintain himself upon the throne. He redoubled his efforts to secure the person of his rival. By bribes and promises he gained over Landois, the Breton minister, who engaged to deliver the earl into his hands. But Henry, having been privately warned of his danger, rode out as if for hawking, gained the frontier, and escaped into France.

In order to supply in some measure the place of his son, the king thought of adopting his nephew Edward, the son of Clarence, as heir-apparent to the crown. Afterwards, however, he declared John, earl of Lincoln, son of his sister, the duchess of Suffolk, his successor on the throne. A third project also began to engage his attention. This was nothing less than a marriage with his eldest niece. During the Christmas of 1484, which was celebrated at court with extraordinary gaiety, Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., appeared in a dress which the king had presented to her, and which was precisely similar to that of the queen. It was instantly thought that Richard either knew that his queen would soon die, or that he was meditating a divorce. The former opinion seemed likely to be correct; for very shortly afterwards queen Anne began to droop, and in less than three months she was dead. Richard now began to open his intention to some of his council; but he was met by so determined an opposition, that he convened an assembly of the Londoners, and positively denied that such a marriage had ever occurred to him.

From this time the subjects of Richard rapidly fell away from him. He knew that Henry was preparing to land in England. His resources were failing him, and yet he did not dare to call another parliament. In this emergency, he had recourse to the expedient which he had so lately and so bitterly condemned in full parliament. He sent out agents to extort gifts for him; they were successful; but in their success they created enemies in every quarter. Men now began to leave the kingdom; some of the high sheriffs and officers whom he himself had appointed threw up
their charges, and repaired to France: sir Walter Blount, the governor of Hamme, with his prisoner, the earl of Oxford, hastened to join the court of Henry: so that at last, when the lord Stanley, steward of the household, requested permission to visit his estates, the king required that he should send his son, lord Strange, as a hostage till his return.

At length, on the 7th of August, 1485, the earl of Richmond landed at Milford Haven, with about 3,000 men. On reaching the shore, he kneeled down, and said:—“Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause from that of the unholy: from the unrighteous and deceitful man deliver me.” Then he rose, and ordered the advance; directing his course through the centre of Wales towards Shrewsbury. It was a week before the news of his landing was carried to Richard, who instantly summoned every man of property to the royal standard, under penalty of treason. He was quickly joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland, the viscount Lovel, and others of less note, with their forces. But he expected in vain the arrival of lord Stanley; and at last he informed him that the head of lord Strange should answer for any further delay. Meanwhile, Henry, reinforced by sir Rice ap Thomas and other Welsh chieftains, and sir Gilbert Talbot, with 2000 men from the Shrewsbury estates, had advanced without opposition to Stafford. Thence, after an interview with the brother of lord Stanley, he pushed on with confidence to encounter the usurper,—the Stanleys ever retreating before him. He soon learnt that Richard was advancing to meet him, and he found him encamped on open ground about two miles from Bosworth, in Leicestershire. Both armies immediately prepared for battle. The number of the king’s forces doubled that of his adversary, and presented a most formidable appearance on the field. Henry, however, prepared for the attack, entrusting his vanguard to the experienced earl of Oxford.

The army of Richmond had no sooner appeared in his front, than Richard commanded his troops to advance. After a sharp conflict between the archers of both armies, the vanguards engaged hand to hand. At this moment, lord Stanley appeared on the field, and formed a junction with the earl of Richmond. His arrival sent joy through the Lancastrian ranks. The earl of Oxford, who, opposed by superior numbers, had ordered his troops to close their ranks, renewed his onset with increased vigour. He was obstinately withstood by the force under Norfolk; but the greater part of the king’s army stood doubtful on the field, while some hovered on the
outskirts, and others openly rode over to the enemy. In this crisis, Richard, having discovered his rival advancing, resolved to strike a desperate blow for victory. Setting spurs to his horse, and shouting—"Treason! treason! treason!" he furiously charged the body-guard of the earl, overthrew the standard, slew sir William Brandon who bore it, unhorsed sir John Cheney, a knight of great strength, and cut his way to Henry himself. The earl received him gallantly, and held him at bay, until sir William Stanley coming to the rescue with his men, the king, fighting bravely to the last, was slain, and his surviving followers taken or put to flight. The troops under the earl of Northumberland and others, who had not struck a blow during the fight, rapidly withdrew from the field. With their master died the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers, sir Richard Ratcliffe, sir Robert
Brackenbury, and, it is said, about 3000 men of inferior rank. The crown
which Richard had worn was brought to the lord Stanley, who immediately
placed it upon the head of the earl of Richmond, amid the most joyful
shouts of “King Henry!” “King Henry!” The guards of the lord Strange,
learning that their master had been slain, immediately released their
prisoner, who now appeared amongst the victors, to the great joy of his
father and the king. The whole army then moved on to Leicester, into
which the conqueror made his solemn entry that same evening, and was
there with sound of trumpet proclaimed king of England, by the style of
Henry VII.

The body of Richard was dragged from amongst the other dead, and
thrown across the horse of “Blanche Sangier,” one of his own pursuivants,
who carried it behind him into Leicester, and took it to the church of the
Grey Friars, where, after lying exposed for two days, it was hurriedly com-
mitted to the earth.

Thus, after the long and sanguinary contest between the houses of
York and Lancaster, in which the ancient nobility of England had been
almost annihilated, a union of the rival parties against a tyrant gave peace
to the land, and inaugurated a new era in its history.
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