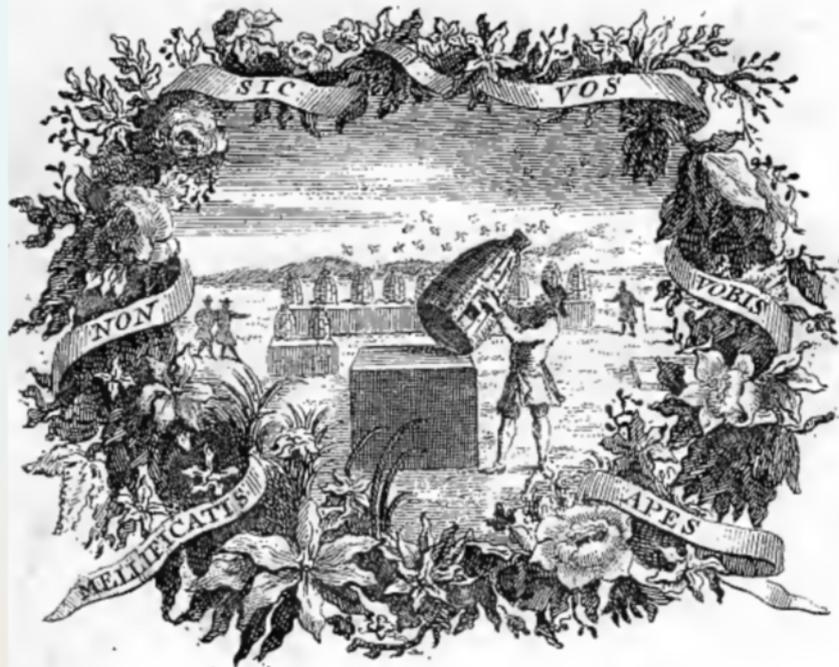


Rapin's History of England



Book Seven

**THE RESTORATION OF THE SAXON LINE. THE
REIGNS OF HENRY II AND RICHARD I COMPRISING
A SPACE OF 45 YEARS**

**The History
of
England
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Book Seven

The Restoration of The Saxon Line





Henry The Second





Richard The First
Born 1157 Died 1199



BOOK VII

THE RESTORATION OF THE SAXON LINE: THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I. COMPRISING THE SPACE OF FORTY-FIVE YEARS.

Chapter I HENRY II Sirnamed Plantagenet A. D. 1154



THE English were too weary of the civil wars, which had so long afflicted the kingdom, willingly to run the hazard of seeing them renewed. Though the death of Stephen might have easily furnished an occasion for fresh commotion, they peaceably waited for the duke of Normandy, who could not come into England, till six weeks after he had received the news[1]. During this interval, not a man offered to dispute his title. Besides that prince William, son of the deceased king, was a prince of little merit, the late proceedings of most of the barons against the king his father kept them from adhering to the fortune of the young prince, for fear of putting it in his power to be revenged. Moreover, Henry was not only powerful beyond sea, but had also a great party in the kingdom, and the strongest places were in the hands of his creatures. And, therefore, supposing William had been willing to try to place himself on the throne, he would have wanted the necessary assistance to accomplish his design.

A. D. 1155] Henry was crowned[2] the next day after his arrival, pursuant to the agreement made with Stephen, of which all the barons of the realm were guarantees. It was with extreme satisfaction, that the English beheld on the throne a prince descended by his mother from their ancient kings, and who gave the crown a brighter lustre than ever. He added to it, as so many new gems, Poictou, Guienne, Saintonge, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Normandy, of which he was in actual possession. Meantime, England, the most considerable part of his dominions, had endured such violent shocks in the late reign, that in order to recover its ancient splendour, some rest was necessary.

The most proper means to that end, was the putting it out of the power of the factious to excite new troubles. Accordingly Henry made that his chief business from the first hour of his reign. He began with demolishing the great number of castle's that had been fortified in Stephen's reign, and served only for sanctuaries to robbers, and disturbers of the public[3]. The bishop of Winchester alone had six of the most considerable, which he forfeited for going out of the kingdom without leave.

This first step, which demonstrated to the barons the king's resolution to keep them in obedience, was followed by another no less beneficial to the kingdom; and that was, the sending away the foreign troops entertained by Stephen. These soldiers, known in the English historians by the

name of Brabansons, and in French by that of Routiers or Cotteraux, were a mixture of people from several parts of Europe, and particularly from Germany and the Low-Countries. As they professed themselves independent of any particular prince, they served indifferently whoever had a mind to employ them, provided they found their account in it.

Not to be regularly paid they even considered as an advantage, because they took occasion from thence to plunder the friends as well as enemies of those that entertained them. So that, usually, the assistance of these troops became very burthensome to the princes themselves for whom they fought. Henry willing to ease his people of this dead weight which had so long oppressed them, dismissed all the foreigners. William of Ypres, their general, did not stay to be ordered to depart.[4]

The king shortly afterwards revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, and resumed all the lands, alienated from the crown. Several indeed refused to comply; but, upon the king's approach with an army to compel them, they were unable to resist. William of Blois, son of king Stephen, fared no better than the rest. Henry despoiled him of whatever was given him by the king his father; and of all his lands, left him none but those that belonged to his family, before Stephen's accession to the crown. Thus the nobility, enriched by the liberality of the late king, or of the empress Matilda, were suddenly impoverished by Henry's policy, who had frequent occasions to remark, how arrogant their riches had made them.

After the king had taken all the precautions he thought proper for restoring tranquillity in the kingdom, he chose a council, of the most eminent persons as well of the clergy as the nobility. Theobald archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Becket archdeacon of the same see, lately made chancellor; and Robert Earl of Leicester, chief judiciary of the realm, were the principal. At the head of the cabinet council was Matilda his mother. These two councils being established, Henry convened a parliament at Wallingford, where he caused the barons to take the oath to William, and Henry[5] his sons, the first of which died a few days after this ceremony.

Before the assembly broke up, the king consented that the laws of Edward should be in force; and, of his own accord, confirmed the charter of Henry I. his grandfather.

Pope Anastasius dying this year, Adrian IV. an Englishman, succeeded to the papacy[6].

A. D. 1156] As soon as Henry had settled his affairs in England, he crossed the sea, to do homage to the king of France for the provinces he possessed in that kingdom[7]. These possessions rendered him the most powerful vassal of the crown of France, and almost equalled him to the sovereign himself.

When Hugh Capet usurped the crown from the house of Charles the Great, he thought the best way to fix himself on the throne, was to make the late revolution turn to the advantage of the French nobility. To engage them, therefore, to support his usurpation, he granted the provinces, of which they were only governors, to them and their heirs, by the name of fiefs. These grants he confirmed by authentic charters, stipulating, that the fiefs should devolve to the crown in default of heirs. Moreover, he reserved the right of confiscating them for rebellion and other crimes specified in the charters. By this immense bounty, he filled France at once with great numbers of powerful lords, or rather princes; who, holding their lands by hereditary right, became so many sovereigns.

The crown, therefore, had nothing left but the governments, which Hugh Capet was possessed of before he mounted the throne. But these demesnes, to which he added some vacant governments, were very considerable, because his family was grown exceedingly powerful upon the decline of the house of Charles the Great. Among these fiefs, there were some distinguished for their great extent, which were styled peerdoms. Of this sort there were six ecclesiastical, and six lay[8]. Of the six lay peerdoms, three were dukedoms, viz. Burgundy, Normandy, and Guienne; and three earldoms, namely, Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne. Each of these six

peers had vassals which held their lands of him, in the same manner as he himself held his peerdom of the crown.

Hence we may see, how naked the crown of France was, and how inconsiderable its revenues, in comparison of what they were afterwards. To the time of Lewis VII. surnamed the Young, who reigned in France when our Henry mounted the throne of England, the kings of France had not yet united any of these great fiefs to their demesnes. But, notwithstanding the narrow extent of the demesnes of the crown, the king of France was a very potent prince, by the aids he received from his vassals: aids that were furnished sometimes out of duty, and sometimes voluntarily.

When the kingdom was engaged in a war, with the advice and consent of the states, each vassal was obliged to find A certain number of troops; and then it was, the sovereign appeared at the head of a formidable army. But when the king undertook a war of his own accord, or for his own private interest, the vassals were at liberty to supply or refuse their quota of troops. They even considered themselves as privileged to take up arms against him, in case of oppression, or even for a bare denial of justice.

The design to do homage to the king of France was not the sole motive of Henry's crossing the sea. His chief aim was to recover Anjou, seized by his brother Geoffrey, upon the following claim. Geoffrey Plantagenet earl of Anjou, father of these two princes, ordered by his last will, that Henry his eldest son should inherit the possessions of Matilda their mother, which included Normandy, and her right to England.

To Geoffrey his second son, he left Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; and to a third son named William, gave only the earldom of Mortagne. But, as it was unreasonable the empress his wife should be deprived of her possessions during her life, or Henry made to wait for her death without any inheritance; he added another clause in his will, namely, that Henry should enjoy, till the empress's death, the three earldoms assigned to Geoffrey, reserving to this last the cities of Lodun, Chinon, and Mirebel, till his elder brother should resign him the paternal estate, when in possession of Normandy.

To secure the performance of this will, the earl caused his barons solemnly to swear, never to suffer his body to be buried, till his eldest son had taken an oath to execute his last will. It was with great difficulty, Henry was persuaded to take this oath. He was of opinion, the earl his father egregiously wronged him, in depriving him of these three earldoms, which, according to custom, ought to devolve to the eldest son. However, rather than leave his father's body unburied, he swore to execute his will.

Some time after, his mother Matilda resigning Normandy to him, Geoffrey thought he might justly take possession of Anjou; but, as was related before, Henry drove him out of that province. As soon as his brother was on the throne of England, Geoffrey renewed his pretensions, and, whilst the king was employed in his island, once more took possession of Anjou. The Anjouvins espoused his cause, chousing rather to have a private earl, than be in dependence on the crown of England. Besides, he was assisted by the king of France, who was ever ready to lessen Henry's power, whom he looked upon as a very formidable neighbour.

When the earl of Anjou made his will, there was little appearance of his eldest son's ever mounting the throne of England; for Stephen's affairs were in a prosperous condition. For this reason he considered that kingdom, only as a thing to which indeed his son had a right to aspire, but from which he was very remote. It was not reasonable, therefore, that Henry, whilst he waited for the empress's death, should be deprived of his father's inheritance; and this was the ground of his father leaving him the three earldoms during his mother's life.

To consider only the intent of this will, it was manifest, that as soon as Henry was in possession of Normandy and England, he should have resigned Anjou to Geoffrey, especially as he had

bound himself by oath. But he affirmed, the will was void, and his father had not power to deprive the first-born of the patrimony received from his ancestors.

His oath, therefore, was the only thing that gave him any trouble. But he found means to free himself from that scruple by the Pope's dispensation which he very easily obtained. As soon as he saw himself supported by this authority, he immediately resolved upon a war with his brother. After doing homage to the king of France, he marched towards Poitou, and took from his brother the cities of Mirebel, Chinon, and Lodun; then entering Anjou, notwithstanding Geoffrey's resistance, he became master of all the fortified places, and drove him out of the country[9].

The dispossessed prince would have been in a wretched condition, had not fortune thrown in his way the earldom of Nantes, the inhabitants whereof voluntarily submitted to him. However, he did not long enjoy his new earldom.

After Henry had reduced Anjou, he returned to England. Upon his arrival he made a very advantageous treaty with Malcolm king of Scotland, who resigned to him Carlisle, Newcastle, and Bamborough-castle, contenting himself with the earldom of Huntingon, which prince Henry his father had possessed.

AD 1157] It is surprising that the Welsh, when Henry was grown so formidable, should causelessly venture to attack him, and make incursions into his frontiers. The ravages they committed so provoked the king, that he resolved to be severely revenged. To this end he drew together a powerful army, and marched into Wales, where he put all to fire and sword. Upon his approach the Welsh retired to their mountains, where it was not possible to reach them, how much soever he endeavoured it.

It even happened one day, that his vanguard running into a narrow defile, were entirely routed. The terror, this accident struck into the rest of the English troops, was increased by the imprudent conduct of Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of England. Upon a rumour which ran through the army that the king was slain, he threw down the standard, and fled, crying out, the king is dead. This action, for which he was afterwards punished[10], threw the English into such consternation, that had not the king shewn himself to them, to revive their courage, he would have run the hazard of losing.

That day his whole army, notwithstanding these advantages, the Welsh thought themselves very happy that the king, weary of so troublesome a war, was pleased to grant them a peace. By the treaty he reserved to himself the liberty of cutting through their woods large roads which might, whenever he had a mind, give him entrance into their country. He caused them also to surrender certain castles, taken by them during the troubles of the late reign.

AD 1158] Next year, Henry's family was increased by the birth of a second. son, who was named Richard. A few days after he renewed the ceremony of his coronation in the suburbs of Lincoln, not daring to do it within the walls of the city; a prophecy then current threatening some serious disaster to the king who should be crowned in Lincoln.

AD 1159] A year after a third son was born to the king, who was called Geoffrey. This same year he was crowned a third time at Worcester, together with the queen. These superfluous coronations, very frequent in those days, seem to have been designed only to amuse the people, and intimate to them, that the king really intended to keep the oath which was taken on these occasions. At this last solemnity, the king and queen coming to the oblation, laid their crowns on the altar, and vowed never to wear them more. Thenceforward the custom of the kings wearing their crowns during the celebration of the great festivals was by degrees disused. About this time Henry ordered the money to be new coined, the current coin of the kingdom having been very much adulterated during the reign of Stephen.

These peaceful employments not at all suiting the warlike temper of this monarch, the death of his brother Geoffrey, which happened soon after, gave him an opportunity of entering upon action. As soon as this prince was laid in his grave, the duke of Bretagne seized the city of Nantz, with the whole earldom of that name. But Henry claimed it as heir to his brother; and to prosecute his pretensions, he passed into Normandy with such considerable forces, that it plainly appeared he would not be disappointed. Whilst he waited for the season's permitting him to enter upon his expedition, he made a visit to the king of France, with design to gain him to his side, or at least prevail with him to stand neuter.

Amidst the civilities he received from Lewis, he so artfully flattered him, that before they parted, a marriage was concluded between Henry's eldest son, who was but five years of age, and Margaret the French king's daughter, an infant of five or six months old. Having thus secured France, he went and headed his army, with a resolution to take the city by force, if Conan refused to give him peaceable possession.

As Conan was by no means a match for the king of England, he was constrained to give way to his power. But the conquest of Nantz was not the only benefit Henry reaped by this expedition. Before he quitted Bretagne; he made a treaty with Conan, whereby the duke obliged himself to give his daughter Constance in marriage to Geoffrey, Henry's son, who was yet in his cradle. By this marriage, celebrated five years after, notwithstanding the bridegroom's youth, Geoffrey became duke of Bretagne upon the death of his father-in-law.

The large dominions which Henry possessed, and the earldom of Nantz which he had lately acquired, with hopes of adding one day to it all Bretagne, were not sufficient to content him. His ambition still increasing as he made new conquests, he undertook to revive his queen's title to the earldom of Toulouse, which was of great extent.

His late alliance with Lewis the Young, made him hope that monarch would give him as little disturbance in Languedoc as in Bretagne, and leave him at liberty to extend his frontiers on that side. But he was mistaken in his conjectures. William IV. earl of Toulouse contemporary with the Conqueror, had but one daughter called Philippa, married to William VIII. earl of Poitiers, Eleanor's grandfather.

By this marriage the earldom of Toulouse was to fall one day to the house of Poitiers, which was also in possession of Guienne. But William, father of Philippa, imagined he could secure it in his own family, by selling it to Raymond of St. Giles his younger brother. This sale, real or pretended, would have been but a weak means to deprive the countess of Poitiers of her father's inheritance, if certain accidents had not favoured Raymond, who continued in possession of the earldom of Toulouse, after his brother's death.

The design of the earl of Poitiers, husband to Philippa, of mortgaging his demesnes to William Rufus, in order to equip himself for his voyage to the Holy-Land, being frustrated by the death of William, he applied elsewhere; and at length raised the money by mortgaging his revenues for several years. His expenses on this occasion, and his misfortune in losing all his equipage, constrained him to return home, where however he could expect no supplies, as his revenues were all mortgaged. Raymond of St. Giles embracing this juncture, offered him a considerable sum, to renounce his right to the earldom of Toulouse.

As matters then stood with the earl of Poitiers, he readily listened to this proposal, and made an agreement with Raymond. By this agreement, Raymond kept possession of the earldom, which his posterity enjoyed after him, without any disturbance from the earl of Poitiers, or his son William IX. After the death of this last, Lewis the Young, who married Eleanor his only daughter and heir, revived the pretensions of the house of Poitiers. to the earldom of Toulouse.

He maintained that the sale made by earl William to Raymond was a feigned thing. And secondly, that Raymond imposed upon the easy nature of the earl of Poitiers, and purchased his right at too cheap a rate.

Lastly, that he had not even paid the whole of the covenanted sum. From hence he inferred, that the bargain was void, and consequently Eleanor ought to possess whatever Philippa her grandmother was entitled to, repaying to the earl of Toulouse what the earl of Poitiers had received. Raymond V. who was then earl of Toulouse, was extremely embarrassed on the account of these pretensions.

In vain did he plead prescription, which is sometimes of service in private affairs. That was too weak offence against a prince, who was able to break through it by force of arms. However, after a long negotiation, the affair was ended, by a marriage between earl Raymond and Constance, sister of Lewis, and widow of Eustace, son of king Stephen. On account of this marriage Lewis dropped his pretensions; and as long as he lived with Eleanor, the earl of Toulouse remained unmolested.

Eleanor's second marriage created Raymond fresh disturbances. Henry, who was possessed of the same rights the king of France had relinquished, laid claim to the earldom of Toulouse for the same reasons Lewis had before urged. Raymond again pleaded the sale made to his grandfather; the resignation of the house of Poitiers; besides a long possession, which exceeded the time allowed by the laws for a prescription.

Upon these grounds he resolved to keep possession of the earldom. This was the state of the case, which was to be decided by arms. To execute his project the more easily, Henry made an alliance with Raymond earl of Aragon and Barcelona, and engaged the king of Scotland to lend him a powerful aid. As soon as his army was ready, he marched towards Languedoc, took Cahors in his way, and went and sat down before Tholouse.

AD 1160, 1161, 1162] Lewis the Younger, who could not behold Henry's greatness without jealousy, had used such expedition, that he had thrown himself into Tholouse a few days before. Henry was urged by some of his ministers to prosecute the siege, to take Lewis prisoner, and to impose his own terms in the pacification, but he either thought it too much his interest to maintain the feudal principles, by which his foreign dominions were secured, or bore so much respect to his superior lord, that he declared he would not attack a place defended by him in person; and he immediately raised the siege.

He marched back to Normandy, leaving the custody of Cahors to Thomas Becket his chancellor. In his return, he went into Le Beauvoisis, where he committed great ravages, in revenge of the king of France's breaking his measures. At the same time, Simon earl of Montfort delivered to him his castles in the neighbourhood of Paris, by means of which the communication with Orleans was entirely cut off.

The advantage these castles gave him, forced Lewis to send proposals for a cessation of arms, which was agreed upon for a year. During the truce, the two monarchs concluded a peace, which confirmed the treaty made at Paris, without any mention of Tholouse. So that Fleury preserved during his life, his pretensions to that Peerdom, and by his death, left them to his successor, who thought fit to resign them.

William earl of Blois, son of king Stephen, died in his return from the Tholouse expedition, in which he had attended the king.

Pope Adrian dying in 1159, the election of a new Pope occasioned a schism, which long divided Christendom. The majority of the cardinals elected Roland, a native of Siena, who took the name of Alexander III. The rest chose cardinal Octavian, who stiled himself Victor V. Almost all the

Christian princes owned Alexander for Pope. But the Germans espoused the cause of Victor, who finding himself supported by the emperor Barbarossa, drove his rival out of Rome, and forced him to seek for shelter in France.

The last peace between the kings of France and England, was only a confirmation of the treaty of Paris; wherein a marriage between Henry's eldest son and Margaret, daughter of Lewis, was agreed upon. The princess was to have for her dower the city of Gisors, and part of the Vexin, which, for that purpose, were to remain in the custody of the knights templars[11], till the marriage was solemnized. Pursuant to this treaty, chancellor Becket was sent to Paris with a magnificent retinue, to demand the young princess, who was to be educated in England till she became marriageable.

Shortly after her arrival at London, Henry ordered the nuptials to be celebrated, though the bridegroom was but seven, and the bride, but three years old. Upon which the knights templars, thinking he had sufficiently performed his promise, put him in possession of Gisors. This precipitation occasioned the renewal of the war between the two kings. Lewis complained that the king of England had bribed the grand master of the temple. Henry maintained, that, having performed his part of the treaty, he had not injured the king of France in taking possession of Gisors.

This war, which lasted but a very little while, was ended by the mediation of Alexander III. lately arrived in France. His legates, who were sent before, preparing the way for an accommodation, the two kings went together to receive the Pope at Torcy upon the Loire. When they came near him, they both alighted, and, each taking hold of a rein of his bridle, conducted him to the lodgings prepared for him. "A spectacle," cries Baronies, in an ecstasy, to God, angels, and men; and such as had never before been exhibited to the world!

All these events, namely, the conquest of Nantz, the siege of Tholouse, the marriage of prince Henry, and the war with France, passed between the years 1159 and 1163.

After settling the affairs which detained him in France four years, Henry returned into England in 1163. His present condition gave him room to hope nothing could disturb his happiness. He had just made a peace with France, which probably, would be lasting.

The Welsh remained quiet in their own country. The king of Scotland had given a sensible proof of his desire to live in peace, by restoring all the places that might have occasioned a war. On the other hand, England was in profound tranquillity, the Normans and English being equally satisfied with the sovereign. In this quiet situation, Henry thought he might congratulate himself upon his happiness, when on a sudden the pride and obstinacy of one of his subjects raised a storm, the allaying of which cost him a thousand vexations, with the loss of his honour: this was Thomas Becket.

He was son of a citizen of London by a Syrian woman[12], and had spent his youth in the study of the law. He grew so famous at the bar, that he was taken from thence, and made archdeacon of Canterbury[13]. In the beginning of this reign he had certain affairs to manage at court, which gave him opportunity of making himself known to the king, and gaining his esteem and good-will. Henry conceiving a great opinion of his merit, gave him a sensible mark of his esteem, by conferring on him the dignity of High-chancellor[14].

In the discharge of this eminent office, Becket behaved to all the world with so much pride and haughtiness, as rendered him extremely troublesome to his equals, and insupportable to his inferiors. Above all things, he was a lover of pageantry and show[15]. He is said, in the war of Tholouse, where he attended the king, to have maintained at his own expense, seven hundred knights, and twelve hundred foot. But if he were haughty to all others, he was not so with regard to the king.

Upon all occasions he shewed himself so entirely devoted to his will, that the king, considered him as one always ready to sacrifice every thing to his service.[16] Whilst he was thus prepossessed in his favour, he received the news, in Normandy, of the death of Theobald archbishop of Canterbury. This appearing to him a favourable juncture to execute certain premeditated designs, he resolved to procure the archbishopric for Becket, as a person who might be very serviceable to him.

How little inclination soever the monks of St. Augustin had for Becket, whom they thought too much a courtier, the king's recommendation was so urgent in his behalf that he was elected and consecrated a little before that prince's return. As soon as he saw himself fixed in that high station, he sent the Great Seal to his benefactor, who little expected it; and suddenly altering his manner of living, he wore a monk's habit, with sackcloth next his skin, and kept only a few domestic servants clothed very plain. By these and several other acts of the like nature, he showed that he was resolved thoroughly to reform his life, or had some great design in his mind. It was some time before his intentions could be discovered, till at length, it was perceived, that on all occasions he was aspiring to an independent power.

It has been already remarked, how much the power of the clergy was increased, to the prejudice of the royal authority. Henry, who had seen very bad effects of it in the reign of Stephen, resolved at his accession to the crown, to endeavour to reduce this exorbitant power within clear bounds. For that purpose, he began with the nobility, that their union with the clergy might the less obstruct his designs. The affairs which employed him some years in France, prevented him from immediately setting about this work. But as soon as he was clear of these hindrances, he resolved to lose no time, and begin it the moment he returned to England.

The business in hand was the reforming, several abuses very detrimental to the state, but advantageous to the clergy, and consequently very difficult to be remedied, unless the bishops themselves lent their assistance. There was need therefore of great address, and of acting in concert with the archbishop of Canterbury, in so nice an affair. To that end, it was necessary to fill the see with a person on whom he could depend, and none seemed so proper as Becket, whom he had loaded with favours.

The archbishop's returning the Great Seal, made the king imagine he was mistaken in his conjectures. In all likelihood, Becket had been acquainted with the king's designs, whilst chancellor; and was then disposed to approve them; but after his promotion to the archbishopric, had taken a contrary resolution. Notwithstanding his obligations to the king, he was determined to cross him in the execution of his projects. He flattered himself with gaining immortal glory in a vigorous defence of the cause of the clergy, which was affectedly called the cause of God.

One of the greatest grievances to be redressed, was the remissness in punishing priests convicted of any crime. The clergy having by degrees acquired an absolute power over all that belonged to their body; when a clergyman was accused, the matter was tried in the ecclesiastical court, from whence lay no appeal; but the trials were formed, with such indulgence to those the court could not but condemn, that the most enormous crimes were punished only with degradation, and others with a short suspension, or easy confinement.

The laity could not without extreme concern, see themselves subject to the utmost rigour of the laws for offences, which rendered clergymen liable only to some very slight corrections, and loudly complained of it. On the other hand, the clergy, sure of impunity, daily committed upon the laity outrages which they durst not repel, for fear of incurring punishment.

This abuse increased every day. It was proved in the presence of the king, that since his accession to the crown, above a hundred murders had been committed in the kingdom by the ecclesiastics, of whom not one was punished so much as with degradation, which was the usual penalty enjoined in the like cases, by the canons. What was still more astonishing, the bishops gloried

in this their indulgence: they were of opinion they could not give surer marks of their zeal for religion and the service of God, than by maintaining, to the utmost of their power, these pretended immunities of the clergy, and consequently all the abuses that sprung from thence.

Things standing thus, it happened, a little after the king's return, that a clergyman of the diocese of Sarum committed a murder. The matter being brought to the archbishop's court, it was decreed, that the murderer, as a punishment for his crime, should be deprived of his benefice, and confined to a monastery. The king being informed of this sentence, very warmly expostulated with the archbishop, for punishing so slightly, a crime which was death by the laws of the land. Becket received this expostulation as if it had been entirely groundless, and boldly asserted the immunities of the church, and privileges of the clergy.

He affirmed, an ecclesiastic ought not to be put to death for any crime whatever. Henry replied, that being appointed by God to administer justice to all his subjects, without distinction, he did not understand why these pretended immunities should screen malefactors of what order soever, from the punishments they deserved: that it was improbable God should take pleasure in authorizing offences in his ministers, who rather ought to be punished more severely than laymen. Then, he declared, that since the ecclesiastical court was so favourable to clergymen, his intent was, that heinous offences, such as murder, robbery, and the like, should be tried in his courts.

Becket made answer, he would never allow that the clergy should be tried anywhere but in the ecclesiastical courts, where care should be taken to punish them according to the canons. That if they were condemned to be degraded, and afterwards committed other crimes, the king's judges might punish them as they thought fit; but it was unjust to punish them twice for the same offence. This dispute being carried on with great warmth, the king and the archbishop parted extremely dissatisfied with each other.

Becket had even so little regard for the king, that, without considering the passion he had put him into, he took this occasion to upbraid him for unjustly depriving him of the custody of the castle of Rochester, and thereby notoriously violating the privileges of the see of Canterbury. To these occasions of complaint, which he then gave the king, he quickly added two others. He summoned the earl of Clare to do him homage for the castle of Tunbridge, which he pretended was a fief of the archbishopric, without vouchsafing to acquaint the king with his pretensions.

The earl answered, he held his castle of the king by knight's service. If we may judge by Becket's temper, his claim to the castle must have been very doubtful, since he let the affair drop without pushing it any farther. This attempt failing, he took occasion to extend his jurisdiction, by collating one Lawrence priest to the rectory of Ainesford, without regarding the patron's right of presentation. But the patron, who was a baron of the realm, being unwilling to lose his right, hindered Lawrence from taking possession of the benefice. The archbishop looking upon this as an heinous offence, excommunicated the patron, who applied to the king.

As matters then stood with Henry, he was extremely provoked at the little regard shown him by the archbishop. For, since William the Conqueror, it had been the prerogative royal, that no tenant in *Capite* should be excommunicated without the king's knowledge. But this was the very thing Becket designed to dispute.

Henry was extremely mortified to find himself so far from the execution of his project. He was incensed to the last degree against Becket, who seemed to make it his business to cross him upon all occasions, and dispute even his very prerogatives. And therefore resolved to take new measures to accomplish his design. He was sensible, it would be in vain to expect any compliance from the clergy, as long as the archbishop of Canterbury so plainly opposed him.

However, he was willing first to try gentle methods. He caused the archbishop to be put in mind of the many favours received from his sovereign, and the mischief, his obstinacy was probably

going to bring on the church and kingdom. But these remonstrances proving ineffectual, he found himself obliged to contrive means to execute, in spite of the archbishop, what he had resolved to accomplish with his help. So far was Becket's opposition from causing him to alter his mind, that it made him the more eager to reduce the power of the clergy within its just bounds.

To that purpose, he assembled the principal lords of the kingdom as well spiritual as temporal, to consider of methods to redress the grievances introduced into the state. When they were met, he complained of the proceedings of the archbishop of Canterbury, and endeavoured to make them sensible, that if care was not taken to curb that haughty and enterprising prelate, he would at length usurp all the prerogatives of the crown, under vain pretences of religion. He added, that the steps already taken by the archbishop, were plainly indications of his designs, which could not be too speedily prevented.

The majority of the temporal lords, among whom were few but what were offended at Becket's haughtiness, rejoiced at this occasion to humble him. Besides, they desired nothing more, than to have it in their power to clip the wings of the clergy, who missed no opportunity to soar above the rest of the nation. The king perceiving them thus disposed, moved a regulation, which he assured them was absolutely necessary for the preservation of good order and tranquillity in the kingdom. This regulation consisted of five articles, called by the king the customs of Henry I. his grandfather because they were observed in the reign of that prince:—

- I. was, that none should appeal to Rome without the king's leave.
- II. That no archbishop or bishop should go to Rome, upon the Pope's summons, without the king's licence.
- III. That no tenant in chief, or any other of the king's officers, should be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, without the king's consent.
- IV. That all clergymen charged with capital crimes, should be tried in the king's courts.
- V. That the laity, whether the king or others, should hold pleas of churches and tithes and the like.

These articles were approved of without any difficulty by the temporal lords; but the bishops and abbots refused to subscribe them, unless this clause, which rendered them of no effect, was added, saving the rights and privileges of the clergy and church.

The king, provoked at their refusal, suddenly quitted the assembly, and went to Woodstock, after having however given the chief among the clergy to understand, he would take effectual measures to set bounds to their pride. The prelates were so terrified at this threat, that before they broke up, they resolved to send deputies to the king to beg his pardon, and assure him they were ready to comply with his will.

Becket long opposed this resolution, but at last, pressed by his brethren, yielded to their importunity, and consented that the articles should be admitted without the saving clause. All his party following his example, a deputation was made with which the king seemed highly satisfied, and the more, because it was done with unanimous consent.

Nevertheless, fearing Becket might fly from what he had done, on pretence this convention was not sufficiently authorized to enact laws of this kind, he resolved to have them ratified by an Assembly-General or Parliament. To this end he called a Parliament at Clarendon, and propounded the same articles that were subscribed by the former assembly. All the lay-lords ratifying them, the prelates durst not openly oppose it. But when they came to sign, Becket and

his party scrupled it; and it was not without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to comply, at the instances of the other bishops[17].

How unwilling soever the archbishop subscribed the articles, the king was highly pleased with it. He did not question in the least but the Pope would consent to laws deemed necessary by the bishops themselves. In this belief, he resolved to have them confirmed by a bull, in order to take from the prelates all pretence of recanting; but upon seeing the articles, the Pope not only refused to give them the sanction of his authority, but even condemned them as very prejudicial to the church, and destructive of her privileges.

Shortly after, Becket. openly declared, he repented of signing the constitutions of Clarendon, and thought himself guilty of so enormous a crime, that he could hope for pardon only from the Pope's mercy. Accordingly he suspended himself, as unworthy to perform the archiepiscopal functions, till the Pope should be pleased to absolve him. The Pope's absolution being readily obtained, he resumed his functions, upon the Pope's assurances he should be supported. Meanwhile, Alexander, who was still in France, willing to make Henry believe he intended to keep fair with him, sent the archbishop of Rouen, with proposals of accommodation; but as he had nothing positive to offer; and the king would not hearken to any proposals, unless the Pope would confirm the constitutions of Clarendon, there was no possibility of an agreement.

When the king found, that the archbishop, proud of the Pope's protection, daily grew more obstinate, he sought means to humble him. To this end, he involved him in troubles, which indeed gave him great vexation, but were incapable of causing him to desist from his pretensions[18].

Among several actions that were entered against him, there were two of moment. The first related to a certain manor which he was possessed of, and which John the king's marshal pretended was unjustly detained from him. The archbishop standing a trial, was cast and condemned in a fine of five hundred pounds. This sentence convinced him, that a resolution was taken to plague him all manner of ways, and that he should lose all the suits commenced against him.

In this belief he resolved not to plead, chusing rather to be condemned for non-appearance, than by a peremptory decree. The king seemed hitherto not to intend to make him feel the whole weight of his resentment; but soon after it appeared, his design was to crush him. To this purpose he ordered him to be accused of two capital crimes: the first was, for converting to his own use the revenues of the archbishopric of York, of which he had the custody whilst he was chancellor[19].

In the second; he was charged with embezzling thirty thousand pounds sterling of the king's money. Instead of clearing, himself from these accusations, he answered, that when he was made archbishop, prince Henry, the king's son, and the judiciary, had acquitted him of all accounts, Adding, that supposing he had not been acquitted, he was not bound to answer before laymen, since he was invested with the first ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom.

He was on this occasion deemed not only as contumacious, but moreover as a rebel against the authority of the laws. All possible endeavours were used, to persuade him to own the jurisdiction of the court, but without effect. He even refused to wait on the king[20], who sent for him to try, whether, by discoursing with him in person, he could bring him to some temper.

This refusal furnished the king with a fresh pretence to accuse him; first, for flying from justice on frivolous excuses; secondly, for disobedience to the king. Upon these charges, to which he would not plead, all his moveable goods were confiscated. How severe soever this sentence might be, the king was not satisfied, As he observed the accusation was so formed as not to reach Becket's person, he ordered him to be accused of perjury and treason, for violating the oath taken to his sovereign, and refusing to pay the obedience due to him. The archbishop was then thoroughly satisfied, the king was bent upon his ruin: but this belief, instead of inducing him to

submit, served only to confirm him in his obstinacy. When it was found, that there was no possibility of conquering him, the court declared him, guilty of perjury; and the bishops in particular sent him word, they considered him not as their primate, neither would they hold communion with him any longer. All this not moving him in the least, he looked upon the sentence passed upon him as void, and continued his functions, regardless of the king's displeasure.

The court of peers seem to have avoided giving sentence on the charge of treason, which would have been death, on purpose to leave him room to come off by submitting to the king. But finding he was still the same, the court met once more to think of means to subdue his perverseness. As soon as he was informed, that the barons were assembled in the presence of the king, he went to church, and ordered these words of the second psalm to be sung; The rulers take council together against the Lord, and against his anointed[21].

Then taking his cross in his hand, he entered the room where the king and the lords were, without being sent to, or asking leave, though, since the sentence passed upon him, he had no right to be there. The archbishop of York seeing him enter in that posture, severely reprimanded him. He told him, that coming into the royal presence in that manner was bidding defiance to the king; and bade him consider, his sovereign's weapon was sharper than his. Becket replied, It was true, the king's weapon could kill the body, but his destroyed the soul and sent it to Hell.

This answer, which seemed to threaten the king with excommunication, so incensed that monarch, that he ordered the lords to pass sentence immediately on the new crime Becket had just incurred. The court, after a long debate, declared, he deserved to be committed to prison and punished according to law, for insulting the king, and coming into the assembly in such a manner as might raise a sedition among the people. This being resolved, the earls of Chester and Cornwall were sent to summon him to appear and hear his sentence: but he refused to come, declaring that the peers had no authority to judge him, and that he appealed to the Pope.

The two earls representing to him, that by refusing to submit to the laws of the realm, he incurred the guilt of treason; he replied, That were it not for the restraints of his character, he would vindicate himself in single combat against those that should charge him with that crime, and make them repent of their calumny. However, he did not think proper to await the issue, but privately departed that very night in disguise, in order to retire into Flanders, going by the name of Derevan.

AD 1164] The king of France gladly heard that the quarrel between Henry and the archbishop of Canterbury was not likely to be adjusted. He was in hopes, that Becket, being supported, would embroil his sovereign in troubles, of which France might make an advantage; and therefore, sent him an offer of his protection, and a refuge in his dominions. Henry being informed of Lewis's proceedings, sent ambassadors to represent to him, that it was very unbecoming a sovereign to shelter persons guilty of high treason. Lewis made answer, he could not dispense with affording a sanctuary in his kingdom to the unfortunate: that Becket was of that number, and he could not but consider him as such, till condemned by the Pope.

It was thus that jealousy and political interest induced that prince, to urge the Pope's authority in a thing so prejudicial to all sovereigns. His passion prevented him from reflecting that in this affair he could not wound Henry but through his own sides. He was not content with sheltering the fugitive prelate, but even importuned the Pope to espouse his cause, and turned solicitor against Henry, whose interest, in good policy, he ought to have maintained. There was no need of entreaty to gain the Pope.

He was of himself very sensible, that a favourable opportunity offered to enlarge his authority. Besides, he was apprehensive that, in case he deserted the archbishop of Canterbury, none of the clergy for the future, would support the rights of the church. So that the downfall of this prelate could not but prove of very dangerous consequence to the interests of the clergy. As soon as he

heard that Becket was condemned, and forced to fly like a criminal, he was exceedingly angry with Henry and the barons of England, and threatened to make them repent of their rashness.

Mean time, Henry, in hopes of prepossessing the Pope in his favour, sent ambassadors to inform him of all the particulars, and desire him to send legates to England with full powers finally to decide the affair. The archbishop of York, who was at the head of this embassy, spoke with great vehemence against Becket. He charged him with want of respect to the king, and of even threatening him with excommunication.

He maintained, the archbishop was guilty of rebellion, in refusing to stand to the judgment of the court of barons, under the ridiculous pretence, that he was their father, and that it was against decency, for a father to be judged by his sons. Becket, who was present at this audience, spoke likewise for himself, and endeavoured to justify his conduct. He said in the first place, he could not be obliged to answer in a civil court, without a direct violation of the canons of the church.

Secondly, supposing he had thought proper to own the authority of the court, he should have been prevented from submitting to their judgment by his certain knowledge of their resolution to condemn him. Lastly, he declared, he could not see wherein he had done amiss in appealing to the Pope, since it could not be denied that he was the proper judge, from whom he expected an impartial sentence.

Then addressing himself to the Pope and cardinals, he entreated them to consider the dangerous consequences this affair might be attended with, if they suffered him to be oppressed: that they were not to look upon this business as a contest between a subject and his sovereign, but as the cause of the universal church; since it was certain, the king's intention was to strip the clergy of their privileges. The ambassadors perceiving by this discourse, that his design was to engage the whole church in his quarrel, to occasion from thence, to insist still more earnestly on the king's request, that the affair might be tried in England by the legates of the holy see.

By that they shewed, the king their master had no design against the church, since he was willing to abide by her judgment. This demand was so reasonable, that the Pope had no other way to evade it, than by saying, he would take cognizance of the matter himself: adding, to justify this resolution, that, in imitation of the Almighty, He would not give his glory to another. The reason why the Pope declined sending legates, was the fear of their being bribed.

Meanwhile, he put off the trial to a more convenient season; for the present conjuncture allowed him not leisure to examine a cause which required so much time to discuss. He was impatient to be at Rome, whither he was recalled upon the death of Victor his rival. However the schism was still kept on foot, by the cardinals of the opposite party electing another Pope, who assumed the name of Paschal III.

AD 1165] Henry being extremely incensed at Alexander's proceedings, as a mark of his resentment, forbade under the severest penalties all appeals to Rome. This prohibition was quickly followed by an express order to commit to prison all the relations of those that accompanied Becket in his flight, or were gone to join him since his departure. After this, he sequestered, in the hands of the bishop of London, the revenues of all the ecclesiastics that openly espoused the archbishop's quarrel, to put it out of their power to assist him. Moreover, he enjoined the magistrates to punish upon the spot, as traitors, all persons that should be taken either with the Pope's or Becket's letters or mandates about them, importing the excommunication of any private person, or an interdict upon the kingdom. He ordered likewise the revenues of the see of Canterbury to be seized, with all the archbishop's effects[22].

Lastly, not content with forbidding prayers for him in the church, he banished all his relations, friends, and retainers, to the amount of about 400, all of whom he compelled to take an oath to

present themselves before Becket, in hopes that the sight of so many persons involved in ruin on his account, would shake his resolution, and induce him to submit.

These rigorous proceedings, however, served only to exasperate the archbishop the more, who, on his part, excommunicated all that adhered to the constitutions of Clarendon, and particularly some lords of the council. At length, finding the king was bent to maintain his ground, he sent him a threatening letter, which it will not be amiss to insert, as elucidating the character of that prelate.

THOMAS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE KING OF ENGLAND

I have most earnestly desired to see you; and although I cannot deny, that in this I had a view to my own, yet was it your interest that lay nearest my heart. I was in hopes that when you should see me again, you would call to mind the many services I have done you, with all imaginable regard and affection. For the truth of which I appeal to Him who is to judge all mankind, when they shall appear before his tribunal, to be rewarded according to their deeds.

I flattered myself that you would be moved with compassion towards me, who am forced to beg my bread in a strange land, though by the grace of God I have plenty of all things necessary for my subsistence. I receive, however, great consolation from the words of the apostle, "They that live in Christ shall suffer persecution;" and likewise from that saying of the prophet, "I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread." As to what relates to you, I cannot but be sensibly affected with it for three reasons: first, because you are my liege-lord: secondly, because you are my king: thirdly, because you are my spiritual son. As my liege-lord, I owe and offer you my best advice, such, however, as is due from a bishop, saving the honour of God and the head of the church.

As my king, I owe you a profound respect, and withal am bound to direct my admonitions to you. As my son, it is my duty to correct and exhort you. Kings are anointed in three places; the head, the breast, and the arms, which denote glory, holiness, and power. We find from several instances taken from the scriptures, that the kings who despised the commandments of the Lord, were deprived of glory, understanding, and might: such were Pharaoh, Saul, Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar, and many others. On the contrary, they that humbled themselves before God, received a larger measure of grace, and in greater perfection. This was experienced by David, Hezekiah, and some others.

Take therefore, my liege-lord, the advice of your vassal; hearken, my king, to the admonitions of your bishop; and receive, my son, the corrections of your father; lest you are drawn aside into schism, or persuaded to hold communion with schismatics. All the world knows with what honour and devotion you received the Pope; how respectfully and zealously you protected the church of Rome; and what suitable returns the church and Pope have made you.

Remember, therefore, the declaration you made, and even laid upon the altar at your coronation, to protect the church of God in all her immunities. Restore the church of Canterbury, from which you received your authority, to the state it was in under your predecessors and mine; otherwise be assured, that you will draw down on your head the wrath and vengeance of God.

This letter was little capable of appeasing the incensed king. And truly, it is very hard to believe, the writer thought it proper for that end,[23] or penned it with that intent. Meantime, Henry knowing that the king of France cherished the discord between him and the court of Rome, by

offering to assist the Pope, was willing to let his holiness see on how weak a support he relied in case things came to an open rupture. He accordingly levied a numerous army, as well to prevent any revolt the Pope might excite in his dominions, as to be in readiness to oppose the king of France in case of an attack[24].

This precaution hindered, no doubt, Alexander from proceeding so vigorously as he intended, and made him sensible of the danger of precipitating matters. Meanwhile, the bishop of London and the rest of the suffragans of the province of Canterbury, wrote to the archbishop, on occasion of his letter to the king, and remonstrated with him on his pride in writing to his sovereign without the customary salutations, as though he had written to an inferior.

They represented to him, moreover, the mean estate whence the king had raised him to such grandeur; his ingratitude to a prince whom he was so much indebted to; and his arrogance in daring to threaten a monarch so far exalted above him. In fine, they gave him notice that they appealed to the Pope from whatever he should act for the future against them or the king, and appointed Ascension-day to produce the reasons of their appeal.

The king of England's army threw the Pope under great apprehensions. He was afraid, that Henry would at length unite with the emperor, and if so, the king of France would not be able, or at least, willing to protect him. This consideration induced him to try to divert Henry from such a thought, with the hopes of seeing this contest speedily ended to his advantage. Accordingly, when Henry least expected it, Alexander appointed legates to go and decide the affair in England. He greatly extolled to the king this condescension. But the legates were hardly set out, when he clogged their powers with restrictions, that prevented them from giving a decisive sentence.

The legates being arrived at London, and setting about the business they were come upon, a fresh obstacle unexpectedly occurred. Becket refused to put his cause into their hands, unless the king would first restore whatever he had taken from him or his friends. He further insisted upon a general revocation of all the king's orders since the beginning of the contest. This is a clear evidence, the legates had not full powers to decide the matter, since the archbishop's refusal to stand to their judgment, without these conditions, was sufficient to stop their proceedings.

Accordingly, the king easily saw the Pope intended only to amuse him. Meantime, Becket's own friends, dreading the king would go to extremities, advised him to give his sovereign some satisfaction. He told them he was ready to comply with the king's will, saving his honour, the church's possessions, his own and the right of others. So many salvos must have shewn, he was not inclinable in the least to relax. However, these same friends, who had so good an opinion of him, as to believe he was willing to sacrifice his private interests to the church's peace, made him another proposal.

They asked him, whether he would agree to resign the archbishopric, in case the king would, upon that condition, give up the constitutions of Clarendon. But they did not find him at all disposed to show that proof of his disinterestedness. He plainly told them, the proposal was unequal, since he could not renounce his dignity without betraying the cause of God and of the church; whereas the king was bound in conscience to annul his new laws. This reply, and the limited powers of the legates, entirely destroyed all the king's hopes, and made him resolve to create the archbishop as much trouble as possible.

To that end; he sent word to the abbot of Pontigni, who had for two years entertained Becket in his monastery, that if he sheltered him any longer, he would expel from his dominions all the monks of his order, and seize their estates. Upon this, Becket was forced to quit the abbey; but it was not long before he met with another retreat. The king of France admitted him into Sens, where he often resided, and handsomely furnished him with all things necessary. His frequent conversations with that monarch, were a great means of increasing the jealousy and animosity he had already entertained against Henry[25].

Towards the latter end of this year queen Eleanor was delivered of a fourth son, called John. The birth of this prince was quickly followed by the death of the empress Matilda[26], the king's mother, in the sixty-seventh Year of her age[27]. She left in her will very considerable legacies to the poor and the churches, and bequeathed a large sum for finishing the bridge of Rouen, of which she had laid the foundation.

Hitherto the Pope and archbishop had but little reason to boast of the success of their contest with Henry. Becket, deprived of his revenues, languished in melancholy exile, whilst the Pope received no profits from England. His holiness easily foresaw, if things remained in this state, his authority was likely to be contemned, not only in England, but in other parts of Christendom. Besides, he was of an exceedingly haughty temper. This is the same Alexander, who some years after, treated so shamefully the emperor Frederic Barbarossa at Venice[28]. There were no hopes therefore, that a Pope of his character would suffer the king to obtain the victory without long and violent struggles.

Accordingly, as soon as his affairs were something settled, he began seriously to think of means to end this contest to his advantage. To render the king uneasy, he shewed an extraordinary regard for Becket, and confirmed to him all the privileges enjoyed by his predecessors, affecting by this unseasonable respect to insult the king. Henry, to be even with him, caused it to be rumoured, that he was going to withdraw his obedience from Alexander, and recognize Paschal. He even went so far as to write to some of the princes of Germany, to acquaint them, that he was on the point of taking this resolution.

It would, however, have been difficult to bring the nation to this change, and especially the clergy. He had but few bishops on his side. All the rest of the clergy were for the Pope and Becket in their hearts, though fear kept them from shewing it openly. Alexander, knowing their inclinations, was the more firm, and expressed less regard for the king than he would otherwise have done. To shew the king, that his threats gave him no concern, he sent a letter to the bishop of London, wherein he commanded the bishop boldly to admonish him, and enjoin him, in his name, to restore the archbishop of Canterbury to his see, and annul the constitutions of Clarendon. The bishop discharged his commission, though not so imperiously as the Pope had commanded.

However, he wrote to him afterwards, to represent that the king had made no innovations, but only trod in the steps of his predecessors; that his conduct could not in reason be blamed, as he offered to submit to the judgment of the church, provided the affair were tried in the kingdom.

AD 1168] Whatever advantage the king had hitherto gained, he wished to clear his hands of this troublesome business, which obstructed the execution of the design he had formed to conquer Ireland. Besides, he foresaw, this dispute would in the end turn to his disadvantage, and be very prejudicial to the nation. In this belief, he desired the king of France to appoint a place where they two might have an interview with the archbishop, to hear what he had to say in his defence. Lewis agreeing to this request, Becket appeared before the two kings, and very boldly pleaded his cause. After which, being asked whether he would own that he ought to obey his sovereign; he made answer, he was ready to pay obedience to him in all things, saving the honour of God.

How reasonable soever this salvo might appear, Henry looked upon it as an evasion. He told the king of France, what Becket seemed to promise was nothing at all; since by this restriction, he reserved a power to pronounce whatever displeased him, contrary to the honour of God: but, continued he, I shall make him this offer, which cannot be suspected of a double meaning: there have been in England kings not so powerful as myself, and archbishops that have been great and holy men; let him but pay me the same regard as the greatest of his predecessors paid the least of mine, and I will be satisfied. This was not what Becket wanted.

He knew very well, it would be difficult to justify his pretensions by any former precedents. And, therefore, he rejected the offer, on pretence that the affair being now before the Pope, he

could agree to nothing without his consent. How great partiality soever the king of France had all along shewn to Becket, he could not help owning on this occasion, that the archbishop's obstinacy was the sole obstacle to a peace. This confession was very serviceable to Henry, as it quashed, in a great measure, the report, so industriously spread in the world, of his designing to abolish in England the privileges of the clergy. However, it made no impression on Becket, who well knew that the Pope was too much interested, and too deeply engaged in the affair ever to draw back.

AD 1169] It plainly appeared that Becket was not mistaken, for, presently after, Alexander sent the king notice he could not dispense with granting the archbishop a power to revenge with the sword of excommunication, the injuries done the church and his own person. As soon as Becket received the Pope's leave, he thundered anathemas against such numbers of the clergy, that there were scarcely enough left un-excommunicated to officiate in the king's chapel.

Though, most were inclined to favour the cause he maintained, he was not satisfied, but charged them with shameful prevarication, in not openly espousing his quarrel. Henry, provoked at these proceedings, appealed to a future council, and sent the Pope word, that unless he immediately dispatched legates with power to decide the affair, he should take such measures as would not be agreeable to him. This menace threw Alexander into great perplexity, because he could not help fearing the union of the king with the emperor.

On the other hand, he was so engaged in the defence of the pretended rights of the church, that he could not desist without great prejudice to the holy see. To free himself from this uneasiness, he had recourse to the usual methods successfully practised by the court of Rome on such occasions. He feigned to be willing that the affair should be tried in England; and to allure Henry with these hopes, sent away legates, who met the king in Normandy. But as they were preparing to wait on him, they received fresh instructions forbidding them to give a final sentence, without imparting it to the archbishop of Sens. This was sufficient to blast all hopes of a sudden peace, none being more averse to it than that prelate.

Some time after, the Pope, willing to keep Henry still in a belief that matters might be amicably adjusted, desired the two kings of England and France to consider of means to end the dispute. Whereupon, Henry repairing to Paris, Becket was ordered to appear once more before these two princes. This conference, purposely intended to amuse Henry, succeeded no better than the former. The archbishop, without yielding the least point, still insisted, that before a treaty was begun, the king ought to make entire restitution^[29], to which Henry would not consent, without knowing first the terms of reconciliation.

This was all Becket could have expected by way of compensation, in case he himself had made any concessions. But to pretend that the king should begin with condemning himself by this restitution, without any advances on his part, was in effect to declare, he would come to no agreement. The only thing he offered as a sign of his inclination to peace, was that he would stand to the judgment of the French divines. But this offer being rejected, the negotiation broke off, with some advantage, however, to the king, as it rendered his disposition to peace more conspicuous. In these times, there was no adjusting a quarrel with the clergy, unless their demands were all answered.

Their cause, as they pretended, was the cause of God, and consequently no concessions could be made without sin. Upon this principle it was that the archbishop of Sens pressed the Pope to put England under an interdict, and excommunicate Henry for an obstinate heretic. Henry having advice of what this prelate was soliciting at Rome, published a fresh edict in England, forbidding the receiving any orders from the Pope or Becket, and declaring, in case a letter of interdict should come into the kingdom, all that submitted to it should be immediately hanged, as traitors to their king and country. In fine he enjoined all absent clergymen to return to their churches on pain of forfeiting all their revenues, and suspended the payment of Peter-Pence till further orders.

These vigorous proceedings making the Pope apprehensive of some dangerous revolution, should he carry things to extremity, he left the affair undetermined, in expectation of an opportunity to push it with more advantage to himself.

AD 1170] During this calm, Henry, who had spent nearly four years in France, returned home in order to regulate some affairs which his absence had hindered him from attending to. The administration of justice was so shamefully neglected, that at his arrival he found himself obliged to send commissioners into all the counties with full powers to enquire into the misdemeanours of the magistrates, and to punish the guilty.

This and some other affairs concerning the public good being settled to the people's satisfaction, Henry convened a general assembly, at which were present the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs; bailiffs, and aldermen of the principal cities of the kingdom. Before this numerous assembly he caused Henry his eldest son to be crowned by the archbishop of York, assisted by the bishops of London, Rochester, Salisbury, and Durham.

The next day the young king received the fealties of all the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the magistrates of the cities and counties, who were summoned on purpose to be present at the coronation. At the feast, made upon this occasion, the king himself would carry up the first dish, and speaking to his son, told him, never was monarch served in a more honourable manner. Instead of returning his compliment, the young king, who was of a very haughty spirit, turning to the archbishop of York, who stood by him, said in a low voice, it was no such great condescension in the son of an earl to serve the son of a king.

This coronation, performed with universal approbation, gave the king double satisfaction. He not only, by that means, secured the crown in his family, but moreover extremely mortified Becket. Indeed that prelate was exceedingly vexed to hear that a ceremony of that importance was solemnized without him; it being as he pretended, an office annexed to the dignity of archbishop of Canterbury[30].

The king of France took great offence at his daughter's not being crowned with the prince her spouse. This disgust, joined to some other occasions of quarrel, which are but too frequent among neighbouring princes, caused him to take up arms again[31]. But this war was of so little consequence and short continuance, that it is entirely needless to descend to particulars.

Shortly after Henry was seized with a violent fever at Domfront, in the province of Maine. He was so dangerously ill, that believing he was near his end, he hastily made his will. To Henry his eldest son he gave England, Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; and to Richard his second son Guienne and Poictou. As for Geoffrey, he thought Bretagne sufficient for him, which he was to enjoy after the death of duke Conan his brother-in-law. As for John his fourth son, he was satisfied with recommending him to be provided for by his eldest brother.

Henry's indisposition produced another considerable effect. The approach of death having raised scruples in the king, to which he was a stranger whilst in health, he resolved to be reconciled with Becket, in case he recovered. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as his health permitted, he held a conference with the king of France at Montmirai, where Becket was present also. As the king then stood disposed, he agreed to almost every thing required by the archbishop. But after all the articles were settled, just as Becket was stepping up to the king to give him the kiss of peace, he took it in his head to say, that he was going to salute him to the honour of God.

The king, who was not thoroughly satisfied of his sincerity, imagining there was some hidden mystery in that expression, refused to receive his salute accompanied with those words. The archbishop on his part, insisting upon saying them, all the pains taken to adjust matters became of no effect, by the over strained nicety of both parties[32].

However, Henry upon any terms to get clear of this business, ordered it so that another interview was agreed upon at Amboise, where the king of France came attended by several princes and lords. Here at length all difficulties were surmounted. Henry was reconciled with Becket, and swore to restore him to the same state which he enjoyed before his banishment; and likewise make restitution to his relations and friends of all that was seized since his departure. Thus this contest seemed to be happily ended by the king's generosity, who protested, he heartily forgave all that had passed[33].

But the archbishop was not so easily appeased. Though he obliged Henry to pardon all those who had offended him, he himself could not resolve to forgive those whom he thought he had reason to complain of. He was chiefly exasperated against the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Exeter; who had acted the most openly against him. Before he left France to return into England, he obtained the Pope's licence to suspend the first, and excommunicate the others, and accordingly executed it, the moment he landed.

He had even no regard to the entreaties of the young king, who having notice of his design, sent messengers to divert him from it. Though by this refusal he gave that prince just cause to complain of him; he would go and salute him at Woodstock, where he resided. Some say, the desire of paying his respects to the young king was not the principal motive of his intended visit; but that his real aim was to make a triumphant entry into London, through which he was to pass.

Be this as it will, he lodged in Southwark, designing to be at Woodstock next day; but he received a letter from the young king, ordering him to repair forthwith to Canterbury. Though this was a great mortification to him, he thought fit to obey the order. Accordingly he set forward for the capital of his diocese, where he made his entry with the acclamations of the meaner sort of people; whilst the more considerate were sorry to see him thus triumphant.

Far from being humbled by his long exile, he was grown more proud and haughty. This they had quickly reason to perceive more particularly, when mounting his archiepiscopal chair on Christmas day, he solemnly excommunicated Nigel de Sackvil and Robert Brock, both distinguished by their birth and stations. He accused the former of unjustly detaining a manor belonging to the archbishopric, and the latter of cutting off the tail of a horse that was carrying provisions to his palace. This proceeding was a plain indication, that he was not humbled by his disgrace, but was ready to revive the quarrel whenever he saw occasion.

Meantime, the suspended and excommunicated prelates were gone to carry their complaints to the king, who was still in Normandy. When they came into his presence they threw themselves at his feet, and complained; that the peace made with Becket, redoubled the terrors and troubles of those who had sacrificed themselves to his service.

The archbishop of York added, as long as Becket was alive it was impossible for England to enjoy any repose. Henry, exasperated by these complaints, and tired with being thus incessantly plagued, by the insolence of a subject whom he had raised from the dust, could not help uttering these words aloud: "I am very unfortunate that among the great numbers I maintain, there's not a man that dares undertake to revenge the affronts I perpetually receive from the hands of a wretched priest." These words were not dropped in vain[34].

Four of the king's domestics reflecting on the king's reproaches combined together to free him from this enemy. To this end, they came to Canterbury,[35] where they agreed upon the method to execute their design. One day, as the archbishop was gone to the cathedral[36] with few attendants, they entered the church armed, and came up to the altar where he was standing. They began with outrageously upbraiding him for his pride and ingratitude: to which he returned so resolute an answer, as gave them occasion to execute their purpose.

As they were not there with intent to reproach him only, they broke his skull with their weapons in so violent a manner, that the blood and brains flew all over the altar. After committing this action, they peaceably retired, no body offering to stop them[37]. The resolution Becket shewed on this occasion, the zeal he expressed by recommending to God, with his last breath, the cause of the church, the time and manner of his death, aggravated the guilt of his murderers, and gained him more friends after he was dead, than ever he had during his life.

Thus died this famous archbishop, whom some have ranked amongst the most illustrious martyrs, whilst others believed they might, without any injustice, deny him the character of an honest man, and a good Christian. About fifty years after his death, it was the subject of a public dispute at the university of Paris, whether Becket was in heaven or hell, so ambiguous a point was his sanctity. Some asserted, that for his extreme pride, he deserved to be damned.

Others on the contrary maintained, that the miracles wrought at his tomb, were undoubted proofs of his salvation. He had deserved too well of the court of Rome, not to have a place in the catalogue of the saints. There were many in that list, who in the opinion of that court itself, were not so worthy of the honour, as one that had spilt his blood in defence of the church. He was, therefore, canonized two or three years after his death. The tomb of the new saint was at first adorned with few ornaments; but fifty years after his death, his body was laid in a shrine, enriched with a prodigious quantity of precious stones.

As a farther honour to his memory, the Pope ordered every fiftieth year a jubilee to be solemnized in the church where he lay. From thenceforward miracles were reported to be so common at his tomb, and their fame spread so far, that they drew votaries from all parts of Christendom, who came to Canterbury to obtain the intercession of this new saint. In 1420, they kept an account of above fifty thousand foreigners, of all ages and sexes, that came in pilgrimage that year to this renowned tomb. To avoid interrupting the narrative of this famous contest, we were obliged to defer till now to speak of certain occurrences which happened in that interval, the most remarkable whereof were as follows.

In 1165, during the heat of the dispute, the archbishop of Cologne came into England to conduct Matilda the king's daughter to the duke of Saxony, to whom she was betrothed. As all the princes of Germany were then for the antipope Paschal, they were considered as schismatics in all places where Alexander was acknowledged. This is the reason, why after the departure of the archbishop, the churches, where he and the priests that attended him said mass, were all re-consecrated. The king durst not oppose this resolution, for fear of making the breach wider between him and Alexander.

In 1166 certain heretics (men and women) arrived from Germany in England, about thirty in number, being headed by one Gerhard. It is not distinctly known wherein their heresy consisted; in all likelihood there were fathered upon them, by forced inferences, opinions which they entertained not. However this be, they were summoned before a council held on purpose at Oxford, where they were condemned, and delivered over to the secular power.

The king, unwilling to give the Pope any handle against him, treated these people very severely. After branding them in the cheek with a hot iron, he forbade all his subjects to give them any relief. This prohibition being punctually observed, all those poor creatures, turned out, in the depth of winter, miserably perished with hunger and cold, without being heard to utter the least complaint[38].

Malcolm king of Scotland died much about this time, and was succeeded by William his brother. The marriage of Eleanor, daughter of Henry, with Alphonsus king of Castile was concluded in 1169, a little before Becket's return into England. Conan the Little, duke of Bretagne, dying in 1171, prince Geoffrey, who had married his daughter, succeeded him. But as he was not above

twelve years old, the king his father took the guardianship upon himself, and went in person into Bretagne, to receive the fealty of the barons.

Henry being freed from the disturber of his quiet, was now in hopes to enjoy some tranquillity. But he found that Becket, when dead, created him no less trouble than alive. His enemies, the chief of whom were the king of France, and archbishop of Sens, omitted not this opportunity to raise him new disturbances. They boldly charged him with being the author of Becket's murder, and endeavoured by all sorts of means to stir up the Pope to revenge the death of his faithful servant.

Though it was difficult to prove that Henry had any hand in the assassination, Alexander was willing to believe him guilty, that he might have occasion to humble a prince that had so firmly opposed him. He was sensible, this was a favourable juncture to procure advantages which that monarch could never be brought to yield at any other time. Wherefore he threatened to excommunicate him and put the kingdom under an interdict, unless he gave marks of a sincere repentance. Had this prince been more weak, or less able, he would never have got clear of this dangerous affair. But his resolution on this occasion[39], his presents to the cardinals, and his repeated protestations, to submit to the sentence that should be pronounced in England, averted this terrible blow[40].

Whilst this affair was transacting at Rome, Henry resumed the project of the conquest of Ireland, formed some years before, but deferred on account of his quarrel with Becket. The Irish taking some Englishmen prisoners, and afterwards selling them for slaves, furnished him with a pretence to form this enterprise. But the real motive was the desire of enlarging his dominions by the conquest of an island adjacent to England. Two favourable conjunctures induced him to think of this conquest. In the first place, he was at peace with all his neighbours. And secondly, Adrian IV. a native of England, being then Pope, he hoped easily to obtain his approbation.

Though the outrages committed by the Irish upon his subjects might be one reason of his intended expedition, that was not the thing he alleged to the Pope to obtain his consent. The glory of God and the salvation of souls, plausible pretences, but which rarely set princes upon projects of this nature, were the arguments he urged to prevail with Adrian to approve his design. To these he added another, and, no less powerful motive, the enlarging the jurisdiction and revenues of the holy see.

He pretended, the Irish being schismatics and bad Christians, it was necessary to put them in the right way, and oblige them to acknowledge the papal authority, which, till then had been disregarded by them: that the properest means to that end was to bring them into subjection to the crown of England, which had ever been devoted to the holy see. This is what we find in the bull sent him by Adrian; on this occasion.

Pope Celestinus I was the first that undertook the conversion of the Irish to Christianity, by sending Palladius to preach the Gospel to them. But, being deprived of this their first bishop by an untimely death, Patrick, disciple of St. Germanus, was sent in his stead, who converted most of the natives. Their posterity have always considered him as their apostle, and still hold him in great veneration. Shortly after their conversion, Ireland abounded with monks, who became so famous for their sanctity, that they were the occasion of the island's being termed the country of saints.

From hence great numbers of learned and zealous men came forth, who greatly promoted the conversion of the Albin-Scots, Picts, and Anglo-Saxons. Such were Columbanus, Aidan, Finan, Colman, Kilian, and many others spoken of elsewhere. Religion and learning, which flourished in Ireland, were expelled thence by foreign invasions, to which that Island was frequently exposed. A king of Northumberland sent a numerous army thither, which committed great ravages. Afterwards, the Norwegians wasted the country in a terrible manner above thirty years,

under the conduct of one Turgesius, who at length was cut off by an ambuscade. This devastation was quickly followed by an invasion of certain people from Germany, called by historians Estmanni, that is, the men of the east.

Shortly after, Edgar, king of England subdued Ireland, if a charter that goes under his name may be credited, where he makes his boast of that conquest. But how great soever the desolations were that the island suffered from the hands of foreigners, intestine divisions caused still greater mischief. The Irish were hardly freed from the invasions of the foreigners, and particularly the Danes, who made them, no less than the English, feel the effects of their fury, when a civil war broke out among them, which ended in the partition of the Island into several petty states. These kingdoms, which at first were numerous, and consequently very small, were at length reduced to seven, namely, Connaught, Cork, Leinster, Ossory, Meath, Limerick, and Ulster[41].

The king of Connaught, the principal of these petty sovereigns, kept the rest in a sort of dependence, with much the same authority as the Anglo-Saxon monarchs formerly enjoyed during the Heptarchy. This is the reason why the Irish Annals give Roderic king of Connaught, who reigned in the time of Henry II. the title of monarch, though there were more kings besides him in the island. Such was the state and condition of Ireland, when the English undertook the conquest of it. A difference between two of these kings, the weakest of whom invited the English to his assistance, was the occasion of the Irish losing their liberty.

Among the sovereigns then reigning in Ireland Dermot, king of Leinster, was one of the most considerable, by the extent of his dominions. From this prince's accession to the throne, he had acted so arbitrarily, that he was grown extremely odious to his subjects. But he made slight of his people's hatred, being at peace with his neighbours, who concerned not themselves with what passed in that kingdom. However, he afterwards gave them occasion himself, by debauching and carrying away the wife of O'Roric king of Meath. O'Roric, to revenge the affront, levied an army: and, with the help of Roderic king of Connaught, attacked Dermot, who, finding himself abandoned by his subjects, was forced to leave Ireland, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy.

As he had no refuge in the island, where the rest of the kings refused to engage in his quarrel, he went and implored the protection of the king of England; who was then in France. Having informed him of his case, he promised to become his vassal, if by his aid he was restored to his throne. Nothing could be more grateful than this proposal to a prince who had been long meditating the conquest of Ireland, and wanted only an opportunity to interpose in the affairs of that island. Meanwhile, as his war then with France permitted him not immediately to assist the fugitive king, he contented himself with promising, as soon as the war was over, to aid him to the utmost of his power.

Nevertheless; he thought it his interest to persuade Dermot to begin a war, whence he hoped himself to reap great advantage. To that end, he advised him to go into England, and endeavour to obtain what assistance he could from some English barons, in expectation of greater forces. Dermot followed his advice, and relying on Henry's word, came into England, where Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Richard Strong-bow[42] earl of Pembroke, agreed with him upon certain conditions. The former was prevailed with in hopes of making a considerable fortune in Ireland. The latter, who had large possessions in England and Wales, was gained by Dermot's promise, to give him his only daughter in marriage, and settle the succession upon him.

These two lords having drawn together some troops among their friends and vassals, Fitz-Stephen, who was first ready, accompanied Dermot into Ireland, with four hundred men. Being landed near Waterford, the king of Leinster led them before the city of Wexford, not far from thence. This city being presently taken, was given to Fitz-Stephen, who settled there a colony of English[43]. After this exploit, the adventurers reinforcing their little army to the number of three thousand men, marched against the king of Ossory. This prince, who did not expect to be

attacked, being unprepared for his defence, was forced to submit to what terms the conquerors were pleased to impose.

Meantime, Roderic the monarch had convened the states of the island, and caused them to resolve upon a war with Dermot and the English. Indeed, it was easy to perceive, their designs were not confined to the assistance of the king of Leinster. But, as the adventures were now grown very formidable, he was willing, before he ran any hazard, to try the way of negotiation, to get them out of the island.

He addressed himself first to Fitz-Stephen, and offered him a considerable sum to retire. His offer being rejected, he turned to Dermot, and endeavoured to persuade him to send away the English, by promising to restore him to his kingdom. Dermot immediately closed with this proposal; but when they came to perform their covenants, mistrusting each other, they could agree neither upon the time nor the manner. Whilst they were employed in devising expedients for their mutual security, the earl of Pembroke arrived from England with twelve hundred men. His first expedition was the taking of Waterford, and putting the inhabitants all to the sword.

This conquest breaking off the negotiation, the earl of Pembroke married Dermot's daughter; and quickly after took possession of the kingdom of Leinster, fallen to him by the death of his father-in-law. The Irish gave that prince the surname of Ningal, or the Stranger's Friend. After the death of Dermot, the adventurers prepared to carry on their conquests. As they saw that the terror of their arms was spread over Ireland, they improved the opportunity, and advancing farther, became masters of Dublin, and some other places. Roderic and the rest of the kings were in such confusion, that they very faintly opposed the progress of the foreigners.

It is almost incredible that the Irish, who were exceedingly numerous, should suffer themselves to be thus over run by a handful of Englishmen. The reason is imputed to their great dread of the English cross-bows, the use of which, till then, was unknown to them. Upon news of this extraordinary success, Henry grew jealous of the adventurers. He was in hopes they would have wanted his assistance, and thereby given him a pretence to pass into Ireland himself, and subdue the island. But finding, the faint resistance of the Irish rendered his aid needless, he was afraid the conquerors would become masters of the whole country, which he designed for himself. In this belief, he thought it necessary to oblige them to apply to him.

To this end, he forbade the exporting provisions or ammunition to Ireland; and commanded all his subjects to return from thence. These orders, which were issued on pretence that the adventurers had engaged in their undertaking without his leave, succeeded to his expectation. As soon as the earl of Pembroke and Fitz-Stephen were informed of the king's edict, they sent deputies to assure him of their obedience; and tell him, all their present and future conquests were at his command.

This submission easily appeased the king, who had no further thoughts of recalling them. Some time after, he made an agreement with them, that he should have all the sea-ports, and the rest remain in the conquerors, to hold of him and his successors^[44]. Matters being thus settled, Henry went over himself into Ireland with a formidable army^[45], and landed at Waterford. The Irish, who before could not withstand a few private persons, and consequently saw themselves unable to resist such great forces, chose a voluntary submission. During Henry's stay at Waterford, he saw all the kings of the island arrive at his court, and with emulation strive who should first swear allegiance.

Thus Henry, without spilling one drop of blood, became master of Ireland in less time than was sufficient to travel over it. After he had placed fresh garrisons in Waterford, Wexford, and some other maritime towns, pursuant to his agreement with the adventurers, he came to Dublin, where he made some regulations for the government of his new conquest. Shortly after, he set out for

England, leaving at Dublin, Hugh Laci, to govern the island in his name, with the title of Judiciary of Ireland[46].

Henry had not time to stay any longer in Ireland. He was in haste to go to Normandy, to meet the Pope's legates, sent to examine into Becket's murder. Four whole months were spent in this matter. Though the legates had orders to give the king absolution, they took, from all hands, depositions, to try to prove him guilty, in order to enhance the favour he was about to receive from his holiness. In short, after many difficulties and delays, he was permitted to clear himself by a solemn oath, that he neither commanded, nor consented to, Becket's assassination. He publicly declared, he was extremely sorry for being the occasion, by the words he had dropped; and was ready to undergo what penance the legates should enjoin.

Upon this oath and declaration, he was absolved from his pretended crime, on terms denoting the Pope's favour more than his innocence. To obtain this absolution, he bound himself,

- I. Never to oppose the Pope's will, so long as he was used as a catholic Prince.
- II. Not to hinder appeals to the holy see.
- III. To lead an army to the Holy-Land against the infidels, and remain there at least three years successively. However, he was at liberty to send thither only two hundred men[47], in case he chose rather to go in person against the Saracens in Spain.
- IV. To recall all that were banished on account of the late archbishop of Canterbury, and restore to them their estates and revenues.
- V. Lastly, to abolish all laws and customs lately introduced to the prejudice of the church of Canterbury, or any other church in England.

To these, which were made public, was added a secret article, whereby the king obliged himself to go barefoot to Becket's tomb, and receive discipline from the hands of the monks of St. Augustin. Thus ended this affair, which, notwithstanding Henry's steadiness in the beginning, turned at length to the Pope's advantage, and carried his power and authority to a greater height than ever. Indeed, this instance was exceedingly proper to strike terror into all sovereigns, being an evident demonstration, how dangerous it was to contradict the pleasure of the court of Rome[48].

In the beginning of the year 1173, Roger, abbot of Bee in Normandy, was chosen archbishop of Canterbury, after the see had been vacant a little above a twelvemonth. But he refusing to accept of it, Richard, prior of Dover, was chosen in his room.

Henry imagined, after mastering so many difficulties, he should pass the residue of his days in peace, amidst the grandeur and glory with which he was encircled. But he quickly found, there were other vexations, besides those in Becket's affair, capable of disturbing his felicity. During his absence, a conspiracy had been formed against him, so much the more dangerous, as his queen and his own sons were the authors. Besides, it was countenanced by some of the principal barons of the realm, and several foreign princes. queen Eleanor was moved to it by her extreme jealousy, of which the king is said to have given her but too just cause.

Among his many mistresses, Fair Rosamond, daughter of the lord Clifford, having the greatest ascendant over him, became the principal object of the queen's jealousy, who could not forbear threatening her. Henry fancied, he had secured her from all attempts, by keeping her in a labyrinth built on purpose at Woodstock. But his great care proved all in vain. Whilst he was in Normandy the queen, taking advantage of his absence, found means to dispatch out of the way this hated rival, that created her so much uneasiness[49]. After this deed, despairing of ever regaining the king's affection, she pursued her revenge, and encouraged her sons to revolt. Henry, his eldest

son, a prince of an exceedingly haughty temper, was weary of bearing the title of king without the authority. Richard, naturally turbulent and restless, was tired with being under the discipline of the king, who indeed had made him earl of Poictou, but suffered him not to enjoy that favour.

Geoffrey had still more cause to complain than his brothers. He saw himself deprived of the government of Bretagne, under the specious pretence of a guardianship, for which he thought he had no longer occasion. It was not difficult for these young princes to draw into the conspiracy several English barons, who hoped to enjoy more credit and authority under young Henry than under his father.

The king of France, ever jealous of Henry's flourishing condition, readily engaged in the project of dethroning him. Not satisfied with assisting the princes himself, he caused the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois his vassals, (the last of whom was his brother-in-law,) to enter into the league. William king of Scotland was prevailed with also to be concerned in an undertaking, which might procure him an opportunity of recovering the dominions, resigned by his brother Malcolm to England. This confederacy broke out suddenly when Henry least expected it. Normandy, Guienne, Bretagne, were attacked all at once by the arms of the confederates. The king of Scotland invaded Cumberland, and England was divided into two parties, one for the young king and the other for his father.

After the conquest of Ireland, it appears, Henry intending to go to Normandy, passed through England to take the king his son along with him, being entirely ignorant of the plots formed in his absence. Upon his arrival at Rouen, he received a letter from the king of France, expressing an earnest desire to see his daughter and son-in-law, and entreating him to let them come and spend a few days at Paris. The young prince having leave, repaired to the king his father-in-law, with whom he took measures, that the confederates might all act at the same time.

Meanwhile, as he deferred his return under divers pretences, Henry grew uneasy. Perhaps he had received some dark hints of what was contriving; or was apprehensive that by too long conversing with Lewis, ill impressions might be made upon the young prince. Be this as it will, he sent for him, and the young king durst not disobey, for fear of exciting suspicion of the conspiracy. As soon as he came back, the king, with his son, set out for Montferrand, a small town in Auvergne, where he was to hold a conference with Hubert earl of Maurienna, Alphonsus earl of Arragon and Barcelona, Girard earl of Vienna, and Raymond earl of Tholouse[50].

He was to treat with Hubert about a marriage between John his fourth son, and Alice, daughter of that earl. This affair was begun at Montferrand; but as it could not be ended there, Hubert accompanied the king to Limoges, where he pressed him to declare what he would do for the prince his son, on account of the marriage. Henry offered to settle on John the cities of Lodun, Chinon, and Mirebel, which the young king, who was present, opposed to the utmost of his power.

He alleged, it was very strange the king should assign an appanage to his youngest son, whilst he refused the same during his life to the eldest, who bore the title of king without having wherewithal to support the dignity. This opposition created a great coldness between the father and son, which was farther increased by the young king's demanding Normandy of his father, before he should come to the crown of England. His aim in this demand was only to find a pretence to complain, in order to open the scene concerted with the king of France.

Henry began from that time to suspect what his son had in his mind. As he did not question but he had suffered himself to be corrupted by the king of France; he caused him to be narrowly watched. On the other hand, the young prince, dreading the consequences if the king came to discover his designs, resolved to prevent the danger. What care soever the father might take, he could not hinder his son from privately withdrawing from court, and posting to the king of France[51].

The old king was still ignorant what his son's design might be. As soon as the queen, who resided at London; had intelligence of the king her son's arrival at Paris, she sent thither likewise Richard and Geoffrey, before Henry had time to give orders about them. Thus the old king saw himself suddenly forsaken by his own family, without knowing to what all these proceedings would tend. His wrath, which he could not then vent upon his sons, fell upon the queen, whom he caused to be confined; but reaped no other benefit from thence, but the pleasure of being revenged. Quickly after, the confederate princes attacking him in several places, he stood in need of all his resolution to bear so many vexations, and of all his prudence to oppose so many enemies.

Richard repaired to Guienne, where he caused the greatest part of the country to rebel. Geoffrey raising an insurrection in Bretagne, put himself at the head of it, with design to wrest from the king his father the government of that dukedom. Normandy was attacked by the king of France, assisted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. The king of Scotland made an irruption into the northern parts of England. The earl of Leicester landed at Southampton an army levied in France, in expectation of a general revolt of the English against the king. Thus Henry saw, in all parts of his dominions, hostile armies, against whom he was wholly unprepared.

Meanwhile young Henry, who continued at Paris, acted as if he had been sole king of England. He received the homage of the vassals: made grants and donations of the crown lands: assigned pensions out of the public revenues, and had his seal apart, as though the king his father had no more right to intermeddle in the government of his kingdom. He would not keep so much as a single person about him that did not swear fealty to him, independent to that due to the old king.

The young prince thought he had taken such sure measures, that he looked upon the king his father's ruin as infallible. The king of France willing to cherish this belief, affected continually to throw out satirical jests against old Henry, and would hardly bear he should be called king in his presence. The truth is, the ruin of that monarch seemed to be at hand, since he had so many enemies to deal with at once. But if he had shewn some want of resolution, in his quarrel with the Pope, it was otherwise on this occasion.

Never did his virtues shine with more lustre, than when he saw himself forced as it were to yield to his ill fortune, and reduced to extremity. Animated with fresh courage at the sight of the impending danger, he managed his affairs with so much firmness, prudence, and forecast, that in spite of the obstacles which started up incessantly, and from all quarters, he obtained in the end a glorious advantage over all his enemies. The king of France was obliged to abandon Verneuil, which cost him a long siege.

An army of Brabansons, sent by Henry into Bretagne, vanquished the rebels, upon which they returned to their duty. The earl of Leicester was defeated in England; and taken prisoner by Humphrey Bohun, general of the English army, who took the opportunity of a truce made with the king of Scotland; to give the earl battle. As soon as the truce was expired William renewed his ravages in Northumberland. But whilst he was intent upon the plunder, he unfortunately, or rather imprudently, suffered himself to be surprised by the English general, who routed his army and took him prisoner. The Scots pretend this was during the truce; but the English affirm it was after the expiration. However it be, the king being fallen into the hands of the, English, was carried first to Richmond castle, and from thence conveyed into Normandy.

Whilst the arms of Henry were thus crowned with success in England, he was employed in France in subduing the revolted cities and provinces. Though he could not be every where, he ordered it so, that in a few months, either by himself or by his generals, he became master of the principal places in Guienne, Saintonge, Anjou, Poitou, and Bretagne. These successes quite broke the measures of his enemies, and entirely dissipated the fears he was justly seized with in the beginning of the war.

Meantime, the king his son, perceiving him embarrassed in France, took that opportunity of raising an army of Frenchmen and Flemings. As soon as the troops were ready for action, he put himself at their head, and marched towards Gravelin, where he designed to embark. His project was to pass into England, and join the king of Scotland and earl of Leicester, who were not yet defeated. Could he have crossed the sea at that juncture he would undoubtedly have been master of England. But the wind remained so long contrary, that he could not execute this project.

Whilst he was waiting in vain for a favourable gale, the king his father had time to restore his affairs in France; after which he embarked at Harfleur, and safely arrived in England. From Southampton, where he landed, he proceeded directly. to Canterbury, to do penance at Becket's tomb, to which he had obliged himself upon receiving absolution. When he came in sight of the town, he alighted, though he was yet three miles distant; and pulling off his boots, walked barefoot in extreme pain, to the sacred tomb[52], and there, after resting a while, he submitted to the shameful penance enjoined him.

He was scourged by the hands of the prior and monks of St. Augustin's, receiving from each three or five lashes, and spent the night in prayer in the cathedral, lying on the cold pavement. On the morrow; after assisting at a solemn procession round the tomb, he departed for London[53].

Care was taken, in order to magnify this new saint's credit in the celestial court, to remark, that Henry was indebted for the victory obtained by his arms over the king of Scotland, to the intercession of the blessed St. Thomas[54]. It was further affirmed, the king himself was so persuaded of it, that he publicly returned him thanks, thereby acknowledging he did not in the least question his sanctity.

After Leicester's and the king of Scotland's defeat, the young king's party not daring to keep the field any longer, retired to their strong-holds and castles. The king's impatience to see them entirely reduced, suffered him not to make any stay at London. A few days after his arrival, he marched with his army to besiege the castles, still in the hands of his son's adherents. But the greatest part surrendered upon his approach, and the rest held out but a few days.

Meantime, the king of France despairing of assistance from England, after the defeat of the confederates, recalled his troops from Gravelin, and laid siege to Rouen. He was in hopes of being master of the city before Henry could come to its relief. But the brave resistance of the inhabitants baffled his designs. Upon the first notice of the siege, Henry put to sea, with a good body of troops, and was so expeditious, that he arrived in Normandy before Lewis had made any great progress. His sudden coming struck such a terror into his enemy, that he raised the siege, and retreated in the utmost confusion, leaving all his baggage behind him.

AD 1174] Henry's affairs were then in: a more flourishing condition than. ever. Absolute master in England,. he beheld Scotland disheartened by the prisonment of her king. Ireland continued in obedience. The Welsh remained quiet within their own bounds. Normandy, Guienne, and the other provinces beyond sea, were entirely reduced, except a few castles in Poictou still in possession of prince Richard.

No wonder therefore, Lewis, now above sixty years of age, despaired of accomplishing what he had projected in the beginning of the war. He found, the confederacy, which he thought capable of pulling down Henry, had rather fixed him more firmly on his throne. On the other hand, he was apprehensive, in case he died during the war, Philip his son, who was but ten years of age, would be too much encumbered to maintain it. These considerations inspired him with a desire to make peace. Henry was of the same mind. He ardently wished to deprive his sons of their only refuge, the protection of France. Richard his second son, a prince of a fierce and restless temper, was the only person that opposed the wished for peace. But neither his brothers, nor the king of France, thought proper to. continue the war for his sake. They consented therefore to a truce, during which they obliged themselves- to give him no assistance. Henry his father improved this

junction to reduce his obstinate son to obedience who at last, seeing himself destitute of support, came and threw himself at his feet, humbly imploring his pardon. He met with a better reception than he expected, and attended his father to the place, chosen by the two monarchs to treat in person of the terms of peace. As they both stood affected, it was not difficult to settle the articles. Henry granted a general pardon to all the revolters, without any exception. The young king, his eldest son, promised to be obedient for the future, and to let prince John his brother enjoy the appanage granted him.

Geoffrey and Richard were, or pretended to be, satisfied with what the king their father allotted them: In fine, the king of France promised to surrender to Henry such castles as he had taken in the beginning of the war. To strengthen the reconciliation between the two kings, a marriage was resolved on between Richard and Alice, daughter of Lewis. The princess, who was very young, was delivered to Henry the father, to be educated in England till she was marriageable. But he is said to have abused this trust.

It was further agreed by this treaty, that all the prisoners on both sides should be released[55]. But in order to exclude the king of Scotland, Henry inserted a clause, importing, that those whose ransoms were already treated of were not to have the benefit of this article. William was of this number, and perhaps the only one among all the prisoners. His impatience to be at liberty caused him to submit to very hard terms.

He was to make restitution of all he had taken from England, and to do homage for his kingdom to that crown. Upon his swearing to perform these engagements, he was released. As soon as Henry had settled all his affairs in France, he repaired to York, attended by the king his son, and a numerous train of nobility. Here, in the presence of the barons of both realms, William did homage to the two kings of England for the kingdom of Scotland in general, and for the county of Galloway in particular. This homage was confirmed by the solemn oaths of the barons of Scotland, that in case their king should recede from what he had done, they would withdraw their obedience, and consent that the kingdom of Scotland should be put under an interdict.

But as Henry did not altogether rely on these engagements, William, for his further security, put into his hands the castles of Roxborough, Berwick, Sterling, and Edinburgh. This affair being ended, the young king went back to France, where he remained three years, laying out his time in improving in all the exercises of the body and mind proper for a prince. Peace being restored to England, Henry[56] took this opportunity to enact new laws[57], and revive others that were neglected.

AD 1176] About this time also Henry divided England into six parts or districts, which were assigned to so many judges, who were to go, at certain times, and hold the assizes, that is, to minister justice to the people. This is what is still practised at this day[58].

Henry made use likewise of these peaceable times, to demolish all the fortified castles still remaining in private hands, which were a great check to the power of the sovereign. Whilst the king was employed in these public affairs, the princess Joanna his daughter was demanded in marriage by William the Good, king of Sicily. This match seeming advantageous for his daughter, he dispatched ambassadors to Sicily to settle the articles; after which he sent away the young queen with a splendid retinue.

Prince John his fourth son, who, of all his children, was his greatest favourite, being arrived at the age of eleven years, he resolved to erect Ireland into a kingdom on purpose to bestow it on his darling son. As the Pope's consent was necessary, he sent ambassadors to Rome to negotiate the affair. But how impatient soever he might be to see the end, it could not be accomplished till some years after, when it was no longer in his power to make use of the Pope's favour.

AD 1177] About this time, the king of France perceiving himself broken with age, formed the design of crowning his son Philip, according to the custom of his predecessors. But a violent distemper, which seized the young prince, obstructed his project, and made him almost despair of his life.[59] Lewis was so affected with his son's danger, that he went in pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, to obtain that saint's intercession for the prince's recovery. Henry met him at Dover, and conducted him to Canterbury, where they both offered up their prayers. When Lewis left the city, he gave considerable presents to the church, where the saint lay interred[60].

Alphonso king of Castile[61], and Sanctio King of Navarre, having great contests about certain castles and territories, sent ambassadors to Henry to entreat him to be their umpire, promising to stand to his sentence. So great a trust redounding very much to that prince's honour, he thought himself obliged to use all possible care to give content to both parties, or at least to avoid the imputation of pronouncing an unjust sentence. To that end, he convened at London all the barons and judges of the realm, to have their advice. The affair being maturely examined, he passed a judgment in which both kings thought proper to acquiesce.

There is, in the collection of the public acts, an agreement between Lewis and Henry, to go together to the Holy Land; but the death of Lewis, which happened in 1180, prevented their intended expedition. Philip his son, who was afterwards surnamed the August, mounted the throne of France.[62]

Pope Alexander III. departed this life also, in the year 1181, and was succeeded by Lucius III[63].

Whatever appearance of tranquillity there was then in the court of England, ambition, lust, and jealousy; in a word, all the passions that raise the strongest emotions in the heart of man, exercised their empire over the whole royal family. Young Henry was exceedingly dissatisfied to have the title of king without the power, The king his father, who had not lost his amorous inclinations, though he was in his fiftieth year, had fallen in love with Alice of France, designed for his son Richard; and most historians intimate that the young princess was too condescending.

Richard demanded leave to consummate his marriage: but more to have a pretence to complain, than from a desire to espouse a princess suspected of a criminal commerce with her future father-in-law. Geoffrey being now in his four and twentieth year, was tired with being under the guardianship of the king his father, who, on the specious pretence of protection, withheld Bretagne from him. John was still more displeased to have nothing settled upon him, whilst his brothers were so well provided for. However, as the king shewed a great affection for him, it was very probable, that before his death he would provide for a son he so tenderly loved. Queen Eleanor was still a prisoner, notwithstanding the intercession of her sons for her release.

Henry was not ignorant of the sentiments of his three eldest sons. Though he carefully concealed his fears, he was apprehensive that another conspiracy, like the former, would rob him of the crown in his old age. To screen himself from their practices, he believed the best way would be, to sow dissension among them, lest their union should one day prove fatal to him. For that purpose, he hinted to his eldest son, that his brothers ought to do him homage for the dominions they possessed, or, at least, bore the titles of.

The young king gladly embraced this proposal, and resolved to demand homage of his brothers. But they were by no means disposed to comply. Richard affirmed, the duchy of Guienne, which was to be his portion, was not a fief of the crown of England; and in that he was right. Geoffrey had not altogether the same reason to be excused, since he knew, the duchy of Bretagne held of Normandy. But it was necessary, the king should resign Normandy to his eldest son, otherwise he could have no right to demand homage.

Meantime the father had no intention, to divest himself of that duchy before his death, in favour of a son, whose ambition was too well known to him. And, therefore, Geoffrey eluded his

brother's demand. He feigned, however, to remain respectfully attached to the king his father, though he privately held with his brother Richard. Young Henry; whom the king his father had politically engaged in this dispute; soon discovered his motive. However, he practised profound dissimulation. Whilst he pretended to be incensed with his brothers, he took private measures with them to bereave the king of the supreme power, which he had long wished to be invested with. But God permitted him not to pursue the execution of his unjust design[64].

A distemper which took him out of the world[65], in the 28th year of his age, freed the king his father from the impending danger[66]. The young prince had gone to Guienne, with design to stir up the Gascons to revolt, when he was seized with a slow fever, which constrained him to remain in the castle of Martel in Quercy.

As soon as he perceived that his illness grew daily more dangerous, and that probably he should never recover, he expressed great concern for all he had done or projected against the king his father. He even desired to see him, to give him proofs of his repentance. Before he died, he had the satisfaction of receiving a ring sent him by the king in token of his pardon. If historians have not exaggerated the prince's repentance, it appears to have been very sincere. He shed abundance of tears upon receiving the ring, and finding himself then at the point of death, caused himself to be laid on a bed strewn with ashes, habited in sackcloth, with a cord about his neck, and in that posture gave up the ghost[67]. The father's tenderness was renewed when he heard of his son's death.

Though he had no reason to be pleased with him, he showed an extreme concern for his loss. Margaret of France, young Henry's wife, by whom he had a son which died an infant, was sent home to king Philip her brother, who married her some time after to Bela King of Hungary.

AD 1184] The death of young Henry put a stop for a while to the troubles that were on the point of disturbing the royal family. Richard, though naturally impetuous, remained some time in quiet, to see how the king would behave to him, as he had become his heir apparent[68].

During this tranquillity arrived at court Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who was come to entreat the king's aid in behalf of the Christians of the Holy-Land. He presented to him the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and tower of David, in token of their desire of having him for their sovereign, as being grandson to Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem. Before an answer was given the patriarch, Henry convened an assembly of the barons at Clerkenwell near London, where that prelate described, with tears in his eyes, the calamities which the Christians of Palestine groaned under.

Then he endeavoured to persuade the king, that he had an undoubted right to the crown of Jerusalem. But this compliment was too gross, since it was notorious that Fulk, grandfather to Henry, wore that crown in right of his second wife; whereas Geoffrey, father to Henry, was born of the first. To this harangue the patriarch added a letter from the Pope, addressed to all Christian princes, to exhort them to assist their brethren in Palestine. Henry asking the opinion of his barons upon the patriarch's proposals, was told, it was judged, that he ought not to venture his person in an expedition of that nature, but that a supply of money would suffice.

The king followed their advice, and furnishing the patriarch with a considerable sum[69], contented himself with giving his subjects leave to take the cross, without embarking himself in the enterprise: Pursuant to the king's permission, the archbishop of Canterbury[70], several earls, barons, and knights, with numbers of people of a lower rank, prepared for this voyage. But the patriarch, willing to make his court to the king, told him, when he took his leave, that he should have preferred his single person before all the English that were engaged in the crusade[71].

AD 1185] The Pope was not pleased with Henry's refusing to take the cross. He even shewed his resentment by denying him, in his turn, certain requests which otherwise he would have

granted. However, he gave him leave to crown his youngest son prince John king of Ireland, to whom he sent, for that purpose, a crown of peacock's feathers interwoven with gold. In granting this favour he expressly reserved a penny from every house in Ireland yearly, and several other advantages, procuring in exchange for his leave, which cost him nothing, a considerable addition to his revenues.

As soon as the king received the Pope's answer, he knighted prince John, and sent him governor into Ireland, not daring to have him crowned there, lest Richard should make it a pretence to ask the same favour in England. John was very well received in the island; where he was considered as the future sovereign. But suffering himself to be guided by the advice of some young persons that attended him thither, he so alienated the hearts of the Irish, that the king was forced at length to recall him.

Pope Lucius III. dying this year, Urban III. his successor, appointed the archbishop of Canterbury his legate in England. Baldwin, a Cistercian monk, was then archbishop, having succeeded Richard, who died in 1184.

The affairs of Ireland created the king little uneasiness in comparison of that caused by the violent temper of his son Richard. This young prince having lain quiet ever since his elder brother's death, was at length weary of a state so little agreeable to his humour. He had been in Guienne, where he had taken upon him to rule with an absolute authority, without any regard to the orders of the king his father. In this he was supported by the Gaseous themselves, who chose much rather to have a sovereign of their own, than depend on the crown of England[72].

After Richard had laboured some time to' gain that province to his interests, he went into Poictou, and drawing some troops together, made war upon the Bretons, who had disobliged him. Geoffrey his brother, who was then in Bretagne, surprised at this unexpected attack, speedily levied a small army, and gave him battle. But as his forces were inferior in number, he was easily defeated. Richard would have pursued his undertaking, if the dread of his father, who was preparing to come and chastise him, had not obliged him to retire into Poictou, where he pretended to stand upon his defence.

In the mean time Henry, perfectly knowing his son's temper, which could not be tamed but by force, had prepared an army sufficient to take away all his hopes of resistance. But before he proceeded to extremities, he sent him word, it was his absolute command that he should not concern himself any more with the affairs of Guienne, which he could not enjoy till after the death of the queen his mother, and upon that condition, would leave him in possession of Poictou. And if he refused to obey, he would not only compel him to it, but likewise disinherit him of the crown of England. Richard, terrified at these threats, and the king's great preparations, thought fit to comply with his will.

But as this submission was forced, he was uneasy in his mind, the effects of which soon became visible. The example of William the Conqueror, who preferred his second before his eldest son, seemed in some measure to authorise the king thus to threaten Richard. Accordingly the young prince could not forbear being concerned, in a dread of being supplanted by one of his brothers. But he was freed in part from his fears by the death of his brother Geoffrey, at Paris, whither he had gone to assist at a tournament[73]. This prince, who had a daughter called Eleanor, left Constance of Bretagne his wife pregnant, and she was quickly after delivered of a son named Arthur[74].

Henry was very desirous of having the guardianship of these infants, for a pretence to keep Bretagne. With this view he took a journey thither, in expectation of obtaining the consent of the states. But Constance his daughter-in-law strongly opposed it. She affirmed, that being mother of the children, it belonged to her to take care of their education. The duchess was at length made guardian of her children, and it was decreed, that all orders and public acts should run jointly in

her's and her son's name; but with this proviso, that nothing of moment should be transacted, without the advice and consent of the king of England. Before he quitted Bretagne, Henry caused the states to swear fealty to young Arthur as their sovereign. He was apprehensive, in case Constance should marry again, and have children by a second husband, she would prefer them before those by the first.

Henry would not perhaps have been satisfied with what he had obtained of the Bretons, had he not been afraid that Philip, King of France, would have interposed in the affair. This prince, though very young, was meditating grand projects. He could not help shewing some uneasiness, that so many provinces of his kingdom should be possessed by the English.

Since accession to the throne, he had formed a design to wrest them out of their hands, and make use, for that purpose, of all opportunities that should offer. Pursuant to this resolution, he imagined, the dissension between Henry and his son Richard presented him with a favourable juncture, which he should not neglect. He was persuaded, that these princes being divided and unarmed, and not suspecting they were going to be attacked, he might very possibly take from them some part of their dominions in France.

In this belief; he made extraordinary preparations, upon such pretences as served best to conceal the real motive. As soon as he was ready to act, he summoned Richard to appear and do him homage for Poictou, and required king Henry to restore the Vexin with all Margaret's dowry, his eldest son's widow. But, for once, he found he had taken his measures wrong: For Henry and Richard, uniting for their common interest, kept him so well employed, one in Normandy, the other in Guienne, that he was forced to sue for a truce, which was granted him for two years.

AD 1187] Having experienced how difficult it would be to compass his ends, unless he fomented the discord between Henry and Richard, he did not long defer his endeavours. He accordingly ordered it so, that during the truce, Richard came and paid him a visit at Paris, where he seemingly gave him a very hearty welcome. These caresses wrought a sudden effect in the mind of the English prince. In a little time he entertained so strong an affection for Philip, that he imparted to him all his reasons for being dissatisfied with his father.

Philip improving this openness, pretended to pity him, and have his interest very much at heart. He wondered with him, that the king his father should treat him so harshly, and after crowning his elder brother in a less advanced age, should refuse him the same favour. He artfully hinted, there was reason to fear, he had formed a design to place on the throne his youngest son John, of whom he was very fond. From these considerations it was natural to infer, there was a necessity of taking care to prevent so unjust a proceeding. Richard received these marks of affection with such earnestness and confidence, that Philip was in great hopes of attaining his ends.

Meantime, Richard's long stay at Paris made his father extremely uneasy[75], who never ceased sending' for him[76] He was quickly sensible, that his suspicions were not groundless. At the time the truce was about to expire, Richard, without quitting the court of France, openly complained of his father's preventing him from consummating his marriage with the princess designed for his wife[77]. But as Henry might recall him on pretence of solemnizing the nuptials, he had another excuse ready. He pretended to have private intelligence that the king designed to apprehend him, and keep him in custody, in order to place with the more ease his younger son on the throne.

These proceedings of Richard threw Henry into great perplexity. He perceived that this affair might be attended with ill consequences, unless means were found to draw his son from Philip. He, therefore, privately dispatched a trusty messenger, who made him sensible, he had imprudently fallen into the king of France's snare, whose sole aim was to sow dissension between him and his father, in order to make an advantage of their misunderstanding. Richard, prevailed upon by these remonstrances, suddenly left the court of France, and returned to the king.

The truce being expired, the two monarchs took up arms again. But just as they were renewing hostilities, their animosity was suspended for a while, upon the melancholy news that the city of Jerusalem had been taken by Saladin sultan of Babylon, and that Guy de Lusignan, the last that swayed the sceptre of that kingdom, was in the hands of the infidels.

As the union of the Christians had formerly been the means of conquering the kingdom of Jerusalem, their dissension was the cause of its destruction, after subsisting near a whole century. This news, which threw the princes of Europe into great consternation, was particularly fatal to Pope Urban III. who died with grief. He was soon followed by Gregory VIII his successor, who sitting in the papal chair but three months, made room by his death for Clement III.

The two kings of France and England were very sensibly affected with the Christians' late loss in the east. Their zeal being roused upon that occasion, they resolved, with one consent, to drop their private quarrel for the cause of God, (as it was termed in those days,) and meet at Gisors, to consider of means to remedy this misfortune. At this interview, their first business was to renew the truce. Then the two monarchs, as well as the earl of Flanders, who was present at the conference, took the cross, distinguishing themselves by three different colours. Philip chose a red, Henry a white, and the earl of Flanders a grey cross. Those of their subjects that engaged in the Crusade imitated them in this distinction of colours[78].

AD 1188] But the zeal shewn by the two kings was not long-lived. Their ardour soon gave place to an animosity so much the more surprising, as the occasion was of little moment. Prince Richard, who was to be in the expedition to the Holy Land, having occasion for a sum of money, came to Poitou to raise it. Whilst he was employed in this affair, one of Raymund, earl of Tholouse's officers, passing through his territories, and giving him some cause of disgust, he committed him to prison. Raymund having notice of it, ordered, by way of reprisal, two Poictevin gentlemen to be taken up, as they were going by Tholouse, in their return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. These violent proceedings causing a very warm quarrel between the two princes, Richard took occasion to revive the pretensions of the house of Poitou to the earldom of Tholouse.

This furnished him with a pretence to enter earl Raymund's country with a powerful army, where he became master of Moissac, and several other places. Raymund finding himself thus engaged in a war, of which he did not question but the king of England was the author, demanded the assistance of France. Though Philip knew better than the earl of Tholouse, and was very sensible Richard might possibly undertake the war without his father's knowledge, he pretended to believe it done by Henry's orders. Accordingly, under colour of assisting the earl of Tholouse his vassal, he made a diversion in Berri, and took Issoudun. This was the occasion of the fresh rupture between the two kings, when they seemed to breath nothing but death and destruction against the infidels[79].

Whilst the war was vigorously prosecuted on both sides, suddenly, and when Henry least expected it, his son Richard left him, and went to the king of France. Probably, this was effected by Philip's intrigues. Richard pretended to have two occasions of complaint against the king his father. The first was, that he detained from him the princess Alice, and had offered Philip, who pressed him to have the nuptials solemnized, to marry her to prince John upon more advantageous terms. The other occasion of complaint was, that Philip, offering to consent to a truce, Henry refused it, affirming it was better to conclude a peace, and adjust their respective pretensions, before they engaged in their expedition to the Holy Land.

This displeased Richard; and his reason was, because, by a peace, he would have been obliged to restore his conquest upon the earl of Tholouse, whereas by a truce he would have kept possession. In proportion as Richard's defection disquieted the king his father[80], it rejoiced Philip, who, from that time had a great advantage over his enemy. In withdrawing, Richard set against the king part of his provinces in France, and thereby almost disabled him to maintain the

war. For this reason Henry hastened to the utmost of his power the conclusion of the peace. But Philip proposed such hard terms, that they could not be accepted. He required, that the marriage between Richard and Alice should be consummate, and the prince crowned before his father's death, that his right to the crown might not be disputed for the future. Henry could not agree to these conditions.

His love for Alice would not suffer him to see her in the arms of another. On the other hand, he had experienced to his cost the ill consequences of crowning his eldest son Henry, to be willing to run the same hazard for one who seemed no less dangerous than his brother: This first attempt failing, Henry made another effort for a peace, but found that Philip, grown more intractable, added a new article. he demanded that Henry should carry prince John to the Holy-Land, lest in Richard's absence he should seize the crown in case their father died in the expedition. Henry, offended at Philip's interposing thus in his family affairs, broke off the negotiation. This rupture confirmed Richard in his suspicion that his father intended to deprive him of the crown, and give it to his younger brother.

All hopes of peace vanishing, Philip received Richard's homage for all the provinces in France belonging to the crown of England, pretending that Henry had incurred the guilt of rebellion, in warring against his sovereign.

This step being taken, the effusion of Christian blood was renewed with greater fury than ever, and the zeal expressed against the infidels insensibly cooled. Henry lay under a great disadvantage in this war. Most of his subjects in France, had abandoned him and joined with his son. This revolt was so general, that keeping his Christmas at Saumur, he had the mortification to see himself attended but by three or four nobles. His vexation was farther increased by the ill success of the following campaign. His troops, everywhere defeated, were at length reduced to so small a number, that it was not in his power to continue the war.

His affairs being in this wretched condition, he desired the Pope to interpose his authority, and procure a peace. But this proved ineffectual. Indeed, the Pope sent legates into France, who threatened Philip with excommunication, in case he prevented the king of England from accomplishing his vow. But these menaces had not the expected effect. The French monarch fiercely replied, the Pope had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of the kingdom, especially when the business in hand was the chastising a vassal who had audaciously taken up arms against him. Adding, with an insulting air, he did not question but that the smell of the king of England's starlings made the legates talk in that strain[81]. Henry dreading the consequences of so unfortunate a war, and finding the Pope could do him no service, was forced at length to agree to the terms, which Philip was pleased to impose upon him, the principal of which were these[82]:

That all Henry's subjects, as well English as French, should swear fealty to Richard; and that those who had sided with the son, should not return to the father till within one month before he set out for the Holy-Land.

That the two kings, with prince Richard, should meet at Vezelay in le Nivernois, in order to begin their journey.

That all the king of England's subjects should have free passage all over France, paying only the old customs.

That Henry should be obliged to pay the king of France twenty thousand marks, for the damages sustained in the war[83].

That all the barons of the king of England should swear that in case he violated the treaty, they would assist the king of France against him.

That the cities of Tours and Mans should remain in the hands of Philip, till the king of England performed all these articles.

It was with extreme reluctance that a prince of so high a spirit as Henry, stooped to such hard conditions.. The remembrance of the advantages, he had always obtained over France before this fatal war, instead of comforting him, served only to render his cup the more bitter. Upon this mortification followed another, which he could not resist. He discovered, that during the late war, his beloved son John held intelligence with Philip, and was concerned in all his brother's plots to dethrone a father who had ever shewn a tender affection for him.

His grief threw him into so violent a passion, that he cursed the day of his birth, and uttered imprecations against his sons, which the bishops then present could never bring him to revoke. Shortly after he fell sick at Chinon, and perceiving his end was at hand, caused himself to be carried into the church before the altar, where after confessing himself, and expressing some signs of repentance, he expired. His eyes were no sooner closed but his domestics all left him, nay some had even the insolence to strip him and leave him quite naked in the church. His corpse was removed to Fonteveraud, where he was buried according to his own order[84]. An accident rendered this removal of his body very remarkable.

His son Richard coming to meet the funeral pomp, in order to attend his father to his grave; upon his approach, the blood in great abundance gushed out of the mouth and nostrils of the corpse. Richard, though naturally very hard-hearted, was so moved at this sight, that he burst into tears, and openly accused himself of being the occasion of his father's death.

Such was the end of Henry II one of the most illustrious princes of his time, both for greatness of genius. and extent of dominions. In his person he was of middle stature; remarkably strong and active; but inclining to corpulence, which he guarded against by abstemiousness and continual exercise. His countenance was comely, and his eyes had a mild lustre, except when he was angry; and then they were uncommonly fierce and sparkling.

In the very last years of his life he mounted a horse with greater agility, and rode with greater spirit, than any of either in hunting or on a journey. In his deportment he was exceedingly polite and affable, except to persons of a haughty spirit and carriage, whom he, delighted to humble. His conversation was pleasant and facetious; his heart was warm, and his passions strong, which rendered him an ardent lover, but not a faithful husband, a zealous friend, but formidable enemy, a kind master, and too indulgent a parent. His understanding, which as naturally good, was improved by an excellent education, under his uncle the earl of Gloucester, by assiduous reading of the best books, particularly history, and by frequent conversation with the wisest men; by which means he became the most learned, prince and the greatest politician of the age in which he flourished.

His memory was so tenacious, that he remembered almost all he read or heard, and never forgot a face he had once seen. He avoided war from principles of prudence and humanity; but when it became necessary he carried it on with so much courage, conduct, and activity, that he constantly baffled all the schemes of his enemies. In the arts of peace he, greatly delighted and excelled; being a strict and vigorous, but not unmerciful judiciary, a munificent patron of learning and learned men, and a great encourager of the arts, expending immense sums in fortifying towns and castles, repairing old and building new palaces, and adorning them with gardens, parks, and fishponds. In a word, one of his greatest enemies acknowledges, that he was adorned with so many excellent qualities, both natural and acquired, that there was no prince in the world comparable to him.

He died on the 6th of July, in 1189, and in the 57th year of his age, after a reign of thirty four years, eight months and twelve days.

Of the five sons, he had by Eleanor of Guienne his wife, Richard and John only survived him; but Geoffrey; his third son, left son and a daughter, of whom we shall have occasion speak hereafter. Matilda, his eldest daughter, married to the duke of Saxony, died immediately after him. Eleanor was wife to Alphonso king of Castile, and Johanna to William II. Sirnamed. the Good, king of Sicily.

Besides his lawful issue, Henry had two natural sons by Rosamond Clifford; William, sirnamed Long-Sword, who was earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, who was archbishop of York. By a daughter of Sir Ralph Blewit, Henry had also another natural son called Morgan, who being elected bishop of Durham, could not obtain the Pope's confirmation, because he refused to take the name of his mother's father.

Amongst the remarkable occurrences of this reign, not noticed by Rapin, may be mentioned the following: king Henry brought into England the Anjouin fashion of wearing short cloaks, or mantles, for which reason he is sometimes called short or court mantle. About 1176, London bridge, began to be built with stone, by Peter Coleman, a priest. The king contributed to the advancement of so good a work: a cardinal, who, was then legate here, and the archbishop of Canterbury, gave one thousand marks towards it. The course of the river was, for the time, turned another way, by a trench cast for that purpose, beginning at Battersea, and ending about Rotherhithe. It was thirty-three years in building.

In 1178 King Henry laid the foundation of Warwick castle. In 1177; the Jews obtained permission to have a burial place near every town, where they lived before, they had but One in England, namely at London.

The two first branches of the royal revenue having. been spoken of already; namely, the demesnes of the crown and escheats, the third branch is the feudal, and other profits arising from thence, as reliefs; upon the' death of his ancestor, every heir that held his lands by. barony, or knight's service, was obliged to pay a sum of money to the king, on his taking possession of the inheritance. These reliefs were uncertain till Magna Charta, when an earl paid one hundred pounds, a baron one hundred marks, a knight, for one fee, five pounds: Here it must be observed, that some baronies were' much larger than others, and so of the knights' fees:-

This difference arose from the respective charters of the feiffment. For if the king enfeoffed a man of forty knights' fees, to hold by barony; or ten knights' fees, to hold by barony; the tenure was barony in each case. So also, if the king enfeoffed a man of twenty earues of land, to hold by the service of one knight; or forty carues, to hold by the service of one knight the seoffee had in each, case one knight's fee. For this reason, at certain times, a distinction was made between the baronies and fees of the old, and those of the new feoffment; the old being commonly larger than those of the new.

Notwithstanding this difference, the relief of the barony or fee, whether it was a greater or lesser, was the same. But when two baronies came. to be vested in one man, he was charged with a relief for each. Another feudal profit, was wardship and marriage. During the nonage of the heirs of the king's tenants in capite, the king could dispose of the custody and marriage of them to whom he pleased, which raised him a great revenue.

A fourth branch of the revenue, was the yearly terms of the counties. From the reign of William the king used to let out the several counties, upon a yearly ferm or rent, or commit them to custody. The fermei, or committee, was usually stiled sheriff, Most, if not all the counties, as appears by the revenue rolls, were thus let at term in king Stephen's reign. When a county was let for more than formerly, the improvement was called crementum, the increment; which was sometimes answered in palfreys, hawks, &c. The yearly ferms of the towns, burghs, and gilds. It is to be remembered, that, from the time of the Conquest, the cities and towns were vested either in the crown, or the clergy, or the baronage. Some of these towns the king was possessed

of, as part of the original inheritance of the crown others by ancient escheat, just as his other lands. When the king was seized of a city, or town, in demesne, he was lord, of soil, viz. of all the land within the site and precinct thereof, of all the burgage houses, sheds, stalls, and buildings, herbage, profits of fairs and markets, pleas and perquisites of courts; in a word, of all issues, profits, and appurtenances, of the city or town of any kind, that was not alienated by himself or ancestors. For sometimes the crown thought fit to grant some part, or profit, to a private person or monastery.

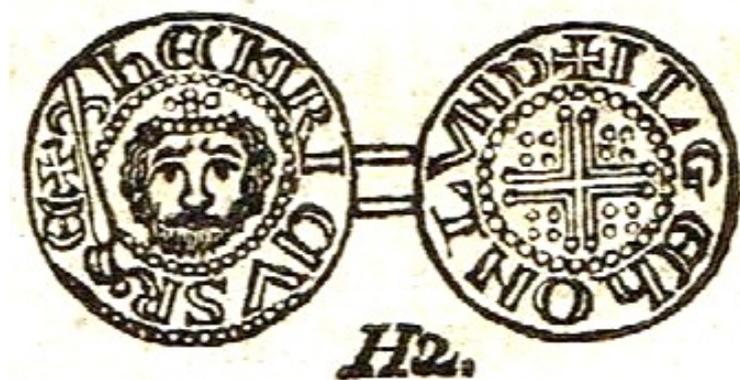
Such a city or town was commonly stiled *Civitas regis*, *villa regis*, *burgus regis*; and the men *homines* or *burgenses regis*. The yearly profit, made by the king, of his cities and towns, was paid him several ways. The issues of some were included in the general fermes of the county where they lay; and were answered by the sheriff. Sometimes the king committed them to fermers, or custodes, distinct from the sheriffs. In a word, sometimes the king let his town to the townsmen, at ferm for years, or in fee ferm, that is, perpetual ferm for ever. Since feodum, or fee, was used in England, to signify a perpetual estate, it has been used to denote perpetuity in office and in rent. Thus inheritable offices have been called offices in fee.

When a town was put to fee ferm, the tenure was burgager mace. Particular burgage tenements, lying in the town as well, as the town itself, were said to be so holden. In process of time, most of the towns and burghs came to be let to the respective townsmen or burgesses at fee ferm. To the fermes of the towns may be referred the fermes or yearly payments to the crown, by the Gilds and Mesteres. The word Gild signifies a company, society, brotherhood, by which last name the religious Gilds were called, that were founded for devotion and alms-deeds, as the secular Gilds were chiefly for trade and alms-deeds.

These Gilds could not be set up without the king's warrant. The Gilds of Goldsmiths, Bochers, and others, were amerced in London, to the crown, as adulterine, in the reign of Henry II. There was also in former times a secular Gild, called *Gilda Mercatoria*, a merchant Gild. From these Gilds, perhaps, sprung the practice of gildating or embodying whole towns. In time, the several Gilds of goldsmiths, salters, &c. were stiled corporations or companies. All these Gilds paid a yearly firm to the king. As for the Mesteres, it is to be observed, that this word has no relation to the word mystery, as if there were, as it is vulgarly said, some mystery in every trade. For though mystery has been used for many years past for a craft, or occupation, the true derivation is from the Gallic *Mistera*, *Mestera*, signifying a trade.

Thus we find in Edward III. the Mistere of Taylors, armourers, and others. King Henry II's coin is the same with those of his predecessors, giving him full faced, with a sceptre in his right hand, and a crown or a row of pearls of five points, with a cross raised upon the middle most, and this inscription, **HENRICUS. REX.** on the reverse, a double lined cross, terminating at the inner circle, and four pellets in each quarter: which on some are conjoined by a small stroke, in form of a cross. **DODELM. ON. WINC.** (Winchester) **NICOLE. ON. LUND,** one there is, **ILGEH.**

ON. LUND. THOMAS. ON. EVE. (York) **RENAUD. ON. EVE.** Whether his son Henry, who died before him, coined any money is uncertain; but he had a great seal. There appears to be in this reign a foreign current coin, called a Bezant, of the value of two shillings; for Cressalin, the Jew of Winchester, was amerced one hundred marks, and he paid instead thereof one hundred bezants, which were accepted by the king, *merâ gratiâ.*



This coin was so called from being coined at Byzantium, or Constantinople, says Nicolson.

Notes to Chapter 1

- 1.) When he received the news, he was besieging a castle in Normandy; and, though persuaded to do it, would not quit the siege till he had reduced the place. After that he came to Barbfleet (now Barfleur) where he waited above a month for a good wind. He landed at Hostreham.
- 2.) By Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, on the nineteenth of December, in the twenty-third year of his age, at Westminster. His queen Eleanor was crowned with him.
- 3.) He reserved, however, a few, that had been built by peaceable men, and kept them in his own hands.
- 4.) This year William Peverel was disinherited for poisoning Ranulph Earl of Chester; he turned monk, to avoid the punishment he justly deserved.
- 5.) This prince was born this year, Feb. 28. in London. M. Paris. Gervasc says, it was in March.
- 6.) His name was Nicholas Break-spear, said to be the son of a Bondman, belonging to the abbey of St. Albans, where being refused to be made a monk, he went beyond sea, and improved so in learning, that the Pope made him bishop of Alva, and his legate to Germany, and afterwards a cardinal. M. Weston. says, he was descended of a noble family, in the territory of St. Albans. He proved a stout and active Pope: though he held the chair but four years, he put the city of Rome under an interdict, for insulting one of his cardinals, and excommunicated William King of Sicily.
- 7.) Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, with all that belonged to them.
- 8.) They were the archbishoprics of Rheims, Laon, and Longres, and the bishoprics of Beauvais, Noyon, and Chalons
- 9.) Thomas Becket, (made chancellor in 1155) was of great service to king Henry in this war.
- 10.) He was shut up in the monastery of Reading, and had his estate confiscated.
- 11.) The order of the knights templars, instituted by Gelasius King 1119, took their name from dwelling in a part of the temple at Jerusalem, assigned them by king Baldwin. They were but nine at first, and their business was to lead, in their armour, Christian strangers and pilgrims through the Holy-Land. They increased so at length that they had great estates in all parts of Christendom; and growing too potent they were suppressed by Clement V. 1309, and by the council of Vienna, 1312. The master of the temple here in England, was summoned to Parliament: from him the minister of the temple-church has his name.
- 12.) Her name was Matildis, said to be the daughter of a Saracen, who had taken Gilbert sheriff of London, Becket's father, prisoner, when he went in pilgrimage to the Holy-Land.
- 13.) The first preferment he had, was the living of Bradfield, to which he was presented by the abbey of St. Albans.
- 14.) Upon the recommendation of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.
- 15.) He had silver bits in his horses' bridles, and exceeded any earl in his expenses.
- 16.) In proof of the familiarity which subsisted between the king and Becket, the following anecdote is related.—One day, as they were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar, who was shivering with cold. Would it not be very praiseworthy, said the

king, to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season? It would, surely, replied the chancellor, and you do well, Sir, in thinking of such good actions. Then he shall have one presently, said the king; and, seizing the skirt of the chancellor's coat, which was scarlet and lined with ermine, he began to pull it violently. The, chancellor defended himself for some time; and they had both been nearly tumbled from their horses in the street, when Becket, after a vehement struggle, let go his coat which the king bestowed on the beggar, who, being ignorant of coat quality of the persons, was not a little surprised at the present.

17.) The laws made in this assembly are called the constitutions of Clarendon.

18.) He demanded the king's leave to go to Pope Alexander, but was refused, whereupon he embarked at Rumney, in order to depart out of the kingdom, but the sailors dreading the king's indignation, pretended there was no wind, and brought him back.

19.) He was also called to an account for the castles of Eye and Berkhamsted, with the revenues belonging to them, which he had enjoyed for several years.

20.) He was or pretended to be ill of the colic.

21.) Hoveden says, he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, whose office is, "Princes sate together, and spake against me."

22.) He ordered also Peter-pence to be collected, and not to be sent out of the kingdom.

23.) A. D. 1166.

24.) King Henry went into Normandy in 1165, in Lent, and returned to England the same year.

25.) This year king Henry and his great council granted four-pence, out of every carrucat in England, for the crusade.

26.) A. D. 1197.

27.) She was buried, (says Sandford,) aged about sixty four years, in Normandy the abbey of Bee in Normandy, with funeral pomp. But Gabriel du Moulin tells us, she was interred in the church of Notre Dame du Pre, in the suburbs of Rouen. On account of her being the daughter of a king, wife of an emperor, and mother of a king, she had, according to M. Paris, these words engraven on her tomb:

**Ortu Magna, vivo major, sed maxima partu. Hic jacet Henrici fiii, sponsa, parens.
(Great born, matched greater, greatest brought to bed, Here Henry's daughter, wife; and
mother's laid.)**

Her issue by the earl of Anjou, was: I. Henry Fitz, empress, king of England. II. Geoffrey earl of Nantes, who died 1157. III.

William, called by Speed Earl of Poictou; but he does not appear to be otherwise mentioned, than *Willielmus frater regis Henrici*. He died in 1163. IV. A Daughter, said by Hoveden, to be wife of Owayn prince of north Wales; but she is mentioned by no other author.

28.) He was the nineteenth emperor of Germany from Charles the Great: Upon a quarrel with Alexander, he was excommunicated, and at length forced to submit to the Pope, who insolently trod on his neck.

29.) Becket computed his losses at thirty thousand marks; and the King offered him ten thousand for the charges of his journey.

30.) And, therefore, he desired the Pope to excommunicate the archbishop of York, and the four bishops that had been concerned in; which was accordingly done.

31.) Whereupon king Henry went over into Normandy about midsummer.

32.) Henry is said to have sworn a solemn oath in his anger, that he would never give the kiss of peace to Becket. Prior to this meeting, however, the Pope had absolved him from that oath.

33.) And held Becket's stirrup, whilst he was getting on horseback. It is difficult to comprehend, how a great and magnanimous prince, like Henry, should so far degrade himself as he appears to have done on this occasion. In presence of the French and English courts and a prodigious number of people of all ranks, Henry, as soon as he saw Becket approaching, put spurs to his horse and advanced to meet him. The prelate intended to speak first; but the king prevented him, by a most gracious address; and, taking him by the hand, led him aside, and entered into a familiar conversation with him. But all this condescension seems to have made little or no impression on the heart of Becket. After a long discourse, in which the prelate enumerated all his grievances, Becket dismounted, in order to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign; but in this also he was prevented by Henry, who stooped so low as to hold his stirrup, and assist him in remounting.

34.) Fitz-Stephens calls them barons and servants of the bedchamber; Brompton, four knights, belonging to the king's household; and Hoveden, men eminent for their birth. Their names were Reginald Fitz-Urse, William Tracy, Richard Britton, and Hugh Morvill Diceto.

35.) A. D. 1070.

36.) They went first to his house, and expostulated with him about the excommunicated bishops, &c. after which they retired. The archbishop in the mean while going into the cathedral to Vespers, they followed him there, &c.

37.) Not daring to return to the king, they went and staid a year at Knarsborough Castle in Yorkshire, belonging to Hugh Morvill; after which, Hoveden says, they went to Rome for absolution, and were enjoined to go to Jerusalem and do penance on the black mountain for life. We have an account of the manner of the archbishop's death at large, by Gervase of Canterbury, and Edward Byrne, who were eye-witnesses. This last had his arm almost cut off by receiving the first blow that was made at Becket's head, occasioned, as he says, by the archbishop's calling Fitz-Urse, Pimp. Becket was assassinated in the fifty third year of his age, on the 30th of December, 1171. reckoning the beginning of the year from Christmas-day.

38.) This year King Henry raised, by the advice and consent of his parliament, two-pence in the pound, and for the four following years one-penny, for the holy war.

39.) He ordered, that if any person brought into England, letters of excommunication from the Pope, he should be proceeded against as a public enemy, &c.

40.) He returned to England, August 5. and visited Henry bishop of Winchester, who was at the point of death.

41.) These seven kingdoms were reduced to four large provinces; viz. Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught; to which formerly was added Meath, now reckoned part of Leinster. These four provinces are divided into thirty two counties or shires, four archbishoprics, and eighteen bishoprics.

42.) Richard de Clare, surnamed strong-bow, earl of Striguil, or Strighul, (a castle in Monmouthshire,) and of Pembroke. They were also joined by Milo de Coggeham. Hovel p. 512.

43.) These were the first English settled in Ireland.

44.) A. D. 1172.

45.) He went over from Pembroke with four hundred sail, and landed in Ireland, October 18.

46.) In 1175. Roderic king of Connaught sent commissioners to king Henry, who concluded with him a treaty on October 6, at Windsor. In 1176, died Richard earl of Striguil and Pembroke, Judiciary of Ireland, and was succeeded by William Fitz-Aldelin. In 1177, king Henry, at a Parliament at Oxford, divided part of Ireland among several of his great men. To Hugh de Laci, he gave the whole country of Meath, with all its appurtenances, to hold of him and his son John, for the service of an hundred knights. He made him also governor of Dublin, with its appurtenances. On Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogham, he bestowed the kingdom of Cork, to hold likewise of him and his son John, for the service of sixty knights: except the city of Cork, and one Cantred, which the king retained in his hands. To Herebert Fitz-Herebert, William earl Reginald's brother, and John de la Primmerai their nephew, he gave the kingdom of Limerick, for the same service, and by the same tenure as the last; Limerick, and one Cantred likewise excepted. William Fitz-Aldelin his sewer he constituted guardian, or governor, of Wexford, with its appurtenances; and Robert de Poer, his Marshall, of Waterford, &c.

47.) He was to give the templars as much money, as should be thought reasonable to maintain two hundred soldiers for one year.

48.) The king of France in the meanwhile taking it ill, and being very troublesome, that his daughter had not been crowned with her husband prince Henry; Rotrou archbishop of Rouen, Giles bishop of Evreux, and Roger bishop of Worcester, were sent to England to perform that ceremony: they landed at Southampton, about August 24, and the prince and princess were crowned on the Sunday following at Winchester. From Madox's History of the Exchequer, it appears that silk garments were then known in England; and that the coronation robes of the young king and queen cost £871. 10s. 4d. money of that age; equal, perhaps, to nearly £5000. in the present day.

49.) Tyrrel observes, that our historians are wholly silent as to the queen's getting at Rosamond; so that the story of her making her drink poison has no better foundation than the old ballad made upon it. It is certain she did not live long, though the time of her death is not mentioned. But, unless Brompton's authority is of less weight, than that of the old ballad, it is certain that Rosamond did not die in 1173, and that she was not poisoned by the queen Eleanor. For Brompton expressly says, that, after king Henry had imprisoned his queen Eleanor, he became an adulterer, and kept publicly, for a long while, Rosamond. She was buried in the church belonging to Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, where her epitaph, which Brompton gives, was to be seen in his time; and is as below:

Hic jacit in tumba, Rosa munda, non Rosa munda; Non redolet, sed olet, quae redolere solet.

This tomb doth here enclose, the world's most beauteous Rose, Rose passing sweet 'e-re while, now nought but odour vile.

There are no remains of the Labyrinth at this day; but its site is still celebrated. In Peacock's Genius of the Thames, a poem published three or four years ago, the generally received story of Fair Rosamond is admirably told.

50.) Raymond, earl of Tholouse and St. Giles, did homage to king Henry, and his sons Henry and Richard, for the earldom of Tholouse.

51.) He went first to Alenson, and the next day to Argenton. King Henry his father sent to the court of France to demand him, but received a very rough answer. In the meantime he fortified his castles upon the frontiers, and provided them with all necessaries.

52.) He and his son went again in pilgrimage to it in 1175.

53.) And gave forty pounds a year, for funding perpetual lights round Becket's tomb.

54.) It happened that very day the king left Canterbury, being the 13th of July, the king of Scotland was taken prisoner, which the monks imputed to the merits of Becket. And the same day also, his son Henry's ships, wherewith he intended to pass into England, were dispersed by a storm.

55.) King Henry the father set nine hundred and sixty nine-at liberty, without ransom; but the song, made all his prisoners pay.

56.) He came back to England in May, and his son Henry with him.

57.) He called a parliament at Northampton, and renewed the constitutions of Clarendon.

58.) Immediately after Hilary-Term and Trinity-Term, the twelve judges go the circuit, two by two; whence the assizes, which are held but twice a year, are called Lent assizes, and Summer assizes.

59.) A. D. 1178, 1179.

60.) Rapin has omitted some remarkable occurrences, which happened within these three last years. The earl of Flanders had, in 1177, an interview with king Henry at Canterbury, after Easter, and went in pilgrimage to Becket's tomb. Soon after he went to Jerusalem, and with him William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, Henry de Lacy, &c.—King Henry went into Normandy in 1177, about the middle of August, and landed again in England, July 15, 1178.—In 1177, in December, Audebert, earl of Marche, sold king Henry that earldom.

61.) Who had married Eleanor king Henry's daughter, in 1176.

62.) He and Henry entered into a treaty of peace. Also this year king Henry severely punished the money changers for adulterating the coin; and in November there was new money issued out. About Mid-lent, Henry the son came over to England, to have a conference with his father, and from thence soon after went back into Flanders. This year Henry the father went over into Normandy, where he kept his Easter, and returned to England, July 25. After his return, he sent his judiciaries throughout England, ordering both rich and poor to provide themselves with arms, at their own charge, His regulations about this matter were as follows: Whosoever hath a knight's fee shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; and every knight shall have so many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lance's, as he hath knights' fees. 2. Every free layman, that hath in goods or rent, to the value of sixteen marks, shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance. 3. Every free layman, that hath in goods ten marks, shall bare an iron gorget, an iron cap, and a lance. 4. All Burgesses, and the whole community of freemen, shall have a Wambais, (i. e, a horseman's coat,) a cap of iron and a lance, &c. This year great disputes arose between Philip king of France, and Philip earl of Flanders. King Henry, who was their guarantee and umpire, went in March 1182, to make peace between them; but before he went over, he made his will near the sea-side, and ordered one copy to be repositied in his own treasury, one in the church of Canterbury, and one in the treasury at Winchester.

63.) In 1177, a Pope's legate threatened to lay all Henry's dominions under an interdict, unless he would let his son Richard marry Alice: whereupon Henry went over into Normandy, and had a conference, September 21, at Ivri, with the king of France; and required him to deliver to his son Richard the town of Berri, &c. according to the articles of marriage; and to his son Henry le Vexin Francois, as had been stipulated between them; but Lewis refused, and Henry said, his son Richard should not marry Alice. However the two kings entered into a treaty of peace.

64.) King Henry convened about this time a great council, or parliament, at Bishop's Waltham, near Winchester; and in their presence, and with their approbation, granted money for the crusade, viz. forty-two thousand marks of silver, and five hundred of gold; and then, March the 3rd. 1183, Went over from Portsmouth to Normandy.

65.) June-11, in 1183.

66.) A. D. 1183.

67.) He was buried at first in the church of St. Julian at Mans, but afterwards removed into the cathedral of Rouen.

68.) This year the king of France, and the earl of Flanders, renewed again their quarrels about the Vermandois, but king Henry made peace between them a second time; after which, he returned to England, in June, and sent an army against the Welsh, who had made some incursions.

69.) Fifty thousand marks of silver.

70.) Ranulf the justicier, the archbishop of Rouen, bishop of Durham, &c.

71.) Brompton says, that the patriarch gave the king very hard words, when he went with him to the sea-side; and upon the king's still excusing himself from going to the Holy-Land, because his sons would rebel against him in his absence, the patriarch in great anger replied, and no wonder, for from the devil they came, and to the devil they would go. This he said, reflecting on an old story, of a certain countess of Anjou, the king's great grandmother, Who, being reckoned a witch, was said to have flown out of the window, while she was at mass against her will, and was never seen afterwards.

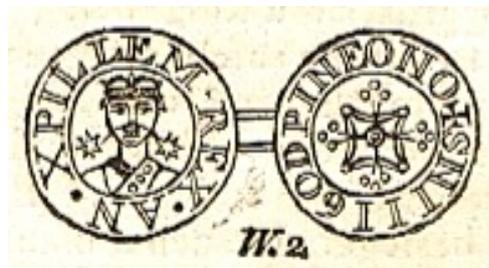
72.) A. D. 1186.

73.) Our historians say, that being flung from his horse, he was unfortunately trampled to death before he could be taken up. But the French writers tell us he died of a fever. He was buried in Notre Dame church.

74.) The next year she married again Ranulph Earl of Chester, whom king Henry knighted, and gave him the earldom of Richmond, and all Bretagne with her.

75.) He went over this year into France, and had a conference with King Philip at Val St. Remi.

76.) Pretending to come to the king his father, he passed through Chinon, and carried off most of his father's treasure that was there.



77.) King Henry and Philip had, in the beginning of this year, a conference at Gisors, in which Philip surrendered to prince Richard the places stipulated in the articles of marriage, and Henry swore to deliver Alice to him.

78.) After which King Henry came to England, and landed at Winchelsea, Jan. 29. After his return, he sent his collectors throughout England; and, pitching upon the richest in every city, for instance, two hundred in London, and one hundred in York, obliged them to make him presents such as refused were imprisoned, till they had paid the utmost farthing. Gervase complains, that during the year 1188, all England was grievously oppressed about the tenths, (or tax for the crusade.) The English paid above seventy thousand pounds towards it, and the Jews in England sixty thousand pounds.

79.) King Henry went over to France, July 10, and landed at Ou.

80.) A. D. 1189.

81.) Richard had like to have run the legate through with his sword, if he had not been hindered.

82.) This peace was concluded about the latter end of June. The first article was, that Alice should be delivered to one person in five whom earl Richard should chouse, and that she should be married to him at his return from Jerusalem.

83.) Thirty thousand pounds to the king of France, and twenty thousand to the barons of that kingdom.

84.) He was interred in the choir of the nunnery which he himself had founded, with design to be buried there. A stately tomb was afterwards erected for him and Eleanor his queen, as also for his son king Richard and his queen, at the charge of the lady abbess Jeanne Baptiste de Bourbon, natural daughter to king Henry the fourth of France; their effigies in brass, which before lay in other parts of the church, being removed and placed together in one monument.





Chapter II King Henry The Second

RICHARD I. surnamed Coeur-de-Lion



AS soon as Henry was laid in his grave, Richard's complaints were easily perceived to be only pretences to colour his rebellion. He had earnestly desired leave to consummate his marriage with Alice of France, and complained of the king his father's great injustice in obstructing his happiness. And yet, when this pretended happiness was in his power, he thought no more of it. On the other hand, his jealousies and fears, on account of prince John his brother, suddenly vanished. Instead of immediately returning into England, as he would certainly have done, had he been apprehensive of his brother's cabals, he staid above a month in France[1], after Henry's death, without having the least uneasiness on that score.

His first care was to do homage to Philip, and thank him withal for the protection he had granted him. This visit procured him the restitution of the places conquered by that monarch during the late war[2]. After that, he went and received the ducal crown of Normandy at Rouen[3], where he remained some time, shewing by that he was not afraid his absence might prejudice his affairs in England. And indeed, so far were the English from disputing his right to the crown, that his orders were executed as though he had already received it. The first he sent thither was to release his mother queen Eleanor, who had languished in prison sixteen years. At the same time he entrusted her with the administration of the government during his absence, and empowered her to release what prisoners she pleased.

The queen, being taught by her own, to pity others' misfortunes, used with pleasure, for the relief of the unhappy, the power given her by the king. She was ever observed, during the residue of her life, to omit no opportunity of exercising her charity to such as were debarred the sweets of liberty, the value of which she had but too well learnt, during her long confinement.

Eleanor's compassion for prisoners was natural. But Richard's treatment of those that had, for his sake, exposed themselves to his father's resentment was very surprising[4]. Instead of rewarding them, as they expected, he forbade them ever to appear in his presence. At the same time he affected to load with favours all that had resisted his solicitations. Hence was seen, an instance of what has been often remarked, that such as make use of indirect means to compass their ends, detest in their hearts the instruments they employ, and approve of the conduct of those that are not to be diverted from their duty.

After Richard had settled all his affairs in France, he came to London[5], where he was solemnly crowned by Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, who administered to him the customary oath[6]. From William the Conqueror, there was no king but what had taken the same oath; though not one had been careful to perform it. This the archbishop took the freedom to represent to Richard, conjuring him withal, in the name of God, to be mindful of the vows and oath, which he had just

taken in accepting the royal dignity. Richard made answer, that by God's assistance he would punctually perform them all[7].

The ceremony of the coronation was somewhat disturbed by the massacre of some Jews, who, by striving too eagerly to get into the church to see the solemnity[8], gave occasion to the people to fall upon them and kill several before their fury could be restrained. But the authors of this disorder were not suffered to go unpunished. The King ordering strict inquisition to be made, the ring-leaders were deservedly put to death[9].

It is no wonder, that the people should fall upon the Jews on so slight an occasion. Since the news of the taking of Jerusalem was spread over Europe, nothing but vengeance was breathed against the enemies of Christ. Though the Jews were not concerned in the late revolution in the east, their not being Christians was sufficient to render them odious. At such a juncture, they would doubtless have found themselves exposed to worse persecutions, if the preparations for the crusade had not at length turned the fury of the people against the Saracens.

This zeal, especially in France and England, ran so high, that the number of the Croises was prodigious. Every one gloried, either in listing himself to go in person against the infidels, or in advancing money for the war. Richard bound himself by the like vow before his father's death. He renewed his engagement at the late interview between him and Philip, where these two monarchs agreed to join their forces, and go to the assistance of the Christians of Palestine. Richard was scarcely on the throne, when, for fear of forgetting his promise, Philip sent to put him in mind of it. Far from desiring to be excused, Richard thought only of preparations for his journey, neglecting for its sake all his other affairs.

As this prince had grand views, and intended to lead a powerful army into Palestine, it was necessary to raise vast sums of money for its maintenance. The late king left in his coffers above a hundred thousand marks, and Richard drew little less from the treasurer and others, who managed the revenues in the late reign. But thinking these sums insufficient for the charges of his voyage, he sold almost all the crown-lands to such as would purchase them. The bishops and abbots having the most ready money, made greater advantage of this opportunity than others. The bishop of Durham purchased the earldom of Northumberland; upon which the king jestingly said, He had made a young earl of an old bishop.

But this new dignity was not capable of satisfying the prelate's ambition; he gave moreover one thousand marks to be judiciary during the king's absence. As Richard evidently appeared to be unwilling to omit any means that might procure him ready money, to defray the expenses of his intended voyage, the king of Scotland, to improve this opportunity, offered him ten thousand marks to deliver up Berwick and Roxborough, and desist from his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland. Richard readily accepted the offer, gave up the two places, and by authentic charter discharged the King of Scotland, and his successors, from the homage extorted from him by Henry II.

Many people were uneasy at these alienations. Some even took the liberty to represent to the king the ill consequences thereof. But he stopped their mouths with this reply, I would sell London itself could I meet with a chapman able to purchase it. The sums amassed by these extraordinary ways, not answering yet to the vastness of his projects, he bethought himself of a new expedient to augment them. As multitudes had hastily engaged in the crusade, he obtained of the Pope a power to dispense with such as repented of their vow, by which means he raised very great sums.

After practising these general methods, he proceeded to exact money from the richest of his subjects. He borrowed of those who led an unblameable life. But for such as gave him any handle, he threatened to call them to a strict account, and forced them to prevent it by presents. It was by this means that he compelled Glanville, a rich lawyer, whom he had committed to prison, to purchase his liberty with fifteen thousand pounds sterling. Though he had resolved to leave the

great-seal, in his absence with Longchamp his favourite, lately made chancellor, he demanded of him the sum of £3000 to continue him in that post. Whilst he was thus heaping up money, the clergy were zealously labouring to procure him soldiers; the pulpits resounding with the great merit of serving in the Holy War. The confessors enjoined no penances but what tended to promote the grand design of recovering the Holy-Land. By these means the army soon became very numerous, and so much better provided with all things, as there was not an officer or common soldier but what furnished himself with necessaries.

Amidst the king's satisfaction, there was one thing that gave him disquiet. As he should probably be long absent, he was apprehensive his brother might take advantage of his absence, and seize the crown. John shewed no inclination for the voyage, or he would have carried him along with him. He therefore resolved to load with favours the young prince, whose ambition was not yet known to him. Accordingly he invested him with six earldoms, Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, with many other honours and possessions, and gave him to wife Avisia, heiress of the house of Gloucester.

The archbishop of Canterbury forbade the marriage, by reason of their being too near a kin[10]. But there was a sort of necessity for it. The late Earl of Gloucester, father of Avisia, for reasons unknown, made prince John his heir. This settlement would infallibly have caused a great law suit, in which there was danger of the prince's being cast, and from thence taking occasion to raise disturbances.

The death of his wife, daughter of the earl of Mortagne[11], made the king easy in that respect. By her death a very natural way offered of reconciling the two parties, by joining them in marriage. And therefore, the archbishop's prohibition, though founded on the canons, gave place to reasons of state, and John became also earl of Gloucester in right of Avisia his wife: Mean time, though Richard had, in a manner, shared his kingdom with his brother, he would not suffer him to have any hand in the government during his absence, lest he should make him too powerful.

Led by this fear, he caused him to swear to go and remain in Normandy; but before his departure he released him' from his oath. To Longchamp his favourite he committed the Regency[12], jointly with the bishop of Durham[13]. Longchamp was a Norman of mean extraction, who, by his interest with the king, was become bishop of Ely, high-chancellor, and the Pope's legate over all England. All these dignities, together with the regency, rendered him the most powerful subject that had ever been in England.

After Richard had taken all necessary care for the-government of the state, he was willing to secure its tranquillity, by renewing his alliance with the kings of Scotland and Wales. The former made a strict alliance with him, and, as some affirm, sent his brother David to attend him in his voyage with a thousand Scotchmen. Griffin king of Wales sent into England his eldest son Rees; but some difference in point of ceremony arising, that prince returned without seeing the king. However, as Richard's affairs with the Welsh were of no great moment, that accident caused him not to delay his voyage.

AD 1190] Every thing being ready for his departure, Richard passed into France with all his troops, and marched for Marseilles, where his fleet had orders to expect him. The two armies of France and England joined at Vezelai, according to agreement. As soon as the two kings arrived there, they renewed their alliance, and obliged themselves, to protect and defend each other upon all occasions. They agreed, moreover, that all quarrels in their absence between their subjects should be superseded till their return. The bishops that attended them thus far, promised to excommunicate all that should attempt to disturb the peace of the two kingdoms. After the two-monarchs had concerted whatever was thought necessary to accomplish their designs[14], they marched together as far as Lyons[15] where Henry I who was great-grandfather to both parted.

Philip took the route to Genoa, and Richard to Marseilles, where he was to meet his fleet. But he waited there eight days to no purpose. A violent storm had dispersed his ships; part of which being driven by stress of weather into Portugal, the king of that country made use of the assistance sent him by providence, to relieve the city of Santaren, besieged by the Miramolin, or emperor of Africa. Impatient to be at Messina, the general rendezvous of the Croises, Richard hired some vessels at Marseilles, and embarking part of his troops, set sail for Sicily. Some accident obliging him to come to an anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, the Pope sent the bishop of Ostia to invite him to come and refresh himself a few days at Rome; but he declined the invitation.

Presently after he had the satisfaction to see his fleet arrive with the rest of the army; and continuing his course to Messina, he arrived there the 20th of September. The sight of so great an armament caused no less admiration in the Sicilians than jealousy in the king of France, who was vexed to see the forces of his vassal superior to his own.

Tancred, who then reigned in Sicily, was natural son of king Roger, who left issue William, surnamed the Bad, and Constantia, a nun at Palermo. To William the Bad succeeded his son, William the Good, who marrying Joanna of England, sister of Richard, died without heirs. After his death Pope Clement III. who sat then in the papal chair, pretended that Sicily, as a fief of the church, had devolved to the holy see. Meantime, Tancred the Bastard found means to get himself elected, on pretence that Sicily now wanted a king to defend her against the Saracens; that were possessed of part of the island.

Clement dying in the mean time, Celestine III. his successor, kept up the same pretensions, and treating Tancred as an usurper, resolved to exert his utmost to wrest the crown from him. But perceiving he could not execute this design alone, he applied to the emperor, Henry VI. of the house of Suabia, and gave him the kingdom of Sicily, in case he could conquer it. To add another right to that of donation, he caused the princess Constantia to be taken out of the nunnery of Palermo, and dispensing with her vow, married her to Henry, though she was fifty years old.

However unlikely it was there should be any heirs, Constantia became pregnant in her two and fiftieth year. And to remove all suspicion of foul play, she was publicly brought to bed, in a tent, of a son called Frederic The queen dowager of Sicily, being probably too far concerned with the Pope, Tancred shut her up in prison, where she had been detained ever since. But upon Richard's arrival she was set at liberty, and sent to the king her brother, who was not contented with so slight a satisfaction. He demanded for the queen his sister the dower assigned her by king William II. her husband, and threatened to use force in case Tancred refused to comply.

This demand, and the menace that attended it, caused the king of Sicily to look upon Richard as his real enemy. Richard finding Tancred was very backward to give him the satisfaction required, and fearing perhaps some treachery, thought best to provide for his safety. To that end, he seized a castle and monastery not far from Messina, where he laid up his stores under a strong garrison.

Tancred, who was naturally mistrustful, did not question but the king of England was come at the Pope's instance, to deprive him of his crown. To frustrate this imaginary design, he caused the inhabitants of Messina, on account of some disorder in their city, to expel all the English which could not be done without some effusion of blood. Richard, incensed at this outrage, resolved to attack Messina. But Tancred, protesting he had no hand in the riot, and would punish the authors, he remained some time patient.

The Messinians, however, refusing to open their gates to the English, and Tancred delaying too long the promised satisfaction, Richard perceived that he sought only to amuse him. Accordingly, he attacked the city so furiously, that he became master of it in the first assault. He had no sooner entered but he ordered his banners to be displayed on the walls, even in that part of the town which was allotted to the French.

Philip complained so bitterly of this, that the two monarchs would have come to an entire rupture, had not the matter been adjusted by the mediation of the great men on both sides. Richard at length took down his banners, protesting that, without any intention to affront Philip, he only designed to compel the king of Sicily to give him satisfaction for the injury done to the English.

To shew his sincerity, he delivered the custody of Messina to the templars, till the difference between him and Tancred should be decided. This agreement being made, Tancred, who till then kept at Palermo, came to Richard at Messina, and chose to satisfy his demands, in a handsome manner. He made a treaty with him, obliging himself to pay to the queen dowager of Sicily, sister of Richard, twenty thousand ounces of gold for her dower, and as many to Richard, in lieu of certain legacies, left by William the Good to Henry II his father-in-law. By this treaty, a match was also agreed upon between Arthur duke of Bretagne, nephew to Richard, and Tancred's daughter.

Moreover, Tancred promised to fit out ten gallies and six large ships for the service of the Croises. Upon these terms, Richard desisted from all other pretensions, and subjected his dominions to the Pope's censures, in case he violated his oath. These two princes being, in appearance, perfectly reconciled, Richard made a present to Tancred of king Arthur's sword, to which the Britons had given the name of Caliburn.

AD 1191] Though outwardly Tancred seemed satisfied, he could not digest a treaty which force alone had compelled him to sign. He would fain have engaged the king of France in his quarrel, and made a league with him against Richard. But this proposal was rejected. As it was not in his power to be revenged separately, either of Richard who had offended him, or of Philip who had denied him his assistance, he attempted to revenge himself upon both at once, by sowing dissension between them.

To that purpose, he privately warned the king of England, that Philip had ill designs against him. He even shewed him a letter, as he said, from the duke of Burgundy, wherein it appeared that what he told him was not groundless. Richard gave ear to this information, and expostulated with Philip, who accused him of seeking pretences to dissolve their union. The two monarchs came at length to an open rupture. Philip sent Richard word, that unless he consummated his marriage with Alice, according to his promise, he should look upon him as his mortal foe. Richard as warmly replied, that he could by no means marry a princess who had had a child by the king his father, offering to prove it by witnesses then present.

Philip not thinking proper to pursue this affair, persuaded as he was, that the honour of his sister might greatly suffer, desisted from his demand. After several conferences, he agreed that Richard should have liberty to marry where he pleased[16], a liberty which that prince had already taken, by concluding a marriage with Berengaria, or Berenguella of Navarre. Philip's moderation[17] seemed to beget an entire reconciliation between the two kings. But Tancred's late information made so deep an impression on the mind of Richard, and what Richard offered to prove concerning Alice so exasperated Philip, that from thenceforward they were never friends. However, they made ready for the continuation of their voyage.

The two monarchs having spent the winter at Messina, made ready for their voyage, as soon as the season permitted. Philip sailed first, Richard not being able to go with him, because he expected his mother Eleanor, who was bringing the princess of Navarre his bride, These two princesses arrived a few days after Philip's departure, but Eleanor returned home, leaving Berenguella with her daughter the queen dowager of Sicily, who was to accompany the king her brother to the Holy Land.

Immediately after Eleanor's departure, Richard put to sea, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, fifty-two gallies, ten large ships of burden laden with provisions, and many small vessels for the service of the fleet. It is nowhere said what forces embarked on this occasion; but by the

number of ships employed in the expedition, it is easy to guess, that the English army must have been very numerous. Whilst the fleet was rowing between the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, a sudden and violent storm arose, which dispersed the ships, and drove part of them on shore on the coast of Cyprus[18].

That isle was then under the dominion of Isaac; of the Comnenian race, who, from being governor under the emperor of Constantinople, had usurped the supreme power, and assumed the title of emperor. He was a covetous and brutish man, who by his continual cruelties and extortions had incurred the hatred of his subjects, who waited only for a favourable opportunity to free themselves from his tyranny. His own avarice, and the arrival of the English fleet, furnished them with one sooner than they expected.

This inhuman prince, instead of assisting the English that were stranded near the Port of Limisso, imprisoned those that escaped, and seized their effects. He would not so much as suffer the ship, which had the princesses on board, to enter the harbour, but left them exposed to the wind and seas. The fleet, which had been separated, joined again on the coast of Cyprus. Richard heard with extreme indignation of Isaac's barbarity to the English.

However, not to retard his voyage, he was contented with demanding the prisoners, and what had been seized, The insulting answer he received making him take other resolutions, he made a descent in the isle. The attack was so furious, that Isaac was forced to abandon the shore, after seeing a great slaughter of his troops. The English improving this advantage, went directly and assaulted the city of Limisso, which was carried by the first attack, and Isaac, with his only daughter, made prisoners. A few days after, the pretended emperor found means to escape; but as none would harbour him, he chose to surrender voluntarily to the king of England, whom he earnestly besought not to put him in irons. Richard granted his request in a literal sense, by commanding him to be bound with silver fetters[19].

The taking of Limisso inspiring Richard with the thought of subduing the whole island of Cyprus, he met with few difficulties in that undertaking. The Cypriots were so pleased to find themselves freed from their tyrant, that, without making any resistance, they submitted to a prince whom they looked upon as their deliverer, and who confirmed to them all the privileges enjoyed under the emperors of Constantinople. During his stay in the island, arrived Guy of Lusignan king of Jerusalem, who had obtained his liberty by the surrender of the city of Ascalon to the Sultan. Geoffrey his brother, Raymond of Antioch, Boamond his son, and other princes and lords of Palestine, attended the dispossessed king, who had come to implore the king of England's protection.

Here it was also, that Richard consummated his marriage with Berenguella[20]. Before he left Cyprus, he sent Isaac his prisoner to Tripoli in Syria, to be confined there, but for his daughter she was to go with him to Palestine. His regard for that beautiful princess gave occasion to suspect, that compassion was not the sole motive of his keeping her near him. This suspicion was confirmed, when he was seen to cool by degrees in his affection to his new queen. Whilst Richard's affairs were so successful abroad, England began to suffer by his absence.

He had no sooner crossed the sea, but the two regents disagreeing, came to an open rupture. Longchamp had a great advantage over his colleague[21], as well by the high posts he enjoyed, as by his abilities, which gave him a superiority, he knew how to improve. By pretending, that their dissension was very prejudicial to the affairs of the state, he found means to exclude him by degrees from the administration, and assume the whole power to himself.

Longchamp was known to be proud and imperious, and of a boundless ambition, which made him look on all his dignities, as below his deserts. He affected to appear in public with a retinue more numerous and splendid than a king's. This excessive magnificence made an historian say, that when he lodged but one single night in a monastery, he consumed three years' revenue.[22]

He treated all persons with an intolerable insolence, using his power with a haughtiness scarcely to be borne from a crowned head. Besides, he was a Norman, and exceedingly partial to foreigners, qualities which alone were sufficient to render him odious to the English. The dispossessed bishop wrote to the king, who receiving his complaints at Marseilles, sent him his letters patent appointing him judiciary from the Humber to the confines of Scotland. The letters being arrived, the bishops were so unwise as to give them into Longchamp's hands, who, under colour of examining them, refused to restore them, and thereby rendered them of no effect. He also ordered the bishop to be apprehended, and detained him in prison till he had delivered certain castles, which gave him too great a power in the northern parts.

Richard had appointed six lords for counsellors to the regents. But Longchamp, who was not willing to be advised by any person, never communicated any affairs to these lords. On the contrary, he affected to treat them with extreme contempt. These arbitrary proceedings obliged at length the bishop of Durham and the six counsellors to carry their complaints to prince John. The young prince readily promised them his protection, being glad, that their discontent afforded him an opportunity and pretence to interpose in the administration, from which he thought himself unjustly debarred. From that time improving, the disaffection of most of the great men, with regard to the regent, he managed them so dexterously that each promised to second him, and the downfall of Longchamp was resolved.

Some time before Richard's departure to the Holy-Land, Geoffrey, his bastard brother, was elected archbishop of York. Whether his consent were not asked, or he designed that dignity for another, this election was displeasing to the king. In his passion with Geoffrey, he was going to order him into custody. However; upon Geoffrey's protesting, he did not intend to insist upon his election, he pardoned him, on condition he would never apply to the Pope for his confirmation, Moreover, he enjoined him, on pain of his displeasure, to remain in Normandy till the expedition to the Holy-Land was over.

After the king was gone, Geoffrey, contrary to his promise, demanded and obtained the Pope's bull, to confirm his election; and without vouchsafing to give the regent notice, designed to repair into England and take possession of his dignity. Long-champ being advised of what passed, sent orders to Dover to apprehend him. Accordingly, upon his arrival the bishop had but just time to get into a church, where he thought himself safe from all insults. But this precaution not preventing the execution of the regent's orders, Geoffrey was drawn from the altar, and imprisoned in Dover castle. Prince John took occasion from this outrage to act openly against Long-champ.

As he found himself supported by all the lords, he sent him positive word to release the archbishop. Long-champ not being disposed to receive such absolute orders from a prince, who had no right to command him, refused to comply. This was directly what John wished. A few days after, the regent was summoned to appear before an assembly of lords spiritual and temporal, convened at London in St. Paul's church. The combination was so strong, that Long-champ saw himself on a sudden forsaken by all the world and constrained to appear before the assembly[23], which was bent upon his ruin.

He was charged with exceeding his commission in divers particulars, chiefly with usurping to himself the authority, which ought to have been shared between him, the bishop of Durham, and the six counsellors. The archbishop of Rouen and earl of Pembroke complained also, that having received a patent from the patent dated at Messina, whereby they were made joint commissioners with Long-champ in the government; that prelate would never consent they should have any concern in the administration. Upon these accusations Long-champ was turned out of the regency, which was lodged in the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, till the king's pleasure should be known. They took from him likewise the custody of the tower of London, &c. which the same archbishop was invested with.

Not content with this severity, his enemies compelled him by threats to lay down his legate's cross in the church of Canterbury, after which he was thrown into prison. Some days after he found means to escape; but was seized again on the sea-side, disguised in a woman's habit, with a bundle of linen under his arm. In this garb he was carried to Dover castle, with a great mob at his heels[24].

However, prince John dreading the Pope's resentment, if he detained his legate in prison, ordered him to be set at liberty, with permission to retire into Normandy. As soon as he found himself safe, he wrote to the Pope and the king, setting forth the ill treatment he had met with. This letter came very late to the king: but the Pope, who was much sooner informed of the affront done his legate, was extremely incensed at this contempt of the legantine character. Without staying to hear what prince John could allege to justify his conduct, he sent express orders to the bishops to excommunicate him John, terrified at the Pope's menaces, would have restored Long-champ, if the bishops themselves, who dreaded to be again under that imperious prelate, had not opposed it. Thus the Pope's orders lay unexecuted, and Longchamp durst not return into England[25].

The deposing of the regent procuring the prince an opportunity of having a greater share in the government than the king his brother desired, he made use of it to pave his way to the crown. If he had not then thoughts of taking advantage of the king's absence to mount the throne in his life-time, it is at least certain his aim was to secure it, in case the king died during his expedition. lie was sensible, there was another prince that had a better title than himself, namely, Arthur duke of Bretagne, his nephew, son of his elder brother Geoffrey.

This put him upon taking beforehand such measures as should free him from the competition of that rival. His sole care was to render himself popular, in order to gain the affection of the English, particularly the Londoners, whose rights and privileges he caused to be confirmed by an assembly general. This won him the hearts of the citizens to such an extent, that when they swore fealty to the king, they voluntarily made a solemn promise to receive John for their sovereign, in case the king died without issue.

In this manner did the prince gain ground by degrees, and endeavoured by secret practices, to secure a party capable of supporting him against his nephew, and which also he would have afterwards used in much blacker designs against the king his brother. Meantime Richard by his valiant exploits, which attracted the admiration of the whole world, was rendering his name immortal[26], and inspiring the Saracens with a dread of the approaching downfall of their empire.

All the conquests made by the Christians in the east were erected into a kingdom, of which Godfrey of Bouillon was the first king. The kingdom consisted of Palestine and part of Syria, taken from the Saracens. Godfrey reigned about one year[27]. Baldwin his brother succeeded him, and governed eighteen years, leaving the crown to his cousin Baldwin II. who enjoyed it thirteen years. Fulk earl of Anjou marrying his daughter, became king of Jerusalem after his father-in-law's decease, and reigned eleven years. He had by his first wife Geoffrey earl of Anjou; and father of Henry II. king of England.

By his second wife Folk had two sons, of whom Baldwin the eldest sat on the throne of Jerusalem twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his brother Almeric, who reigned twelve years. Baldwin IV. his son and successor, finding himself childless, and without hopes of issue, made his nephew Baldwin, son of his eldest sister Sibyl, by William of Montserrat, his heir. He died after a reign of twelve years, leaving the guardianship of young Baldwin V. and the regency of the kingdom, to Raymund earl of Tripoli. Mean time Sibyl, the king's mother, married. Guy of Lusignan, who, in right of the princess his wife, claimed the guardianship of the king, and the government of the state. The earl of Tripoli in vain opposed his pretensions by urging the late king's will. Guy, supported by his wife, seized the regency, and quickly after became king himself by Baldwin's

decease, not without suspicion of having hastened his death by poison, in order to mount the throne.

This resolution soon proved the occasion of one more fatal. The earl of Tripoli preparing to endeavour to dethrone Guy, whom he looked upon as an usurper, and the murderer of the late king; unfortunately for the Christians of Palestine, Guy bethought himself of applying to Saladin sultan of Egypt for aid. The infidel prince gladly embraced so fair an opportunity of recovering a country whence his predecessors had been expelled ninety years before. Under colour of assisting the king of Jerusalem, he entered Palestine with a formidable army, and immediately took Acre or Ptolemais, Asotus, Berytus, and some other places.

At first he pretended to act only for the king, but, at length thought he might safely pull off the mask, and openly shew, that his design was to drive the Christians out of Palestine. In vain did Guy, who too late was sensible of his error, shut himself up in his capital. As the city was but ill provided, it was not possible for him to hold out above a month, or escape falling into the hands of his enemy. He was afterwards forced to deliver up Ascalon to the sultan to obtain his liberty. Thus Saladin found means to destroy at once both of the competitors, whose quarrel furnished him with an opportunity to carry, his arms into Palestine.

For the recovery of this lost kingdom the kings of France and England had undertaken the present expedition, with numerous armies consisting of all the nations in Europe, but chiefly of the French and English. Before Philip's arrival in Palestine, Guy of Lusignan, Conrade Marquis of Montserrat, James of Auvergne, and several other princes and lords, with some German, Flemish, and Italian troops, had begun the siege of Acre, which had now lasted a whole year. As soon as Philip, who sailed first from Messina, landed his men (March 21) he encamped round the city, and continued the siege, though with little success. Richard arriving afterwards (June 8) with fresh troops, vigorously carried it on, and at length, after divers fruitless attempts to raise the siege, Saladin surrendered the city by capitulation, on the 12th of July[28].

Among the occurrences of this famous siege was one, which, though in itself of no great importance, was attended with consequences very remarkable, and withal very fatal to the king of England. In an assault made by the Christians, Leopold Duke of Austria, carrying one of the towers, ordered his banner to be immediately erected. Richard taking this action as an injury to the two kings, who commanded in chief, sent some of his men to pull it down and tread it under foot. Leopold resented this affront very heinously; but, as it was not then in his power to be revenged, concealed his resentment, till he had an opportunity to shew it. Unhappily for Richard, this opportunity offered when he least expected it, and it will be seen in the sequel, that the duke of Austria was but too well revenged.

AD 1192] The taking of Acre seemed to encourage the two kings to form fresh projects. But just as the Christian army expected to march to Jerusalem, the dissension which arose between the two leaders frustrated their expectation. Since their junction, Richard had acquired a superiority, which extremely mortified the King of France. The number and good condition of his forces, his personal valour, of which he had given several proofs at the siege of Acre, and the very taking of that city, of which he had all the honour, gained the particular esteem and regard of the whole army.

Philip could not bear to see a distinction so advantageous to the king of England. His jealousy shewed itself on all occasions; but as he durst not openly complain that his rival was more respected than himself; he sought other pretences to colour his resentment. The first he used was, by the advice of Conrade, marquis of Montserrat, to demand of Richard half the isle of Cyprus, pretending that they had agreed to share all their conquests. Richard made answer, that their agreement related only to what was conquered upon the infidels. Adding, that Philip understood it in that sense, since he had taken to himself what belonged to the earl of Flanders[29], who died at the siege of Acre, without ever thinking to give him a share.

To this was added another occasion of quarrel. The crown of Jerusalem was in dispute between Guy of Lusignan, and Conrade marquis of Montserrat. Richard took Guy's part, and Philip openly declared for the marquis. The grounds and reasons of their respective pretensions were briefly these.

Almeric, King of Jerusalem, had by his first wife, of the house of Courtenay, Baldwin IV. his successor, and a daughter called Sibylla. By his second wife, niece to Emanuel emperor of Constantinople, he had a daughter named Isabella. Sibylla was married first to William of Montserrat, by whom she had Baldwin V. heir to Baldwin IV. his uncle. Sibylla's second husband was Guy of Lusignan, by whom she had several children, who all died before their mother. Isabella, sister of Sibylla, by Almeric's second wife, had also two husbands. The first was Humphrey de Toron, who refused the crown offered him by the barons of Jerusalem, after the death of Baldwin V. Her second husband was Conrade marquis of Montserrat, who claimed the title of King of Jerusalem, in right of his wife, whose eldest sister was lately dead without issue. The question, therefore, was to know, whether Guy of Lusignan ought to keep the title of King of Jerusalem, after his wife Sibylla's decease or resign it to the marquis of Montserrat, whose wife was then sole heiress of the kingdom. Indeed, they were disputing about an empty title, for Saladine was master of the capital, and almost all the country.

However, the title was of consequence, at a juncture when it was expected, that the kingdom would be restored by the arms of the Croises. Philip espoused the cause of the marquis of Montserrat, and perhaps for that very reason Richard supported Guy of Lusignan, so jealous were these monarchs of each other, scarcely a day passed, but something or other happened which served to inflame their mutual enmity. Philip was jealous of Richard's glory, who in his turn complained that Philip, out of spite and envy, obstructed the progress of the arms of the Christians. In the midst of these contests, they were both seized with the same distemper, of which they were likely to die, but escaped with the loss of their hair.

After their recovery, Richard appeared more eager than ever to pursue the conquests upon the infidels. But Philip resolved to return to France, his weakness caused by his late illness scarcely permitting him any more to enter upon action. But he had another and no less powerful reason, which was, his extreme impatience to take possession of Artois. fallen to him by the death of the earl of Flanders. He imparted this resolution to Richard, who seemed much surprised at it, fearing that Philip, in returning to Europe, had some design upon his dominions in France.

One of the articles of their agreement was, that neither should desert the cause without the other's consent. Richard insisted upon that article, and refused to agree to Philip's departure, before they were masters of Jerusalem. However, as he could not constrain him to stay, he left him to do as he pleased, upon his taking a solemn oath, in the presence of the bishops and principal officers of both armies, not to attack any place belonging to Richard, either in France or in England, till days after the return of that prince into his own territories.

Upon quitting Palestine (July 31) Philip left ten thousand men under the command of the duke of Burgundy, publicly ordering him to pay the same obedience to the king of England as to himself[30]. But in all appearance, he gave him other instructions in private.

A little after the king of France's departure Richard and Saladine exhibited a spectacle of horror to their armies, by commanding the prisoners each had in his power, to be put to death. It is difficult to determine which of the two princes was the first author of this barbarity. Some historians lay the blame on Saladine; others accuse the king of England. The latter seem to have most reason; the Saracen monarch having refused to perform the articles of the surrender of Acre[32].

The Duke of Burgundy, following Richard's example, ordered also what captives were in his hands to be beheaded. After the departure of the French, Richard held a great council of war,

where the siege of Ascalon was resolved on[33]. To execute this project, he marched along the sea-side, whilst his fleet, freighted with all manner of stores, rowed in sight of the troops, and supplied them with necessaries.

Saladine having intelligence of the Croises' designs, posted himself advantageously in their way, with an army of three hundred thousand men. Whatever disproportion there might be between their forces, Richard resolved to attack him. He was sensible, could he defeat that army, not only the taking of Ascalon would be the fruits of his victory, but even the siege of Jerusalem would become much less difficult; but, on the contrary, if he declined the fight, such a numerous army of infidels would continually obstruct the execution of his designs. Pursuant to this resolution, he approached the enemy; and drawing up his army, undauntedly marched against them.

James de Avesnes commanded the right wing, the duke of Burgundy the left, and the king headed the main body. Saladine had concealed part of his army, on his right side, behind some hills which prevented the Christians from seeing them. As he expected great advantage from this ambuscade, he resolved not to lose the advantage of the ground. Accordingly, without stirring from his post, he waited for the enemy to attack him.

The right wing of the Christians beginning the fight, the Saracens received James de Avesnes with a resolution, which, supported by the superiority of their number, put that body in such disorder that it could not be repaired for a considerable time. James de Avesnes was slain in striving to revive the courage of his frightened troops, and bring them again to charge. At the same time, the duke of Burgundy furiously attacked the right wing of the Saracens, which pursuant to the general's orders, retreating as they fought, caused the duke to advance, with more courage than conduct, considerably beyond the body of the army.

Saladine, finding all in good order on his left, and that the duke of Burgundy with his left wing was detached from the rest of the army, ordered the body that lay concealed to move forward. These troops descending down the hills in great multitudes, surrounded the wing commanded by the duke of Burgundy, and made a terrible slaughter.

It lay then upon Richard to save the honour of the Christians, and repair their loss. He had fought on his side with better success; and, though he had met with a stout resistance in the body that opposed him, had compelled them to retreat in disorder. He was still pursuing his enemies, when he was informed of the ill state of his right wing, and the danger of his left. Upon which he gave over the pursuit, and marching to the duke of Burgundy's relief, fell upon the victorious troops of Saladine, in order to wrest from them a victory of which they thought themselves sure. On this famous occasion he was seen to perform such astonishing acts of valour, that those who envied him most could not but admire him. Some tell us, he was personally engaged with Saladine, and dismounting him, would have taken him prisoner, had not the Saracens used their utmost efforts to rescue him out of his hands.

Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that Richard's valour so altered the state of the battle, that Saladine saw himself obliged to reinforce his right wing, with part of the victorious troops of the left. This motion, which could not be done without causing some disorder, gave the right wing of the Christians time to recover. Finding they were not so vigorously pressed as before, they quickly rallied, and falling furiously on the Saracen troops that opposed them, forced them to take to flight.

Meanwhile, Richard maintained the fight on the left, with a firmness that seemed more than natural, in spite of the superiority of his enemies, who had drawn all their forces against him. He was, however, in danger of being over powered by numbers, had not his right wing, which met with no farther resistance, come to his aid. Then the Saracens, finding they were attacked in flank by the fresh troops, began to break their ranks with such confusion, that it was not possible for Saladine to rally them. The Christians taking advantage of their disorder, pressed

them so vigorously, that they entirely routed that prodigious army. Thus Richard, by his valour and conduct, obtained a complete victory over the enemies of the Christian name, of whom forty thousand lay dead in the field of battle. James de Avesnes was the only officer of distinction that was slain on the side of the Christians.

After this important victory, Richard continued his march to the maritime cities of Ascalon, Joppa, and Caesarea, which Saladine thought fit to abandon, after demolishing their walls. It was of the utmost consequence to the Christians, to repair these cities, and erect magazines for the army, when they should be farther advanced into the enemy's country. This probably was the sole reason which obliged the victorious prince to stay some time at Joppa. Some, however, have taxed him with not improving his victory, by marching directly to Jerusalem.

During Richard's stay at Joppa, an adventure befell him, which had nearly proved fatal to him, and from which he was delivered by a sort of miracle. One day, being tired with hunting, as he lay asleep under a tree, with only six persons about him, he was roused by the sudden approach of some Saracen horse, who were near the place where he slept. As they were but few in number, he immediately mounted his horse, and rode after them; which they perceiving, feigned to fly before him, and by that means drew him into an ambuscade, where he saw himself surrounded on a sudden by a squadron of horse.

He defended himself a long time with wonderful bravery, without any thoughts of retreating, notwithstanding the number of his enemies. At length, four of his attendants being killed, he was on the point of being slain or taken, when William Despreaux, one of his company, cried out in the Saracen language, I am the king of England. At which words, those that were upon Richard, left him to have a hand in the taking of Despreaux, whom they imagined to be the king.

This device gave Richard time to ride off full speed, whilst the Saracens, content with their success, conducted their prisoner to Saladine. Despreaux had the prudence not to discover himself till he came before the sultan, to whom he ingenuously confessed what he had done to save his master. Saladine commended his fidelity, and did him great honour. But as he was very sensible, that Richard would never suffer one that had done him so signal a service to remain long a captive, he set his ransom so high, that he procured ten emirs or Saracen princes, in exchange for that faithful servant.

As soon as the maritime places were sufficiently repaired, Richard marched to Jerusalem, which he had resolved to besiege. In his way he had the good fortune to meet the Babylon caravan, carrying to Jerusalem a prodigious quantity of rich merchandise and provisions of all kinds. The caravan was guarded by ten thousand horse, who, finding themselves near the Christian army, would immediately have retreated. But Richard taking with him five thousand chosen horsemen, fell upon them with great fury, and putting them to flight, became master of the caravan.

He took on this occasion three thousand loaded camels, and four thousand horses or mules, with an inestimable booty, which he ordered to be distributed among his soldiers. After this happy success, continuing his march to Jerusalem; he came to a hill, whence he had the pleasure to survey that famous city, the taking of which was the chief end of his expedition. Meantime, as the country round was destitute of forage, he saw himself under the fatal necessity of deferring the siege till the spring. This delay furnished his enemies, and those that envied him; with a pretence to desert him.

The duke of Austria led the way, and the duke of Burgundy quickly followed him, not being able to bear the thoughts of contributing any longer to the glory of a prince whom he considered as the king of France's rival[34]. His death, which happened at Acre as he was going to embark, prevented not the French troops from sailing to Europe. The retreat of the Germans and French; the marquis of Montserrat's refusal to assist with the Italian troops in a conquest, to which he laid claim, but was designed for another; the news Richard received of what passed in England;

his apprehensions that Philip would take advantage of his absence, and declare war against him[35]; the decrease of his troops, as well by sickness as battles; all these reasons were but too capable to make him think of retreating, and were sufficient to justify his truce with Saladine, without regarding the vain declamations of those who confidently blamed him for deserting the cause, when within view of Jerusalem. it is easy to see, that with the few troops that remained, it was not possible for him to accomplish an enterprise of so difficult a nature as was then the siege of that city.

During the whole winter they had found time to lay in all manner of stores, and the garrison was little inferior to the Christian army. Saladine having notice of Richard's design to retire, thought it his interest to hasten the departure of so formidable an enemy, by offering him a three years' truce. All the principal officers of the Christian army joyfully embraced this offer. Every one was glad, after so many hardships, to go and enjoy some repose in his own country. Richard, therefore, accepted of the truce which was proposed upon these conditions: that the city of Ascalon should be dismantled, and not fortified again by either party during the truce: that Joppa or Jaffa, and Acre or Ptolemais, should remain in the hands of the Christians, with the rest of the cities they were possessed of in Palestine: that the Christians should have liberty to go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem without charge, and free commerce throughout all Saladine's dominions.

The treaty being concluded, Richard sent Saladine word, that he might depend upon seeing him again, to try once more to recover the Holy-Land out of his hands. The Sultan, with a politeness that favoured not of the Barbarian, replied, that, if it must be his fate to lose that part of his dominions, he had rather it should be to the king of England, than to any other monarch in the world[36].

Thus ended the famous crusade, which had drained France and England both of men and money. It proved of very little benefit to the eastern Christians; whilst it ruined those of Europe, by the prodigious sums therein expended. But that was not all; it became the occasion of destructive wars between France and England, as will presently be seen.

Richard, fearing that in his absence, Saladine would break the truce, assembled the principal officers of the army, in order to elect a general capable of commanding the troops designed to be left in Palestine. The choice fell upon the marquis of Montserrat, to Richard's great surprise, who had openly declared against him, However, he gave his consent, and sacrificed his private resentment to the public good of the Christians. Shortly after, the marquis was stabbed by two villains, sent for that purpose by the Old Man of the Mountain; an appellation given to the head or chief master of a rigid sect of Mahometans, inhabiting about Antioch, called Assassins.

The Old Man of the Mountain always kept in his service a set of people devoted to his will, whom he dispatched into all parts of the world upon the like occasions. Hence the French called him the prince of the Assassins, and the word assassin is derived from the name of these people. As the author of this murder was at first unknown, Richard, because he was no friend to the marquis, was by some suspected. But the marquis himself was so far from such a thought, that just as he died, he ordered his wife to deliver into the hands of the king of England the city of Tyre, of which he was in possession.

After the death of the marquis of Montserrat, Richard so ordered it that Henry Earl of Champagne, his, as well as the King of France's nephew, was chosen in his place. After which, he caused him to marry Isabella the deceased's widow, who brought him for her dowry the titular kingdom of Jerusalem. As for Guy of Lusignan, the king made up his loss of an empty title with the real donation of the kingdom of Cyprus; though he had sold it before to the templars. Upon the repeated complaints of the Cypriots to whom the tyranny of their new masters was become insupportable, Richard thought he had a right to revoke the sale; and Guy was put in possession of his kingdom, which remained nearly two centuries in his family.

The affairs of the east being thus settled[37], Richard, impatient to return to England, embarked at Ptolemais, whence he sailed to Corfu, an island situated at the entrance of the Adriatic gulph. Unfortunately he was exposed to a violent storm, which forced him on the coast of Istria, and from thence between Aquileia and Venice, where the galliot, he was on board, split upon a rock.

It was with great difficulty that he escaped this danger, to run immediately into another. Ignorant of the country, or for some other unknown reason, he entered the territories of the duke of Austria, and took the road to Vienna. He continued his journey disguised like a pilgrim, well knowing he had every thing to fear from the duke's resentment, should he chance to be discovered. His lavish expenses, and the indiscretion of some of his attendants, were the occasion of a rumour being quickly spread that the king of England was in those parts.

The duke of Austria having notice of it, caused the pretended pilgrim to be watched so narrowly, that he was seized at a small village near Vienna. The news reaching the emperor Henry VI. he sent and demanded the prisoner of the Duke of Austria, who delivered him, upon assurance of having a large share of his ransom. Thus Richard, whose fame filled the whole earth[38], and whose noble actions had exalted him above all the princes of his time, lost his liberty, and saw himself in the power of the most sordid and ungenerous of princes.

The news of Richard's imprisonment quickly flew over Europe, and particularly into England, where it caused a great consternation. Queen Eleanor, his mother, immediately took all possible care to prevent this accident from occasioning some fatal revolution. She, represented to the principal barons, that they could not give the king more effectual proofs of their fidelity, than by opposing, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of prince John, whose ill designs were no secret. That it was necessary to begin with this, in order to preserve the peace of the realm; and that afterwards other affairs might be taken care of.

The queen's exhortations, the king's unfortunate condition, and the fame he had acquired in the east, concurred to retain the English barons in the fidelity due to their sovereign. As they did not question but John would improve this juncture to disturb the state, they entered into an association to exclude him from the government, at the very time he was taking measures to seize it. The opportunity appearing to him very favourable, he had formed a design to take the administration of affairs into his hands, that he might more easily wrest the crown from the king his brother. But he was prevented by the diligence of the queen his mother, and the barons.

He had the mortification to see other regents appointed during the king's imprisonment. However, he forbore not to use his endeavours to break an association so prejudicial to him. He affirmed, his sole aim was to secure himself against the pretensions of his nephew, the duke of Bretagne, in case Richard should die in prison. But all his proceedings plainly shewed, his design was rather to obstruct the king's return, supposing he should be so fortunate as to obtain his liberty. However, he found that there was no possibility of succeeding without the King of France's assistance. He departed, therefore, to confer with Philip.

As he went through Normandy he staid some days at Rouen, where he tried all means to corrupt the loyalty of the Normans; but not succeeding, he repaired to Paris, where he made a treaty with Philip, who desired nothing more than to embroil Richard's affairs. Philip, as the treaty imports, admitted John to do homage for all the provinces in France belonging to the crown of England, which, as sovereign lord, he pretended to dispose of.

As soon as John had finished his affairs in France, he embarked for England, with design to use his utmost endeavours to gain the king of Scotland: but William remembering Richard's generous usage, would give no ear to his solicitations. All his endeavours, as well with regard to the Normans as the King of Scotland, proving ineffectual, he caused it to be rumoured that Richard was dead in prison, and upon that foundation, demanded the crown. But as there was no other advice of the king's death, he did not find the English inclined to take this rash step in his favour.

Meantime, their refusal furnished him with a pretence to seize some places of strength, as being willing, to take by force what he could not obtain by fair means. But his party was so inconsiderable, that it was not possible for him to make any great progress.

Whilst these things passed in England, Philip was not idle in France. In a belief, that the English, employed at home with John's pretensions, would not be able to send any succours beyond sea, he resolved to seize the provinces held by Richard in France. Pursuant to this project, forgetting the oath taken upon quitting Palestine, he made himself master of Gisors, Evreux, and all le Vexin, after which he laid siege to Rouen. He hoped to surprise that city, the taking of which would have drawn after it all the rest of Normandy, but had the mortification to miss his aim. The earl of Leicester, who had thrown himself into the city some days before, made so brave a defence, that after an assault, wherein the French were repulsed with great loss, Philip was forced to raise the siege.

Meantime, queen Eleanor, not content with opposing a strong fence against the ambition of her younger son, laboured with all her power for the king's release. As the emperor had no plausible colour to detain him in prison, she imagined, that a powerful mediation, such as the Pope's, might have a good effect. In this belief she frequently wrote to his holiness, entreating him to take in hand the king her son's cause. All her solicitations not prevailing, she sent him an expostulatory letter, showing how highly she was provoked at his indifference. She complained that he was unwilling to take the least step in behalf of the imprisoned king: that he refused to send a Nuncio to the emperor, though he often sent legates to all the Christian states, on much less important occasions: that this behaviour was so much the more strange, as it would be no disparagement to his dignity, should he go in person and solicit the release of so great a king, who had lately exposed his life in the service of the church.

In short, she represented to him, that the many good offices for which the holy see stood indebted to the kings of England, well deserved some return; and that the services done the Popes during the schisms could not be forgotten without ingratitude. But all these instances were to no purpose. The Pope did not think fit to concern himself about an unfortunate prince, for fear of displeasing the king of France, by whom he was pressed, on the other hand, not to interpose in the affair.

Whilst the queen laboured in vain to move the Pope, the emperor, who wanted a cloak for his injustice, ordered Richard to be conducted to Hagenaw, where the diet of the empire was assembled. The deputies, sent by the queen and council to the king to acquaint him with what passed in England, met on the road their unfortunate prince ignominiously conducted like a criminal. This melancholy sight drew tears from their eyes, at which the king himself could not forbear weeping.

After they had, by many affectionate expressions, shewn their concern for his misfortune, and assured him of the loyalty of his subjects in general, they informed him of his brother's attempts, and his strict union with the king of France. These informations made him sensible, that in the present posture of his affairs, it was very improper to dispute with the emperor, upon the terms of his freedom. In this resolution, he was brought before the assembly of the German princes, where the emperor charged him with six articles, of which but one could concern himself, and none the German nation in particular.

I. He accused Richard of joining in a league with Tancred to support that usurper in the possession of the kingdom of Sicily.

II. He alleged, that by his contests with the king of France he had obstructed the conquest of Jerusalem.

III. He charged him with unjustly invading the kingdom of Cyprus, and employing the arms of the Croises to dethrone a Christian prince.

IV. He taxed him with affronting the duke of Austria, at the siege of Ptolemais.

V. He accused him of being concerned in the murder of the marquis of Montserrat

VI. And lastly, he laid to his charge, as a great crime, the truce concluded with Saladine, and accused him of holding intelligence with that infidel prince, to the great detriment of Christendom in general.

Though neither the emperor. nor the princes of Germany, had any right to sit as judges upon the king of England, Richard did not think proper to dispute their authority. He was too apprehensive of giving occasion for delays, which must have been very prejudicial to him. He was contented therefore with briefly saying, though he looked upon himself as accountable to none for his actions, he was willing to vindicate his reputation before that illustrious assembly; not that he considered them as his judges, but because it greatly concerned his honour that the world should think him innocent.

Then he made his defence against the emperor's six allegations. To the first he replied, that his treaty with Tancred no way related to the emperor: that he did not make Tancred king of Sicily, but found him so; and treated with him, as with a king in actual possession of the crown. To the second he answered, that the king of France's jealousy was the sole cause of the little progress in the conquest of the Holy Land, and the whole blame ought to be laid on that prince, since he first deserted the cause.

To the third, which related to the conquest of Cyprus, he made answer, that he took not that kingdom from a lawful prince, but from an usurper and tyrant, who, by his barbarity, had justly provoked his vengeance. That he had demonstrated, he acted not in that affair from a principle of ambition or avarice, since he voluntarily resigned the island to Guy of Lusignan, to make him amends for the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem. As to the fourth article, he contented himself with saying, the Duke of Austria was sufficiently revenged of an affront, for which he might have demanded satisfaction in a more honourable manner.

As for the marquis of Montserrat's murder, he said, with some emotion, all his past actions were so many evidences of his being incapable to use such infamous means to be revenged on his enemies; adding, the marquis himself cleared him before he expired, in desiring the princess his wife to put into his hands the city of Lyre, which doubtless he would never have done, had he suspected him to be the author of his death. He spoke more fully to the charge of holding intelligence with Saladine. He represented, though with great modesty, the share he had in the victory obtained over the infidel prince.

He accused the duke of Burgundy of deserting him merely out of jealousy, when he was just going to besiege Jerusalem. In fine, he added, it was easy to see that in making a truce with the Saracens, he had no solid views; since of all the booty he acquired by taking the Babylon caravan, he reserved nothing to himself but the ring on his finger.

This defence, which much confounded the emperor, raised the compassion of the German princes for Richard. They were so convinced of the great injury done to that illustrious prince, that with one consent they besought the emperor to deal more generously by him. But their entreaties could not induce that covetous and. selfish prince to release his prisoner, before he had extorted an exorbitant ransom. He was the more extravagant in his demands, as the king of France had sent the bishop of Beauvais to offer him a large sum to keep Richard in perpetual imprisonment.

The captive king therefore was forced, in order to obtain his liberty, to promise to pay a hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, of which the duke of Austria was to have a third for his share. The emperor required further, that this sum should be brought into Germany at Richard's peril and charge. To these hard terms he added, that Richard should release the emperor of Cyprus

and his daughter, and give his niece Eleanor of Bretagne in marriage to the duke of Austria's eldest son. Some say, the emperor, not content with these advantages, obliged Richard to make him an absolute resignation of the kingdom of England which however he presently reinvested him with, to hold of him by the annual tribute of five thousand pounds sterling. This cannot be said to be altogether improbable, considering Richard's sad state.

Yet it is hardly credible, that that prince, though a prisoner, could be brought to so unworthy an action. historians who relate this particular, add, that Henry, before his death, renounced all right to England. To make the thing more probable, the emperor's donation of the kingdom of Arles to Richard is urged, and pretended to be in return for the sovereignty of England. But that this makes it presumed that Richard's homage for that kingdom, given him by the emperor, is confounded with the homage for England. And indeed, it appears from the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that Henry conferred the title of king of Arles on Richard; who, no doubt, did him homage for that imaginary kingdom, which the emperors had not enjoyed for many years.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Richard sent word of it to the queen his mother, desiring her to use all possible means speedily to raise the money for his ransom. This was no inconsiderable sum at that time in England. Richard himself, when he went to the Holy-Land, drained the kingdom of almost all the coin. Besides, the Croises also carried away large sums. For this reason, it was no easy matter to supply this new expense. However, the zeal of the judiciaries caused them to find means to raise a hundred thousand marks, by gangrened, and he died of it the eleventh day[39], after enduring great misery.

The castle being taken whilst he was yet alive[40], and the person that wounded him brought into his presence, he asked him the reason why he had sought his life. Betram firmly replied, it was in revenge of his father and brother slain by the king's own hand; and added, he gave God thanks for having so well succeeded, and was ready to undergo with pleasure the most grievous torments, since he was so fortunate as to free the world from such a tyrant. Though such an answer was very like to exasperate the king against him, the dying prince forgave him, and ordered him to be set at liberty, with a present of a hundred shillings. But immediately after the king's death, Marchad general of the Flemings, caused the miserable wretch to be flayed alive.

Before he died, Richard made his will, leaving his kingdom with all his other dominions, and three parts in four of his money to his brother John, reserving the rest for the poor and his domestics. He had formerly at Messina settled matters otherwise, and made his nephew Arthur duke of Bretagne his heir. But probably, the fear of raising commotions in his dominions, made him alter his mind. In his last will he ordered his body to be interred at Fontevraud, at the feet of his father, to testify his sorrow for the many uneasiness he created him during his life. His heart was to be carried to Rouen, for a testimony of his affection to the Normans. But his bowels he ordered to be sent into Poictou, designing to show by that his little esteem for the Poictevis, with whom he was displeased. He left only a natural son, Philip, to whom he bequeathed the lordship of Cognac in the duchy of Guienne.

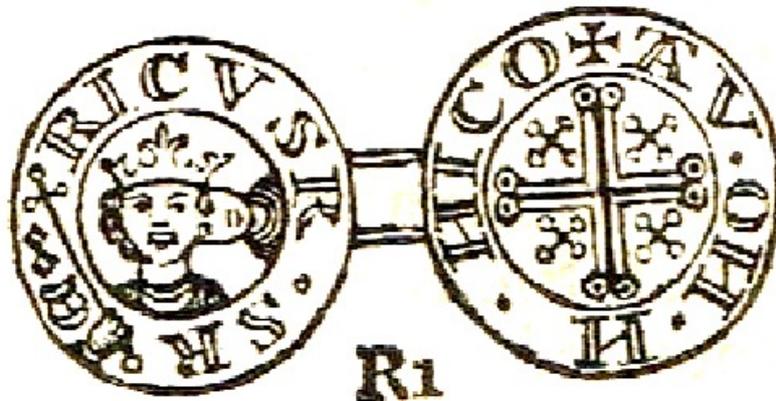
Such was the life and death of this valiant prince, who for the greatness of his courage was surnamed Coeur de Lion. After commending his valour, which was something like a brutish fierceness, in vain do we seek in him some other virtue to afford matter for his panegyric. Those that praise him for his bounty and magnificence, do not consider, if he was liberal and splendid, it was at the expense of his subjects, from whom he extorted many large sums by unjustifiable means. On the other hand, we find in him abundance of vices, and some of the most enormous.

His rebellion against his own father is a blemish, may justly be cast on his memory. We find likewise in this prince an insatiable love of money, which proved the cause of his death: a pride, which made him look upon his equals with contempt, and his inferiors as slaves. Pride, avarice, and lust, were his three reigning vices. It is said, that being one day admonished by Fulk, curate of Nevilly, a man famous for his zeal, to throw off those wicked habits, which were commonly

called his three daughters, he replied jestingly, that it was his design; and to that end he resolved to give the first to the templars, the second to the monks, and the third to the bishops.

Richard was tall and well made. His eyes were blue and sparkling, and his hair of a bright yellow, inclining to red. He was a passionate lover of poetry; and some pieces of his are yet extant in the Provençal language. It may be said that England, where he never was above eight months, during the whole of his reign, which lasted near ten years, was very unhappy under his government. He loaded his subjects with frequent impositions and excessive taxes. And yet no other benefit accrued to the people for these prodigious sums, but a little glory for their king, with which, however, they were satisfied, as redounding to the honour of the nation. Richard was the first king of England, who carried in his shield three lions passant, wherein he was imitated by his successors[41]

During this reign, the city of London began to put on a new face with respect to its government[42], and was divided into several corporations or societies, or, as they are called at present, companies.



King Richard I. is represented as a corrupter rather than a refiner of the English coins. And indeed his parade in the Holy-Land, with his ransom, was so very chargeable, that it is no wonder to find him put to all imaginable shifts for multiplying his money at home. However, his money is very rare. His penny, in Speed, is very remarkable, having two faces inscribed RICVS REX ANGL. And on the reverse, AVON NICO REX ANGL. Reverse LONDON three pellets in each quarter of the cross. In the fifth year of this reign, Benet, son of Isaac a Jew, stands charged on the revenue rolls with a hundred pounds and one mark of gold, de Obol. Mursce or Murscii for a fine. A little lower in the roll it is written Muscii. But what was meant by Oboli de Musce, Madox says he cannot find.

Notes to Chapter 2

- 1) The first thing he did there, was to imprison Stephen de Tours, Seneschal of Anjou, till he surrendered the castles and treasures, which the late king had committed to his custody.
- 2). The place where they met was between Chaumont and Trie, on July 22, Philip insisted upon the restitution of Gisors, and other places; but, instead of them, king Richard agreed to pay Philip four thousand marks of silver, besides the twenty thousand his father Henry had engaged in the late treaty to pay.
- 3) This was on July 20, the third day before his interview with Philip. He did not only receive the ducal crown; but, as Hoveden expresses it, was girt with the sword of the dukedom of Normandy, (for that was the form of investiture) by the archbishop of Rouen, in the presence of the bishops, earls, and barons, of Normandy.

4) He restored Robert earl of Leicester, and others to their estates, of which they had been deprived by his father.

5.) He landed at Portsmouth, August the 13th, 1159, being attended by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and Chichester. From thence he went to Winchester,

6.) The second day after his coronation he received the homage of all the great men.

7.) It may not be amiss from Hoveden and Diceto (who were eyewitnesses) to set down the ceremonies at large, since we may learn from hence the whole form of an ancient coronation: the archbishop of Canterbury, Rouen, Triers, (who came over with the king) and Dublin, with other bishops and abbots in rich copes, and having the cross, holy-water, and censers carried before them, received the duke at the door of his privy-chamber, and conducted him with a solemn procession to the abbey-church of Westminster: in the middle of the bishops and clergy went four barons, each carrying a golden candlestick, a taper; after whom came Geoffrey de Lucy, bearing the royal cap, and John the marshal next, with a massy pair of gold spurs: then William earl of Pembroke, with the royal sceptre: after him William Fitz-Patrick earl of Salisbury, with a golden rod, having a clove on the top: then three other earls, David brother to the king of Scotland, as earl of Huntingdon; prince John earl of Lancaster and Derby, with Robert earl of Leicester, each bearing a sword upright, the scabbards richly adorned with gold: after them six earls and barons bearing a chequered table, on which were laid the royal robes, and other Regalia: then came William Mandevil earl of Albemarle and Essex, bearing a large crown of gold set with precious stones: then duke Richard himself, (between the bishop of Durham and Bath) over whom a canopy of slate was borne by four barons: then followed a great train of earls, barons, knights, &c. In this order he came into the church, where before the high altar, laying his hand on the evangelists and relics of saints, he took a solemn oath, that he would observe peace, honour, and reverence to Almighty God, his church, and her ministers, all the days of his life; that he would exercise upright justice and equity towards the people committed to his charge; and that he would abrogate and disannul all evil laws and wrongful customs, and make, keep, and sincerely maintain those that were good and laudable. Then they put off all his garments from his middle upwards, except his shirt, which was open on the shoulders, and put on his shoes which were of gold tissue, and the archbishop anointed him on the head, the breast, and the arms; then covering his head with a linen cloth, he set the cap thereon which Geoffrey de Lucy carried; and when he had put on his waistcoat, and on that his Dalmatica, or upper garment, the archbishop delivered to him the sword of the kingdom; which done, two earls put on his spurs, and he was led, with the royal mantle hung on him, to the altar, where the archbishop charged him on God's behalf, Not to presume to take upon him this dignity, except he resolved inviolably to keep the vows and oaths he had just then made to which the king answered, That by God's grace he would faithfully perform them all. Then the crown was taken from beside the altar and given to the archbishop, who set it upon the king's head, delivering the sceptre into his right hand, and the rod royal into his left. Thus crowned, he was brought back to his throne with the same solemnity as before. Then mass began, and when they came to the offertory, the king was led by the bishops of Durham and Bath to the altar, where he offered a mark of pure gold, as his predecessors were wont to do, and afterwards was brought back to his throne by the same bishops. After mass, he was attended, thus royally arrayed, to a chamber adjoining in like procession as before: whence (after a short repose) he with the same procession returned into the choir; and having put off his heavy crown and robes, he went to dinner. At the coronation feast, which was kept in Westminster-Hall, the citizens of London were his butlers, and those of Winchester served up the meat. Then the archbishops and bishops sat down with the king, whilst the earls and barons served in the king's palaces, as their places and dignities required. Ralph de Diceto, (who was then dean of St. Paul's, and in the vacancy of the bishopric of London assisted at the coronation, and delivered the chrism or consecrated oil, with which the king was anointed,) has these remarkable words just before his account of the coronation. Richard earl of Poictou, being by hereditary right to be made king, (*promovendus in regem*) after a solemn and due election by

the clergy and laity, took a threefold oath, &c. By which words it should seem that the kings in those days were not considered as completely kings, till they were actually crowned, though the custom is otherwise now.

8.) They came to bring the king presents; though orders had been given, the day before, that neither **Jews, nor women, should be at the coronation. The Jews were at this time particularly odious, not merely on account of their religion, but for the exorbitant interest which they exacted for the use of money.**

9.) The example of the Londoners was followed the next year in the towns of **Norwich, on February 6; Stamford, March 7; St. Edmundsbury, March 18; Lincoln and Lynn, where the rabble rose upon the Jews; but their greatest fury was exerted against them at York, March 16;** where five hundred men, besides women and children, having prevailed with the governor to let them into the castle to avoid the rage of the populace; the high-sheriff came and required them to deliver it up, which they refusing to do, the people drew up in a body and attacked the castle. At last the Jews offered a great sum of money to go off with their lives but the people denied to give them quarter. Upon which an ancient Rabbin proposed the killing themselves rather than fall into the hands of the uncircumcised Christians. This motion was unanimously agreed to, and their method in putting their tragical resolve into execution, was thus: every master of a family cut his wife's and children's throats first, then dispatched his servants, and concluded with the slaughter of himself. The monkish writers not only excused but applauded this barbarity, because (said they) it served to destroy the enemies of the Christian faith. The bishop of Norwich paid him upon that account a thousand marks.

10.) Henry I. was great-grandfather to both.

11.) In Normandy. He is styled in two grants in the chamber of the duchy of Lancaster, COMES MORITONIE. on the seals of these grants he is represented on horseback, With a shield hanging about his neck, on which are two lions passant, which are the first arms on any seal of the royal family, being in the reign of Henry II. This seal is falsely depicted in Speed's Chronicle, the lions being there passant guardant, and John's horse caparisoned, a thing not in use till Edward I. The arms for queen Isabel his wife, on the tomb at Fonteveraud, are Lozengey, Or, and Gules

12) He made him chancellor, and delivered to him the custody of the Tower of London.

13.) Who was appointed chief judiciary, of all England, and governor of Windsor-castle, and the forest adjoining, with the county of Berks. The king divided England between these two regents, so as that the bishop of Durham's jurisdiction reached from the Humber to Scotland and Longchamp's extended over all the rest of the kingdom.

14.) At Chinon king Richard made some very remarkable orders for the preserving of peace in the navy, during the Jerusalem expedition; viz. that if any one killed a man in a ship, he was to be bound to the dead man, and flung into the sea. If any one was convicted to have drawn his dagger or knife to hurt another, or fetch blood, he was to lose his hand. If any one struck another with his open hands, without effusion of blood, he was to be ducked thrice over head and ears in the sea. If any one gave his companion opprobrious language, so often as he did it, he was to give him so many ounces of silver. If a man stole anything, his head was to be shaved, and boiling pitch poured upon it, and feathers stuck therein, that so he might be known; and the first land the ship touched at, he was to be set on shore.

15.) Their army consisted of above one hundred thousand persons.

16.) But king Richard was obliged to pay ten thousand marks of silver for the use of Alice, according to an agreement made between him and Philip.

17.) Philip moreover granted, that the sovereignty of Bretagne should, for the future, belong to Normandy.

18.) Three were lost, in which several persons belonging to the king's household perished and amongst the rest Roger Molus Catalus, the king's Vice-Cancelarius, or deputy chancellor, who was afterwards found with the Great-Seal about his neck.

19.) Aug old poet has told us with what weapon king Richard subdued Cyprus.

**This king Richard I understand.
Ere he went out of England.
Let make an axe for the Nones
Therewith to cleave the Saracens bones.
The head in sooth was wrought full weele ;
Thereon were twenty pound of Steele.
And when he came in Cyprus load,
This ilkon axe he took in hand. *Matt. Pride M. A. p. 320.***

20.) She was crowned at the same time.

21.) In 1189, he took, for the king's use, out of every town in England, two saddle and two cart horses; out of every abbey, one of each sort; and out every one of the king's manors, one likewise of each.

22.) He had usually fifteen hundred in his retinue, and had besides guards in his house. He was originally but a farmer's son.

23.) He did not appear before them, but kept himself shut up in the Tower of London. Prince John, with the earls and barons, and the citizens of London, besieged him in the Tower. After he had held out one night, he desired leave to go out of the kingdom: which was granted him, out upon condition he should resign the castles he was possessed of to some certain persons; accordingly he gave Sureties for the performance of it. From thence he went to Canterbury, and afterwards to Dover, where he spent some time with Matthew de Clere, his brother-in law, constable of the castle; and here, attempting to go out of the kingdom after he had given caution, and after the lords justices had given the inhabitants of Dover orders not to let him go out of the realm, he was treated in the manner related above.

24.) As he was sitting on a rock, waiting for a boat, with an ell in his hand, and a parcel of linen, as if he had been a pedlar; a seaman came by, and taking him for a woman, went to kiss him, and then offering at farther indecencies, discovered him to be a man; but however marched off without saying anything. A little after some women coming by began to cheapen his linen, but being a Frenchman, and understanding little English, he could make them no answer. Finding he would not speak, they pulled up the hood which was over his face, and then presently saw his black beard; upon which, crying out, the people came running in, and used him as above described.

25.) While he had the custody of the tower of London, he built a wall, and made the ditch that is round it.

26) Before he left Messina, in October, he made a law concerning shipwrecks, namely, that every person that suffered shipwreck, and got. safe on shore, should enjoy all his goods; but if he died on ship-board, his children, or other nearest relations, were to have the goods, according as they could make out their being next of kin; but, if they had no heirs nor near relations, then the king was to have their goods.

27) He was crowned with a crown of thorns in the year 1099.

28) The siege is said to have lasted above two years, and the author of Richard's travels to Jerusalem affirms, that three hundred thousand pilgrims perished in this siege. Among whom were many princes and noble persons, viz. Conrade duke of Servia, and several foreign earls; Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury; Ralph de Granville, chief justice of England; Wiling de Mandevil, William earl Ferrers, and some whose posterity still flourish; as Ingelram de Fiennes, ancestor of the lord Say and Seal; the lord Dacres; Theophilus Clinton, earl of Lincoln, whose arms retain the badge of the holy war, stars, crescents, and crosses; as also St. John, Minshul; Scrope, Pigot, Laiburn, Mowbray, Talbot, Malet, &c. The 13th of July, Acre was equally divided between the kings of England and France; the person appointed by the king of England to see it done, was Hugh de Gurnay; and by the king of France, Drogo de Marlon: each of them was attended with one hundred soldiers. The earls and barons, that attended the two kings in this expedition, desired they might be sharers in the gains, as well as in their labour; but receiving no satisfaction, most of them were forced to sell their arms, and return home.

29.) King Richard told, him, if you will give me the half of Flanders, and of the other dominions, you have acquired by the death of the earl of Flanders, I also will give you half of Cyprus.

30.) And yet when he came to Italy, he complained to the Pope and cardinals, that Richard had driven him out of the Holy-Land, and desired leave of the Pope, to revenge himself for it upon Normandy, and his other dominions. He arrived at Paris, December 27, 1197.

31.) It was articulated, that three thousand captives should be delivered, and that the Turks should redeem their heads by paying a certain sum of money, and remain in custody till payment was made. And that in case these articles were not made good within. forty days, they should be at the king's mercy for their lives. Saladine pretending these conditions were not with his approbation, would not perform them. Upon which it is likely Richard began with beheading the Turkish captives.

32.) King Richard made Bertrand Verdon, and Stephen de Munchanis governors of Acre; and left there his wife Berenguella, and his sister Joanna, &c.

33.) M. Paris says, Saladine bribed him to depart.

34.) Immediately after his return to his dominions, he loaded king Richard with calumnies, and had a conference, Jan. 22, 1192, between Gisors and Trie, wherein he demanded of William Fitz-Ralph, Seneschal of Normandy, his sister Alice but the seneschal refused to send her, though Philip shewed him the convention made between king Richard and him at Messina. After that, the king of France gathered a large army together, and would have invaded Normandy; but the greatest men of his kingdom would not let him.

35.) The truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical period, which had probably been devised by the Europeans, and which was suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

36.) Saladine was a prince of great humanity, generosity, and gallantry. He died at Damascus soon after the truce had been agreed upon. It is memorable, that, before he expired, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladine, the conqueror of the East." By his last will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mohammedan.

37.) King Richard's queen, and his sister Joanna, queen of Sicily, embarked at Acre, September. and king Richard himself, October. 9.

38.) A. D. 1193.

39.) He died April 6.

40.) King Richard ordered all the persons in it to be hanged, except he that had wounded him. He had previously intimated that, that should be their fate.

41.) It does not appear that the Norman kings of England, Richard's predecessors, bore any arms, at least such as are ascribed to them. This is attested by a learned antiquary. "I cannot find, (says he,) either by monuments, coins, seals, or any contemporary author, that a such arms as are assigned to our three Norman kings, were in use with these several princes, but that following ages did assign or fix them upon the Norman line, to distinguish it from the succeeding Plantagenets, that did bear gales, three lions, passant, gardant, or. Sandford Gen. Hist. p. 1." In, or about this time, coats of arms came also to be hereditary in families: they owed their origin to the badges, which people painted, for distinction sake. upon their shields, or coats of armour, in those mad expeditions in the east, called the crusades.

42.) In the first year of king Richard, 1189, the citizens of London obtained to be governed by two bailiffs, or sheriffs; and also to have a mayor, to be their principal governor. The two first bailiffs or sheriffs, were Henry Cornhill, and Richard Reynere; and the first mayor was Henry Fitz-Alwin, who continued mayor above twenty-four years.



Richard Coeur-de-Lion



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