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THE HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE:

AND
A VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY, FROM THE RISE
OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE
OF PARIS, IN 1763.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,
BY WILLIAM RUSSELL, L. L. D.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION, CAREFULLY CORRECTED.

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TO HIS GRACE
FRANCIS, DUKE OF BEDFORD,
THIS
IMPROVED EDITION
OF THE
HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE,
IS
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
BY HIS GRACE'S MOST HUMBLE,
AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,
WILLIAM RUSSELL.

05.11.18

ADVERTISEMENT.

A PERSUASION of the Utility of a concise History of Modern Europe induced the Author to undertake this Work: and he has had the Satisfaction to find his Opinion justified by that of the Public. The Epistolary Form was chosen, as best calculated in tracing the Concatenation of Events, for uniting the Accuracy of the Chronologer with the Entertainment of the Memorialist. And the Character of a Nobleman and a Father was assumed, in order to give more weight to the Moral and Political Maxims, and to entitle the Author to offer, without seeming to dictate to the World, such Reflections on Life and Manners as are supposed more immediately to belong to the higher Orders in Society.

To this Edition, is added a Chronological Table of Contents.

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THE HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

FROM THE RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO
THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.

LETTER I.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND THE
SETTLEMENT OF THE BARBARIANS.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, finished your course of Ancient History, under your preceptor: in the elements of Modern History, I myself will undertake to instruct you. The establishment of the present European nations; the origin of our laws, manners, and customs; the progress of society, of arts, and of letters, demand your particular attention, and were ill committed to the disquisitions of a mere scholar.

Europe is the theatre on which the human character has appeared to most advantage, and where society has attained its most perfect form, both in ancient and modern times; its history will, therefore, furnish us with

every thing worthy of observation in the study of men, or of kingdoms. I shall, however, turn your eye occasionally on the other parts of the globe, that you may have a general idea, at least, of the state of the universe. But before I proceed to the history of Modern Europe, it will be proper to say a few words concerning its ancient inhabitants, and its situation at the settlement of the present nations.

The inhabitants of ancient Europe may be divided into three classes, Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians; or those nations the two former were pleased to call so, because less civilized than they. With the Greek and Roman story you are well acquainted. I shall, therefore, only remind you, That the Greeks, the most polished people of antiquity, inhabited the maritime parts of the country now known by the name of European Turkey; that, when corrupted, they were conquered by the Romans; and that, after the conquest of Greece, the Romans turned their arms against the Barbarians or northern nations, the Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, whom they also in a great measure subdued, by their superiority in the art of war, but not with the same facility they had overcome the voluptuous nations of Asia. A single battle did not decide the fate of a kingdom. Those brave and independent people, though often defeated, resumed their arms with fresh valour, and defended their possessions and their liberties with obstinate courage. But after a variety of struggles, in which many of them perished in the field, and many were carried into slavery, a miserable remnant submitted to the Romans; while others fled to their mountains for freedom, or took refuge in the inaccessible corners of the north. There, defended by lakes and rivers, the indignant barbarians lived, until time had ripened the seeds of destruction. Then rushing forth, like an impetuous flood, and sweeping every thing before them, they overturned the vast fabric of the Roman empire, the work and the wonder of ages, taking vengeance on the murderers of mankind; established on
its

its ruins new governments and new manners, and accomplished the most signal revolution in the history of nations.

Here we must make a pause, in order to consider the moral and political causes of that great event, and its influence on the state of society.

As soon as the Romans had subdued the north of Europe, they set themselves to civilize it. They transferred into the conquered countries their laws, manners, arts, sciences, language, and literature. And some have thought these a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty and independency. But you, my dear Philip, will judge very differently, I hope, whatever veneration you may have for the Roman name.

Good laws are essential to good government, arts and sciences to the prosperity of a nation, and learning and politeness to the perfection of the human character. But these, in order to exalt a people, must be the result of the natural progress of civilization, not of any adventitious ferment or violence from abroad. The fruits of summer are ripened in winter by art; but the course of the seasons is necessary to give them their proper flavour, their proper size, or their proper taste. The spontaneous produce of the forest, though somewhat harsh, is preferable to what is raised by such forced culture; and the native dignity, the native manners, and rude virtues of the barbarian, are superior to all that can be taught the slave. When mankind are obliged to look up to a master for honour and consequence, to flatter his foibles, and to fear his frown, cunning takes place of wisdom, and treachery of fortitude; the mind loses its vigour, the heart its generosity, and man, in being polished, is only debased.

1. It was long fashionable with modern writers, but especially those of a classical turn, to rail against their rude ancestors, and lament the fall of the Roman empire as a great misfortune to the human race. This mistake seems to have arisen from an admiration of ancient literature, and an imperfect knowledge of history; from not sufficiently distinguishing between the extinction of Roman liberty, and the destruction of Roman despotism.

This

This truth was never, perhaps, more strikingly exemplified than in the history of the Roman empire. The degrading influence of its dominion, more than any other circumstance, hastened its final dissolution; for although the conquered nations were by that means more easily kept in subjection, they became unable to resist a foreign enemy, and might be considered as decayed members of the body politic, which increased its size without increasing its strength. An appearance of prosperity, indeed, succeeded to the havoc of war; the ruined cities were rebuilt, and new ones founded; population flourished; civilization advanced; the arts were cultivated; but the martial and independent spirit of the people of the northern provinces was so totally extinct in a few centuries, that instead of preferring death to slavery, like so many of their illustrious ancestors, they patiently submitted to any contribution which a rapacious governor was pleased to levy. And the descendants of those gallant warriors who had disputed the field with the Roman legions under Cæsar and Germanicus, were unable to oppose the most desultory inroads of a troop of undisciplined barbarians. They were become incapable of either thinking or acting for themselves. Hence all the countries, which had been subjected to the Roman yoke, fell a prey to the first invader, after the imperial forces were withdrawn.

Many other causes contributed to the dissolution of the Roman empire, beside the debility occasioned by its unwieldy corpulence.

Rome owed her dominion as much to the manners as to the arms of her citizens². Their dignity of sentiment; their love of liberty and of their country; their passion for

2. "Think not," said the elder Cato, to the Roman senate, "it was merely by force of arms that our forefathers raised this republic from a low condition to its present greatness;...no! but by things of a very different nature.....industry and discipline at home, abstinence and justice abroad, a disinterested spirit in council, unblinded by passion, and unbiassed by pleasure." Sallust. *Bell. Catilin.*

glory; their perseverance in toils; their contempt of danger and of death; their obedience to the laws; and above all, their civil constitution and military discipline, had extended and cemented the conquests of the Romans. The very usurpations of that sovereign people (for I speak of the times of the republic) were covered with a certain majesty, which made even tyranny respectable. But their government carried in its bosom the seeds of destruction. The continual jealousy between the patricians and plebeians, the senate and the people, without any balancing power, made the ruin of the republic inevitable, as soon as the manners were relaxed; and a relaxation of manners was necessarily produced, by the pillage of Greece and the conquest of Asia³; by the contagious refinements of the one, and the influx of wealth from the other.

The fall of Carthage, and the expulsion of the Gauls out of Italy, though seemingly the two most fortunate events in the Roman history, contributed also to a change of manners, and to the extinction of Roman liberty. While Carthage subsisted, the attention of all parties was carried toward that rival state; to defend themselves or annoy their enemies, was the only care of the Romans: and as long as the Gauls had possessions in the neighbourhood of Rome, her citizens were united by the sense of a common danger; but no sooner were their fears from abroad removed, than the people grew altogether ungovernable. Ambitious men took advantage of their licentiousness; party clashed with party. A master became necessary, in order to terminate the horrors of civil war, as well as to give union and vigour to the state. Interest and vanity made courtiers; force or fear, slaves. The people were disarmed by the jealousy of despotism,

3. It was in the delicious climate and pleasurable groves of Asia, says Sallust, that the army of the Roman people first learned to abandon themselves to wine and women—to admire pictures, statues, and vases of curious workmanship—and to spare nothing civil or sacred to come at the possession of them. *Bell Catilin.*

and corrupted by the example of an abandoned court. Effeminacy, debauchery, profligacy, and every atrocious vice, was common upon the throne.

A new source of ruin disclosed itself. Some disputed successions having made the army sensible that the sovereignty was in their hands, they thenceforth sold it to the highest bidder. Sporting with the lives of their princes, as formerly with the laws of the republic, they created emperors only to extort money from them, and afterwards massacred them, in order to extort like sums from their successors. Emperors were opposed to emperors, and armies disputed the pretensions of armies. With obedience discipline was lost. Wise princes endeavoured, but in vain, to restore it: their zeal to maintain the ancient military regulations only exposed them to the fury of the solidery; the very name of discipline was a signal for revolt. The armies of Rome did not now consist of free men, who had voluntarily chosen a military life: or who, in obedience to the laws, served for a term of years, but of mercenaries collected from the provinces, or barbarians bribed into the service, as more able to undergo the fatigues of war. Her soldiers were no longer citizens armed in defence of their country, they were its oppressors; they were licensed robbers, insatiable of plunder.

In order to prevent the continual treasons of the solidery, especially the Pretorian bands, the emperors associated with themselves in the supreme power, their sons, their brothers, or such persons as they could trust; and every emperor elected a Cæsar, or successor. They likewise subdivided, and consequently diminished, the power of the Pretorian prefects, who were the grand viziers of their time, appointing four instead of two. By these means the imperial seat was rendered more secure: the emperors were permitted to die in their beds; manners were softened, and less blood was shed by ferocity; but the state was wasted by an enormous expense, and a new species of oppression took place, no less disgraceful

ful to humanity than the former massacres. The tyranny was transferred from the soldiery to the prince: the cause and the mode was changed, but the effect was the same. Shut up within the walls of a palace, surrounded by flatterers and women, and sunk in the softness of Eastern luxury, those masters of empire governed in secret by the dark and subtle artifices of despotism. Iniquitous judgments, under the form of justice, seemed only to set death at a distance, in order to make life more miserable, and existence more precarious. Nothing was said, all was insinuated: every man of prime reputation was accused; and the warrior and the politician daily saw themselves at the mercy of sycophants, who had neither ability to serve the state themselves, nor generosity to suffer others to serve it with honour⁴.

The removal of the imperial court to Constantinople, to say nothing of the subsequent division of the empire into Eastern and Western, was a new blow to the grandeur of Rome, and likewise to its security: for the veteran legions, that guarded the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, were also removed to the East, in order to guard another frontier; and Italy, robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, sunk into a state of the most annihilating languor. Changed into a garden by an Asiatic pomp, and crowded with villas, now deserted by their voluptuous owners, this once fertile country was unable to maintain itself; and when the crops of Sicily and Africa failed, the people breathed nothing but sedition.

These discontents, occasioned by the removal of the imperial court, were heightened by those of religion. Christianity had long been making progress in the empire, it now ascended to the throne of the Cæsars. As the Christians had formerly been persecuted, they, in their turn, became persecutors. The Gods of Rome were publicly insulted, their statues were broken, their vota-

4. Montesq. *Considerat. sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Decad.* chap. xv. xvi. xvii. and the authors there cited, but especially Tacitus, Ammianus, Marcellinus and Zosimus.

ries were harassed. Penal statutes were enacted against the ancient worship: the punishment of death was denounced against the sacrifices formerly ordained by law; the altar of Victory was overturned, the Cross was exalted in its stead, and displayed in place of that triumphant eagle, under which the world had been conquered⁵. The most dreadful hates and animosities arose. The Pagans accused the Christians of all their misfortunes: they rejoiced in the midst of the greatest calamities, as if the Gods had been come in person to take vengeance on the destroyers of their altars; while the Christians affirmed that the remains of Paganism alone had drawn down the wrath of Omnipotence. Both parties were more occupied about their religious disputes than the common safety; and, to complete the miseries of this unhappy people, the Christians became divided among themselves. New sects sprung up; new disputes took place; new jealousies and antipathies raged; and the same punishments were denounced against Heretics and Pagans. An universal bigotry debased the minds of men. In a grand assembly of the provinces, it was proposed, That, as there are three persons in the Trinity, they ought to have three emperors. Sieges were raised, and cities lost, for the sake of a bit of rotten wood, or withered bone, which was supposed to have belonged to some saint or martyr. The effeminacy of the age mingled itself with this infatuation; and generals, more weak than

5. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court, representing the grievances of the priesthood and the senate, and soliciting the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was entrusted to Symmachus, a noble and eloquent orator, who thus makes Rome herself plead, before the imperial tribunal, in favour of the ancient worship; "These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capitol. Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt; but I am well assured, that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office." Symmach. lib. x. epist. 54.

humane, sat down to mourn the calamities of war, when they should intrepidly have led on their troops to battle⁶.

The character of the people with whom the Romans had to contend, was, in all respects, the reverse of their own. Those northern adventurers, or barbarians, as they were called, breathed nothing but war. Their martial spirit was yet in its vigour. They sought a milder climate, and lands more fertile than their forests and mountains: the sword was their right; and they exercised it without remorse, as the right of nature. Barbarous they surely were, but they were superior to the people they invaded, in virtue as well as in valour. Simple and severe in their manners, they were unacquainted with the name of luxury; any thing was sufficient for their extreme frugality. Hardened by exercise and toil, their bodies seemed inaccessible to disease or pain; war was their element; they sported with danger, and met death with expressions of joy. Though free and independent, they were firmly attached to their leaders; because they followed them from choice, not from constraint, the most gallant being always dignified with the command. Nor were these their only virtues. They were remarkable for their regard to the sanctity of the marriage bed; their generous hospitality, their detestation of treachery and falsehood. They possessed many maxims of civil wisdom, and wanted only the culture of reason to conduct them to the true principles of social life⁷.

What could the divided, effeminate, and now dastardly Romans, oppose to such a people? Nothing but fear and folly; or, what was still more ignominious, treachery.

6. Montesq. *Considerat. &c.* chap. xviii—xxii. See also Gibbon's *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii—vi, and the authors there quoted.

7. Tacit. *de Moribus Germ. Priscus, Excerpt. de Legat.* Jornandes, *de Reb. Get.* "As in polished societies," says Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the Huns, "ease and tranquillity are courted, they delight in war and dangers. He who falls in battle is reckoned happy; while they, who die of old age or disease, are held infamous." *Hist.* lib. xxxi.

Soon convinced that the combat was unequal, they attempted to appease their invaders by money: but that peace could not be of long continuance, which put those who sold it in a better condition to sell another. Force is seldom just. These voluntary contributions were changed into a tribute, which was demanded as a right; and war was denounced when it was refused, or fell short of the customary sum. Tributes were multiplied upon tributes, till the empire was drained of its treasure. Another expedient was then fallen upon: large bodies of the barbarians were taken into pay, and opposed to other barbarians. This mode of defence, so contrary to the practice of the first Romans, answered for the moment, but terminated in ruin: those auxiliaries proved the most dangerous enemies to the empire. Already acquainted with the Roman luxuries, the Roman wealth, and the Roman weakness, they turned their arms against their masters, inviting their countrymen to come and share with them in the spoils of a people unworthy of so many accommodations. They were likewise become acquainted with what little military skill yet remained among the Romans; and that, superadded to their natural intrepidity, made them perfectly irresistible. A third expedient, yet more unworthy of the Roman name, was had recourse to:....assassination was employed by the emperors against those princes, or leaders, whose arms they feared; it was even concealed beneath the mask of friendship, and perpetrated under the roof of hospitality! in the convivial hour, and at the festive board³.

This diabolical practice, the want of faith, and other unmanly vices of the Romans, not only account for the total subversion of their empire, but also for many of the cruelties of the conquerors. Inflamed with the passion of revenge, no less than the thirst of conquest or the lust of plunder, the inflexible and high spirited, though naturally generous barbarians, were equally deaf to the offers of treaty and the voice of supplication.

3. Montesquieu and Gibbon, ubi sup.

Wherever they marched, their route was marked with blood. The most fertile and populous provinces were converted into deserts. Italy, and Rome itself was often pillaged. New invaders, from regions more remote and barbarous, drove out or exterminated the former settlers : and Europe was successively laid waste, till the North, by pouring forth its myriads, was drained of people, and the sword of slaughter tired of destroying.

In less than an hundred years after the first northern invasion, scarce any remains of the laws, manners, arts, or literature of the Romans were left in our quarter of the globe. By the beginning of the sixth century, the Visigoths had possessed themselves of Spain; the Franks of Gaul; the Saxons of the Roman provinces in South Britain; the Huns of Pannonia; the Ostrogoths of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. New governments, laws, languages; new manners, customs, dresses, new names of men and of countries every where prevailed. A total change took place in the state of Europe⁹.

How far this change ought to be lamented, is not now a matter of much dispute. The human species was reduced to such a degree of debasement by the pressure of Roman despotism, that we can hardly be sorry at any means, however violent, which removed or lightened the load. But we cannot help lamenting, at the same time, that this revolution was the work of nations so little enlightened by science or polished by civilization: for the Roman laws, though somewhat corrupted, were yet in general the best that human wisdom had framed; and the Roman arts and literature, though much declined,

9. A similar change was soon to take place in the state of Asia, great part of which was still subject to the emperors of Constantinople. These emperors, though gradually robbed of their Asiatic provinces by the followers of Mahomet, continued to preserve, in the East, as we shall have occasion to see, an image of Roman greatness, long after Rome had been sacked by the barbarians, and the Roman dominion finally extinguished in the West. The Roman provinces in Africa were already overrun by the Vandals, who had spread desolation with fire and sword.

were

were still superior to any thing found among rude nations, or which those who spurned them produced for many ages.

The contempt of the barbarians for the Roman improvements is not wholly, however, to be ascribed to their ignorance, nor the suddenness of the revolution to their desolating fury; the manners of the conquered must come in for a share. Had the Romans not been in the lowest state of national degeneracy, they might surely have civilized their conquerors; had they retained any of the virtues of men among them, they might have continued under the government of their own laws. Many of the northern leaders were endowed with great abilities, and several of them were acquainted both with the policy and literature of the Romans; but they were justly afraid of the contagious influence of Roman example; and therefore avoided every thing allied to that name, whether hurtful or otherwise¹⁰. They erected a cottage in the neighbourhood of a palace, breaking down the stately building, and burying in its ruins the finest works of human ingenuity; they ate out of vessels of wood, and made the vanquished be served in vessels of silver; they hunted the boar on the voluptuous parterre, the trim garden, and expensive pleasure-ground, where effeminacy was wont to saunter, or indolence to loll; and they pastured their herds, where they might have raised a luxuriant harvest. They prohibited their children the knowledge of literature, and of all the elegant arts; because they concluded, from the dastardliness of the Romans, that learning tends to enervate the mind, and that he who has trembled under the rod of a pedagogue will never dare to meet a sword with an undaunted eye¹¹.

10. "When we would brand an enemy," says an enlightened barbarian, "with disgraceful and contumelious appellations, we call him a *Roman*; a name which comprehends whatever is base, cowardly, avaricious, luxurious....in a word, lying, and all other vices." Luitprand, *Legat. ap. Murat.* vol. ii.

11. Procop. *Bell. Goth.* lib. i.

Upon the same principles they rejected the Roman jurisprudence. It reserved nothing to the vengeance of man: they therefore, not unphilosophically, thought it must rob him of his active powers. Nor could they conceive how the person injured could rest satisfied, but by pouring out his fury upon the author of the injustice. Hence all those judicial combats, and private wars which for many ages desolated Europe.

In what manner light arose out of this darkness, order out of this confusion, and taste out of this barbarism, we shall have occasion to observe in the course of history: how genius and magnificence display themselves in a new mode, which prevailed for a time, and was exploded; how the sons came to idolize that literature which their fathers had proscribed, and wept over the ruins, of those sculptures, paintings, and buildings, which they could not restore; digging from dunghills, and the dust of ages the models of their future imitations, and enervating themselves with the same arts which had enervated the Romans.

In the meantime we must take a view of the system of policy and legislation established by the barbarians on their first settlement.

LETTER

LETTER II.

THE SYSTEM OF POLICY AND LEGISLATION ESTABLISHED BY
THE BARBARIANS, ON SETTLING IN THE PROVINCES OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE ancient Gauls, the Britons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the nations of the north of Europe, had a certain degree of conformity in their government, manners, and opinions. The same leading character, and the same degree of conformity was also observable among their more modern descendants, who, under the names of Goths and Vandals, dismembered the Roman empire. Alike distinguished by a love of war and of liberty, by a persuasion that force only constitutes right, and that victory is an infallible proof of justice, they were equally bold in attacking their enemies, and in resisting the absolute domination of any one man. They were free even in a state of submission. Their primitive government was a kind of military democracy, under a general or chieftain, who had commonly the title of king. Matters of little consequence were determined by the principal men, but the whole community assembled to deliberate on national objects. The authority of their kings or generals, who owed their eminence entirely to their military talents, and held it by no other claim, was extremely limited: it consisted rather in the privilege of advising, than in the power of commanding. Every individual was at liberty to chuse whether he would engage in any warlike enterprise. They therefore followed the chieftain who led them forth in quest of new settlements from inclination, not controul¹; as volunteers who offered to accompany him, not as soldiers whom he could order to march. They considered their conquests as common

1. *Cæsar. de Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. *Tacit. de Moribus German.* cap. xi—
xvi. *Amm. Marcel.* lib. xxxi. *Pris. Rhet.* ap. *Byzz. Script.* vol. i.

property, in which all had a right to share, as all had contributed to acquire them; nor was any obligation whatsoever entailed on the possessor of lands thus obtained. Every one was the lord of his own little territory.

But after settling in the Roman provinces, where they had their acquisitions to maintain not only against the ancient inhabitants, but also against the inroads of new invaders, the northern conquerors saw the necessity of a closer union, and of relinquishing some of their private rights for public safety. They continued therefore to acknowledge the general who had led them to victory: he was considered as the head of the colony; he had the largest share of the conquered lands; and every free man, or every subordinate officer and soldier, upon receiving a share, according to his military rank, tacitly bound himself to appear against the enemies of the community².

This new division of property, and the obligations consequent upon it, gave rise to a species of government formerly unknown, and which is commonly distinguished by the name of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. The idea of a feudal kingdom was borrowed from that of a military establishment. The victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had seized, continued arranged under its proper officers, who were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to assemble whenever occasion should require their united operations or counsels.

But that system of policy, apparently so well calculated for national defence or conquest, and which prevailed for several centuries in almost every kingdom of Europe, did not sufficiently provide for the interior order and tranquillity of the state. The bond of political union was feeble; the sources of dissention were many; and corruption was interwoven with the very frame of the constitution. The partial division of the conquered lands, which were

2. Du Cange, *Gloss. voc. Miles e' Alodie.*

chiefly swallowed up by the great officers, gave the few a dangerous ascendancy over the many. The king or general, by his superior allotment, had it amply in his power to reward past services or attach new followers, for the purpose of future wars. With this view he parcelled out his lands; binding those, on whom he bestowed them, to attend him in all his military enterprises, under the penalty of forfeiture. The nobles, or great officers, followed his example, annexing the same conditions to their benefices or grants of land, and appearing at the head of their numerous vassals, like so many independent princes, whenever their pride was wounded or their property injured. They disputed the claims of the sovereign; they withdrew their attendance, or turned their arms against him³. A strong barrier was thus formed against a general despotism in the state; but the nobles themselves, by means of their warlike retainers, were the tyrants of every inferior district, holding the people in servitude, and preventing any regular administration of justice, every one claiming that prerogative within his own domain. Nor was this the only privilege those haughty nobles usurped; they also extorted from the crown the right of coining money in their own name, and of carrying on war against their private enemies⁴.

In consequence of these encroachments on the royal prerogative, the powerful vassals of the crown obtained grants during life, and afterwards others including their heirs, of such lands as they had originally held only during pleasure. And they appropriated to themselves titles of honour, as well as offices of power and of trust, which became hereditary in many families. The ties which connected the principal members of the constitution with its head were dissolved; almost all ideas of political subjection were lost, and little appearance of feudal subordination remained. The nobility openly aspired at

3. Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xxx. xxxi.

4. Montesquieu, ubi supra. Robertson, *Introd. Hist. Charles V.* Hume, *Hist. Eng.* Append. ii.

independency:

independency: they scorned to consider themselves as subjects; and a kingdom, considerable in name and extent, was often a mere shadow of monarchy, and really consisted of as many separate principalities as it contained baronies. A thousand feuds and jealousies subsisted among the barons, and gave rise to as many wars⁵. Hence every country in Europe, wasted or kept in continual alarm by these internal hostilities, was filled with castles and places of strength, in order to protect the inhabitants from the fury of their fellow-subjects.

Kingdoms so divided, and torn by domestic broils, were little capable of any foreign effort. The wars of Europe, therefore during several centuries, as we shall have occasion to see, resembled more the wild and desultory incursions of pirates, or banditti, than the regular and concerted operations of national force. Happily, however, for posterity, the state of every kingdom was nearly the same; otherwise all must have fallen a prey to one: the independent spirit of the North might have been extinguished forever; and the present harmonious system of European policy, which so gloriously struggled from the chaos of anarchy, would have sunk in eternal night.

The particular manner in which the barbarians, or northern invaders, conducted their judicial proceedings, when they first settled in the provinces of the Roman empire, cannot now be distinctly ascertained: but their form of government, their manners, and a variety of other circumstances, lead us to believe it was nearly the same with that which prevailed in their original countries; where the authority of the magistrate was so limited, and the independency of individuals so great, that they seldom admitted any umpire but the sword⁶.

Our most ancient historical records justify this opinion: they represent the exercise of justice in all the kingdoms of Europe, and the ideas of men with respect to

5. Id. *ibid.* 6. Ferguson, *Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society*, part ii.

equity, as little different from those which prevail in a state of nature, and deform the first stages of society in every country. Resentment was, almost the sole motive for prosecuting crimes; and the gratification of that passion, more than any view to the prosperity and good order of society, was the end, and also the rule in punishing them. He that suffered the wrong, was the only person who had a right to pursue the aggressor; to demand or remit the punishment:—and he might accept of a compensation for any offence how heinous soever. The prosecution of criminals in the name, and by the authority of the community, in order to deter others from violating the laws, now justly deemed the great object of legislation, was a maxim of jurisprudence then little understood in theory, and still less regarded in practice. The civil and criminal judges could, in most cases, do no more than appoint the lists, and leave the parties to decide their cause by the sword. Fierce and haughty nobles, unused to the restraints of law, considered it as infamous to give up to another the right of determining what reparation they should accept of, or with what vengeance they should rest satisfied: they scorned to appeal to any tribunal but their own right-arm. And if men of inferior condition sometimes submitted to award or arbitration, it was only to that of the leader whose courage they respected, and whom in the field they had been accustomed to obey⁷. Hence every chieftain became the judge of his tribe in peace, as well as its general in war.—The pernicious effects of this power upon government and upon manners, and the many absurd modes of trial established before its abolition, we shall have

7. This subject has been finely illustrated by Dr. Robertson, (*Introd. Hist. Charles V.*) and by the president Montesquieu, (*L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xviii.—xxx.) who has written a philosophical commentary on the *Laws of the Barbarians*. It has also been treated, with much learning and ingenuity, by Dr. Stuart in his *View of Society*, and by Mr. Gibbon in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxxviii.

frequent

frequent occasion to observe in the history of every modern kingdom.

The feudal system, however, with all its imperfections, and the disorders to which it gave birth, was by no means so debasing to humanity as the uniform pressure of Roman despotism. Very different from that dead calm which accompanies peaceful slavery, and in which every faculty of the soul sinks into a kind of somnolency, it kept the minds of men in continual ferment, and their hearts in agitation. If animosities were keen, friendships also were warm. The commonality were unfortunately degraded to the condition of slaves, but the nobility were exalted to the rank of princes. The gentry were their associates: and the king, without the form of compact, was in reality but chief magistrate, or head of the community, and could literally do no WRONG; or none, at least, with impunity.

LETTER III.

RISE OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY, AND THE HISTORY OF FRANCE UNDER THE KINGS OF THE FIRST RACE.

IN history, as in all other sciences, it is necessary to set certain limits to our inquiries, if we would proceed with certainty; and, where utility more than curiosity is our object, we must even contract these boundaries. We must not only confine ourselves to those periods where truth can be ascertained, but to those events chiefly which were followed by some civil or political consequence, which produced some alteration in the government or the manners of a people: and, even of such events, we should be more particularly attentive to those which continue to operate upon our present civil or political system.

In

In these few words, my dear Philip, in order to avoid egotism, I have indirectly given you an account of the manner in which I mean to conduct that *History of Modern Europe*, which is intended for your instruction. The first epochs of modern, as well as ancient history, are involved in fable; and the transactions of the immediately succeeding periods are handed down to us in barren chronicles, which convey no idea of the character of the agents, and consequently are destitute alike of instruction and amusement; while the events of latter ages are related with a copiousness so profuse and undistinguishing, that a selection becomes absolutely necessary, for such as would not willingly spend a lifetime in acquiring a knowledge of the transactions of those who have lived before them. And as I would rather have you acquainted with the character of one living, than of ten dead statesmen or heroes, I shall be as concise in my narration as is consistent with perspicuity, and as select in my matter as information will allow; yet always taking care to omit no anecdote which can throw light on the history of the human heart, nor any circumstance that marks the progress of civil society.

Modern history is of little importance before the time of Charlemagne; and a late celebrated writer has fixed upon the coronation of that prince at Rome, in the year 800, as the proper æra of its commencement. But, for the sake of order, as well as to gratify the curiosity we naturally have to become acquainted with the origin of nations, I shall give you a short sketch of the state of modern Europe previous to that æra.

The French monarchy first claims our notice; not on account of its antiquity only, but because of its early and continued consequence. Gaul was shared by the Romans, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians, when A. D. 486. Clovis king of the Franks, (son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovius, head of the Salian tribe) defeated Syagrius, a Roman usurper in that province, and established a new kingdom, to which he gave the

the name of France, or the *Land of Free Men*¹. How ill applied in latter times!

Though Clovis was only nineteen years of age when he obtained this victory, his prudence appears to have been equal to his valour. And many circumstances conspired to his farther aggrandizement. The Gauls hated the dominion of the Romans, and were strongly attached to Christianity: Clovis gained on their piety, by favouring their bishops: and his marriage with Clotilda, niece to Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, made them hope that he would speedily embrace the faith. The attachment of his countrymen to their ancient worship was the sole objection: the pious exhortations of the queen had some effect; and the king having vanquished the Allemanni at Tolbiac, near Cologne, after an obstinate engagement, politically ascribed that victory to the God of Clotilda, whom he said he had invoked during the time of battle, under promise of becoming a Christian, if crowned with success. He was accordingly baptised by St. Remigius, bishop of ^{A. D. 496.} Rheims, and almost the whole French nation followed his example².

This was a grand circumstance in favour of Clovis: and he did not fail to take advantage of it. The Gauls were staunch Catholics, but the Visigoths and Burgundians were Arians. Clotilda, however, happily was a Catholic, though nursed in the bosom of Arianism; and

1. Gregor. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 27.

2. *Gest. Franc.* cap. xv. Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 31. Of the miracle, said to have been wrought on the conversion of Clovis, the author of this work says nothing, as he would not wish to foster pious credulity; but the lovers of the marvellous will find sufficient food for their passion in Hincmar (*Vit. St. Remig.*) It may not, however, be improper to observe, that Clovis, when warmed with the eloquence of the bishop of Rheims, in describing the passion and death of Christ, started up, and seizing his spear, violently exclaimed, "Had I been there with the valiant Franks, I would have redressed his wrongs!" Fredig. *Epitom.* cap. xxi.

Clovis himself overflowed with zeal for the same faith, as soon as he found it would second his ambitious views. Under colour of religion, he made war upon Alaric, king of the Visigoths, who possessed the country between the Rhone and the Loire. The Gallic A. D. 507. clergy favoured his pretensions; and the battle of Vouille, in which the king of the Visigoths was vanquished and slain, near Poitiers, added to the kingdom of France the province of Aquitaine³.

But Clovis, instead of enjoying his good fortune with dignity, disfigured the latter part of his reign by perfidies and cruelties toward the princes of his house, whom he extirpated. He died in 511, after attempting to atone for his crimes by building and endowing churches and monasteries, and assembling a council at Orleans for the regulation of church-discipline⁴,

The death of Clovis was a severe blow to the grandeur of the French monarchy. He left four A. D. 511. sons, who divided his extensive dominions among them. Thierry, the eldest, had the largest share; he was king of Austrasia, or that part of the Oriental France which lies between the Rhine and the Meuse, Metz was his capital. Childebert was king of Paris, Clodimir of Orleans, and Clotaire of Soissons⁵. This division of the empire of the Franks, into four independent kingdoms, not only weakened its force, but gave rise to endless broils. The brothers became enemies whenever their interests jarred. The most frightful barbarities were the consequence of their dissensions. Murders and assassinations grew common events.

The experience of these evils, however, did not prevent a like division taking place after the death of Clotaire, the sole successor of his brothers and nephews. His four sons divided the four kingdoms by lots. The A. D. 562. kingdom of Paris fell to the lot of Caribert; Soissons to Chilperic; Austrasia to Sigebert;

3. Greg. Tur. lib. ii. cap. 37. 4. Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. 40—43.

5. Ibid. lib. cap. 3. 6. Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 22. *Gest. Franc.* cap. xxix.

and Orleans to Gontran, in whose lot also was included Burgundy, which had been conquered by the united forces of Childebert and Clotaire. This new division was followed by consequences still more fatal than the former. Two queens, more deserving the name of furies than of women, sacrificed every thing to their bloody ambition; Brunehilda, princess of Spain, wife to Sigebert, king of Austrasia, and Fredegonda, first concubine and afterward wife to Chilperic, king of Soissons. Their mutual hatred, conjoined with their influence over their husbands, was productive of an infinite number of crimes, equally ruinous to the people and the royal family, and the most enormous to be met with in the history of mankind.

After the murder of a multitude of princes, and many years of civil war, carried on with the most vindictive spirit, and accompanied with every form of treachery and cruelty, Clotaire II. son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, was left sole monarch of France⁷. He re-established tranquillity, and gained the A. D. 613. hearts of his people by his justice and generosity: and he attached the nobility to him by augmenting their consequence. He committed the government of the provinces of Austrasia and Burgundy to the Mayors of the palace, as they were called; a kind of viceroys, who, daily acquiring power, at last made their way to the throne.

The vices of Dagobert, the son of Clotaire; the taxes with which he loaded the people, to furnish his debauches, or to atone for them, according to the custom of those times, by pious profusions, weakened the royal authority, at the same time that they debased it. His two sons, Sigebert II. and Clovis II. were only the founders of new convents. They were nobody in their kingdoms, the mayors were every thing.

On the death of Sigebert, Grimoald, mayor of Austrasia, set his own son upon the throne of that kingdom.

7. Fredig. *Chron.* cap. xliii.

The usurper was deposed; but the seducing example remained as a lure to future ambition. The succeeding sovereigns were as weak as their predecessors: and Pepin Heristel, duke of Austrasia, governed France twenty-eight years, under the title of mayor, with equal prudence and fortitude. The kings were no more than decorated pageants, to be shewn to the people occasionally. The appellation of *sluggards*, which was given them, aptly expresses their stupid inactivity.

After the death of Pepin, who, by restoring national assemblies, which the despotism of former mayors had abolished, by turning the restless impetuosity of the French against foreign enemies, whom he always overcame, and other wise measures, had quietly enjoyed a power hitherto unknown in the monarchy; his authority passed into the hands of his widow Plectrude, whose grandson, yet an infant, was created mayor. So high was the veneration of the French for the memory of that great man!—But the government of a woman was ill suited to those turbulent times, though the insignificant kings were content to live under the guardianship of a child. Charles Martel, natural son of Pepin, was suspected of ambitious views by Plectrude, and imprisoned. He found means, however, to make his escape, and was received by the Austrasians as their deliverer. His superior talents soon exalted him to the same degree of power which his father had enjoyed, and he was no less worthy of it. He saved France from the sword of the Saracens, who had already subjected Spain, and he kept all the neighbouring nations in awe by his wise and vigorous administration; yet he never styled himself any more than duke of France, conscious that the title of king could add nothing to his power. But his son Pepin, less modest or more vain, assumed the sovereignty in name as well as reality; excluding forever the descendants of Clovis, or the Merovingian race from the throne of France^s.

The circumstances of that revolution I shall soon have occasion to relate. At present we must take a view of the other states of Europe.

LETTER IV.

SPAIN UNDER THE DOMINION OF THE VISIGOTHS, AND UNDER THE MOORS, TILL THE REIGN OF ABDURRAHMAN.

SPAIN, my dear Philip, next merits your attention as the second great kingdom on this side of the Alps. Soon after the Visigoths founded their monarchy in that Roman province, already over-run by the Vandals and the Suevi, the clergy became possessed of more power than the prince. A. D. 467. So early was the tyranny of the church in Spain! Almost all causes, both civil and ecclesiastical, were referred to the bench of bishops; they even decided in their councils the most weighty affairs of the nation. Along with the nobles, among whom they held the first rank, they often disposed of the crown, which was more elective than hereditary'. The kingdom was one theatre of revolutions and crimes. The number of kings assassinated fills the soul with horror. The barbarians, after their establishment, contracted new vices: their ferocity became bloody. What crimes did no bigotry alone produce!

In order to make you fully sensible of this, as well as acquainted with all that is necessary to be known in the history of the Visigoths in Spain, I need only mention the principal reigns.

Leovigild, who died in 585, and who is so much celebrated for his victories over the Suevi, whom A. D. 585 he entirely subdued, put to death his son Hermenegild, because he had embraced the Catholic faith,

1. Geddes's *Tracts*, vol. ii. See also *Savedra, Corona Gothica*.

he himself being an Arian. Recared, however, his other son and successor, abjured Arianism. The Arians were persecuted in their turn. The spirit of persecution daily increased. Sisebut, a prince in other respects wise, and whose valour dispossessed the Greek emperors of what territory they had continued to hold on the coasts of the Mediterranean obliged the Jews, on A. D. 612. pain of death, to receive baptism. In the reign of this monarch the empire of the Visigoths was at its height; comprehending not only Spain, but also some neighbouring provinces of Gaul, and part of Mauritania. Chintila, a subsequent king, banished all the Jews; and a council, or assembly of divines, convoked during his reign, declared that no prince could ascend the Spanish throne without swearing to enforce all the laws enacted against that unfortunate people. Under the reign of Recesuint, the election of kings was reserved by a council to the bishops and palatines. These palatines were the principal officers of the crown.—Thus the Spanish nobility lost one of their most essential rights.

Wamba, who defeated the Saracens in an attempt upon Spain, was excluded the throne, because he A. D. 682. had been clothed in the habit of a *penitent*, while labouring under the influence of poison, administered by the ambitious Erviga!—This stroke of priestcraft, the first of the kind we meet with in history, shews at a distance what might be expected from clerical finesse. A council adjudged the throne to Erviga: and another council, held during his reign, prohibited the king, under penalty of damnation, from marrying a king's widow. This canon is a sufficient proof of the spirit of legislation which at that time prevailed in Spain. The debauchery, cruelty, and impiety of Witiza, whose wickedness knew no bounds, occasioned a civil war in 710. Roderic, or Roderigue, dethroned this prince, and was himself dethroned by a people whom A. D. 710. nothing could withstand².

2. Isidor. *Cron. Gotb. Ferreras, Hist. Hisp.* vol. ii. Mariana, *ibid.* Greg. Turon. lib. vi.

The Mahometan religion was already established in many countries. Mahomet, its founder, who erected at Mecca a spiritual and temporal monarchy, had died in 632; and his countrymen, the Arabs or Saracens, soon after over-ran great part of Asia, and all that part of Africa which was under the Roman dominion. Animated by the most violent spirit of fanaticism, their valour was altogether irresistible. The Koran promised heaven and eternal sensuality to such as fell in battle, and the conquerors always tendered liberty and protection to those who embraced their superstition. They threatened the whole world with subjection. Count Julian, whose daughter king Roderic had dishonoured, invited them, it is said, to land in Spain. Nor is this circumstance by any means improbable, considering the character of the times, more revolutions being then occasioned by the private vices of princes than any other cause.

The Saracens, already masters of Mauritania, now Barbary (a name which the lawless ferocity of their descendants has given to that country, as it gave to them the name of Maures or Moors), made a descent upon Spain; and by the decisive battle ^{A. D. 712.} of Xeres, in Andalusia, put an end to the empire of the Visigoths³. Muza, viceroy of Africa, under the calif Walid, came over to finish the conquest. According to the prudent policy of the Mahometans (the only enthusiasts who ever united the spirit of toleration with a zeal for making proselytes), he offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, on condition that they should pay to him the same subsidy they had paid their former sovereigns: and such as embraced the religion of the conquerors were intitled to all their privileges. Most cities submitted without resistance: those that held out he reduced by force, burning and pillaging them. Oppas, archbishop of Seville, and uncle to the children of Witiza,

3. Rod. Tolet *Hist. Arab.* Ferreras, ubi sup.

was not ashamed on this occasion to join the Saracens, and sacrificed his country and his religion to his hatred against Roderic. But Pelagious, a prince of the royal blood, remained firm in his faith and his duty; and when he could no longer keep the field against the Infidels, he retired to the mountains of Asturias, followed by a number of faithful adherents. There he A. D. 717. founded a Christian kingdom which he defended by his valour, and transmitted to his posterity⁴.

Meanwhile the Saracens or Moors, little willing to confine their ambition within the limits of the Pyrenees, made an unsuccessful attack upon Eudes, duke of Aquitaine. But that check was soon forgot. Abdurrahman, the new emir or governor of Spain, made a second irruption with superior forces, and penetrated as far as Sens. Repelled there by bishop Ebbo, he fell upon Aquitaine, vanquished the duke, and advanced towards the heart of France. Charles Martel put a A. D. 732. stop to his career, between Poitiers and Tours, by a memorable battle, in which Abdurrahman himself was slain; and, if we believe the historians of those times, the Saracens lost in this action above three hundred thousand men. But such exaggerations are fit only for romance.

Spain was at first very miserable under the dominion of the Moors. The emirs being dependent on the viceroy of Africa, who allowed them to continue but a short time in their government, were more busy in fleecing the Spanish nation, than in the administration of justice or the preservation of good order. Civil wars arose among the Moslems themselves, and the califs or vicars of the prophet, the successors of Mahomet, who had made Damascus the seat of their court, were unable to quell those disorders. The competitions for the califat, as may be expected, even favoured the projects of the rebels. At length that august dignity, which included

4. Mariana, vol. i. Ferreras, vol. ii.

both the highest regal and sacerdotal eminence, passed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abassides. This revolution, which was bloody, gave birth to another, truly advantageous to Spain, but injurious to the Christian faith. A. D. 750.

Abdurrahman, called also, Almanzor, a prince of the bloodroyal, who escaped in the massacre of the Ommiades, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, consisting of all those provinces which had been subject to the calif⁵. He fixed his residence at Cordova, which he made the seat of the arts, of magnificence and of pleasure. Without persecuting the Christians, he was able, by his artful policy, almost to extinguish Christianity in his dominions;—by depriving the bishops of their dioceses; by reserving all honour and offices for the followers of his prophet; and by promoting intermarriages between the Christians and Mahometans. No prince in Europe equalled Abdurrahman in wisdom, nor any people the Arabs in whatever tends to the aggrandizement of the human soul. Lately enemies to the sciences, they now cultivated them with success, and enjoyed a considerable share both of learning and politeness, while the rest of mankind were sunk in ignorance and barbarism⁶.

I shall afterward have occasion to be more particular on this subject. In the mean time, we must cast an eye on Italy, Rome, Constantinople, and France, from the time of Charles Martel to that of Charlemagne.

5. Ferreras. ubi sup.

6. Ockley, *Hist. Sarac.* vol. i. ii.

LETTER V.

ITALY UNDER THE DOMINION OF THE OSTROGOTHS, AND UNDER
THE LOMBARDS TILL THE REIGN OF LUITPRAND.

ITALY experienced a variety of fortunes after it lost its ancient masters, before it fell into the hands of A. D. 476. Charlemagne. It was first wholly conquered by the Heruli, a people from the extremity of the Euxine or Black Sea, who held it only a short time, being expelled by the Ostrogoths. Theodoric, the first A. D. 423. Gothic king of Italy, and several of his successors, were princes of great prudence and humanity. They allowed the Italians, or Romans, as they still affected to be called, to retain their possessions, their laws, their religion, their own government, and their own magistratés, reserving only to the Goths the principal military employments. They acknowledged the emperors of Constantinople their superiors in rank, but not in jurisdiction. Ravenna was the seat of their court, and in real magnificence vied with ancient Rome, as their equitable administration did with the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus'. They were at last subdued by Belisarius and Narses, the generals of Justinian, who having recovered Africa A. D. 554. from the Vandals, had the pleasure of uniting Italy once more to the Roman, Eastern, or

1. Procop. *Bell. Gotb.* Cassiodor. lib. viii. The lenity of the Ostrogoths on first settling in Italy, may be accounted for from two causes—partly from that polish which their manners may be supposed to have received during their intercourse with the Romans, whom they had long served as auxiliaries against the Huns and other barbarous nations; partly from the character of Theodoric the Gothic conqueror, who having been educated at Constantinople, and initiated in all the learning of the times, retained ever after a just admiration of the Roman laws and arts.

Greek

Greek empire, the Western empire, which took its rise, as a separate state, on the death of Theodosius in 325, being totally annihilated by Odoacer, king of the Heruli.

Soon after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths, great part of Italy was seized by Alboinus, king of the Lombards or Langobards, a Gothic nation. He A. D. 568. and his successors made Pavia the place of their residence. The government of Italy was now entirely changed. Alboinus established the feudal policy in those countries which he had conquered, settling the principal officers of his army, under the name of duke, in the chief cities of every province². A similar kind of government prevailed in that part of Italy which remained subject to the emperors of Constantinople; the exarch or supreme governor, who resided at Ravenna, appointing the dukes or chief magistrates, of the other cities, and removing them at pleasure. Even Rome itself was governed by a duke, the very name of the senate and consuls being abolished.

Alboinus was one of the greatest princes of his time, and no less skilled in the science of reigning A. D. 571. than in the art of war; but he was slain by the treachery of his wife Rosamund, before he had leisure to perfect the government of his kingdom. Clephis, his successor, was an able, but a barbarous prince. His cruelties gave the Lombards such an aversion against regal power, that they resolved, after his death, to change their form of government; accordingly, for the space of twelve years, they chose no other king, but lived subject to their dukes. These dukes had hitherto acknowledged the royal authority: but, when the kingly power was abolished, each duke became sovereign of his own city and its district.

The Lombards, during that interregnum, extended their conquests in Italy. But, being threatened by foreign enemies, they saw the necessity of a closer union; of restoring their ancient form of government and committing the management of the war to a single person.

2. Paul. Diac. *de Gest. Langob.* lib. ii.

For this purpose the heads of the nation assembled, and with one voice called Autharis, the son of A. D. 586. Clephis, to the throne. Autharis, perfected that form of government, which had been established by Alboinus. Sensible that the dukes, who had ruled their several districts like independent princes, for so many years, would not willingly part with their authority, he allowed them to continue in their governments, but reserved to himself the supreme jurisdiction. He made them contribute a part of their revenues toward the support of his royal dignity, and take an oath, that they would assist him to the utmost of their power in time of war³. After settling the government of his kingdom, he enacted several salutary laws for its tranquillity and good order. He was the first of the Lombard kings who embraced Christianity, and many of his subjects followed his example; but being of the Arian persuasion, like most of the northern conquerors, whose simple minds could not comprehend the mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation, many disputes were by that means occasioned between the Arian and Catholic bishops; for the Romans, or native Italians, were then as staunch Catholics as at this day.

Liberty of conscience, however, was allowed under all the Lombard kings; and Rotharis, who surpassed all his predecessors in wisdom and valour, was so moderate in his principles, and so indulgent to his people, that during his reign most cities of Italy had two bishops, one Catholic and the other Arian. He was the first prince who A. D. 648 gave written laws to the Lombards. For that purpose he summoned at Pavia, a general diet of the nobles; and such regulations as they approved, he ordered to be digested into a code, and observed over all his dominions. His military talents were not inferior to his civil. He very much extended the limits of his kingdom, and gained so many advantages over the imperial

3. Ibid. lib. iii.

forces, that no future hostilities passed between the exarchs and the kings of the Lombards, till the reign of Luitprand.

But the emperor Constance, before that time, landed in Italy with a considerable army, which he commanded in person, determined to expel ^{A. D. 663.} the barbarians, and reunite the kingdom of Lombardy to his dominions. He at first gained some inconsiderable advantages; but his army was afterward totally routed by Romuald, duke of Benevento, whose father, Grimoald, had been elected king of the Lombards.—Grimoald was a prudent prince, and in all respects worthy of the dignity to which he had been raised. As soon as he was free from the alarms of war, he applied himself wholly to the arts of peace. He reformed ^{A. D. 668.} the laws of Rotharis, which were now from choice appealed to by the Italians as well as the Lombards; revoking some, and enacting others more applicable to the circumstances of the times. Influenced by the arguments of John, bishop of Bergamo, he renounced the tenets of Arius. His successors followed his example, all professing the Catholic faith; so that Arianism was in a short time forsaken by the whole nation of the Lombards⁴.

Luitprand gave strong proofs of his wisdom and valour from the moment he ascended the throne; ^{A. D. 712.} but his courage sometimes bordered on rashness. Informed that two of his attendants had conspired against his life, and only waited an opportunity to put their design in execution, he walked out with them alone, and upbraided them with their guilt. Struck with such heroic firmness, they threw themselves at his feet, as wretches unworthy of mercy. The king, however, thought otherwise: he not only pardoned them, but received them into favour, promoting them afterwards to principal employments. Having thus won his domestic enemies by kindness, and strengthened his interest abroad by marry-

⁴. Paul. Diac. lib. v.

ing the daughter of the duke of Bōioarii, Luitprand applied himself, in imitation of his two illustrious predecessors, Rotharis and Grimoald, to the formation of new laws. In one of these, his sagacity appears highly conspicuous. He blames “the ridiculous custom of trials by duel, in which we would force God to manifest his justice according to the caprice of men;” adding, “that he has only tolerated the abuse, because the Lombards are so much attached to it⁵.”

But Luitprand’s great qualities were in some measure shaded by his boundless ambition. Not satisfied with the extensive dominions left him by his predecessors, he formed the design of making himself sole master of Italy: and a favourable opportunity soon offered for the execution of that enterprise.

Leo Isauricus, then emperor of Constantinople, where theological disputes had long mingled with affairs of state, and where casuists were more common upon the throne than politicians, piously prohibited the
 A. D. 726. worship of images; ordering all the statues to be broken in pieces, and the paintings in the churches to be pulled down and burnt. The populace, whose devotion extended no farther than such objects, and the monks and secular priests, interested in supporting the mummery, were so highly provoked at this innovation, that they publicly revolted in many places. The emperor, however, took care to have his edict put in force in the East; and he strictly enjoined the exarch of Ravenna, and his other officers in the West, to see it as punctually obeyed in their governments. In obedience to that command,
 A. D. 727. the exarch began to pull down the images in the churches and public places at Ravenna; a conduct which incensed the superstitious multitude to such a degree, that they openly declared they would rather renounce their allegiance to the emperor than the worship of images. They considered him as an abo-

5. *Leg. Langob. in Codex. Lindenbrog.*

minable heretic, whom it was lawful to resist by force, and took arms for that purpose⁶.

Luitprand, judging this the proper season to put his ambitious project in execution, suddenly assembled his forces, and unexpectedly appeared before Ravenna; not doubting but the reduction of that important place would be speedily followed by the conquest of all the imperial dominions in Italy. The exarch, though little prepared for such an assault, defended the city with much courage; but finding he could not long hold out against so great a force, and despairing of relief, he privately withdrew. Luitprand, informed of this, made a vigorous attack; carried the city by storm, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, who found in it an immense booty, as it had been successively the seat of the Western Emperors, of the Gothic kings, and of the ex-^{A. D. 728.}archs. Alarmed at the fate of Ravenna, most other cities in the exarchate surrendered without resistance⁷. Luitprand seemed, therefore, in a fair way to become master of all Italy. But that conquest neither he nor any of his successors was ever able to complete: and the attempt proved fatal to the kingdom of the Lombards.

6. Meimb. *Hist. Iconoclast.*

7. Paul. Diac. lib. vi.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

RISE OF THE POPE'S TEMPORAL POWER, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY, THE EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE, FROM THE TIME OF CHARLES MARTEL TO THAT OF CHARLEMAGNE.

THOUGH Rome was now governed by a duke, who depended on the exarch of Ravenna, the Pope, or bishop, had the chief authority in that city. He was yet less conspicuous by his power than the respect which religion inspired for his See, and the confidence which was placed in his character. St. Gregory, who died in 604, had negotiated with princes upon several matters of state, and his successors divided their attention between clerical and political objects. To free themselves from the dominion of the Greek emperors, without falling a prey to the kings of Italy, was the great object of these ambitious prelates. In order to accomplish this important purpose, they employed successfully both religion and intrigue; and at last established a spiritual and temporal monarchy, which of all human institutions, perhaps most merits the attention of man, whether we consider its nature, its progress, or its prodigious consequences.

Gregory II. had offended the emperor Leo, by opposing his edict against the worship of images; but he was more afraid of the growing power of the Lombards than of the emperor's threats; he therefore resolved to put a stop, if possible, to the conquests of Luitprand. The only prince in Italy, to whom he could have recourse, was Ursus, duke of Venice, the Venetians making already no contemptible figure. Not less alarmed than Gregory at the progress of so powerful a neighbour, Ursus and the Venetians promised to assist the exarch A. D. 728. (who had fled to them for protection) with the whole strength of the republic. They accordingly fitted out

out a considerable fleet, while the exarch conducted an army by land, and retook Ravenna before Luitprand could march to its relief.

As the recovery of Ravenna had been chiefly owing to the interposition of Gregory, he hoped to be able to prevail on the emperor to revoke his edict against the worship of images in the West. Leo, however, sensible that the Pope had been influenced merely by his own interest in the measures he had taken relative to that event, was only more provoked at his obstinacy, and resolved that the edict should be obeyed even in Rome itself. For this purpose he recalled Scholasticus, exarch of Ravenna, and sent in his stead Paul, a patrician, ordering him to get the Pope assassinated, or to seize him, and send him in chains to Constantinople. But Gregory, far from being intimidated by the emperor's threats, solemnly excommunicated the exarch for attempting to put the imperial edict into execution, exhorting all the Italian cities to continue stedfast in the Catholic faith. Luitprand, though highly incensed against Gregory, assisted him in his distress; and the populace rose at Ravenna, and murdered the exarch, making prodigious slaughter of the Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, as the abettors of the edict were called. The duke of Naples shared the same fate with the exarch; and as Leo still insisted that his favourite edict should be enforced at Rome, the people of that city, at the instigation of Gregory, withdrew their allegiance from the Greek emperor¹. Hence the rise of the Pope's temporal power.

Informed of this revolt, and not doubting who was the author of it, Leo ordered a powerful army to be raised, with a design both to chastise the rebels and take vengeance on the Pope. Gregory, alarmed at these warlike preparations, looked round for some power on which he might depend for protection. The Lombards

1. Anast. in *Vit. Greg. II.* Meimb. *Hist. Iconoclast.*

were possessed of sufficient force, but they were too near neighbours to be trusted; and the Venetians, though zealous Catholics, were not yet in a condition to withstand the strength of the empire. Spain was at that time over-run by the Saracens: the French seemed, therefore, the only people to whom it was adviseable to apply for aid, as they were at once able to oppose the emperor, and enemies to his edict. France was then governed by Charles Martel, the greatest commander of his age. Gregory sent a solemn embassy to Charles, entreating him to take the Romans and the church under his protection, and defend them against the attempts of Leo. The ambassadors were received with extraordinary marks of honour: a treaty was concluded²; and the French, glad to get any concern in the affairs of Italy, became the protectors of the church.

In the meantime considerable alterations were made by death: Gregory II. did not live to see his negotiation with France finished. He was succeeded in the See of Rome by Gregory III. and, some years after, Leo Isauricus was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son Constantine Copronymus, who not only renewed his father's edict against the worship of images, but prohibited the invocation of saints. This new edict confirmed the Romans in the resolution they had taken of separating themselves entirely from the empire; more especially as being now under the protection of France, they had nothing to fear from Constantinople. They accordingly drove out of their city such of the imperial officers as had hitherto been suffered to continue there; and abolished, by that means the very shadow of subjection to the emperor. Soon after Leo, died A. D. 741. Charles Martel, and also Gregory III. who was succeeded in the See of Rome by Zachary, an active and enterprising prelate. Immediately after his election, he waited upon Luitprand, and obtained the restoration

2. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

of four cities in the territory of Rome, which had been yielded to that prince as a ransom for the capital, when ready to fall into his hands³.

Luitprand henceforth laid aside all ambitious thoughts, dying in peace with the church and with men. A. D. 743. Rachis, his successor, confirmed the peace with Zachary; but being afterwards seized with a thirst of conquest, he invaded the Roman dukedom, and laid siege to Perugia. Zachary, before he solicited the assistance of France, the only power on which he could depend, resolved to try once more his personal influence. He accordingly went in person to the camp of Rachis; and being respectfully received by that prince, he represented so forcibly to him the punishment reserved for those who unjustly invade the property of others, that Rachis not only raised the siege, but was so much subdued by the eloquence of the pontiff, that he renounced his crown, and retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino; prostrating himself first at Zachary's feet, and taking the habit of St. Benedict⁴.

While things were in this situation in Italy, Pepin, son of Charles Martel, governed France in the character of mayor, under Childeric III. and acquainted, no doubt, with the sentiments of his Holiness, proposed to Zachary a case of conscience, which had not hitherto been submitted to the bishop of Rome. He desired to know, whether a prince incapable of governing, or a minister invested with royal authority, and who supported it with dignity, ought to have the title of king. Zachary decided in favour of the minister; and the French clergy supported the pretensions of Pepin, because he had restored the lands of which Charles Martel had robbed them. The nobles respected him, because he was powerful and brave; and the people despised the sluggard kings, whom they scarcely knew by name. The judgment of the Pope therefore silenced every scruple. Childeric was deposed;

3. Paul. Diac. lib. vi. 4. Id. *ibid*.

or more properly, degraded; for he could never be said to reign. He was shut up in a monastery. A. D. 752. Pepin was raised to the throne; and St. Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, the famous apostle of the Germans, anointed him solemnly at Soissons⁵.

This ceremony of anointing, borrowed from the Jews, and hitherto unknown to the French nation, or at most only used on the conversion of Clovis, seemed to bestow on the king a kind of divine character: and so far it was useful, by inspiring respect. But as ignorance abuses all things, the bishops soon imagined they could confer royalty by anointing princes; an opinion which was followed by many fatal consequences. The Eastern emperors had long been crowned by the patriarchs of Constantinople: the popes, in like manner, crowned the emperors of the West. Crowning and anointing were supposed necessary to sovereignty. A pious ceremony gave the church a power of disposing of kingdoms.

These observations, my dear Philip, you will find frequent occasion to apply. I offer them here, in order to awaken your attention. We must see things in their causes, to reason distinctly on their effects.

Success soon attended the crafty policy of the popes: the new king of France repaid their favour with interest. Astulphus, the successor of Rachis, less piously inclined than his brother, thought only of conquest. In imitation of Luitprand, he resolved to make himself master of all Italy: and as the emperor Constantine Copronymus was now engaged in a war with the Saracens and Bulgarians, and in a still more hot and dangerous war against images, Astulphus judged this a proper season to invade the imperial dominions. He accordingly entered A. D. 753. the exarchate at the head of a considerable army; took Ravenna, subdued the whole province, and also Pentapolis, which he added to the kingdom of the Lombards, reducing the exarchate and its ancient metropolis to the condition of a dukedom⁶.

5. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* 6. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.*

Ambition is only increased by accession of dominion. Astulphus no sooner saw himself master of Ravenna and its territory, than he began to lay claim to the Roman dukedom, and to Rome itself. He urged the right of conquest. This, he alledged, entitled him to the same power over that city and its dukedom which the emperors, and also the exarchs, their viceroys, had formerly enjoyed, as he was now in possession of the whole exarchate. And, in order to enforce his demand, he marched an army towards Rome, reducing many cities in its neighbourhood, and threatening to put the inhabitants to the sword, if they refused to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Stephen III. then pope, no less alarmed at the approach of so powerful a monarch, than at the severity of his message, endeavoured to appease him by a solemn embassy. But presents, prayers, and entreaties, were employed in vain; Astulphus wanted to govern Rome.

Made sensible at last, that force must be repelled by force, Stephen resolved, in imitation of his predecessors, to crave the protection of France. He accordingly applied to Pepin, who, mindful of his obligations to Zachary, and now firmly seated on the throne of Clovis, readily promised the pope his assistance, and sent two ambassadors to conduct him to Paris. Astulphus permitted him to pass: and a treaty was concluded between both, at the expense of the emperors of Constantinople and the kings of Italy. Stephen anointed Pepin anew, with the holy unction, and also his two sons, Charles and Carloman, declaring each of them *Romanorum Patricius*, or Protector of the Roman people; and the French monarch, in return for these honours, promised to make a donation of the exarchate and Pentapolis to the Romish church⁷.

Pepin however endeavoured, before he set out for Italy, to persuade Astulphus, to be content with the

7. Leo Ostiensis, lib. i.

dominions of his predecessors; to restore what he had
 A. D. 754. conquered; and thus prevent the effusion of
 Christian blood. But finding the king of the
 Lombards deaf to his entreaties, he crossed the Alps,
 and advanced to Pavia. Astulphus now, convinced of
 his danger, sued for peace, and obtained it, on condi-
 tion that he should deliver up to the pope, not to the
 emperor, all the places he had taken. He consented;
 but, instead of fulfilling his engagements, no sooner did
 he think the storm blown over by the departure of Pepin,
 than he broke again into the Roman dukedom, took
 several cities, and laid siege to Rome.

In this extremity, Stephen had again recourse to his
 protector the king of France, writing to him those fa-
 mous letters which are still extant, and in which he
 artfully introduces St. Peter, to whom the donation of
 A. D. 755. the exarchate had been made, conjuring Pepin,
 his two sons, and the states of France to come
 to his relief; promising them all good things, both in this
 world and the next, in case of compliance, and denounc-
 ing damnation as the reward of refusal⁸. Pepin, much
 affected by this eloquence, wild as it may seem, crossed
 the Alps a second time, and Astulphus again took refuge
 in Pavia.

Meanwhile the Emperor Constantine Copronymus,
 informed of the treaty between the king of France and
 the pope, by which the latter was to be put in possession
 of the exarchate and Pentapolis, remonstrated by his
 ambassadors against that agreement, offering to pay the
 expenses of the war. But Pepin replied, that the
 exarchate belonged to the Lombards, who had acquired
 it by the right of arms, as the Romans had originally
 done: that the right of the Lombards was now in him,
 so that he could dispose of that territory as he thought
 proper. He had bestowed it, he said, on St. Peter, that
 the Catholic faith might be preserved in its purity, free

8. Anastas. in *Vit. Steph.* III.

from the damnable heresies of the Greeks; and all the money in the world, he added, should never make him revoke that gift, which he was determined to maintain to the church with the last drop of his blood. In consequence of this resolution, the ambassadors were dismissed, without being suffered to reply. Pepin pressed the siege of Pavia; and Astulphus, finding himself unable to hold out, agreed to fulfil the former treaty, giving hostages as a pledge of his fidelity, and putting the pope immediately in possession of Commachio, a place of great importance at that time⁹.

Before Pepin returned to France he renewed his donation to St. Peter, yielding to Stephen and his successor the exarchate; Emilia, now Romagna; and Pentapolis, now Marca d'Ancona; with all the cities therein, to be held by them forever; the kings of France, as patricians, retaining only an ideal superiority, which was soon forgot¹⁰. Thus was the sceptre added to the keys, the sovereignty to the priesthood, and the popes enriched with the spoils of the Lombard kings and the Roman emperors. A. D. 756.

Astulphus, soon after ratifying his treaty with France, was killed by accident, when he was preparing to recover his conquests. Pepin continued to extend his sway and his renown till the year 768; when, after having imposed tribute on the Saxons and Slavonians, having made the duke of Bavaria take an oath of fidelity, and reunited Aquitaine to his crown,—equally respected at home and abroad, he died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He never affected A. D. 768.

9. Leo Ostiensis. ubi sup.

10. Many disputes have arisen concerning the nature of Pepin's donation, and some writers have even denied that such a donation was ever made; but on comparing authorities, and observing the scope of history, the matter seems to have been nearly as represented in the text. The impertinences of Voltaire on this subject, under the form of reasoning, are too contemptible to deserve notice.

absolute power, but referred all matters of importance to the national assemblies, of which he was the oracle. By the consent of the nobles, he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Charles and Carloman.

The reign of Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, introduces a new æra, and will furnish the subject of a future Letter. In the meantime, we must trace the settlement of other barbarians, and the rise of another great kingdom.

LETTER VII.

BRITAIN, FROM THE TIME IT WAS RELINQUISHED BY THE ROMANS, TO THE END OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

THE affairs of our own island, my dear Philip, now claim your attention. It was ultimately evacuated by the Romans about the year 448, after they had been masters of the southern, and most fertile part of it, for almost four centuries.

Never, perhaps, was the debasing influence of despotism so fully displayed as in its effect on our ancient countrymen. No people were ever more brave, none more jealous of liberty, than the Britons. With ordinary weapons, and little knowledge of military discipline, they struggled long with the Roman power, and were only subdued at last by reason of their want of union. But after three centuries of tranquil submission, when the exigencies of the empire obliged the Romans to recal their legions from this island, and resign to the inhabitants their native rights, the degenerate Britons were incapable of prizing the gift. Conscious of their inability to protect themselves against their northern neighbours, and wanting resolution to attempt it, they would gladly

gladly have lived in security and slavery¹. They had therefore recourse, again and again, to their conquerors; and the Romans, beside occasionally sending over a legion to the aid of the Britons, assisted them in rebuilding the wall of Antoninus, which extended between the friths of Forth and Clyde. This wall was esteemed by the Romans a necessary barrier, first against the Caladonians, and afterwards against the Scots and Picts.

Much time has been spent in inquiring after the origin of the Scots and Picts, and many disputes have arisen on the subject². The most probable opinion, however, seems to be, that they were two tribes of native Britons, who at different times had fled from the dominion of the Romans, chusing liberty and barren mountains rather than fertile plains and slavery. But whoever they were, they are allowed to have been brave and warlike adventurers, who often invaded the Roman territories, and were greatly an over-match for the now dastardly and dispirited Britons.

These two nations or tribes, no sooner heard of the final departure of the Romans, than they considered the whole British island as their own. One party crossed the frith of Forth, in boats made of leather, while another attacked with fury the Roman wall, which the Britons had repaired for their defence, but which they abandoned on the first assault, flying like timorous deer, and leaving their country a prey to the enemy. A. D. 448.

The Scots and Picts made dreadful havoc of the fugitives; and, meeting with no opposition, they laid all the south-

1. Gildas, Bede, lib. i. Mr. Gibbon, whose historical scepticism is as well known as his theological incredulity, has attempted to controvert the degeneracy of the Britons under the Roman government. But facts will speak for themselves: these he has not been able to destroy. The Britons, who fled before their naked and barbarous neighbours, were surely inferior to those that intrepidly contended with the Roman legions, under Julius Cæsar and other great commanders.

2. See Macpherson's *Introduct. Hist. Brit. Origin. &c. of the Caledonians*, Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester*, *Genuine Hist. Brit.* and Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. 1. note A.

ern part of the island waste with fire and sword. Famine followed with all its horrid train. The
 A. D. 449. miserable Britons, in this frightful extremity, had once more recourse to Rome. They writ to Ætius, then consul the third time, that memorable letter entitled *The Groans of the Britons*, and which paints their unhappy condition strongly as it is possible for
 A. D. 449. words; “ We know not,” say they, “ even
 “ which way to flee. Chased by the Barbarians to the
 “ sea, and forced back by the sea upon the Barbarians,
 “ they have only left us the choice of two deaths; either to
 “ perish by the sword, or be swallowed up by the waves³.” What answer they received is uncertain; but it is well known they received no assistance, Rome being then threatened by Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever invaded the empire.

The Britons, however, amid all their calamities, had one consolation; they had embraced Christianity; a religion which above all others teaches the endurance of misfortunes, which encourages its votaries to triumph in adversity, and inspires the soul with joy in the hour of affliction. Many of them fled over to Gaul, and settled in the province of Armorica, to which they gave the name of Britany; part of them submitted to the Scots and Picts; and part, collecting courage from despair, sallied from their woods and caves upon the secure and roving invaders, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the rest to retire into their own country. But the enemy threatening to return next season with superior forces, the distressed Britons, by the advice of Vortigern, prince of Dunmonium, who then possessed the principal authority among them, called over to their assistance, by a solemn deputation, the Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons⁴.

3. Bede, Gildas, ubi sup. Gul. Malms. lib. i.

4. Bede, lib. i. Gul. Malms. ubi sup.

The Saxons, like all the ancient German tribes, were a free, brave, independent people. They had arrived at that degree of civilization in which the mind has acquired sufficient force for enterprise, and seems to derive energy from the unimpaired vigour of the body. A nation, taken collectively, is never perhaps capable of such great achievements as in this state of half-civilization. The Saxons had spread themselves over Germany and the Low-Countries from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now Jutland, taking possession of the whole territory between the Rhine and the Elbe; and, when the Britons sent to implore their assistance, they were masters not only of the present Westphalia, Saxony, east and West Friesland, but also of Holland and Zealand. They readily complied with the request of Vortigern: and having fitted out three large transports, about fifteen hundred of them put to sea under the command of Hengist and Horsa, two brother chiefs, said to be descended from Woden, their tutelary God. The Saxon chiefs landed in the isle of Thanet, which was assigned them as a possession, and a league was entered into between them and the British A. D. 409. prince⁵. Soon after their arrival, they marched against the Scots and Picts, who had made a new irruption, and advanced as far as Stamford. These northern ravagers unable to withstand the steady valour of the Saxons, were routed with great slaughter; and the Britons, felicitating themselves on an expedient by which they had freed their country from so cruel an enemy, hoped thenceforth to enjoy security under the protection of their warlike auxiliaries.

5. Gildas. Bede, ubi sup. *Chron. Sax.* p. 13. Mr. Gibbon, on the authority of Nennius, gives a different account of this matter (*Hist.* chap. xxviii.) He represents Hengist and Horsa as two fugitive adventurers; who in a piratical cruize, were taken into the pay of the British prince. But I can see no reason for adopting such an opinion; for independent of circumstances, which are greatly in favour of the common manner of telling the story, the authority of the venerable Bede is surely superior to that of the fabulous Nennius.

But mankind, in the possession of present good, are apt to overlook the prospect of future evil. The Britons did not foresee that their deliverers were to be their conquerors; though it must have been evident to any disinterested observer, that the day of subjection was nigh. The reflections of Hengist and Horsa, after their victory over the Scots and Picts, were very different from those of the Britons. They considered with what ease they might subdue a people who had been unable to resist such feeble invaders; and sent to their countrymen intelligence of the fertility and opulence of Britain, inviting them to come and share in the spoils of a nation, without union and without valour, sunk in indolence and sloth⁶.

The invitation was readily accepted. Seventeen vessels soon arrived with five thousand men; who joined to those already in the island, formed a considerable army⁷. Though now justly alarmed at the number of their allies, the Britons sought security and relief only in passive submission; and even that unmanly expedient soon failed them. The Saxons pulled off the mask; they complained that their subsidies were ill paid, and demanded larger supplies of corn and other provisions. These being refused, as exorbitant, they formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts: and proceeded to open hostilities against the people they had come over to protect.

The Britons were at last under the necessity of taking arms; and having deposed Vortigern, who was become odious by his vices, and the unfortunate issue of his rash councils, they put themselves under the command of his son Vortimer. Many battles were fought between the Saxons and Britons with various success, though commonly on the side of the former; and in one of these battles, the Saxon general Horsa was slain. The sole command now devolved upon Hengist: who, continually

6. *Chron. Sax.* ubi sup. *Ann. Beverl.* p. 49.

7. Had Hengist and Horsa been a couple of exiles, they would not so soon have found so many followers.

reinforced with fresh adventurers from Germany, carried desolation to the most remote possessions of the Britons. Anxious to spread the terror of his arms, he spared neither age, sex nor condition⁸. The description is too horrible to read; and, for the honour of humanity, I am willing to suppose it to be partly untrue.

Of the unhappy Britons, who escaped the general slaughter, some took refuge among inaccessible rocks and mountains; many perished by hunger; and many, forsaking their asylum, preserved their lives at the expense of their liberty. Others, crossing the sea, sought shelter among their countrymen in Armorica. They who remained at home suffered every species of misery: they were not only robbed of all temporal but spiritual benefits⁹. In this extremity, a British and a Christian hero appeared. Arthur, prince of the Silures, revived the expiring valour of his countrymen. He defeated the Saxons in several engagements; and particularly in the famous battle of Badon-hill, which procured the Britons tranquillity for upwards of forty A. D. 520. years. But the success of Hengist and his followers having excited the ambition of other German tribes, who arrived at different times, and under different leaders, yet all speaking one language, being governed by the same regulations, and passing under the common appellation of Saxons or Angles, they were naturally A. D. 584. led to unite against the ancient inhabitants of the island. The Britons therefore ultimately found themselves unequal to the contest, and retired to the mountains of Cornwall and Wales, where they formed independent principalities, protected by their remote and inaccessible situation¹⁰.

The Saxons and Angles, or Anglo-Saxons (for they are mentioned under both these denominations), were

8. Bede, lib. i. Gildas, sec. xxiv. Usher, p. 226.

9. Bede, Gildas, Usher, ubi. sup.

10. Gul. Malms. lib. i. H. Huntingdon, lib. ii. *Chron. Sax.* p. 20.

now absolute masters of the whole fertile and cultivated part of South Britain, which had changed not only its inhabitants, but its language, customs, and political institutions¹¹. History affords an example of few conquests more bloody, and few revolutions so violent as that effected by the Saxons. In the course of their wars with the Britons, which continued an hundred and thirty-five years, they had established many separate kingdoms, the seventh and last of which was that of Northumberland. The names of the other kingdoms were Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, Mercia, and East Anglia. These seven kingdoms formed what is commonly called the Saxon Heptarchy¹².

While the Saxons had to struggle with the Britons for dominion their several princes leagued against the common enemy, and an union of councils and interests was preserved. But after the wretched natives were shut up in their barren mountains, and the conquerors had nothing to fear from them, the bond of alliance was in a great measure dissolved among the princes of the Heptarchy; and although one prince seems still to have assumed, or to have been allowed, some ascendant over the rest, his authority was so very limited, that each state acted as if entirely independent. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the Saxon chiefs, and these

11. The Saxons and Angles were originally distinct tribes; but at the time they landed in Britain, they were so much incorporated as to pass sometimes under the one name, sometimes under the other. (Alford. ad Ann. 449.) Hence the compound name of Anglo-Saxons, given them by most writers. The Jutes had also a considerable share in the conquest of South Britain, and settled themselves in Kent and the Isle of Wight. Essex, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, and all the southern counties, as far as Cornwall, were peopled by Saxons. The Saxons also took possession of the northern counties. Norfolk, Suffolk, and all the midland counties were inhabited by the Angles. Bede, lib. i. ii. Ethelwerd, lib. i. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Hume, vol. i. chap. i.

12. The extent of the different kingdoms is of too little importance now to deserve a particular description.

were followed by perpetual wars; which, in Milton's opinion, are no more worthy of a particular narration, than the combats of kites or crows. And, independent of so great an authority, which however it would be presumption to slight, it may be safely affirmed, That the barren records transmitted to us, and the continued barbarities of the times, render it impossible for the most eloquent and discerning writer to make this portion of our history either instructive or entertaining. It will therefore be sufficient for me to observe, That after a variety of inferior revolutions, the seven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy were united under Egbert, king of Wessex, in the year 827¹³. His dominions were nearly of the same extent with what is A. D. 827. now properly called ENGLAND; a name which was given to the empire of the Saxons in Britain, immediately after the termination of the Heptarchy.

The Anglo-Saxons before this period, had been converted to Christianity by the preaching of Augustine, a Roman monk, and the zeal of Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and wife to Ethelbert, king of Kent; but as they received that doctrine through the polluted channels of the church of Rome, though it opened an intercourse with the more polished states of Europe, it had not hitherto been very effectual either in purifying their minds, or in softening their manners. The grossest ignorance and superstition prevailed among them. Reverences to saints and reliques seemed to have supplanted the worship of the Supreme Being; donations to the church atoned for every violation of the laws of society; and monastic observances were more esteemed than moral virtues. Even the military virtues, so habitual to the Saxons, began to fall into neglect. The nobility themselves began to prefer the indolence and security of the cloister to the toils and tumults of war; and the

13. Wessex, or the kingdom of the West Saxons, extended over the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the Isle of Wight.

crown, impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, had no rewards for the encouragement of valour.

This corrupt species of Christianity was attended with another train of inconveniences, proceeding from a superstitious attachment to the see of Rome. The Britons had conducted all ecclesiastical matters by their own synods and councils, acknowledging no subordination to the Roman Pontiff; but the Saxons having received their religion through the medium of Italian monks, were taught to consider Rome as the capital of their faith. Pilgrimages to that city were accordingly represented as the most meritorious acts of devotion; and not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey, but kings themselves, resigning their crowns, implored a safe passport to heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and exchanged the purple for the sack-cloth¹⁴.

But England, even in those times of British darkness, gave birth to some men equal, at least, to any of the age in which they lived. Offa, king of Mercia, was thought worthy the friendship of Charlemagne, the greatest prince that Europe had produced for many centuries; and Alcuin, an English clergyman, had the honour of instructing that illustrious monarch in the sciences, at the time when he was surrounded by all the literati of Christendom.

Having mentioned Charlemagne, I think it necessary to observe, That I shall finish the history of that great conqueror and legislator before we proceed to the reign of Egbert, the first English monarch; who, as you will afterward have occasion more fully to know, was educated in the court, and in the armies of the new emperor of the West. Meanwhile, my dear Philip, I must say a few words of the government, laws, and manners of the Saxons, after their settlement in Britain.

14. Bede, lib. i. ii. Spell. *Conc.* H. Hunting. lib. iii.

LETTER VIII.

GOVERNMENT AND LAW OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

HAD the Saxons, on their settlement in Britain, established the same form of government with the other northern nations that seized the provinces of the Roman empire, this Letter would have been in a great measure unnecessary; but as they rather exterminated than subdued the natives, and were under few apprehensions from foreign enemies, they had no occasion to burden themselves with feudal services. They therefore retained entire their civil and military institutions: they transplanted into this island those principles of liberty and independency which they had so highly cherished at home, which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, and which still continue to flourish among their descendants. Their original constitution was a kind of military democracy, in which the protection of the state was the voluntary care of its members, as every free man had a share in the government; and conquest was the interest of all, as all partook in the acquisitions. Their king, or chief, was only the first citizen of the community: his authority was extremely limited; and depended, as did his station, principally on his personal qualities. The succession was neither elective nor hereditary. A son who inherited his father's virtues and talents was sure to succeed to his sway; but if he happened to be weak, wicked, or under age, the next in blood was generally raised to the throne, or the person of most eminence in the state¹.

We owe to the masterly pen of Tacitus this account of the primitive government of the Saxons, who were a

1. Tacit. de *Moribus Germ.* cap. xi.

tribe of the ancient Cimbri. Unfortunately the Saxon annals are too imperfect to enable us to delineate exactly the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people, after their settlement in Britain. The government might be somewhat different in the different kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and might also undergo several changes before the Norman conquest; but of those changes we are in a great measure ignorant. We only know, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, a Wittenagemot, or Assembly of the Wise Men, whose consent was necessary to the enacting of laws, and to give sanction to the measures of public administration. But who the constituent members of that assembly were, has not hitherto been determined with certainty. The most probable conjecture however seems to be, that it consisted of the nobility, the dignified clergy, and all freeholders possessing a certain portion of land.

The Saxons were divided into three orders of men; the noble, the free, and the servile. These distinctions they brought into Britain with them. The nobles were called thanes, and were of two kinds, the greater and lesser thanes. The latter seem to have had some dependence on the former, as the former had on the king, but of what nature is uncertain. The lower kind of freemen among the Saxons were denominated ceorles, and were chiefly employed in husbandry. Whence a husbandman and ceorle came to be synonymous terms. They farmed the lands of the nobility, or higher orders, and appear to have been removable at pleasure. But the slaves, or villains, were by much the most numerous class in the community; and being the property of their masters, were consequently incapable of holding any property themselves. They were of two kinds: household slaves, after the manner of the ancients; and rustic slaves, who were sold and transferred, like cattle, with the soil. The long wars between the Saxons and Britons, and afterwards between the different kingdoms of the Haptarchy, seem to have been the cause of the disproportionate

portionate number of these unhappy men; for prisoners taken in battle were reduced to slavery by the laws of war, and entirely at the disposal of their masters².

The higher nobility and dignified clergy among the Anglo-Saxons possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their own territories, and could punish without appeal such as they judged worthy of death. This was a dangerous privilege, and liable to the greatest abuse. But although the Anglo-Saxon government seems at last to have become in some measure aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy. All the freeholders assembled twice a year in the county-courts, or Shiremoten, to receive appeals from the inferior courts; a practice well calculated for the preservation of general liberty, and for restraining the exorbitant power of the nobles. In these courts they decided all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, the bishop and alderman, or earl, presiding over them. The case was determined by a majority of voices, without much pleading, formality, or delay; the bishop and earl having no farther authority than to keep order among the freeholders, and offer their advice when necessary³. Though it should therefore be granted, that the Wittenagemot was composed entirely of the greater thanes and dignified clergy, yet in a government where few taxes were imposed by the legislature, and few statutes enacted; where the nation was less governed by laws than by customs, which allowed much latitude of interpretation, the county-courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide basis for freedom.

The criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons, as of most barbarous nations, were uncommonly mild; a compensation in money being sufficient for murder of any species, and for the life of persons of any rank, not excepting the king and the archbishop, whose head, by the laws

2. L. Edg. sec. xiv. ap. Spelman, *Conc.* vol. i. Brady, *Gen. Pref.* p. 7, 8, 9. Nithard, *Hist.* lib. iv.

3. Hickes, *dissert.* Epist. ii...viii.

of Kent, was estimated higher than the king's. The price of all kinds of wounds was also settled: and he who was caught in adultery with his neighbour's wife, was ordered by the laws of Ethelbert to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife; a proof, though somewhat equivocal, of the estimation in which women were then held. The punishments for robbery were various, but none of them capital. If any person should track his stolen cattle into another's ground, the owner of the ground was obliged to shew their tracts out of it, or pay the value of the cattle ⁴.

But if the punishments for crimes among the Anglo-Saxons were singular, their proofs were no less so. When any controversy about a fact was too intricate for the ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourse to what they called the Judgment of God: or in other words, to chance. Their modes of consulting that blind divinity were various, but the most common was the ordeal. This method of trial was practised either by boiling water, or red-hot iron. The water or iron was consecrated by many prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms; after which the person accused either took up with his naked hand, a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth or carried the iron to a certain distance. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days: and if on examining it there appeared no marks of burning or scalding, the person accused was pronounced innocent! if otherwise, he was declared guilty⁵. The same kinds of proof, or others equally extravagant, obtained among all the nations on the continent; and money, in like manner was every where the atonement for guilt, both in a civil and ecclesiastical sense.

4. *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, ap. Wilkins.

5. Spelman, in *Verb. Ordeal*.

LETTER IX.

THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE, OR CHARLES THE GREAT, KING
OF FRANCE AND EMPEROR OF THE WEST.

CHARLES and Carloman, the two sons of Pepin, and his successors in the French monarchy, were men of very different dispositions. Charles was open and generous, Carloman dark and suspicious; it was therefore happy for mankind, that Carloman died soon after his father, as perpetual wars must have been the consequence of the opposite tempers and interfering interest of the brothers. Now alone at the head of a powerful kingdom, Charles's great and ambitious genius soon gave birth to projects which will render his name immortal. A prosperous reign of forty-six years, abounding with military enterprises, political institutions, and literary foundations, offers to our view, in the midst of barbarism, a spectacle worthy of more polished ages.

But before we proceed to the history of this illustrious reign, I must say a few words of the state of Germany at that time.

Germany was anciently possessed by a number of free and independent nations, who bravely defended their liberties against the Romans, and were never totally subjected by them. On the decline of the Roman empire, many of those nations left their native country, as we have seen, and founded empires of their own; so that Germany, at the accession of Charlemagne to the crown of France, was principally occupied by the Saxons. Of their government I have already spoken. They were still Pagans. What was then considered as their territory comprehended a vast tract of country. It was bounded on the west by

the German ocean, by Bohemia on the east, on the north by the Baltic sea, and on the south by Germanic France, extending along the lower Rhine, and from Issel beyond Mentz. This extensive empire was governed by an infinite number of independent princes, and inhabited by a variety of tribes, under different names; who, by reason of their want of union, had become tributary to the French monarchs. But whenever the throne of France was vacated by death, or when the kings of France were engaged either in foreign or domestic wars, the Saxon princes threw off their allegiance, and entered the French territories¹. Charles had occasion to quell one of those revolts immediately after the death of his brother; and the work was but imperfectly executed, when his arms were wanted in another quarter.

Charles and Carloman had married two daughters of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. Carloman left two sons by his wife Berta; but Charles had divorced his consort, under pretence that she was incapable of bearing children, and married Ildegarda, a princess of Suabia. Berta, the widow of Carloman, not thinking herself and her children safe in France after the death of her husband, fled to her father in Italy, and put herself and her two sons under his protection. Desiderius received them with joy. Highly incensed against Charles for divorcing his other daughter, he hoped by means of these refugees to raise such disturbances in France as might both gratify his revenge, and prevent the French monarch from intermeddling in the affairs of Italy. In this hope he was encouraged by his intimacy with pope Adrian I. A. D. 772. to whom he proposed the crowning and anointing of Carloman's two sons. But Adrian, though sufficiently disposed to oblige him, refused to comply with the request; sensible that by so doing he must incur the displeasure of Charles, the natural ally of the church, and the only prince capable of protecting him against his

1. Eginhard, in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

ambitious enemies. Enraged at a refusal, Desiderius ravaged the papal territories; or, as they were called, the *patrimony of St. Peter*, and threatened to lay siege to Rome itself. In order to avert the pressing danger Adrian resolved to have recourse to France, in imitation of his predecessors. He accordingly sent ambassadors privately to Charlemagne, not only imploring his assistance, but inviting him to the conquest of Italy, his friendship for Desiderius being now converted into the most rancorous hate. The French monarch, who waited only an opportunity to revenge himself on that prince for keeping his nephews, and still more for wanting to crown them, received the pope's invitation with incredible satisfaction. He immediately left Germany, concluding a kind of treaty with the Saxons, and collected such an army as evidently shewed, that his object was nothing less than the extinction of the kingdom of the Lombards².

Desiderius, informed of these preparations, put himself at the head of a great army, and sent several bodies of troops to guard the passes of the Alps. But Charlemagne, apprised of this precaution, sent a detachment under experienced guides to cross the mountains by a different route. The French completed their march; and falling unexpectedly upon the Lombards, who guarded the passes, struck them with such terror, that they fled in the utmost confusion. Charles now entered Italy unmolested, and marched in quest of Desiderius. Finding himself unable to keep the field, the king of the Lombards retired to Pavia, his capital; sending his son Adalgisus, and his daughter Berta, the widow of Carloman, with her two sons, to Verona, a place not inferior in strength to Pavia. A. D. 773.

As soon as Charlemagne understood that Desiderius had taken shelter in Pavia, he assembled his whole army and laid siege to that city, resolving not to withdraw his forces till it had submitted: but, as the Lom-

2. Sigon. *Reg. Lel.* Anast. in *Vit. Hadriani.*

bards made a gallant defence, he changed the siege into a blockade, and marched with part of his troops to invest Verona. Adalgisus defended the place, for a time, with great bravery, but finding himself, at last, reduced to extremities, and despairing of relief, he secretly withdrew and fled to Constantinople, where he was cordially received by the emperor. Verona now surrendered to Charles; who having got Berta, his brother's widow, and her two sons into his power, sent them immediately, under a strong guard, into France. What afterwards became of them, history has not told us. It is much to be feared, however, that their fate was little to the honour of the conqueror. Humanity was not the characteristic of those times.

The siege of Pavia was renewed, and pushed with fresh vigour. But the festival of Easter approaching, which Charles had resolved to spend at Rome, A. D. 774. he left the conduct of the siege once more to his uncle Bernard. The pope received his deliverer in the most pompous manner, the magistrates and judges walking before him with their banners, and the clergy repeating, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" After Charles had satisfied his curiosity, and confirmed the donation which his father Pepin had made to St. Peter, he returned to the camp before Pavia. The Lombards still continued to defend that city with obstinate valour, so that the siege was little, if at all advanced; but a plague breaking out among the besieged, the unfortunate Desiderius was obliged at last to surrender his capital, and deliver up himself, his wife, and his children, to Charles, who sent them all into France, where they either died a violent death, or languished out their days in obscurity, being never more heard of³.

Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, after it had subsisted two hundred and six years. They are represented by the monkish historians as a cruel

3. Leo Ostiens. Monarch. Engolism.

and barbarous people, because they opposed the ambitious views of the popes: but the many wholesome laws which they left behind them, and which devouring time has still spared, are convincing proofs of their justice, humanity, and wisdom.

A short account of the state of Italy at the time it was entered by Charlemagne will here be proper, and also of the new form of government introduced there by the conqueror.

Italy was then shared by the Venetians, the Lombards, the popes, and the emperors of the East. The Venetians were become very considerable by their trade to the Levant, and bore no small sway in the affairs of Italy, though it does not appear that they had yet any town on the *terra firma*, or continent. The pope, by the generosity of Pepin and his son Charles, was now master of the exarchate and Pentapolis. The dukedom of Naples, and some cities in the two Calabrias, were still held by the emperors of the East. All the other provinces of Italy belonged to the Lombards; namely the dukedoms of Friula, Spoleto, and Benevento, together with the provinces of Liguria, Venetia, Tuscany, and the Alpes Cottiaë, which were properly called the kingdom of the Lombards. These Charles claimed by right of conquest, and caused himself, in imitation of them, to be crowned king of Italy, with an iron crown⁴, which is still preserved in the little town of Monza.

The ceremony of coronation being over, the conqueror thought it necessary to settle the government of his new kingdom, before he left Italy; and, after consulting with the pope, who declared him patrician of Rome, and protector of the apostolic see, he agreed that the people should be permitted to live under their former laws, and that all things should remain as established by his predecessors. Accordingly he allowed the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, the same authority which they

4. Eginhard, in *Vit. Car. Meg.*

had enjoyed under the Lombard kings. He also permitted the other dukes to hold their dukedoms, contenting himself with an oath of allegiance, which he obliged them, and likewise the three great dukes, to take annually. It was conceived in these words; "I promise, without fraud or deceit, to be faithful to my sovereign Charles, and his sons, as long as I live; and I swear by these Holy Gospels, that I will be faithful to him, as a vassal to his lord and sovereign: neither will I divulge any thing which, in virtue of my allegiance, he shall commit to me." He never transferred a dukedom from one family to another, unless when the duke broke his oath, or died without male issue. This translation from one to another was called *investiture*; and hence it came, that fiefs were not granted but by investiture, as was afterwards the case with respect to other vassals and feudatories⁵.

Charles committed the boundaries of his new kingdom, and the territory of cities, to the care of counts, who were vested with great authority. These boundaries were called *Marchæ* or *Marches*, and those who had the care of them were styled *Counts of the Marches*, or *Marquisses*, whence the title *marquis* had its rise. He also sent occasionally *missi*, or commissaries who were vested with higher powers, and examined into the conduct of the counts, whose province it was to administer justice over all the dominions of Charlemagne.—That Italy might retain at least some shadow of liberty, he convened, as often as he returned thither, a general assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and barons of the kingdom, in order to settle affairs of national importance. The Lombards had but one order in the state, composed of the barons and judges; but the French, in the time of Charlemagne, had two, the clergy and nobility; hence was added by Charles in Italy, after the manner of France, the order of ecclesiastics to that of the barons or nobles⁶.

5. Sigonius, ubi sup.

6. Ibid.

The affairs of Italy being thus settled, Charles returned to France and marched immediately against the Saxons, who had again revolted during his absence. But his wars with that barbarous, though brave and independent people, which lasted upwards of thirty years, and formed the principal business of his reign, could afford little pleasure to a humanized mind. I shall therefore only observe, That, after a number of battles gallantly fought, and many cruelties committed on both sides, the Saxons were totally subjected, and Germany became part of the empire of Charlemagne. A desire to convert the Saxons to Christianity seems to have been one of the principal motives for prosecuting this conquest; and as they were no less tenacious of their religion than their liberty, persecution marched in the train of war, and stained with blood the fetters of slavery.

Witiking, so deservedly celebrated by his nation, was the most eminent Saxon general during these hostilities. He frequently roused the drooping valour of his countrymen, and revived in their hearts the love of liberty and independency. Nor were they wanting to him in attachment, for which they severely paid. After an unsuccessful revolt, when they went to make submission to Charlemagne, he ordered four thousand five hundred of their principal men to be massacred, because they refused to deliver up their general⁷. An equal instance of severity is not, perhaps, to be met with in the history of mankind; especially if we consider, that the Saxons were not Charles's natural subjects, but an independent people struggling for freedom. Witiking at last submitted and embraced Christianity, continuing ever after faithful to his engagements. But he could never inspire his associates with the same docile sentiments: they were continually revolting; and submitting, that they might

7. Eginhard, in *Annal.*

have it in their power to revolt again. On the final reduction of their country, the more resolute spirits retired into Scandinavia, carrying along with them their vindictive hatred against the dominion and the religion of France.

A word here of religion. Charlemagne very justly considered the mild doctrines of Christianity as the best means of taming a savage people; but he was mistaken in supposing that force will ever make Christians. His Capitulars for the Saxons are almost as barbarous as their manners. He obliged them, under pain of death, to receive baptism; he condemns to the severest punishments the breakers of Lent: in a word, he every where substitutes force for persuasion. Instead therefore, of blaming the obstinacy of these barbarians, we ought to be filled with horror at the cruel bigotry of the conqueror.

Almost every year of Charles's reign was signalized by some military expedition, though very different from those of our times. War was then carried on without any settled plan of operations. The troops were neither regularly disciplined nor paid. Every nobleman led forth his vassals, who were only obliged to serve for a certain time; so that there was a kind of necessity of concluding the war with the campaign. The army was dissolved on the approach of winter, and assembled next season, if necessary. Hence we are enabled to account for a circumstance which would otherwise appear inexplicable, in the reign of this great prince.—Besides the Lombards, and Saxons, whom he conquered, Charles vanquished in several engagements the Abares or Huns, plundered their capital, and penetrated as far as Raab on the Danube. He likewise made an expedition into Spain, and carried his arms to the banks of the Ebro⁸.

Abdurrahman, the Moorish king, whom I have already mentioned, still reigned with lustre at Cordova. A superb mosque, now the cathedral of that city, six

hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth, supported by three hundred and sixty-five columns of alabaster, jasper, and black marble, continues to manifest the grandeur of this monarch. No other people but the Arabs could then either have conceived or executed such a work. The little Christian king of the Asturias had prudently sued for peace from Abdurrahman; but the Moorish governors of Saragossa and Arragon having revolted, implored the assistance of Charlemagne, offering to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Willing to extend his empire on that side, Charles crossed the Pyrenees with all expedition; took Pampeluna and Saragossa, and A. D. 778. re-established the Moorish governors under his protection. In repassing the mountains, his rear-guard was defeated by the duke of Gascony, at Roncevaux⁹. Here fell the famous Roland, so much celebrated in Romance, and represented as nephew to Charlemagne; though history only tells us, that he commanded on the frontiers of Bretagne.

But Charles, though engaged in so many wars, was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the happiness of his subjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his constant study. He frequently convened the national assemblies, for regulating affairs both of church and state. In these assemblies he proposed such laws as he considered to be of public benefit, and allowed the same liberty to others; but of this liberty, indeed it would have been difficult to deprive the French nobles, who had been accustomed, from the foundation of the monarchy, to share the legislation with their sovereign. His attention extended even to the most distant corner of his empire, and to all ranks of men. Sensible how much mankind in general reverence old customs, and those constitutions under which they have lived from their youth, he

⁹. Eginhard, ubi sup.

permitted the inhabitants of all the countries that he conquered to retain their own laws, making only such alterations as he judged absolutely necessary for the good of the community. He was particularly tender of the common people and every where studied their ease and advantage. This benevolence of mind, which can never be sufficiently admired, was both more necessary and more meritorious in those times, as the commonalty were then in a state of almost universal oppression, and scarcely thought entitled to the common sympathies of humanity. The same love of mankind led him to repair and form public roads; to build bridges, where necessary; to make rivers navigable, for the purposes of commerce; and to project that grand canal, which would have opened a communication between the German Ocean and the Black Sea, by uniting the Danube and the Rhine¹⁰. This illustrious project failed in the execution, for want of those machines which art has since constructed. But the greatness of the conception, and the honour of having attempted it were beyond the power of contingencies: and posterity has done justice to the memory of Charles, by considering him on account of that and his other public spirited plans, as one of those few conquerors who did not merely desolate the earth; as a hero truly worthy of the name, who sought to unite his own glory with the welfare of his species.

This great prince was no less amiable in private life than illustrious in his public character. He was an affectionate father, a fond husband, and a generous friend. His house was a model of æconomy, and his person of simplicity and true grandeur. "For shame!" said he to some of his nobles, who were finer dressed than the occasion required; "learn to dress like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your merit, not your habit. Leave silks and finery to women; or reserve them for those days of pomp and ceremony, when robes are worn

10. Eginhard, *Vit. Car. Mag.*

for shew, not use." On some occasions he himself appeared in imperial magnificence, and freely indulged in every luxury; but in general his dress was plain, and his table frugal. His only excess was in the pleasure of the sexes, at once the most natural and the most excusable; and this, it must be owned, he sometimes carried to such a height as to endanger his very athletic constitution, he being almost seven feet high, and proportionably strong. He had his set hours for study, which he seldom omitted, either in the camp or the court; and, notwithstanding his continual wars, and unremitting attention to the affairs of a great empire, he found leisure to collect the old French poems and historical ballads, with a view to illustrate the history of the monarchy. The loss of this collection is much to be lamented, and could never have happened, if every one had been as well acquainted with its importance as Charles. But he was the phoenix of his age; and, though not altogether free from its prejudices, his liberal and comprehensive mind, which examined every thing, and yet found time for all things, would have done honour to the most enlightened period. He was fond of the company of learned men, and assembled them about him from all parts of Europe, forming in his palace a kind of academy, of which he himself condescended to become a member. He also established schools, in the cathedrals and principal abbies, for teaching writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church music¹¹; certainly no very elevated sciences, yet considerable at a time when many dignified ecclesiastics could not subscribe the canons of those councils in which they sat as members¹², and when it was deemed a sufficient qualification for a priest to be able to read the Gospels, and understand the Lord's Prayer¹³.

Alcuin, our learned countryman, was the companion, and particular favourite of Charlemagne; instructed him

11. Id. *ibid.* 12. *Nœ. Traite. Diplom.* 13. *Reg. Brumiens. ap Bruck. Hist. Philos.*

in the sciences, and was at the head of his Royal Academy. A circumstance so much to the honour of this island should be omitted by no British historian. Three rich abbies were the reward of the learning and talents of Alcuin. This benevolence has been thought to border on profusion; but in that age of darkness, when even an enthusiastic zeal for letters was a virtue, no encouragement could be too great for the illuminators of the human mind.

Had Charles's religious enthusiasm been attended with no worse consequences than his literary ardour, his piety would have been as deservedly admired as his taste. But a blind zeal for the propagation of Christianity, which extinguished his natural feelings, made him guilty, as we have already seen, of severities that shock humanity; and a superstitious attachment to the see of Rome, which mingled itself with his policy, led him to engage in theological disputes and quibbles unworthy of his character. The honours which his father Pepin and he owed to the popes can only render him in any degree excusable. But although the theological side of Charles's character is by no means the brightest, it merits your attention; as it serves to shew the prejudices of the age, the littleness of a great man, and the great effects that frequently proceed from little causes.

As Charlemagne was equally a friend to religion and letters, and as any learning which yet remained among mankind, in our quarter of the globe, was monopolized by the clergy, it is not surprising that they obtained many singular marks of his favour. Even the payment of tithes, then considered as a grievous oppression, but which he ordered as a compensation for the lands withheld from the church; and the consequence which he gave to church-men, by admitting them into the national assemblies, and associating them along with the counts in administration of justice, appear less extravagant than his sitting himself in councils merely ecclesiastical, assembled about the most frivolous points of a vain theology.

ology. But, like some princes of later times, Charles seems to have been ambitious to be considered not only as the protector, but the head of the church: and his power and munificence made this usurpation be overlooked, notwithstanding the height at which the papal dignity had then arrived. We accordingly find ^{A. D. 794.} him seated on a throne in the council of Frankfort, with one of the pope's legates on each hand, and three hundred bishops waiting his nod.

The purpose of that council was to examine the doctrine of two Spanish bishops; who in order to refute the accusation of polytheism, brought against the Christians by the Jews and Mahometans, maintained that Jesus Christ is the son of God only by adoption. The king opened the assembly himself, and proposed the condemnation of this heresy. The council decided conformably to his will; and in a letter to the churches of Spain, in consequence of that decision, Charles expresses himself in these remarkable words. "You entreat me to judge
" of myself: I have done so: I have assisted as an audi-
" tor, and an arbiter, in an assembly of bishops; we have
" examined, and by the grace of God, we have settled,
" what must be believed!" Neither Constantine nor any other of the Greek emperors, so jealous of their theological prerogative, ever used a more positive language.

Charlemagne went still farther in the question of images. Leo IV. the son of Constantine Copronymus as zealous an image-breaker as his father, had banished his wife Irene, because she hid images beneath her pillow. This devout and ambitious princess coming afterward to the government, during the minority of her son Constantine Porphyrogenetus, with whom she was associated in the empire, re-established that worship which she loved from policy no less than piety. The second council of Nice accordingly decreed, That we ought to render to images an *honorary* worship, but not a real *adoration*, which is due to God alone. Unfortunately, however, the translation of the acts of this council, which pope
Adrian

Adrian sent into France, was so defective, that the sense of the article relating to images was entirely perverted, running thus; "I receive and honour images according to that adoration which I pay to the Trinity." Charles was so much incensed at this impiety, that he composed, by the assistance of the clergy, and published in his own name, what are called the *Carolin Books*, in which the Council of Nice is treated with the utmost contempt and abuse. He sent these books to Adrian I. desiring him to excommunicate the empress and her son. The pope prudently excused himself on the score of images, making Charles sensible of the mistake upon which he had proceeded; but he insinuated at the same time, that he would declare Irene and Constantine heretics, unless they restored certain lands, which had belonged to the church: artfully hinting at certain projects, which he had formed for the *exaltation* of the Roman church and the French monarchy¹⁴. The exaltation of the monarchy was at hand, though Adrian did not live to be the instrument of it.

Leo III. who succeeded Adrian in the papacy, sent immediately to Charlemagne the standard of
 A. D. 796. Rome, begging him to send some person to receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans¹⁵; a most flattering instance of submission, as well as a proof that the sovereignty of Rome, at that time, belonged to the kings of France. Three years after, Pascal and Campule, two nephews of the late pope not only offered themselves as
 A. D. 799. accusers of Leo, but attacked him in the public streets; wounded him in several places, and dragged him half dead into the church of St. Mark. He made his escape by the assistance of some friends; and the duke of Spoleto, general of the French forces, sent him under an escort to Charlemagne. Charles received him with all possible marks of respect, sent him back

14. *Elemens d'Hist. Gen.* par M. Abbe Millot, part II. tom i.

15. Eginhard in *Vit. car Mag.*

with a numerous retinue of guards and attendants, and went soon after to Italy in person to do him justice¹⁶.

On the arrival of the French monarch at Rome, he spent six days in private conferences with the pope; after which he convoked the bishops A. D. 800. and nobles, to examine the accusation brought against the pontiff. "The apostolic see," exclaimed the bishops, "cannot be judged by man!" Leo, however, spoke to the accusation: he said the king came to *know the cause*; and, no proof appearing against him, he purged himself by oath.

The trial of a pope was doubtless an uncommon scene, but one soon followed yet more extraordinary. On Christmas-day, as the king assisted at mass in St. Peter's church, in the midst of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and while he was on his knees before the altar, the supreme pontiff advanced, and put an imperial crown upon his head. As soon as the people perceived it, they cried, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God!—Long live the great and pious emperor of the Romans." During these acclamations, the pope conducted him to a magnificent throne, which had been prepared for the purpose; and, as soon as he was seated, paid him those honours which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the Roman emperors, declaring that, instead of the title of Patrician, he should henceforth style him Emperor and Augustus. Leo now presented him with the imperial mantle; with which being invested, Charles returned amidst the acclamations of the populace, to his palace¹⁷.

The pope had surely no right to proclaim an emperor; but Charles was worthy of the imperial ensigns: and although he cannot properly be ranked among the successors of Augustus, he is justly considered as the founder of the New Empire of the West.

16. Anast. in *Vit. Leon.*

17. Id. ib. Eginhard, in *Annal.*

Charlemagne was no sooner proclaimed emperor than his title was universally acknowledged; and he received several embassies, which must have given him high satisfaction, as they did equal honour to the prince and the men. Irene, empress of the East, the most artful and ambitious woman of her time, who had deposed her son Constantine, that she might reign alone, made the new emperor a proposal of marriage. This proposal was made with a view to secure her Italian dominions, which she was informed Charles intended to seize; and the marriage-treaty was actually concluded, when Nicephorus the patrician conspired against Irene, banished her to the island of Lesbos, and ascended the imperial throne. Nicephorus also fearing the power of Charles, sent ambassadors to him under the title of Augustus. A. D. 802. They settled the limits of the two empires, by a new treaty; according to which, Calabria, Sicily, the sea coast of Naples, Dalmatia, and Venice, were to continue under the dominion of the emperors of Constantinople¹⁸. This treaty proves, that the Venetians were not yet altogether independent; but they aspired at independency, and soon deservedly obtained it.

The renown of Charles extended even into Asia. He kept a correspondence with the famous Harun-al-Raschid, the twenty-fifth calif, and one of those who contributed most to enlighten and polish the Arabs. This prince valued the friendship of Charlemagne above that of all other potentates; as a proof of which he complimented him with an embassy soon after he was proclaimed emperor, and ceded to him, if not the lordship of Jerusalem, as some authors affirm, at least the holy places in that city, whither devotion already led a great number of Christians. Among the presents which the ambassadors of Al-Raschid brought into France was a striking clock, the first ever seen in that kingdom; for notwithstanding the efforts of Charlemagne to enlighten

18. Eginhard in *Vit. Car. Mag.* Adon. *Chron.* Theoph. *Chronographia*

his nation, the scholars of his court were by no means equal to those of the calif's in knowledge, nor his people in the arts, either liberal or mechanical. The Arabs might then have been preceptors to all Europe.

I must here say a few words of this surprising phenomenon.

The Abassides having ascended the throne of Mahomet, transferred the seat of the califat from Damascus to Caffa, and afterwards to Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris. Thither the calif Al-Mansur attracted the arts and sciences. The Greeks had furnished ideas, and communicated taste to their barbarous conquerors; a species of triumph reserved for civilized nations, even in a state of servitude. Al-Mohdi, successor of Al-Mansur, cultivated these precious seeds; and Al-Raschid, successor of Al-Mohdi, augmented their fecundity by his knowledge and attention, being equally liberal and enlightened. Under Al-Mamun, Al-Motasem, Al-Watheck, and their immediate successors, the sciences flourished still more; but, at length, dissensions and civil wars robbed the Arabs, in their turn, of the fruits of genius and the lights of learning, which are almost inseparable from public tranquillity.

In all nations the same revolutions are produced by the same causes. Nothing merits your attention more in the study of history.

One of the principal causes of the fall of empires has ever been, but more especially in modern times, the error of dividing the same monarchy among different princes. The custom was established before Charlemagne: he followed it by a testamentary division of his dominions, among his three sons, A. D. 806. Charles, Pepin, and Lewis. The particulars of this division are of little consequence, as Lewis only survived his father. It is necessary, however, to observe, that the Italian provinces were assigned to Pepin; a donation which was confirmed to his son Bernard, with the title of king of Italy, and proved the ruin of that

prince, as well as the cause of much disturbance to the empire.

In the meantime, the emperor was threatened by a new enemy, and the most formidable he had ever encountered. The Normans, as the French call them, or the inhabitants of the great northern peninsula of Europe, (whom I shall afterwards have occasion more particularly to mention) had long harassed the coasts of his extensive dominions with their robberies and piracies; and notwithstanding the wise measures of Charles, who created a powerful marine, and took every other precaution against their ravages, they not only continued their depredations, but made a formal descent in A. D. 808. Friezland, under Godfréy their king, laying every thing waste before them. Charles assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and was preparing for a decisive battle, which might perhaps have terminated the empire of the Franks, as Godfrey was not inferior to the emperor either in valour or military skill, and had a numerous body of fearless adventurers under his command. But the issue of this battle was prevented by the death of the Norman prince, who was assassinated by one of his followers. His forces were immediately re-embarked, and a peace was afterwards concluded with his son¹⁹.

The satisfaction which Charles must have received from this deliverance, and the general tranquillity which he now enjoyed, was more than balanced by his domestic misfortunes. He lost his favourite daughter Rotrude (for whom he is supposed to have felt more than a fatherly affection,) his son Pepin, and his son Charles. A. D. 813. Soon after the death of Charles he associated his son Lewis with him in the empire. The ceremony was very solemn. As if this great man had foreseen the usurpations of the church, he placed the imperial crown upon the altar, and ordered the prince to lift

¹⁹. Adon. Chron. Eginhard. in *Vit. Car. Mag.*

it, and set it on his own head²⁰: intimating thereby, that he held it only of God.

The emperor died at Aix-la-Chapelle, his usual residence, in the seventy-first year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign. The glory of the French empire seemed to expire with him. He possessed all France, all Germany, part of Hungary, part of Spain, the Low Countries, and the continent of Italy as far as Benevento²¹. But to govern such an extent of territory, a monarch must be endowed with the genius of a Charlemagne. A. D. 814.

LETTER X.

EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE AND THE CHURCH, FROM THE AC-
CESSION OF HIS SON, LEWIS THE DEBONNAIRE, TO THE
DEATH OF CHARLES THE BALD.

THE history of Europe, for several ages after the death of Charlemagne, is little more than a catalogue of crimes, and a register of the debasing effects of ignorance and superstition. His empire soon experienced the fate of Alexander's. It had quickly attained its height; and yet, while animated by the superior genius of Charles, it possessed a surprising degree of strength and harmony. But these not being natural to the feudal system, the discordant elements began to separate under his son Lewis the Debonnaire, so called on account of the gentleness of his manners; and that vast body, no longer informed by

²⁰ *Vit. Ludovici Pii.*

²¹ *Eginhard, ubi sup.*

the same spirit, was in a short time entirely dismembered.

Lewis, though a prince of some abilities, was unable to support so great a weight of empire; and his piety and parental fondness, however amiable in themselves, enfeebled a character already too weak, and an authority never respected. He rendered himself odious to the clergy by attempting to reform certain abuses, without foreseeing that this powerful body would not pay the same submission they had yielded to the superior capacity of his father. More religious than political, he spent less time in settling the affairs of his empire than those of his soul; ignorant that true religion consists in fulfilling the duties of our station, and that the practices of the cloister are improperly associated with the functions of the throne. But his greatest error was occasioned by his paternal affection, and a blind imitation of his father's example, in dividing his dominions among his children.

A. D. 817. Soon after his accession to the throne, he associated his eldest son Lothario with him in the empire; he created Pepin king of Aquitaine; Lewis, of Bavaria: and after the ceremony of coronation was over, he sent them to the government of their respective kingdoms¹.

Bernard, king of Italy, the grandson of Charlemagne, was offended at that division. He thought his right to the empire superior to Lothario's, as his father Pepin was the elder brother of Lewis. The archbishops of Milan and Cremona flattered him in his pretensions: he revolted, and levied war against his uncle, in contempt of the imperial authority, to which his crown was subject. Lewis acted on this occasion with more vigour than either his friends or his enemies expected; he immediately raised a powerful army, and was preparing to cross the Alps, when Bernard was abandoned by his troops. That unfortunate prince was made prisoner, and condemned to

1. Nithard *de Dissentionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.*

A. D. 818. lose his head; but his uncle, by a singular kind of lenity, mitigated the sentence to the loss of his eyes. He died three days after the punishment was inflicted: and Lewis, to prevent future troubles, ordered three natural sons of Charlemagne to be shaved, and shut up in a convent².

In consequence of these rigours, the Emperor was seized with keen remorse; accusing himself of the murder of his nephew, and of tyrannic cruelty to his brothers inhumanly secluded from the world. He was encouraged by the monks in this melancholy humour; which at last grew to such a height, that he impeached himself in an assembly of the states, and begged the bishops to enjoin him public penance³. The clergy now sensible of Lewis's weakness, set no bounds to their usurpations. The popes thought they might do any thing under so pious a prince; they did not wait for the emperor's confirmation of their election, but immediately assumed the tiara, and were guilty of every other irregularity. The bishops exalted themselves above the throne, and the whole fraternity of the church claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction. Even that set of men who pretend to renounce the world, the monks, seemed to aspire at the government of it.

Lewis, by the advice of his ministers, who were desirous to divert him from his monastic habits, had married a second wife, whose name was Judith, descended from one of the noblest families in Bavaria, and distinguished both by her mental and personal qualities. That princess brought him a son, afterwards known A. D. 824. by the name of Charles the Bald, whose birth was the occasion of much joy, but proved eventually the cause of many sorrows. For this son there was no inheritance, the imperial dominions being already divided among the children of the first marriage. The empress, who had

2. *Vit. Lud. Pii.* 3. *Theogan. de. Reb. Gest. Lud. Pii.*

gained a great ascendancy over her husband, therefore, pressed Lewis to place her son Charles on a footing with his other children, by a new division of the empire⁴. Aquitaine and Bavaria were small kingdoms, from them nothing could be expected; but Lothario's share was large, and might spare a little. Sensible of the wishes of his indulgent father, and prevailed on by the entreaties of this fond mother, Lothario consented that some provision should accordingly be made for his brother Charles. But he soon repented of his too easy concession, and the three brothers joined A. D. 829. in a rebellion against their father⁵, the most singular circumstance perhaps, to be met with in history.

These disorders were fostered by Walla, abbot of Corbie, a monk of high birth, who had formerly been in the confidence of Lewis, but was now in disgrace. He declaimed against the court, and against the empress in particular, accusing her of an adulterous commerce with count Bernard, the prime minister. His A. D. 830. schemes succeeded. The emperor was abandoned by his army, and made prisoner, along with his wife Judith, and her son Charles. The Empress was shut up in a cloister, and Lewis himself would have been obliged to take the monastic habit, had it not been supposed that he would make a voluntary resignation of his crown. He had the courage, however, to insist on the rectitude of his intentions while he acknowledged his errors, and promised to act with more circumspection in future. The nobility pitied their humbled sovereign; and by the intrigues of the monk Gombaud, who sowed dissensions among the brothers, Lewis was restored to his dignity, and seemingly reconciled with his family⁶.

The first use that the emperor made of his liberty, was to recall his consort to court; though not without the permission of the pope, as she had formally taken the veil. Bernard was also recalled, and Walla banished;

4. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

5. Nithard. ubi sup.

6. Theogan: *de Gest. Lud. Pii.*

yet Lewis did not long enjoy either peace or tranquillity. The monk Gombaud thought he had a right to be prime minister, as the reward of his services; and as women generally repay flattery with favour, they as generally reserve vengeance for insult: the empress brought her animosities along with her. Walla's friends were persecuted, and Lothario was deprived of the title of emperor, that the succession might be reserved for young Charles. The three brothers again associated themselves in a league against their father⁷. Count Bernard, dissatisfied with his master's conduct, joined the rebels; and Gregory IV. then pope, went to France in the army of Lothario, under pretence of accommodating matters, but really with an intention to employ against the emperor that power which he derived from him, glad of an opportunity to assert the supremacy and independency of the holy see A. D. 832.

The presence of the pope, in those days of superstition, was of itself sufficient to determine the fate of Lewis. After a deceitful negociation, and an interview with Gregory on the part of Lothario, the unfortunate emperor found himself abandoned by his army, and at the mercy of his rebellious sons. He was deposed in a tumultuous assembly held on the spot, and Lothario A. D. 833. proclaimed in his stead⁸. After that infamous transaction the pope returned to Rome.

In order to give permanency to this revolution, as well as to apologize for their own conduct, the bishops of Lothario's faction bethought themselves of an artifice, like that which had been made use of to degrade king Wamba in Spain. "A penitent," said they, "is incapable of all civil offices; a royal penitent must then be incapable of reigning; let us subject Lewis to a perpetual penance, and he can never ascend the throne." He was accordingly arraigned in the assembly of the states, by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims (who had been raised by his

7. Nithard. *de Dissent. Filior. Lud. Pii.* 8. Theogan. *de Gest. Lud. Pii.*

bounty from the condition of a slave,) and condemned to do penance for life⁹.

Lewis was then a prisoner in the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons; and being much intimidated, he patiently submitted to a ceremony no less solemn than debasing. He prostrated himself on an hair-cloth, which was spread before the altar, and owned himself guilty of the charge brought against him, in the presence of many bishops, canons, and monks; Lothario being also present in order to enjoy the sight of his father's humiliation. But this acknowledgement was not enough: they gave him a written confession to read aloud, in which he is made to accuse himself of sacrilege and murder, and to number among his crimes the marching of troops in Lent, calling an assembly on Holy Thursday, and taking arms to defend himself against his rebellious children! for superstition can transform into crimes the most innocent and even the most necessary actions. After having finished his confession, this unhappy prince, by order of the ungrateful archbishop, laid aside his sword and belt, divested himself of the royal robes, put on the penitential sackcloth, and had a cell assigned him¹⁰.

but the feelings of nature, and the voice of humanity, prevailed over the prejudices of the age, and the policy of the clergy. Lothario was universally abhorred, and his father no less generally pitied; his two brothers united against him, in behalf of that father whom they had contributed to humble. The nobility returned A. D. 834. to their obedience; they paid homage to Lewis, as their lawful sovereign; and the ambitious Lothario was obliged to crave mercy, in the sight of the whole army, at the feet of a father and an emperor, whom he had lately insulted in the habit of a penitent¹¹. He received it, and was permitted to retain the kingdom of Italy.

9. Id. *ibid.* 10. *Act. Exavet. Lud. Fii.* 11. *Nithard de Dissent. Lud. Pii.*

Lewis immediately demanded absolution (such was his weakness!) and an assembly held at Thionville formally restored him to his dignity, declaring void every thing that had been done at Soissons. He might now have ended his days in peace, but for the intrigues of the empress Judith; who, still ambitious of the aggrandizement of her son Charles, again entered into a negotiation with Lothario, in consequence of the death of his brother Pepin. An assembly was held at Worms, to which he was invited. His father A. D. 839. received him kindly, the empress loaded him with caresses. The kingdom of Neustria had lately been added to the dominions originally assigned her son: and the object of all these intrigues was to engage Lothario in a scheme by which Charles should also become possessed of the kingdom of Aquitaine, at the expense of Pepin's children. Lothario assented to what he was not in a condition to dispute. But Lewis, king of Bavaria, though not injured by this new division of the empire, was so much incensed at its injustice, as he pretended, that he assembled the whole force of his dominions. His father marched against him, but was suddenly taken ill; and an eclipse of the sun hap- A. D. 840. pening at the same time, the superstitious old man had the vanity to think, that Heaven had taken the trouble to foretel to mankind the death of a prince whose very virtues dishonoured the throne and who should never have stirred beyond the walls of a cloister. He therefore repeatedly received the communion, and scarce any other nourishment, till his piety fulfilled the prediction which his folly had suggested¹².

Lewis died near Mentz, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He left a crown, a sceptre, and a very rich sword, to Lothario, by which it was supposed he also left him the empire, on

12. *Vit. Lud. Pii. Annal. Bertiniani. Theogan. de Gest. Lud. Pii.*

condition that he should fulfil his engagements to the empress and her son Charles. His brother, the bishop of Mentz, observing that he had left nothing to his son Lewis, then in arms against him, reminded him that forgiveness at least, was his duty. "Yes, I forgive him!" cried the dying monarch with much emotion; "but tell him "from me, to seek forgiveness also of God, for bringing "my grey hairs in sorrow to the grave"¹³."

A bad son, my dear Philip, is not likely to make a good brother; for the natural feelings in the second relation are necessarily weaker than in the first: you must therefore expect to see the sons of Lewis the Debonnaire armed gainst each other. No sooner was Lothario informed of his father's death, than he considered himself as emperor in the most extensive sense of the word, and resolved to make himself master of the whole imperial dominions, regardless of his engagements with Judith and her son Charles the Bald, or the right of his brother Lewis to the kingdom of Bavaria. And he seemed likely to attain the object of his ambition. He was a prince of great subtlety and address, could wear the complexion of the times, and was possessed of an extensive territory, beside the title of emperor, which was still much respected; he therefore assured himself of success against his brothers; Charles being only a youth of seventeen, under the tuition of his mother, and Lewis a prince of no high reputation. He was deceived, however, in his conjectures. These two
A. D. 841. princes, united by a sense of common interest, gave him battle at Fontenai, in Burgundy, where fraternal hatred appeared in all its horrors. Few engagements have been so bloody. An hundred thousand men are said to have fallen on the spot. Lothario and his nephew Pepin (who had joined him to assert his right to the crown of Aquitaine) were totally defeated¹⁴. Pepin fled to Aquitaine, and Lothario towards Italy, abandoning France to the victorious army.

13. *Vit. Lud. Pii.*

14. *Nithard de Dissent. Lud. Pii.*

Nothing now remained for Lewis and Charles but to secure their conquests. For this purpose they applied to the clergy; and with hopes so much the better founded, that Lothario, in order to raise troops with more expedition, had promised the Saxons the liberty of renouncing Christianity; or in other words, liberty of conscience, a thing held in abhorrence by the church of Rome. Several bishops assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle; and, after examining the misconduct of the emperor, asked the two princes, whether they chose to follow his example, or govern according to the laws of God. Their answer may easily be imagined. "Receive then the kingdom by the divine authority," added the prelates: we exhort you, we command you to receive it!¹⁵

This command would have taken effect in its most extensive meaning, if Lothario had respected it as much as his brothers. But that artful prince by means of his indulgence to the Saxons, and other political expedients, was enabled to set on foot a new army. He became again formidable. The two victorious princes therefore thought it adviseable to negotiate with him. By a new treaty of division, he was left in possession of the kingdom of Italy, with the imperial dignity, and the countries situated between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine. Charles retained Neustria and Aquitaine; and Lewis, afterwards styled the German, had all the provinces on the other side of the Rhine, and some cities on this side of it¹⁶.

The extinction of the civil war made but one evil less in the empire of Charlemagne, ravaged in different parts by the Normans, and by the Saracens, who pillaged Italy. The turbulent independency of the nobles, accustomed during the last reign to despise the prince and the laws, the discontents of the clergy, and the ambitious projects of both, were the source of new troubles. Every

15. Id. *ibid.* *Annal. Metens.*16. Nithard. *ubi sup.*

thing threatened the most fatal revolutions, every thing tended to anarchy.

In order to lessen these evils, the three brothers entered into an association, the effect of weakness more than affection, by which the enemies of one were to be considered as the enemies of all, (so low was the empire of the great Charles?) and in an assembly held A. D. 847. at Mersen on the Meuse, they settled certain constitutions relative to the succession, and other public matters. By these it was established, That the children of the reigning prince, whether of age or under age, should succeed to his dominions, and owe nothing to the other princes of the monarchy but the respect due to the ties of blood¹⁷; a regulation well calculated to prevent civil wars, though it proved ineffectual in those disorderly times. But other constitutions of the assembly at Mersen tended to enfeeble the royal authority, which had already but too much need of support. They provide, That the crown vassals shall no longer be obliged to follow the king, unless in general wars, occasioned by foreign invasions; and that every freeman shall be at liberty to chuse, whether he will be the vassal of the king or of a subject¹⁸. The first of these regulations increased the independency of the crown vassals, and the second their power, by augmenting the number of their retainers; for many persons chose rather to depend upon some neighbouring nobleman, whose immediate protection they might claim (at a time when protection was necessary, independent of the laws) than on the sovereign, whose attention they had less reason to expect, and whose aid was more distant or doubtful.

Lothario some years after, took the habit of a monk, that according to the language of those times, he might atone for his crimes: and though he had lived a tyrant, die a saint. In this pious disguise he expired before he had worn it quite a week. He had divided his domini-

17. *Annal. Bertiniani.*18. *Ibid.*

ons among his children: and by virtue of the treaty of Mersen, they quietly succeeded to their allotments. Lewis had Italy, with the title of emperor; Lothario the provinces between the Rhone, the Soan, the Meuse, the Escaut, and the Rhine, called from his own name the kingdom of Lotharingia, and by corruption Lorrain. Charles had Provence, Dauphine, and part of Burgundy. He took the title of king of Provence. One might have imagined there were now kings enough in this monarchy; yet Charles the Bald declared his infant son king of Aquitaine¹⁹.

Thus was the empire of Charlemagne, split by continual subdivisions, the source of perpetual wars, till it became, to use the language of Shakespeare, only “a stage to feed contention on.” Foreign invasions conspired with civil dissensions to spread terror and disorder in every quarter; but more especially through the dominions of Charles the Bald, a prince as weak as his father, and restless as his mother. The Normans carried fire and sword into the heart of his kingdom; to Rouen, and even to the gates of Paris. Young Pepin, son of the last king of Aquitaine, joined the invaders, and ravaged that country over which he had been born to reign. Nomenoe, duke of Bretagne, usurped the title of king, which Charles was obliged to confirm to his son Herispee, by whom he had been totally defeated. The spirit of revolt became every day more general. Some factious nobles invited Lewis the German to usurp his brother’s kingdom. He came at the head of a powerful army, and received the homage of the principal nobility. Venilon, archbishop of Sens, and other prelates of Lewis’s party, at the same time declared that Charles had forfeited his dignity by mal-administration and crowned his brother the German²⁰.

Charles, however, recovered his kingdom as quickly as he had lost it. The prelates of his party excommu-

¹⁹. *Annal. Fuldens.* ²⁰. *Annal. Bertiniani. Concil. Gal.* tom. ii.

nicated those who had dethroned him, which brought the rebels into contempt, and even abhorrence. Lewis sent back his army into Germany, that he might not give umbrage to the French, and he was afterwards obliged to take the same route himself²¹. Charles no sooner appeared than he was universally acknowledged; his restoration did not cost a single blow. The most terrible anathemas were now denounced against Lewis the German by the French clergy, unless he submitted to the rigours of the church, among which were included penance; and he was weak enough to reply, that he must first consult the bishops of his own kingdom²².

The weakness of Charles the Bald was still more extraordinary. Having assembled a council to judge the traitor Venilon, he presented a memorial against him, in which is the following singular passage: “ I ought not to have been *deposed*; or at least not before I had been *judged* by the *bishops* who gave me the *royal authority*! I have always *submitted* to their *correction*, and am ready now to *submit* to it!” Venilon escaped punishment, by making his peace with the prince: and the bishops of the council bound themselves by a canon to remain united, “ for the *correction* of *kings*, the *nobility* and the *people*²³!”

A variety of circumstances shew, that the clergy now aspired at the right of disposing of crowns, which they founded on the custom of anointing kings. They employed fictions and sophisms to render themselves independent: they refused the oath of fealty, “ because sacred hands could not, without abomination, submit to hands impure²⁴!” One usurpation led to another; abuse constituted right, a quibble appeared a divine law. Ignorance sanctified every thing: and we may safely conclude from the abject language of Charles, in publicly acknowledging the right of the bishops to depose him, and other examples of a like nature, that the usur-

21. *Annal. Bertin.* 22. *Ibid.* 23. *Concil. Galat. tom ii. Fleury, Hist. Eccles.* 24. *Hist. de l'Eglise Galic.*

pations of the clergy were, in a great measure, occasioned by the slavish superstition of the laity, equally blind, wicked, and devout.

The zeal of the bishops to establish their independency was favourable to the projects of the court of Rome. Sergius II. the successor of Gregory IV. had taken possession of the apostolic see, in 844, without the approbation of Lothario, then emperor. Incensed at such an insult, Lothario sent his son Lewis to Rome with troops and prelates. The pope having conducted the prince to St. Peter's gate, said to him, "I permit you to enter, if your intentions are good; if not, I will not suffer you to enter!" and the French soldiers being guilty of some irregularities, he actually ordered the gates to be shut. Lothario complained; Sergius was cited to appear before a council; he appeared, and justified himself in the eye of the priesthood²⁵. Leo IV. celebrated for the courage with which he defended Rome against the Saracens, and Benedict III. elected in spite of the emperor, both lived in peace with royalty; but Nicholas I. more bold than any of his predecessors, made himself the judge of kings and of bishops, and realized the chimera of lying decretals.

A grand occasion offered in France for Nicholas to exercise that authority which he attributed to himself. Lothario, king of Lorrain, divorced his wife Teutberge, falsely accused of incest. A. D. 860. She was cleared by the trial of boiling water, but afterwards convicted by her own confession; if an involuntary acknowledgment, the effect of violence and fear, can be called conviction. A council held at Aix-la-Chapelle authorised Lothario to espouse Waldrade, a young lady whom he had seduced. A. D. 862. The guilty parties were equally desirous of this marriage; a criminal amour had drawn them to the brink of dishonour.

25. *Concil. Gal. tom. ii. Fleury, Hist. Eccles.*

The scandal was horrible! Nicholas laid hold of the affair, and attempted to force the king to take back his first wife. For this purpose he ordered the A. D. 863. bishops to hold a council at Mentz, along with his legates, and there to cite and judge Lothario. They confirmed the divorce, contrary to the expectations of the pontiff: a decree which so much enraged him, that he deposed the bishops of Treves and Cologne, who had been appointed to present to him the acts of the council. These bishops complained to the emperor Lewis II. He went immediately to Rome; displayed his authority, and seemed determined to repress the papal power. But he fell ill: a superstitious fear seized him; and he retired, after having approved the conduct of Nicholas, who became still more imperious. Lothario humbled himself in vain before the haughty pontiff; though he went so far as to offer to come and justify himself in person. The pope insisted, that Waldrade should first be dismissed; and a legate threatened the king with immediate excommunication, if he continued in disobedience. Lothario, intimidated, now submitted: he recalled Teutberge, and even consented that the legate should lead Waldrade in triumph to Rome. She set out on that mortifying journey, but escaped by the way; and in a short time, resumed her place both as mistress and queen. Meanwhile the unfortunate Teutberge, sinking beneath the weight of persecution and neglect, at last desired to be separated from Lothario, protesting that her marriage was void, and that Waldrade's was legitimate. But nothing could move the inflexible Nicholas: he continued obstinate²⁶.

We may consider this pope as the forerunner of Gregory VII. and, in the same circumstances, he would likely have carried his ambition to the same height. The bishops of Treves and Cologne accused him, in an in-

26. Hincmar de *Divort. Lothar, et Theutberg.*

vective, of making himself emperor of the whole world ; and that expression, though somewhat strained, was not altogether without foundation. He asserted his dominion over the French clergy by re-establishing Rothade of Soissons, deposed by a provincial council ; and he received appeals from all ecclesiastics dissatisfied with their bishops. By these means he accustomed the people to acknowledge a supreme tribunal at a distance from their own country, and consequently a foreign sway. He gave orders for the succession to the kingdom of Provence, which Charles the Bald disputed with the emperor Lewis, brother to the deceased king. “ Let nobody hinder the emperor,” says he, in a letter on that subject, “ to govern the kingdoms which he holds in virtue of a succession confirmed by the holy see, and by the crown which the sovereign pontiff has set upon his head²⁷.”

Nicholas died in 867 ; but his principles had taken such deep root, that Adrian II. his successor, though more moderate, and desirous of peace, thought his condescension great in permitting Lothario to come to Rome, in order to justify himself or do penance. Charles the Bald and Lewis the German waited with impatience for the excommunication of their nephew, persuaded that they should then have a right to seize his dominions. Thus the blind ambition of princes favoured the exercise of a power, which they ought to have foreseen might be turned against themselves ; which afterwards became the scourge of royalty, and made every crowned head tremble.

Lothario while at Rome, employed all possible means to soften the pope : he received the communion from his hand, after having sworn he never had any criminal commerce with Waldrade, since the prohibition of Nicholas, nor ever would have any in future²⁸. He died at Placentia, in his way home. This accident was considered as a just vengeance ; as a mark of the divine displeasure

27. *Epist. Nicol. Pap.* 28. *Adon. Chron. Lotbarii. Reg. Gest. Rom.*

against perjury, and rendered the proof by the eucharist still more important.

The emperor Lewis II. brother of Lothario, ought legally to have succeeded to his dominions; but he being at that time employed in expelling the Saracens, who had plundered Italy, and consequently not in a condition to assert his right by arms, Charles the Bald laid hold of the succession, and retained it notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pope. “The *arms* which God has “put in our hands,” writ Adrian, “are prepared for “his defence²⁹!” Charles was more afraid of the arms of his brother the German, with whom he found it necessary to share the kingdom, though the nobility and clergy of Lorrain had voluntarily submitted to him.

The pope still continued his remonstrances in favour of the emperor, hoping at least to obtain something from him; but they were disregarded by the French monarch who had now thrown off much of his piety, and answered, in a spirited manner by the famous Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. This bold and independent prelate desired the pope to call to mind, that respect and submission which the ancient pontiffs had always paid to princes: he bid him know that his dignity gave him no right over the government of kingdoms; that he could not be at the same time pope and king: that the choice of sovereigns belongs to the people; that anathemas ill applied have no effect upon the soul; and that *free* men are not to be enslaved by a bishop of Rome³⁰.

Adrian affected to despise these arguments, and continued for sometime his menaces, both against Hincmar and the king; but, finding them ineffectual, he changed his tone, and wrote several flattering letters to Charles, promising him the empire on the death of his nephew, then in a languishing condition. This project in favour of the French monarch was executed under John VIII. Adrian's successor. The emperor Lewis II. died with-

29. *Epist. Adrian.*

30. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*

out male heirs. Lewis the German claimed the succession, and the imperial dignity, as the elder brother of Charles: but the pope preferred the claim of Charles for political reasons; which, with the court of Rome, never fail to take place of equity. Lewis seemed fast approaching to his end, and had three sons, among whom his dominions must be divided. Charles was a younger man, and had only one son; he therefore appeared the most proper person to chuse as a protector. He crossed the Alps at the head of his army, and accordingly received the imperial crown as a *present* from the pope; but much in the same manner that many presents of the like kind are obtained in our days, by paying roundly for it. In an assembly at Pavia, the bishops, abbots, and Italian nobles, recognized him in the following words: "Since the divine favour, through the merits of the holy apostles, and of their vicar pope John, has raised you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously for our protector and lord³¹."

On the death of Lewis the German, a prince of considerable abilities both as a warrior and politician, Charles the Bald, always ambitious and imprudent, attempted to seize that part of Lorraine which he had granted to his brother, and was deservedly defeated³². His three nephews, Carloman, Lewis and Charles, preserved their possessions by maintaining a strict union among themselves. The first had Bavaria, the second Saxony, and the third Suabia.

About this time the Saracens renewed their ravages in Italy. They took and plundered Comachio. Pope John had recourse to the emperor; and desired him "to remember the hand that had given him the empire; lest," added he, "if driven to despair, we should change our opinion!" That menace, sufficiently intelligible, had its effect. Though France was

31. Ibid.

32. *Annal. Fuldens.*

then over-run by the Normans, whom Charles was unable to resist, he undertook to expel the Saracens; and he was scarce arrived in Italy, when he received intelligence of a new enemy. Carloman, his nephew had advanced against him, with an intention to seize the imperial crown and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of his father's will, and the right of primogeniture. Charles, betrayed by his nobles, retired with precipitation: fell ill, and died in a miserable cottage, at a village called Brios, in the fifty-fourth year of his age³³.

A capitular in the last year of Charles's reign, permits the nobility to transmit their employments to their sons or other male heirs³⁴. This privilege, extorted from the crown, as I have already observed³⁵, was one of the principal sources of disorder in the feudal government; and tended, as we shall have occasion to see, to the abolition of all political subjection. In the meantime I must speak of a people, who deserve your attention, no less on account of their manners than their warlike achievements.

LETTER XI.

THE NORMANS OR DANES, BEFORE THEIR SETTLEMENT IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

THE bravest and most liberal minded of the Saxons, my dear Philip, on the final reduction of their country by Charlemagne, having fled from the dominion and persecutions of the conqueror, into the ancient Scandinavia, or that part of the northern peninsula of Europe which comprehends the present kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark

33. Sigon. de *Reg. Ital. Annal. Bertiniani.* 34. *Capit. Caroli Calvi.*

35. Letter II.

and Norway, carried with them (as already observed,) their vengeance, and violent aversion against Christianity. Their meeting with men of dispositions similar to their own; and the same religion with themselves, they were cordially received, and soon stimulated the natives to deeds of arms; to enterprises which at once promised revenge to the fugitives, and subsistence to the inhabitants of countries then overstocked with people.

In their various incursions on the continent, these ferocious adventurers were known by the general name of Normans, from their northern situation; and in their attacks upon Britain, by the common appellation of Danes, to whatever country they might belong. They became the terror of all the maritime parts of Europe—But before I speak of their depredations, I must say a few words of their religion and manners.

The manners of a people, and their popular superstition, depend mutually on each other. Religion takes its complexion originally from the manners: men form a deity according to their own ideas, their prejudices, their passions; and the manners are, in a great measure, continued or altered by the established religion of any country, especially if calculated to affect the imagination. The religion of the ancient Scandinavians was highly so, and was preserved entire among the Normans, who also retained their unadulterated manners. They were worthy of each other: equally bloody and barbarous, but formed to inspire the most enthusiastic courage, and the most unremitting perseverance in toil. Odin, whom the Saxons called Woden, was their supreme divinity. They painted him as the God of *terror*; the Author of *devastation*; the Father of *carnage*!—and they worshipped him accordingly. They sacrificed to him, when successful, some of the captives taken in war:—and they believed those heroes would stand highest in his favour who had killed most enemies in the field; that after death, the

brave would be admitted into his palace, and there have the happiness of drinking beer (the favourite liquor of the northern nations) out of the skulls of their slaughtered foes².

In consequence of this belief, fatigues, wounds, combats, and perils, were the exercise of infancy, and the sport of youth. They were forbid to pronounce the word fear, even on the most trying occasions. Education, prejudice, manners, example, habit, all contributed to subdue in them the sensation of timidity; to make them covet danger, and seem greedy of death³. Military discipline was only wanting to have enabled them to enslave the whole Christian world, then sinking under the weight of a debasing superstition, and cringing beneath the rod of priestly tyranny.

Though Charlemagne, as I have had occasion to notice, took many wise precautions against the Normans, he was not able wholly to prevent their irruptions, and was only freed by the death of their leader from a dangerous competition. Under Lewis the Debonnaire, they threw all France into alarm; and under Charles the Bald, they committed frightful devastations. Their fleets, which were composed of light barques, braved the storms of the ocean, and penetrated every creek and river; so that they landed sometimes on the coasts, and sometimes in the interior parts of the kingdom. As the government took no effectual measures for repelling them, the unprotected people knew nothing but fear. Fire and

2. See the *Edda*, or system of *Runic Mythology*. In that state of festivity, the departed warriors were supposed to be served at table by beautiful virgins called Valker, who ministered to other pleasures beside those of the feast. (*Edda Mytbol.* xxxi.) And war and arms, the delight of the Scandinavians in this life, were believed to be their amusement in another world. *Edda Mytbol.* xxxv.

3. "The battle is as pleasing to me," says Lodbrog (who was a king and a warrior as well as a poet), "as the bed of a virgin in the glow of her charms, or the kiss of a young widow in her most secret apartment." *Epiced.* Stroph. xiv.

sword, on all hands, marked the route of the ravagers. With their booty they carried off women, to whom they were much addicted, and boys to recruit their predatory bands. They were no sooner gone than they again returned. They pillaged Rouen twice; ^{A. D. 845.} they surprised and burnt Paris; they laid waste Aquitaine and other provinces, and reduced the French monarch to the greatest distress⁴.

Shut up at St. Denis, while his capital was in flames, Charles the Bald was no less anxious about saving his people, than the reliques. Instead of encountering the enemy, he bought a peace: or, in other words, he furnished the Normans with the means, while he inspired them with the motive of a new war. They returned accordingly; and Charles to complete his disgrace, published when going to assist the pope, ^{A. D. 877.} in the last year of his reign, a capitular to regulate the contributions to be paid to the Normans⁵.

England had also experienced a variety of calamities from the incursions of these plunderers, when it found a protector in the great Alfred. But before I exhibit the exploits, or consider the institutions of that illustrious prince, we must take a view of the reigns of his predecessors from the end of the Saxon Heptarchy.

4. Ver. Chron. Hist. Norm.

5. Capit. Caroli. Calvi.

LETTER XII.

ENGLAND, FROM THE END OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY, TO THE
DEATH OF ALFRED THE GREAT.

EGBERT, the first sole monarch of England, was a prince of eminent abilities and great experience. He had enjoyed a considerable command in A. D. 827. the armies of Charlemagne, by whom he was much respected, and had acted successfully against the Normans, and other enemies of the empire. After his return to Britain, he was engaged in a variety of struggles, before he obtained the supreme dominion; but having surmounted those difficulties, he found himself without a rival. Being the only remaining descendant of Hengist and Horsa, the first Saxon leaders who landed in this island, and who were supposed to be sprung from Woden, the chief divinity of the ancient Saxons, the people readily transferred their allegiance to a prince who appeared to merit it equally by his birth and talents; so that Egbert was no sooner seated on the throne of England than the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were strongly cemented into one monarchy. An union of government seemed to promise internal tranquillity; and the Saxons, from their insular situation, and their power, had little reason to be afraid of foreign enemies. The Britons were humbled; and the Scots and Picts, wasted by continual wars with each other, being in no condition to molest Egbert, he flattered himself with peace and security. But human foresight is very limited, a fleet of those northern adventurers, whom we have already seen ravaging France, under the name of Normans, soon gave the English monarch reason to alter his opinion. They first landed in the isle of Shepey, pillaged
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it, and carried off their booty with impunity. They returned next year in thirty-five ships. Egbert gave them battle at Charmouth in Dorsetshire; where they were worsted, after an obstinate dispute, but made good their retreat to their ships. Now sensible what an enemy they had to deal with, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall; and, landing in that country, their confederates and they made an irruption into the county of Devon. They were met by Egbert at Hengesdown, and totally defeated'. But whilst England was threatened with new alarms from the same quarter, this warlike monarch, who alone was able to oppose the invaders, unfortunately died, and left the kingdom to his son Ethelwolf, a prince better fitted to wear the cowl than the crown.

Ethelwolf began his reign with dividing his dominions, according to the absurd custom of those times; delivering over to his eldest son, Athelstan, the counties of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. But no inconveniences seem to have arisen from this partition, the terror of the Danish invaders preventing all domestic dissensions. Time proved that this terror was but too just. The Danes returned with redoubled fury; and, though often repulsed, and sometimes defeated, they always obtained their end, by committing plunder, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not suited to their plan of operations. Their vessels being small, ran easily up the creeks and rivers; they drew them ashore, and formed an entrenchment around them, leaving them under a guard. They scattered themselves over the face of the country in small parties, making spoil of every thing that came in their way; goods, cattle, and women. If opposed by a superior force, they betook themselves to their vessels; set sail, and invaded some distant quarter, not prepared for their reception. All England

was kept in continual alarm ; nor durst the inhabitants of one part go to the assistance of another, lest their own families and possessions should be exposed to the fury of the ravagers². Every season of the year was alike : no man could compute on a moment's safety

Encouraged by their past successes, the Danes at length landed in so large a body as seemed
 A. D. 851. to threaten the whole island with subjection. But the Anglo-Saxons, though labouring under the weight of superstition, were still a gallant people ; they roused themselves with a vigour proportioned to the necessity, and defeated their invaders in several engagements³. The Danes however ventured, for the first time, to take up their winter quarters in England ; and receiving in the spring a strong reinforcement, by
 A. D. 852. three hundred and fifty vessels, they advanced from the isle of Thanet, where they had stationed themselves, and burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. They were again defeated in several engagements ; yet they still maintained their settlement in the isle of Thanet, and spent next winter in the isle of Shepey.

The harassed state of his kingdom did not hinder
 A. D. 854. Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome. Thither he carried Alfred, his fourth and favourite son, then only six years of age. In his return after a twelve-month spent in devotions and benefactions to the see of Rome, Ethelwolf married Judith, daughter of the Emperor Charles the Bald ; and, soon after his arrival in England, he conferred a perpetual and very important donation on the church,
 A. D. 856. by granting to the clergy a tenth out of all the produce of land. This enormous tax upon industry had been long claimed by the servants of the altar, as a perpetual property belonging to the priesthood ; a jargon founded on the practice of the Jews. Charlemagne had ordered the tythe to be paid in consideration of the church-lands seized by the

2. Alured Beverl.

3. *Chron. Sax.*

laity: but, in England, no such invasion had been made. The church enjoyed many lands, and was enriched by the continual oblations of the people: the English clergy, therefore, had not hitherto been able to obtain their demand. But a favourable opportunity now offered, and religion furnished the motive; a weak and superstitious prince, and an ignorant people dejected by their losses, and in terror of future invasions, greedily laid hold of any means, however costly, of bribing the protection of Heaven⁴.

During the absence of Ethelwolf, his eldest son Athelstan died; and Ethelbald, the second son, had formed the project of excluding his father from the throne. This unnatural attempt gave the pious monarch little concern. He complied with most of his son's demands, and the kingdom was divided between them. Ethelwolf lived only two years after his return to England, which he left by his will A. D. 857. to be shared between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert.

Ethelbald was a profligate prince, but his reign was happily short; and Ethelbert succeeding to the government of the whole kingdom, conducted himself, during a reign of five years, in a manner more suitable to his rank. A. D. 860. England was still infested by the depredations of the Danes: who, in his reign, sacked Winchester, but were there defeated.

Ethelbert was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, whose whole reign was one continued struggle with the Danes. He defended his kingdom with much bravery, and was gallantly seconded in all his efforts by his younger brother Alfred; who, though excluded from a large inheritance left him by his father, generously sacrificed his resentment to the public good. A. D. 872. Ethelred died in the midst of these troubles, and left his disordered kingdom to his brother Alfred.

⁴ Selden, *Hist. Tyth.* cap. viii.

Alfred was now twenty years of age, and a prince of very promising talents. He had no sooner buried his brother than he was obliged to take the field against the Danes. They had seized Wilton, and were ravaging the neighbouring country. He gave them battle, and at first gained some advantage over them ; but, pursuing his victory too far, he was worsted by means of the enemy's numbers. The loss of the Danes, however, was so considerable that, fearing Alfred might suddenly receive reinforcements from his subjects, they stipulated for a safe retreat, under a promise to depart the kingdom. But they were no sooner freed from danger than they renewed their ravages. A new swarm of Danes landed under three principal leaders ; and

A. D. 875. Alfred, in one year, fought eight battles with these faithless and inhuman invaders, and reduced them to the greatest extremity. But this generous prince again condescending to treat with them, was again deceived. While he was expecting the execution of the agreement, a third swarm landed from the northern hive, and reduced the Saxons to despair. They believed themselves abandoned by Heaven, and devoted to destruction ; since, after all their vigorous efforts, fresh invaders still poured in upon them, as greedy of spoil and slaughter as the former. Some left their country, others submitted to the conquerors, but none would listen to the exhortations of Alfred ; who, still undismayed, begged them to make one exertion more in defence of their possessions, their liberties, and their prince's.

Thus abandoned by his subjects, this illustrious monarch was obliged to lay aside the ensigns of his dignity, and assume the habit of a peasant. In that mean disguise he eluded the pursuit and the fury of his enemies ; and, in order to save his country, he even condescended to live for some time as servant to a grazier.

But the human mind is as little suited to employments beneath, as above its capacity : the great Alfred made a bad cow-herd. His guardian genius was occupied about higher cares ; and as soon as he found the search of his enemies become more remiss, he collected some of his adherents, and retired into the middle of a morass, formed by the stagnating waters of the Thone and Parret ; where finding some firm ground, he built and fortified a castle, no less secure by its own strength than by its remote and inaccessible situation. This place is called Aethelingey, or the Isle of Nobles. It now bears the name of Athelney. Here during a twelve-month, Alfred lay concealed, but not inactive ; he made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not whence the blow came, or by whom it was directed. At length a prosperous event A. D. 880. emboldened the royal fugitive to leave his retreat, and enter on a scene of action more worthy of himself.

Oddune, earl of Devonshire, being besieged in his castle by Hubba, a celebrated Danish general, made an unexpected sally upon the enemy, put them to route, and pursued them with great slaughter ; killed Hubba himself, and got possession of the famous *Reafen*, or Raven, an enchanted standard, in which the Danes put great confidence⁶. The news of this victory were immediately carried by the faithful earl to Alfred, who was happy to find the seeds of valour beginning to revive among his subjects ; but, before he would assemble them in arms, he resolved to inspect the situation of the enemy, and judge of the probability of success, as an unfortunate attempt in the present state of national despondency, must have terminated in final ruin. In consequence of this resolution, he entered the Danish camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He observed the supine security of the ravagers, their contempt of the English, and their neglect of all

6. *Chron. Sax. Abbas. Rieval.*

military regulations. Encouraged by these propitious appearances, he sent secret intelligence to his most powerful subjects, and summoned them to assemble, along with their retainers, on the borders of Selwood forest⁷. The English, who, instead of ending their calamities by submission, as they fondly hoped, had found the insolence and rapine of the conquerors more intolerable than the dangers and fatigues of war, joyfully resorted to the place of rendezvous. They saluted their beloved monarch with bursts of applause; they could not satiate their eyes with the sight of a prince whom they had believed dead, and who now appeared as their deliverer; they begged to be led to liberty and vengeance. Alfred did not suffer their ardour to cool: he conducted them instantly to Eddington, where the Danes lay encamped; and, taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the enemy's situation, he directed his attack against their most unguarded quarter. Surprised to see an army of Englishmen, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more to find Alfred at their head, the Danes made but a feeble resistance notwithstanding their superior numbers⁸. They were soon put to flight, and routed with great slaughter.

Alfred, no less generous than brave, and who knew as well how to govern as to conquer, took the remainder of the Danish army, and their prince Guthrum under his protection. He granted them their lives on submission, and liberty to settle in the kingdoms of Northumberland and East Anglia (which were entirely desolated by the frequent inroads of their countrymen), on condition that they should embrace Christianity. They consented and were baptised: the king stood god-father for Guthrum⁹.

This mode of population fully answered Alfred's expectations. The greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new possessions; and the more turbu-

7. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. 8. *Chron. Sax.* Simon Dunelm. Alured Beverl.
9. *Ibid.*

lent made an expedition into France, under their famous leader Hastings, who afterwards invaded England, but was expelled by the valour and vigilance of Alfred¹⁰.

In the meantime this great prince was employed in establishing civil and military institutions: in composing the minds of men to industry and justice, and in providing against the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, he established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He took care that all his subjects should be armed and registered, and assigned them a regular round of duty: he distributed one part into the castles and fortresses, which he erected at proper places; he appointed another to take the field on any alarm, and assemble at stated places of rendezvous; and he left a sufficient number at home, who were employed in the cultivation of the lands, and afterwards took their turn in military service. The whole kingdom was like one great garrison: the Danes could no sooner land in any quarter, than a sufficient force was ready to oppose them, and that without leaving the other parts naked or defenceless¹¹.

But Alfred did not trust solely to his land forces. He may be considered as the creator of the English navy, as well as the establisher of the monarchy. Sensible that ships are the most natural bulwark of an island, a circumstance hitherto entirely overlooked by the Saxons or English, as they began now to be generally called, he provided himself with a naval force, and met the Danes on their own element. A fleet of an hundred and twenty armed vessels was stationed upon the coast; and being provided with warlike engines, and expert seamen, both Frisians and English, maintained a superiority over the enemy, and gave birth to that claim, which England still supports to the sovereignty of the ocean¹².

10. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. 11. Spelman's *Life of Alfred*. 12. Id. *ibid*.
M. Westm.

In this manner did Alfred provide for the security of his kingdom; and the excellent posture of defence every where established, together with the wisdom and valour of the prince, at length restored peace and tranquillity to England, and communicated to it a consequence hitherto unknown in the monarchy. But I should convey to you, my dear Philip, a very imperfect idea of Alfred's merit, were I to confine myself merely to his military and political talents. His judicial institutions, and his zeal for the encouragement of arts and sciences, demand your particular attention. We must now, therefore, consider him in a character altogether civil; as the father of English law and English literature.

Though Alfred in the early part of his reign, had subdued, settled or expelled the Danes, as a body, straggling bands of that people afterwards continued to infest the kingdom with their robberies; and even the native English, reduced to extreme indigence by these and former depredations, abandoned themselves to a like disorderly life. They joined the robbers in pillaging the more wealthy part of their fellow-citizens. Those evils required redress, and Alfred took means effectually to remove them. In order to render the execution of justice more strict and regular, he divided all England into counties; these counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds, into tythings. Every housholder was answerable for the behaviour of his family, of his slaves, and even of his guests, if they resided above three days in his house. Ten neighbouring housholders, answerable for each other's conduct, were formed into one corporation, under the name of a tything, decennary, or fribourg, over which a person called a tything man, headbourg, or borsholder, presided. Every man was punished as an outlaw who did not register himself in some tything: and no man could change his habitation, without a warrant and certificate from the borsholder of the tything to which he formerly belonged¹³.

13. *Fædus Alfred, et Gotbrum.* cap. iii. ap. Wilkins.

These regulations may seem rigorous, and are not perhaps necessary in times when men are habituated to obedience and justice. But they were well calculated to reduce a fierce and licentious people under the salutary restraints of law and government; and Alfred took care to temper their severity by other institutions favourable to the freedom and security of the subject. Nothing can be more liberal than his plan for the administration of justice. The borsholder summoned his whole decenary to assist him in the decision of smaller differences among the members of the corporation: in controversies of greater moment, the dispute was brought before the hundred, which consisted of ten decennaries, or a hundred families of freemen, and was regularly assembled once in four weeks, for the trying of causes¹⁴. Their mode of decision claims your attention: twelve freeholders were chosen; who having sworn along with the magistrate of the hundred to administer impartial justice, proceeded to the examination of the cause that was submitted to them. In this simple form of trial you will perceive the origin of juries, or judgment by equals, an institution now almost peculiar to the English nation, admirable in itself, and the best calculated for the preservation of man's natural rights, and the administration of justice, that human wisdom ever devised¹⁵.

Beside these monthly meetings of the hundred, there was an annual meeting, appointed for the more general inspection of the police of the district; inquiring into crimes, correcting abuses in magistrates, and obliging every person to shew the decenary in which he was registered. In imitation of their ancestors the ancient Ger-

14. Id. *ibid*.

15. Trial by jury was known to the Saxons, at least in criminal cases, before their settlement in Britain. But, among the nations of the continent, it was not necessary that the members of a jury should be unanimous in their decision: a majority of voices was sufficient to acquit or condemn the person accused. *Stiernkof de Jure Sueon. et Gothor. Vetus^t lib. i.*

mans, the people on those occasions assembled in arms: whence a hundred was sometimes called a Wapentake, and its court served for the support of military discipline, as well as the administration of justice¹⁶.

The next superior court to that of the hundred was the county-court, which met twice a-year, and consisted of all the freeholders of the county, who had an equal vote in the decision of causes; but of this court I have already spoke in treating of the laws and government of the Saxons. I shall therefore only add here, That to the alderman and bishop, Alfred added a third judge in each county, under the name of Sheriff, who enjoyed equal authority with the two former¹⁷. His office also empowered him to guard the rights of the crown in the country, and levy the fines imposed; which, in an age when money atoned for almost every violation of the laws of society, formed no inconsiderable branch of the public revenue.

In default of justice from all these courts, an appeal lay to the king himself in council; and as the wisdom and justice of Alfred were universally revered, he was soon overwhelmed with appeals from all parts of his dominions. In order to remedy this inconvenience, he chose the earls and sheriffs from among the men most celebrated for probity and knowledge in the kingdom: he punished severely all malversation in office; he removed all whom he found unequal to the trust¹⁸; and, the better to guide magistrates of all kinds in the administration of justice, he framed a body of laws; A. D. 890. which, though now lost, served long as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally esteemed the origin of our COMMON LAW.

Alfred appointed regular meetings of the states of England twice a-year in the city of London, which he himself had repaired and beautified, and which thence-

16. Spelm. *Gloss.* in voc. *Wapentake*.

17. *Ingulph*.

18. *Le Miroir de Justice*, chap. ii.

forth became the capital of the kingdom. Every thing soon wore a new face under his wise and equitable government. Such success attended his legislation, and so exact was the general police, that he is said to have hung up, by way of trial, golden bracelets near the high roads, and no man dared to touch them¹⁹. But this great prince, though rigorous in the administration of justice, which he wisely considered as the best means of repressing crimes, preserved the most sacred regard to the liberty of his people. His concern on this subject extended even to future times, and ought to endear his memory to every Englishman. "It is just," says he in his will, "that the English should forever remain FREE AS THEIR OWN THOUGHTS²⁰."

After providing for the security of his kingdom, and taming his subjects to the restraints of law, Alfred extended his care to those things which aggrandize a nation, and make a people happy. Sensible that good morals and knowledge are almost inseparable in every age, though not in every individual, he gave great encouragement to the pursuit of learning. He invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe: he established schools every where for the instruction of the ignorant: he founded, or at least repaired, the university of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges, revenues, and immunities: he enjoined by law all freeholders, possessed of two hides of land, to send their children to school; and he gave preferment, either in church or state, to such only as had made some proficiency in knowledge²¹. But the most effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning, was his own example, and the progress which he made in science. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of civil objects which engaged his atten-

19. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

20. Asser. p. 24.

21. H. Hunt. lib. vi. A hide contained land sufficient to employ one plough. Gervase of Tilbury says, it commonly consisted of an hundred acres.

tion, and although he fought in person fifty-six battles by sea and land, this illustrious hero and legislator was able to acquire by his unremitted industry, during a life of no extraordinary length, more knowledge, and even to produce more books, than most speculative men, in more fortunate ages, who have devoted their whole time to study. He composed a variety of poems, fables, and apt stories, to lead the untutored mind to the love of letters, and bend the heart to the practice of virtue. For the same purpose he translated from the Greek the instructive fables of Esop. He also gave Saxon translations of the histories of Orosius and Bede, and of the Consolation of Philosophy, by Boetius²².

Alfred was no less attentive to the propagation of those mechanical arts, which have a more sensible, though not a more intimate connection with the welfare of a state. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and suffered no inventor or improver of any useful or ingenious art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity and industry to apply themselves to navigation, and to push commerce into the most distant countries; and he set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen whom he employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and castles.

The elegancies of life are said to have been brought to him, even from the Mediterranean and the Indies²³; and his subjects seeing these desirable productions, and the means of acquiring riches by trade, were taught to respect those peaceful virtues by which alone such blessings can be earned or insured.

This extraordinary man, who is justly considered, both by natives and foreigners, as the greatest prince after Charlemagne that Europe saw for several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that ever adorned the
 A. D. 901. annals of any nation, died in the year 901, in the vigour of his age and the full strength

22. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

23. Id. *ibid.*

of his faculties, after a life of fifty-three years, and a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half. His merit, both in public and private life, may be set in opposition to that of any sovereign or citizen in ancient or modern times. He seems indeed, as is observed by an elegant and profound historian²⁴, to be the complete model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage, or truly wise man, philosophers have been so fond of delineating without the hopes of ever seeing it realized.

LETTER XIII.

EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE AND THE CHURCH, FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE BALD, TO THE DEATH OF LEWIS IV. WHEN THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY WAS TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH TO THE GERMANS.

THE continent of Europe, my dear Philip, toward the close of the ninth century, offers nothing to our view but calamities, disorders revolutions, and anarchy. Lewis the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, may be said to have bought the crown of France at the price, and on the conditions, which the bishops and nobles were pleased to impose on him. He was not acknowledged till after he had heaped lands, honours and offices on the nobility; and promised that the clergy should enjoy the same emolu-

24. Hume, vol. i.

ments, and the same privileges, which they had possessed under Lewis the Debonnaire¹.

Pope John VIII. made an effort to get Lewis elected emperor, in the room of his father, by the Italian states; but not being able to carry his point, he retired into France, and held a council at Troyes, where he excommunicated the Duke of Spoleto, and the marquis of Tuscany for opposing his measures, and attacking the ecclesiastical state. One of the canons of this council is very remarkable; it expressly asserts, that “the powers of the world shall not dare to seat themselves in the presence of bishops unless desired².”

Lewis the Stammerer died in 879, after a reign of about eighteen months, and left his queen A. D. 879. Adelaide pregnant. He was succeeded by Lewis III. and Carloman II. two sons by a former wife, whom he had divorced. Duke Boson, father-in-law to Carloman, procured them the crown, that he might afterwards share the monarchy. By his intrigues with the pope and the clergy, he got a council to declare the necessity of erecting a new kingdom: and they bestowed by the divine inspiration, to use their own language, the kingdom of Arles, or Provence, upon this ambitious duke³. Italy was in possession of Carloman, king of Bavaria, who had also seized part of Lorraine, and the French nobility already enjoyed most of the lands; so that a king of France retained little more than the mere shadow of royalty.

On the death of Lewis and Carloman, the joint kings of France, who lived in harmony notwithstanding their confined situation; their brother Charles, born after his father's death, and known by the name of the Simple, ought to have succeeded to the monarchy, by the right of birth; but as he was only five years old, and the nobility were desirous of a king capable of governing, or at least were afraid of the advancement

1. Aimon. lib. 5. 2. Concil. Gall. tom. iii. 3. Id. ibid.

of Hugh, surnamed the Abbot, to the regency (a noble-
 A. D. 833. man of great integrity and abilities), they
 elected Charles the Fat, son of Lewis the
 German, already emperor, and successor to his two
 brothers⁴. He re-united in his person all the French
 empire, except the kingdom of the usurper Boson; and
 proved, what those who elected him had not sufficiently
 attended to, if they meant the welfare of the state,
 That a prince may conduct his affairs with judgment,
 while confined within a moderate compass, and yet be
 very unfit for the government of a great empire.

The incapacity, and even the cowardice of Charles,
 became soon too obvious to be denied. Though he had
 governed his paternal dominions without any visible de-
 fect of judgment, and raised himself to the empire by
 his reputation and address, his mind, instead of expand-
 ing itself to its new object, even shrunk from it, and
 contracted itself, till every mark of abilities disappeared.
 After disgracing himself by ceding Friezland to the
 Normans, and promising them a tribute for forbearance,
 he roused them by his perfidy, while he encouraged
 them by his weakness. Enraged at the death of their
 king, who had been invited to a conference and mur-
 dered, they entered France: penetrated as far as Pon-
 toise, burnt that city, and besieged Paris⁵.

This siege is much celebrated by the French histo-
 rians: prodigies are related of both sides. Eudes,
 count of Paris, whom we shall soon see on the throne
 of France; his brother Robert; bishop Goslin; and after
 his death, bishop Anscheric, and abbot Eble, nephew to
 Goslin, were particularly distinguished by their valour
 and patriotism. The besieged defended themselves
 more than a year against an army of thirty thousand
 men, and the combined efforts of courage and stratagem,
 before the emperor came to their relief. At length,
 Charles appeared on the mountain of Montmart, with

⁴ Aimon. lib. v.

⁵ Chron. de Gest. Norm.

the whole militia of his dominions under arms, fully persuaded that the Normans would retire at the sight of his standards⁶. But he soon A. D. 887. found his mistake: they did not shew the smallest alarm; and Charles, preferring a shameful negotiation to a doubtful victory, engaged to pay them a prodigious ransom for his capital, and the safety of his kingdom. Nay, what was still more disgraceful, not being able to raise the money till the spring, it being then the month of November, he permitted the Normans to winter in Burgundy, which had not yet acknowledged his authority; or, in other words, to continue their ravages, which they did with the most insatiable fury⁷.

This ignominious treaty, and its consequences, entirely ruined the emperor's reputation, which was already low. He had no minister in whom he could confide: for he was neither loved nor feared. The Germans first revolted. Charles had incurred the hatred of the nobility by attempting to limit the hereditary fiefs; and he made the clergy his enemies, while he exposed himself to universal contempt, by prosecuting Ludard, bishop of Verceil, his prime minister, and the only person of authority in his service, on a suspicion of a criminal correspondence with the empress Rachel, whom he imprisoned, and who completed his disgrace. She kept no measures with him: she affirmed, that she was not only innocent of the crime laid to her charge, but a pure virgin, yet untouched by her husband and her accuser; in support of which asseveration she offered to undergo any trial that should be assigned her, according to the superstitious custom of those times, when an absurd appeal to heaven supplied the place of a jury of matrons, and insisted on being admitted to her purgations. Ludard A. D. 888. fostered the general discontent; and Charles was deposed in a diet of the empire, and ne-

6. Paul Æmil. de Gest. Franc.

7. Chron. Gest. Norm.

glected to such a degree, as to be obliged to subsist by the liberality of the bishop of Mentz⁸.

Arnold, the bastard son of Carloman, late king of Bavaria, and grandson of Lewis the German, was now raised to the imperial dignity. Italy submitted alternately to Berengarius, duke of Friuli, and Guido, or Guy, duke of Spoleto, both of the family of Charlemagne, by the mother's side. Their competitions were long and bloody. Count Eudes, whose valour had saved Paris, and whose father, Robert the Strong, had been no less brave and illustrious, was elected king of France; which he agreed to hold in trust for Charles the Simple, yet a minor⁹.

But France, notwithstanding the courage and talents of Eudes, was still a scene of contention and disorder. A faction pretended to assert the right of the lawful heir, who was not really injured, and Eudes ceded to him the greater part of the kingdom. Count Ralph, or Rodolph, established the kingdom of Burgundy Transjuran (so called on account of its relation to mount Jura), which comprehended nearly the present Switzerland and Franche Comte. A council confirmed to Lewis, the son of Boson, the kingdom of Arles, as a council had given it to his father¹⁰. History would be nothing but a mere chaos, were it to comprehend all the effects of violence, treachery, and anarchy, that disgraced this period. I shall therefore only notice the leading circumstances, which alone deserve your attention.

Eudes died in 898, without being able to remedy the disorders of the state; and Charles the Simple, but too justly so named, now acknowledged A. D. 898. king of France in his own right, increased by his weakness the prevailing evils. The nobles aspired openly at independency. They usurped the governments with which they had been intrusted, and extorted confirma-

8. Annal. Fuldens. Regin. Chronicon.

9. Annal. Metens.

10. Regin. Chron.

tions of them from Charles for themselves and their heirs, on the easy condition of an empty homage¹¹. A large, and once well-regulated kingdom, was divided into a multitude of separate principalities, altogether independent of the crown, or dependent only in name, whose possessors waged continual wars with each other, and exercised an insupportable tyranny over their dependents, their vassals, and sub-vassals². By these means, the great body of the people was either reduced to a state of absolute servitude, or to a condition so precarious and wretched, that they were often happy to exchange it for protection and slavery¹³.

The Normans took advantage of this state of weakness and anarchy, to establish themselves in France. Rollo, one of their most illustrious leaders, and truly a great captain, after having spread terror over all the maritime provinces of Europe, sailed up the Seine; took Rouen, fortified it, and made it his head-quarters
A. D. 905. Now sure of a safe retreat, he set no bounds to his depredations; and soon became so formidable, that Charles offered him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neustria, as her dower. Francon, archbishop of Rouen, was charged with the negociation. He only demanded that Rollo should acknowledge Charles as his superior, and become a christian; and, in order to induce the Norman to embrace the faith, the prelate preached of a future state, of hell, and of heaven. Interest, not superstition, determined Rollo. After consulting his soldiers, who, like most gentlemen of the sword, were very easy on the article of religion, he agreed to the treaty; on condition that the province of Bretagne also should be ceded to him, till Neustria, then
A. D. 911. entirely laid waste by the ravages of his countrymen, could be cultivated. His request

11. Orig. de Dignitez et de Magist. de France, par P. Fauchet.

12. Id. *ibid.*

13. L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xxx.

was granted: he was baptized, and did homage for his crown, less as a vassal than a conqueror¹⁴.

Rollo was worthy of his good fortune; he sunk the soldier in the sovereign, and proved himself no less skilled in the arts of peace than those of war. Neustria, which henceforth took the name of Normandy, in honour of its new inhabitants, soon became happy and flourishing under his laws. Sensible that the power of a prince is always in proportion to the number of his subjects, he invited the better sort of Normans from all parts to come and settle in his dominions. He encouraged agriculture and industry; was particularly severe in punishing theft, robbery, and every species of violence; and rigidly exact in the administration of justice, which he saw was the great basis of policy, and without which his people would naturally return to their former irregularities¹⁵. A taste for the sweets of society increased with the conveniences of life, and the love of justice with the benefits derived from it: so that the duchy of Normandy was in a short time not only populous and cultivated, but the Normans were regular in their manners, and obedient to the laws. A band of pirates became good citizens, and their leader the ablest prince, and the wisest legislator of the age in which he lived.

While these things passed in France, great alterations took place in the neighbouring states, and among

14. When he came to the last part of the ceremony, which was that of kneeling and kissing the king's toe, he positively refused compliance; and it was with much difficulty he could be persuaded to make that compliment, even by one of his officers. At length, however, he agreed to the alternative. But all the Normans, it seems, were bad courtiers; for the officer commissioned to represent Rollo, despising so unwarlike a prince as Charles, caught his majesty by the foot, and pretending to carry it to his mouth, that he might kiss it, overturned both him and his chair, before all his nobility. This insult was passed over as an accident, because the French nation was in no condition to revenge it. Gul. Gemet. *Chron. de Ducs de Normandie.*

15. Gul. Gemet. ubi sup. Dudon. de Morib. et Act. de Norm. Duc.

the princes of the blood of Charlemagne. The most remarkable only merit your attention. Arnold, king of Germany, and emperor of the West, was succeeded by his son, Lewis IV. only seven years of age. Another Lewis, king of Arles, and son of the usurper Boson, crossed the Alps, and obliged pope Benedict IV. to crown him emperor. But he was soon after surprised at Verona by Berengarius, who put out his eyes, and ascended the throne of Italy, which he had long disputed with the emperor Arnold¹⁶. In the mean time Lewis IV. died, and the empire departed from the French to the Germans; from the family of Charlemagne, to those Saxons whom he had subdued and persecuted; who became, in their turn, the protectors of that religion for which they had suffered and the persecutors of other Pagans. But this revolution deserves a particular Letter.

LETTER XIV.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, FROM THE ELECTION OF CONRAD I. TO
THE DEATH OF HENRY THE FOWLER.

SOME historians, my dear Philip, are of opinion, that the German empire does not properly commence till the reign of Otho the Great, when Italy was reunited to the imperial dominions; but the extinction of the race of Charlemagne in Germany, where the empire was wholly detached from France, and the imperial dignity became elective, seems to me the most natural period to fix its origin, though the two first emperors never received the papal sanction. I shall

16. *Annal. Metens.*

therefore

therefore begin with Conrad, the first German who ruled the empire, after it ceased to be considered as an appendage of France.

Though the successors of Charlemagne possessed that empire which he had formed by virtue of hereditary descent, they had usually procured the consent of the nobles to their testamentary deeds, that no dispute might arise in regard to the succession. This precaution was highly necessary in those turbulent times, especially as the imperial dominions were generally divided among the children of the reigning family, who were by that means put in a better condition to contest a doubtful title. What was at first no more than a political condescension in the emperors, became gradually to be interpreted into a privilege of the nobility, and hence originated the right of those electors, by whom the emperor is still invested with the imperial power and dignity. They had already deposed Charles the Fat, and raised to the empire Arnold, bastard of Carloman, king of Bavaria¹.

Thus authorised by custom, the German nobles assembled at Worms, on the death of Lewis IV. and not judging Charles the Simple worthy to govern them, they offered the imperial crown to Otho, duke of Saxony. But he declined it, on account of his age; and with a generosity peculiar to himself, recommended to the electors Conrad, count of Franconia, though his enemy. Conrad was accordingly chosen by the diet. The empire of Germany then comprehended Franconia, the provinces of Bamberg, Suabia, Constans, Basil, Bern, Lausanne, Burgundy, Bezancon, Lorrain, Metz, Liege, Cambray, Arras, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Cologne, Treves, Ments, Worms, Spire, Strasbourg, Friezland, Saxony, Hesse, Westphalia, Thuringia, Wateravia, Misnia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Rugen, Stetin, Holstein, Austria, Carinthia, Stiria, the Tyroles, Bavaria, the Grisons; and in general, all the

1. See Let. x.

countries situated among these provinces, and their dependencies.

The reign of Conrad I. was one continued scene of troubles, though he took every necessary measure to support his authority and preserve the tranquillity of the empire. He was no sooner elected than he had occasion to march into Lorraine; where the nobility, being attached to the family of Charlemagne, acknowledged Charles the Simple as their sovereign, and offered to put him in possession of that country. Before Conrad could settle the affairs of Lorraine, he was recalled by the revolt of several powerful dukes, who had envied his promotion. One rebellion succeeded another; and, to complete his misfortunes, the Huns, or Hungarians, invaded the empire. They had for some time been accustomed to pass the entrenchments formed by Charlemagne along the Raab, in order to restrain their incursions, and, no less fierce than their ancestors, they had laid every thing waste before them, and borne down all opposition. In 901 they ravaged Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia; all Germany felt their fury. Lewis IV. submitted to pay them an annual tribute. They had several times pillaged Italy: and now in their way from that country, where they had humbled Berengarius (taking advantage of the troubles of the empire), they made A. D. 917. irruptions into Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Lorraine, and Alsace, which they desolated with fire and sword, and obliged Conrad to purchase a peace on the most shameful conditions'. He died without male heirs, in 919, after recommending to the Germanic body as his successor, Henry duke of Saxony, son of that Otho to whom he owed his crown.

Henry I. surnamed the Fowler, because he delighted much in the pursuit of birds, was elected with A. D. 920. universal approbation by the assembled states; composed of the dignified clergy, the principal nobility, and the heads of the army.

This right of chusing an emperor, originally common to all the members of the Germanic body, was afterwards confined, as we shall have occasion to see, to seven of the chief members of that body, considered as representatives of the whole, and of all its different orders; namely, the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, chancellors of the three great districts into which the German empire was anciently divided, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and count Palatine of the Rhine³.

It was still undecided whether Lorrain should belong to France or Germany. Henry, as soon
A. D. 925. as the situation of his affairs would permit, entered it with a powerful army, and subdued the whole country. His next care was the internal peace and prosperity of the empire. He published a general amnesty in favour of all thieves and banditti, provided they would enlist in his armies, and actually formed them into a troop. He created marquises, in imitation of Charlemagne, to guard the frontiers of the empire against the barbarians, and obliged all vassals and sub-vassals to furnish soldiers, and corn for their subsistence⁴. He likewise ordered the principal towns to be surrounded with walls, bastions, and ditches; and that the nobility might be habituated to the use of arms, even in time of peace, he instituted certain military games, or tournaments, in which they vied with each other in displaying their valour and address.

After taking these wise measures for the welfare of the state, Henry began to prepare for war against the Hungarians, whom he had exasperated by refusing the annual composition, and other marks of disdain and defiance. Enraged at his firm-
A. D. 932. ness, they entered Germany with an army of three hundred thousand men, breathing vengeance. But Henry being supported by the whole force of his dominions,

3. *Golduts. Politic. imperial. init.* 4. *Ann. Sax.*

though still inferior to theirs, defeated them with great slaughter at Mersborough, and rescued the empire from a barbarous enemy, and an ignominious tribute⁵.

Having thus subdued his enemies, and secured the tranquillity of his subjects, both at home, and abroad, the emperor began to taste the fruits of his wisdom and valour, when the pope and the citizens of Rome invited him to the conquest of Italy, still distracted by civil wars, offering him the holy unction, and the title of Augustus. Henry, who was ambi- A. D. 936.
tious to be master of Italy, and no doubt desirous of the papal sanction to the imperial crown, set out immediately for that country at the head of his troops; but being seized with an apoplexy on his march, he was obliged to return, and died at Mansleben in Thuringia⁶. Before his death, he convoked the princes of the empire, who settled the succession on his son Otho.

Henry was universally allowed to be the ablest statesman, and the greatest prince of Europe in his time; but his successor Otho, afterwards styled the Great, surpassed him both in power and renown, though not perhaps in valour or abilities. For, as Voltaire well observes, the acknowledged heir of a great prince, who has been the founder or restorer of a state, is always more powerful than his father, if not very much inferior in courage and talents:—and the reason is obvious. He enters on a career already opened to him, and begins where his predecessor ended. Hence Alexander went farther than Philip, Charlemagne than Pepin, and Otho the Great than Henry the Fowler. But before I proceed to the reign of Otho, we must take a view of the troubles of France under Charles the Simple, and his unhappy successors of the Carlovingian race.

5. Engelhus. p. 174. 6. *Ann. Sax.*

LETTER XV.

FRANCE, FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS TO THE
EXTINCTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN RACE.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen the usurpations of the nobles, and the settlement of the Normans in France, under Charles the Simple. He gave daily more proofs of his weakness, and became equally contemptible to the French and Nor- A. D. 911. mans. A violent attempt was made to dethrone him by Robert duke of France, brother to Eudes, the late king. This rebellion was defeated, in the first instance, by the unexpected answer of Rollo, duke of Normandy, who generously declared, when solicited to join in it, that he was equally incapable of abetting or suffering in-justice!....Yet Rollo, as we have seen, was once a robber by profession. But then, as ought to be observed in his vindication, he was under engagements to no prince, and claimed the protection of no laws: he was then on a footing with the Cæsars and the Alexanders, and now only inferior in power to the Alfreds and the Charlemagnes.

After the death of Rollo, duke Robert renewed his intrigues. He first made the king dismiss Haganon, his favourite minister; and next seized that minister's treasures, with which he gratified his adherents. A. D. 922. They declared Charles incapable of reigning, and proclaimed Robert king of France. He was soon after killed in battle, yet his party triumphed: and his son Hugh the Great, or the Abbot, as he is styled by some writers, on account of the number of rich abbies which he held, had the crown in his power. But he chose to place it on the head of Rodolph, A. D. 923. duke of Burgundy, who assumed the title of king, and was almost universally acknowledged².

1. Flodoard. *Chron.* 2. Monach.

In this extremity, Charles had recourse to William I. duke of Normandy, and to the emperor Henry the Fowler, who were preparing to assist him, when he was decoyed by the treacherous friendship of Herbert, count of Vermandois, into the fortress of Chatteau-Thierry, and there detained prisoner. The unfortunate monarch now became the sport of the ambition of his own rebellious subjects. The count released him, and paid homage to him as his sovereign, when he wanted to gain his ends with Rodolph, and shut him up when they were accomplished. The county of Laon was the price of Charles's confinement. He died in prison.

After the death of Charles the Simple, Rodolph acted with much spirit and resolution. He repelled the incursions of some new tribes of Normans, restrained the licentiousness of the nobles, and restored both tranquillity and vigour to the kingdom. But as this prince died without issue, France was again involved in troubles, and a kind of interregnum ensued. At length Hugh the Great, still disdaining the title of king, or afraid to usurp it, recalled Charles's son Lewis, surnamed the Stranger, from England; whither he had been carried by his mother Egina, daughter of Edward the Elder, and grand-daughter of the great Alfred⁴. She had taken refuge in the court of her brother Athelstan.

Lewis was only in his seventeenth year when he was recalled, and in a great measure unacquainted with the affairs of France; yet he conducted himself with a spirit becoming his rank, though not without some degree of that imprudence natural to age. He attempted to rescue himself from the tyranny of duke Hugh, who had been appointed his tutor, and allowed him little more than the name of king. But, after a variety of struggles, he was obliged to make peace with his vassal, and confirm to him the county of Laon⁵, to which almost the whole royal domain was reduced.

3. *Glab. Hist. sui temp.*

4. *Flodoard. Chron.*

5. *Aimon. lib. v.*

Lewis the stranger died in 954, and left a shadow of royalty to his son Lothario; or rather Hugh the Great was pleased to grant him the title of king, that he himself might enjoy the power⁶. This ambitious nobleman, no less formidable than the ancient mayors, died in 955. He was succeeded in consequence and abilities by his son Hugh Capet, whom we shall soon see on the throne of France. A. D. 954.

Lothario wanted neither courage nor ambition. He attempted to recover Lorraine, which had been for some time in the possession of the emperors of Germany. But Otho II. by an artful stroke of policy, disconcerted his measures and ruined his reputation. He ceded the disputed territory to the king's brother Charles, on condition that he should hold it as a fief of the empire⁷. Lothario, incensed at this donation, by which his brother was benefitted at the expense of his character, his interest, and the honour of his crown, assembled a powerful army, and marched suddenly to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he surprised the emperor, and put him to flight. He himself was vanquished, in his turn, and again victorious⁸. But, after all, he was obliged to resign Lorraine, which was divided between his brother Charles and the emperor Otho. A. D. 980.

Lothario died in 996, and was quietly succeeded by his son Lewis V. who governed under the direction of Hugh Capet, during a short reign of one year and two months, which was one continued scene of troubles. In him ended the Carlovingians, or the descendants of Charlemagne, the second race of French kings....The affairs of the empire now claim your attention. A. D. 987.

6. Flodoard. *Chron.* 7. Aimon. lib. v. 8. Id. *ibid.*

LETTER XVI.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ROME AND THE ITALIAN STATES, UNDER OTHO THE GREAT, AND HIS SUCCESSORS OF THE HOUSE OF SAXONY.

OTHO I. the most powerful emperor since Charlemagne, and who had the honour of re-uniting Italy to the imperial dominions, was elected at Aix-la-Chapelle in 936, by the unanimous consent of the diet A. D. 936. there assembled, according to the promise made to his father Henry the Fowler. He began his reign with the most upright administration, and seemed desirous to live in peace and tranquillity. But his quiet was soon interrupted by wars both foreign and domestic, which he had sufficient abilities to manage, and which terminated in his aggrandizement.

The Hungarians, according to custom, invaded the empire, committing every species of barbarity. Otho, however, soon put a stop to their ravages. He came up with them on the plain of Dortmund, in Westphalia, and

1. The diets of the German empire were originally the same with the national assemblies held by the kings of France. They met at least once a year, and every freeman had a right to be present. They were great councils, in which the sovereign deliberated with his subjects, concerning their common interests. But when the nobles and dignified clergy acquired with the rank of princes, territorial and independent jurisdiction, the diet became an assembly of the separate states that formed the confederacy of which the emperor was the head: and in which, if any member possessed more than one of those states, he was allowed a proportional number of suffrages. On the same principle the imperial cities, as soon as they became free, and acquired supreme and independent jurisdiction within their own territories, were received as members of the diet. (*Alrumæus de Comitibus Rom. German. Imperii.*) The powers of the diet extended to every thing relative to the common interests of the Germanic body, as a confederacy, but not to the interior government of the different states, unless when domestic disorders disturbed or threatened the peace of the empire. *Pessel. Abrege.*

defeated

defeated them with great slaughter. But the Hungarians were not the only enemy that Otho had to encounter. Immediately after his return from this victory, he was informed that the Bohemians A. D. 937. had revolted. Bohemia was then entirely barbarous, and mostly pagan. Otho, after a variety of struggles, rendered it tributary to Germany, and also obliged the inhabitants to embrace Christianity².

In the mean time the emperor was engaged in many disputes with his own rebellious subjects. Arnold, duke of Bavaria, being dead, his son Everhard refused to do homage to Otho, on pretence that he was not his vassal, but his ally. This struggle between the crown and the great fiefs, between power which always seeks increase, and liberty which aspires at independency, for a long time agitated Europe. It subsisted in Spain, whilst the Christians had to contend with the disciples of Mahomet; but after the expulsion of the Moors, the sovereign authority got the ascendant. It was this competition that involved France in troubles till the middle of the reign of Lewis XI. when the feudal lordships were gradually stript of their power, and the nobles reduced to a dependence on the prince; that established in England the mixed government, to which we owe our present greatness, and cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles with the slavery of the people. The same spirit hath, at different times, troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Holland and Swisserland: the same cause hath almost every where produced different effects!—The prerogatives of the prince have, in some instances, as in that of the German empire, been reduced to a mere title, and the national union itself preserved only in the observance of a few insignificant formalities. The duke of Bavaria was not willing to observe even these formalities: Otho therefore entered that country with an army, expelled Everhard, and bestowed the duchy upon

². *Dubrav. Hist. Bohem.*

his uncle Bartolf, who willingly did homage for such a present³. The emperor at the same time created one of Everhard's brothers count palatine of Bavaria and the other count palatine of the Rhine.

The dignity of count palatine was revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman and the French emperors. These palatines were at first supreme judges, and gave judgment in the last appeal, in the name of the emperor. They were also entrusted with the government of the imperial domains.

Otho having thus settled the internal tranquillity of the empire, (which however was soon disturbed by the rebellion of his brother) assembled a diet at Arensberg, where among other things it was debated, whether inheritance should descend in a direct line; whether, for example, a grandson, heir to an elder son, should succeed, on the death of his grandfather, in preference to his uncles. The diet not being able to come to any determination on this point, though so clear according to our present ideas of inheritance, it was agreed that the cause which had suggested the doubt, should be decided by duel. An equal number of combatants were accordingly chosen on both sides; and the suit was determined in favour of the grandson, his champions being victorious⁴. The decision by arms was, for once consistent with equity: the law is now universal. This mode of trial soon became general over Europe; and under the following reign a diet ordained, that doubtful cases should no longer be decided upon oath, but by the sword⁵. The base at least were, by that ordinance, deprived of the advantages which they might have reaped from perjury, whatever other inconveniencies might attend it⁶. And the regulation itself proves the baseness as well as the ignorance of the age.

3. Baare, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. iii.

4. *Id. ib.*

5. *Leg. Langob.* lib. ii.

6. This reason is actually assigned, in a barbarian code, in favour of the judicial combat, in cases where an oath might settle the dispute. *Leg. Burgund.* tit. xlv.

In order to counterbalance the power of the nobility, Otho augmented the privileges of the German clergy. He conferred on them dutchies and counties, with all the rights of other princes and nobles: and, like Charlemagne, the founder of that empire, whose lustre he restored, he propagated Christianity by force of arms. He obliged the Danes to pay him tribute, and receive baptism; as an earnest of their good behaviour. The Bohemians as I have already observed, were also subjected to the same conditions.

No sooner did Otho find himself in quiet possession of the North, than the South attracted his eye: and a favourable opportunity now offered for gratifying his ambition without injury to his humanity. Italy was torn by factions, and ruled by tyrants. Rodolph II. king of the two Burgundies, had dethroned Berengarius, and being himself dethroned by Hugh, marquis of Provence, whose son Lothario was also dethroned by Berengarius II. This Berengarius kept Adelaida, the widow of Lothario, in confinement. She invited Otho to her relief. He entered Italy at the head of a powerful army; delivered Adelaida, married her, and obliged Berengarius to take an oath of fealty, generously leaving him in possession of the kingdom⁸.

The pleasure which Otho must have received from the conquest of Italy, was allayed by the revolt of his son Ludolphus; who, though already declared successor to the empire, was so much chagrined at his father's second marriage, that he engaged in a rebellion against him with the duke of Franconia, and other German noblemen. Pursued by the vigilance of the emperor, Ludolphus took refuge in Ratisbon, where he was soon reduced to extremity. At the intercession of his friends, however, he was permitted to retire with his followers. He again rebelled; but returning soon after to a

7. *Ann. Sax.*8. *Fleodoard. lib. iv.*

sense of his duty, he took an opportunity, when Otho was hunting, to throw himself at his feet, and implored forgiveness in the most humiliating language. "Have pity," said he, (after a pathetic pause) on your child, "who returns, like the prodigal son, to his father. If you permit him to live, who has so often deserved to die, he will be faithful and obedient for the future, and have time to repent of his folly and ingratitude." The emperor, equally surprised and affected at this moving spectacle, raised his son from the ground, while the tears trickled from his eyes, received him into favour, and all his followers⁹.

This young prince afterwards died in Italy, whither he had been sent by his father, to humble the ungrateful Berengarius, who had broke his faith with the emperor, and tyrannised over his countrymen. The untimely death of Ludolphus, which greatly affected Otho, gave Berengarius time to breathe. He was soon absolute master of the ancient kingdom of Lombardy, but not of Rome, which was then governed by Octavianus Sporco, grandson of the celebrated Marozia, concubine of Sergius III. By the great interest of his family, he had been elected pope at the age of eighteen, when he was not even in orders. He took the name of John XII. out of respect to the memory of his uncle, John XI. and was the first pope who changed his name on his accession to the pontificate¹⁰.

This John XII. was a patrician, or nobleman of Rome, and consequently united in the papal chair the privileges of both temporal and spiritual authority, by a right whose legality could not be disputed. But he was young, sunk in debauchery, and unable to oppose the tyranny of Berengarius and his son Adelbert; he therefore conjured Otho "by the love of God, and of the holy apostles, to come and deliver the Roman church from the fangs of two monsters."

A. D. 960.

9. *Annal. Germ. ex Meib.*

10. *Sigon. Reg. Ital. lib. vi.*

This flattering invitation was accompanied with an offer of the papal sanction to the imperial crown, and of the kingdom of Lombardy, from the Italian states¹¹.

In compliance with the request of the pope, or rather with the occasion it afforded of gratifying his own ambition, the emperor assembled a powerful army, and marched into Italy, A. D. 961. after having convoked a diet at Worms, where his son Otho, by Adelaida, was elected his successor; a necessary precaution, in those troublesome times, for securing the crown in a family. Berengarius fled before him: he entered Pavia without opposition, and was crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, by the A. D. 962. archbishop of that city, in presence of the nobility and clergy, who had formally deposed Berengarius. Rome also opened its gates to Otho: and the pope crowned him emperor of the Romans, dignified him with the title of Augustus, and swore allegiance to him on the tomb where the body of St. Peter is said to be deposited¹². The emperor at the same time confirmed to the apostolic see the donations made by Pepin and Charlemagne, "Saving in all things," says he, "our authority, and that of our son and descendants¹³," expressions by which it appears that, in this grant, Otho reserved to the empire the supreme jurisdiction over the papal territories.

The emperor next marched in pursuit of Berengarius, whom he seized, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Meanwhile the pope, finding that he had given himself a master in a protector, repented of what he had done; broke his oath to the emperor, and entered into a league with Adelbert, the son of Berengarius, though formerly his most implacable enemy. Otho suddenly returned to Rome; Adelbert fled; and a council deposed John XII. for his debaucheries, as

11. Didmar. lib. ii. 12. Fr. Hen. Bod. Synt. ex Meib.

13. *Exemplar. Diplom. Othon. ap. Baron.*

was pretended, but in reality for revolting against the emperor, though his licentiousness was sufficiently enormous to render him unworthy of any civil or ecclesiastical dignity. Leo VIII. a layman, but a man of virtue, was elected his successor; and the clergy and citizens of Rome took anew the oath of allegiance to Otho, and bound themselves neither to elect nor consecrate a pope without the consent of the emperor¹⁴.

But Otho having occasion to quell some disturbances in Spoleto, a faction reinstated John XII. a new council deposed Leo, and a canon was enacted, declaring, "that no inferior can depose a superior¹⁵;" by which was meant to be intimated, not only that the bishops and cardinals had no power to depose a pope, but that the emperor, as a layman, owed to the church that very allegiance which he exacted from her.

Soon after this revolution, pope John was assassinated in the arms of one of his mistresses. His party however still refused to acknowledge Leo, and proceeded to the election of Benedict V. who was accordingly promoted to the chair of St. Peter. Informed of these audacious and faithless proceedings, Otho marched back to Rome, which he reduced, and restored Leo VIII. to his dignity. Benedict appeared before a council; owned himself guilty of usurpation; stripped himself of the pontifical robes; implored compassion, and was banished to Hamburgh. Leo VIII. with all the clergy and Roman people, made at the same time a celebrated decree, which was long considered as a fundamental law of the empire; "That Otho, and his successors in the kingdom of Italy, should always have the power of chusing a successor, of naming the pope, and of giving investiture to bishops¹⁶."

The affairs of Italy being thus settled, Otho returned to Germany; where he was scarce arrived, when the

14. 1^o 1^o. lib. vii. 15. Luitprand. lib. vi. 16. *Extract.* in Gratiana. Italians

Italians again revolted, and expelled John XIII. who had been elected in presence of the imperial commissioners, after the death of Leo VIII. Enraged at so many instances of perfidy, Otho once more entered Italy, and marched to Rome, which he treated with a severity somewhat bordering on revenge, but justly merited. He banished the consuls, hanged the tribunes, and caused the prefect of Rome, who aimed at the character of a second Brutus, to be whipt naked through the streets on an ass¹⁷. These ancient dignities subsisted only in name and the people were destitute of every virtue. They had repeatedly broken their faith to the prince, whose protection they had craved, and to whom they had sworn allegiance; an attempt therefore to restore the republic, which had at one time been considered as the height of patriotism, was now deservedly punished as a seditious revolt...though a person of no less eminence than Voltaire seems to consider both in the same light.

After re-establishing the pope, and regulating the police of Rome, Otho retired to Capua, where he received ambassadors from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, who wanted to renew the old alliance between the Eastern and Western empires, and also proposed a marriage between his daughter Theophania and Otho's son, lately associated with his father in the supreme power. In the course of this negotiation, however, the Greek grew jealous of the German, and ordered the nobles to be assassinated who came to receive the princess. Incensed at so enormous a perfidy, Otho directed his generals to enter Calabria, where they defeated the Greek army, cut off the noses of their prisoners, and sent them in that condition to Constantinople¹⁸.

But peace was soon after established between the two empires. Nicephorus being put to death by his subjects,

17. Sigon. lib. vii. 18. Id. ibid.

John Zimisce, his successor, sent the princess Theophania into Italy, where her marriage with young Otho was consummated⁹, and all differences happily accommodated. The emperor returned to Germany covered with glory and success, and lived to enjoy the fruits of his victories two years in his native Saxony. He died in 973, after a reign of thirty-six years; during which, by his generosity and courage he had justly acquired the appellation of OTHO the GREAT, the conqueror of Italy, and the restorer of the empire of Charlemagne.

Otho. II surnamed the Sanguinary, on account of the blood spilt under his reign, succeeded his father at the age of eighteen. His youth occasioned troubles, which his valour enabled him to dissipate. Henry, duke of Bavaria, and several other noblemen rebelled, but were all reduced in a short time. Denmark and Bohemia felt his power, and Rome, by new crimes, offered a theatre for his justice. The consul Crescentius, son of the abandoned Theodora, who had been concubine to pope John X. revived the project of restoring the republic, and caused Benedict VI. who adhered to the emperor, to be murdered in prison. His faction elected Boniface VII. another faction elected Benedict VII. and a third John XIV. who was put to death by Boniface²⁰.

These horrors succeeded one another so rapidly that chronologers have not been able to ascertain the dates nor historians accurately to settle the names of the pontiffs. The pope of one party was the anti-pope of another. But Benedict VII. and the imperial party prevailing, Boniface went in person to Constantinople, and implored the Greek emperors, Basil and Constantine, to come and restore the throne of the Cæsars in Italy, and deliver the Romans from the German yoke²¹.

This circumstance, my dear Philip, merits your attention. The popes, in order to increase their power, had formerly renounced their allegiance to the Greeks,

19. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

20. *Sigon. lib. vii.*

21. *Id. ibid.*

and called in the Franks. They afterwards had recourse to the Germans, who confirmed the privileges granted them by the French; and now they seemed ready to receive their ancient masters or rather to acknowledge no master at all; and hence they have been accused of boundless ambition. But in these proceedings I can see no foundation for such a charge. It is natural for men to desire sway; and, when obtained to seek to increase it. When the popes were become temporal princes, they would consequently seek to secure and extend their dominion. If they had acted otherwise, they would not have been men. I am much more offended at that dominion of blind belief, which they endeavoured to extend over the human mind. The one was a generous, the other an ignoble ambition; the first made only a few men change their sovereign, the latter subjected millions to a debasing superstition and was necessarily accompanied with hypocrisy and fraud.

I have already mentioned, in the history of France, the dispute about Lorrain, which Otho II. politically divided with Lothario's brother Charles, on condition that the French prince should do homage for it after the custom of those times, with bended knee, and closed hands. That war being finished, and the affairs of Germany settled, Otho marched into Italy, entered Rome without opposition, and severely chastised the rebels; but attempting to wrest Calabria from the Greeks, his army was cut in pieces by the Saracens, whom the Greeks had called to their assistance²². He died soon after at Rome, while preparing to take revenge on the enemy. A. D. 981.

Otho III. already elected emperor, succeeded his father at twelve years of age; and his uncle and his mother disputing the administration, Germany was disquieted by a turbulent regency, while Rome A. D. 983.

22. Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii.

became a prey to new factions, and the scene of new crimes. Crescentius blew again the trumpet of liberty, and persuaded the Romans they were still free, that he might have it in his power to enslave them.

But when the emperor, who proved a brave and enterprising prince, came of age, all things were soon reduced
 A. D. 989. into order. He defeated the Danes, who had invaded the empire, and entered into a friendly alliance with Eric, king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, on condition that German missionaries should be allowed to preach the gospel in his dominions²³; a great concession in those times, and highly mortifying to the worshippers of Odin.

The affairs of the North being settled, Otho marched into Italy at the intercession of John XV. who was persecuted by Crescentius. Alarmed at the name
 A. D. 996. of Otho, which had so often proved fatal to their confederates, the rebels returned to their duty, and Crescentius was pardoned. But scarce had the emperor left Rome, when that licentious spirit again revolted; expelled Gregory V. the successor of John XV. and elevated to the papal chair a creature of his own, under the name of John XVI. Enraged at this
 A. D. 998. fresh insult, Otho returned with a powerful army to Rome, which he took by assault; ordered Crescentius to be beheaded, and the anti-pope to be thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo, after his eyes had been put out, and his nose cut off²⁴.

Having thus punished the rebels, restored Gregory, and received anew the allegiance of the citizens of Rome,
 A. D. 1000. Otho returned to Germany; whence he proceeded to Poland, which he erected into a kingdom at the solicitation of the duke Boleslaus, who did him homage, and agreed to hold his dominions as a fief of the empire²⁵.

23. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

24. *Id. ibid. Heiss, Hist. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

25. *Baron.*

But the Saracens about this time making an irruption into the Campania of Rome, the emperor was again obliged to march into Italy. He expelled the ravagers, and repaired with a small body of troops to Rome, where his life was endangered by a conspiracy; and, while he was assembling forces to punish the rebels, he is said to have been poisoned by a pair of gloves sent him by the widow of Crescentius, whom he had debauched under a promise of marriage²⁶. A. D. 1001.

The empire sustained a great loss in the death of this prince, who was equally brave, resolute, and just; and by a glorious reign of eighteen years, changed the surname of Infant, which had been given him at his accession, into that of the Wonder of the World. A. D. 1002.

As Otho III. died without children, a number of competitors started up for the empire, three of whom were supposed alike qualified to wear the imperial crown; Henry duke of Bavaria, Herman duke of Suabia, and Ekkard marquis of Saxony. But the duke of Bavaria being grandson to Otho II. by the female line, was elected in consequence of his superior power, and confirmed and consecrated under the name of Henry II.

The new emperor had no sooner settled the affairs of Germany, and disconcerted an association formed against him by the king of Poland, than he found it necessary to march into Italy, where Ardouin, marquis of Ivrea, had assumed the sovereignty. Ardouin retired at the approach of Henry, who was crowned king of Lombardy at Pavia, by the archbishop of Milan; but the marquis having some partizans in that city, they inflamed the populace to such a degree, that the emperor was in danger of being sacrificed to their fury. The tumult was at last quelled by the imperial troops. Those within the city defended the palace, while detachments from the camp scaled the walls, and committed terrible

26. *Hist. de l'Eglise par Bened.*

slaughter in the streets, till Henry ordered them to desist, and retired to the fortress of St. Peter. Thither the principal citizens repaired in a body; implored the emperor's clemency; protested their loyalty, and laid the blame of the sedition on the partizans of Ardouin, who had practised on the ignorance of the vulgar. Henry generously admitted their apology: "Mercy," said he, "is my favourite virtue; and I would much rather find your obedience the result of affection than the consequence of fear²⁷."

The troubles of Germany obliged the emperor to leave Italy without visiting Rome. But these being quelled, and the king of Poland, who had revolted, reduced to obedience, Henry afterwards returned to Italy, with his wife Cunegunda, and was crowned in St. Peter's by Benedict VIII. He at the same time A. D. 1014. defeated Ardouin, who had re-assumed the royal authority in his absence, and quieted the disorders of Lombardy.

Cloyed with success, sick of human greatness or of the toils of empire, and charmed with the tranquillity of a monastic life, Henry had for some time expressed a desire of retiring from the world, and now actually took the religious habit. But the abbot of St. Vall, when he received the emperor as a brother, wisely imposed the following command on him:—"Monks owe obedience to their superior," said he, "I order you to continue at the helm of government²⁸."

In consequence of this injunction, Henry consented to wear the crown, and increased in prosperity to the hour of his death. Yet he seems to have been A. D. 1024. a prince of a weak mind: for, besides his monastic whim, it appears that he had made a vow of chastity. And, when he felt his end approaching, he sent for the parents of his wife Cunegunda, and said, "You gave her to me a virgin, and I restore her a virgin²⁹!" Can

27. Heiss, lib. ii. Barre, tom. iii.

28. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

29. *Id. ibid.*

a restraint on the natural inclinations be a virtue, where their indulgence does not interfere with the welfare of society? Do not think so. Such a declaration from a husband is sufficient to make us credit the accusations of adultery laid against Cunegunda, though she is said to have proved her innocence by handling red-hot iron.

LETTER XVII.

ENGLAND FROM THE REIGN OF ALFRED TO THE REIGN OF
CANUTE THE GREAT.

ENGLAND, my dear Philip, from the reign of Alfred to the Danish conquest, affords few objects to arrest the attention of the scholar, the gentleman, or the politician. Little attention was paid to arts or letters; which, with manners, suffered a decline. The constitution continued nearly the same. A concise account of the principal reigns will therefore be sufficient for your purpose; more especially as England, during this period, had no connection with the affairs of the continent.

Alfred was succeeded by his son Edward the elder, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne. Though inferior to his father in genius and erudition, he equalled him in military talents: and he had occasion for them. Ethelwald, his cousin-german, son to king Ethelbert, Alfred's brother, disputed the crown, and called in the Danes to support his claim. The death of Ethelwald, who fell in a battle with the Kentish men¹, decided the quarrel; but Edward's wars with the Danes continued during the greater part of his reign, though he was successful in almost every engagement. He died in 925.

1. *Chron. Sax.* H. Hunting.

Athelstan, Edward's natural son, obtained the kingdom, in preference to his legitimate children. A. D. 925. As he was arrived at an age more suited to the cares of government, and the nation, exposed to foreign and domestic wars, required a prince of vigour and abilities, the stain in his birth was overlooked.

No sooner was Athelstan securely seated on the throne, than he endeavoured to give it stability by providing against the insurrection of the domestic Danes. With this view he marched into Northumberland, their most considerable settlement; and finding that they bore with impatience the English yoke, he judged it prudent to confer on Sitheric, a Danish nobleman, the title of king, and to give him his sister Editha in marriage, as a farther motive of attachment. But this policy, though apparently wise, proved the source of many troubles.

Sitheric died within a twelvemonth after his elevation; and his two sons, by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid, founding pretensions on their father's rank, assumed the sovereignty, without waiting for the approbation of Athelstan. But they were soon expelled by that powerful monarch, who was no less brave than politic. The former took shelter in Ireland, the latter in Scotland; where he was protected for some time, by the clemency of Constantine, who then swayed the Scottish sceptre. Continually solicited, however, and even menaced by the English monarch, Constantine at last promised to deliver up his guest; but secretly detesting such treachery, he gave Godfrid a hint to make his escape. Incensed at Constantine's behaviour, though the death of the fugitive had freed him from all apprehensions, Athelstan entered Scotland with a numerous army, A. D. 934. and reduced the Scots to such distress, that their king was happy to preserve his crown by the most humble submission².

Athelstan afterwards defeated the Scots, Welsh, and Danes, in a general engagement at Brunsbury, in Northumberland. In consequence A. D. 938. of this victory he enjoyed tranquillity during the rest of his reign. He appears to have been one of the most able and active of our ancient princes: and his memorable law for the encouragement of commerce, discovers a liberality of mind worthy of the most enlightened ages; That a merchant, who had made two voyages, on his own account, to distant lands, should be admitted to the rank of a lesser thane or gentleman³.

Athelstan was succeeded by his brother Edmund; who, on his accession, met with some disturbance A. D. 941. from the Northumbrian Danes, whom he reduced to obedience. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred that principality on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition that he should do homage to England for it, and protect the Northern counties from all future incursions of the foreign Danes⁴. A. D. 945.

Edmund's reign was short, and his death violent. As he was solemnizing a feast in Gloucestershire, a notorious robber named Leolf, whom A. D. 948. he had sentenced to banishment, audaciously entered the hall where his sovereign dined, and seated himself at one of the tables. Enraged at such insolence, Edmund ordered him to be seized; but observing that the ruffian was preparing to resist, the indignant monarch sprung up, and catching him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. Meanwhile Leolf having drawn his dagger, lifted his arm with a furious blow, and stabbed the king to the heart, who immediately expired on the bosom of his murderer.

Edmund left male issue; but as his eldest son was too young to govern the kingdom, his brother Edred was raised to the throne. The beginning of Edred's reign, like those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the rebel-

3. Brompton. 4. Cul. Malmes. l. b. ii. 5. l. l. ibid. II. Hunting- lion

lion of the Northumbrian Danes. Though frequently humbled, they were never entirely subdued, nor had they ever paid a sincere allegiance to the English crown. Their obedience lasted no longer than the present terror. Edred, instructed by experience, took every precaution to prevent their future insurrections. He settled English garrisons in their most considerable towns, and placed
 A. D. 952. over them an English governor, to watch their motions, and check the first appearance of revolt. He also obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for Cumberland⁶.

But Edred, though a brave and active prince, lay under the influence of the lowest superstition, and had blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, commonly called St. Dunstan, whom he advanced to the highest offices of state, and who concealed beneath an appearance of sanctity the most insatiable and insolent ambition. In order to impose on the credulity of mankind, this designing monk had long secluded himself from the world in a miserable cell, where he is said to have had frequent conflicts with the Devil; until one day, when the infernal spirit attempting to seduce him in the shape of a woman, Dunstan seized him by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, and held him till the whole neighbourhood resounded with his bellowings⁷. Satan, thus vanquished, durst never more shew his face. This story, and others of the like nature, then seriously believed, obtained the abbot a reputation, both with prince and people, which no real piety or virtue could possibly have procured him. Soon after his return from solitude, he was placed by Edred at the head of the treasury; and, sensible that he owed his advancement solely to the opinion of his austerity, he professed himself a friend to the rigid monastic rules, which about this time began to prevail, and by which monks were excluded from all commerce with the

6. Hoveden. 7. Osberne, in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.

world and with women. He introduced them into the convents of Glastonbury and Abingdon, and endeavoured to render them universal in the kingdom^s.

A word here of the monastic life.

There had been monasteries in England from the first introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, and these establishments had been greatly multiplied by the mistaken piety of the English princes and nobles, who sought to bribe Heaven by donations to the church. But the monks had hitherto been a species of secular priests, who were at liberty either to marry or continue single, and who lived after the manner of our present canons or prebendaries. They both intermingled with the world, in some degree, and endeavoured to render themselves useful to it. A superstitious devotion, however, had produced in Italy a new species of monks, who secluded themselves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the most inviolable chastity. Dunstan laid hold of this circumstance to commence reformer. The popes had favoured the doctrine from motives of general policy, as detaching the ecclesiastical from the civil power: the abbot embraced it for his own aggrandizement. Celibacy was therefore extolled as the universal duty of priests; and, in England, the minds of men were already prepared for such an innovation, though it militates against the strongest propensities in human nature.

The first preachers of Christianity among the Saxons had carried to the most extravagant height the praises of inviolable chastity; the pleasures of love had been represented as incompatible with Christian perfection; and an abstinence from all commerce with the softer sex, certainly the highest act of self-denial, was deemed a sufficient atonement for the greatest enormities. It therefore naturally followed, as a consequence of this doctrine, that those who officiated at the altar should at least be

free from such pollution. Dunstan and his reformed monks knew well how to avail themselves of these popular topics, and set off their own character to the best advantage. On the other hand, their rivals the secular clergy, who were numerous and rich, and possessed of the ecclesiastical dignities, defended themselves with vigour, and boldly maintained the sanctity of the institution of marriage^o. The whole nation was thrown into a ferment.

In the meantime, the power of the monks received a check by the death of Edred, the dupe of their ambition. He left children, but in an infant state; the crown was therefore conferred on Edwy, his nephew, son to Edmund his brother and predecessor^o.

This prince, who was only seventeen years of age at his accession, possessed an elegant person, and the most amiable and promising virtues. But neither the graces of his figure, nor the accomplishments of his mind, could screen him from the fury of the monks, whom he unhappily offended in the beginning of his reign. The beautiful Elgiva, his second or third cousin, had made an impression on the susceptible heart of Edwy; and, as he was at an age when the tender passions are most keenly felt, he ventured to marry her, though within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the church. The austerity of the monks made them particularly violent on this occasion; the king therefore entertained a strong aversion against them, and determined to oppose their project of expelling the seculars from the convents. But he had soon reason to repent his rashness, in provoking such dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, while the nobility, assembled in the great hall, were indulging themselves in riot and disorder, after the example of their German ancestors, Edwy, attracted by the gentler pleasures of love, retired to the queen's apartment, and gave loose to his fondness, which was but feebly checked by the presence of her mother. Dunstan conjectured the reason of the king's absence; and carrying along with him

1. Spelm. *Con* 101. i. 10. *Chron. Sax.*

Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an absolute ascendant, he burst into the royal privacy, upbraided Edwy of lasciviousness, tore him from the arms of his consort, and pushed him back ignominiously into the company of the nobles, loading the queen with the most opprobrious epithets¹¹.

Though Edwy was young, and had the prejudices of the age to encounter, he found means to revenge this public insult. He accused Dunstan of malversation in office, while at the head of the treasury; and as that minister did not clear himself of the charge, the king banished him the realm. But Dunstan's party were not idle during his absence. They poisoned the minds of the people to such a degree by declamations against the king, and panegyrics on the abbot's sanctity, that the royal authority was despised, and still more outrageously insulted. Archbishop Odo ordered the queen to be seized: and after her face had been seared with a red-hot iron, in order to destroy that fatal beauty which had ensnared the king, she was carried into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile¹².

Edwy finding resistance ineffectual, was obliged to consent to a divorce, which was pronounced by the imperious Odo. But these were not the only evils which attended this unfortunate prince and his consort. The amiable Elgiva was made prisoner by her persecutors, and cruelly murdered in returning to the embraces of the king, whom she still considered as her husband. Nothing less than her death could satisfy the archbishop and the monks. Edwy was dethroned by the same influence, in order to make room for his brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen years of age. Dunstan returned to England, and took upon him the government of the young king and his party. He was first installed in the see of Worcester, next in that of London, and afterwards in that of Canterbury: of all which he long kept

11. Gul Malmes. lib. ii. 12. Osberne. ubi sup.

possession. In the mean time the unhappy Edwy was excommunicated, and pursued by his enemies with unrelenting vengeance¹³. But his death soon freed them from all inquietude, and left Edgar in peaceable possession of the throne.

The reign of Edgar is one of the most fortunate in the English annals. Though he ascended the throne in early youth, he soon discovered an excellent capacity for government. He shewed no aversion against war; he took the wisest precautions for public safety; and, by his vigilance and foresight, he was enabled to indulge his natural inclination for peace. He maintained a body of troops in the North, to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in awe, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He also built and supported a powerful navy: and, in order to habituate the seamen to the practice of their profession, as well as to intimidate his enemies, he stationed three squadrons off the coasts of his kingdom, and commanded them to make by turns the circuit of his dominions. The foreign Danes durst not approach a country which was so strongly defended; the domestic Danes saw destruction to be the inevitable consequence of insurrection; and the princes of Wales, of Scotland, and even of Ireland, were happy to appease so potent a monarch by submission¹⁴.

But the means by which Edgar more especially maintained his authority at home; and preserved public tranquillity, was paying court to Dunstan and the monks, who had violently placed him on the throne, and whose claim to superior sanctity gave them an ascendant over the people. He favoured their scheme of reformation, as it was called, but in reality of dispossessing the secular canons of the monasteries; he consulted them in the administration of all ecclesiastical, and even of many civil affairs; and although the vigour of his genius prevented him from being entirely guided by

13. Brompton. 14. Spelm. *Conc.* vol. i.

them, he took care never to disoblige them. Hence he is represented by the monkish writers not only as a warrior and a politician, a character which he seems to have merited, but also as a saint and a man of virtue, though he was licentious in the highest degree, and violated every law human and divine. His very amours are a compound of barbarity and brutality. He broke into a convent, carried off a nun by force, and even committed violence on her person¹⁵. Struck also with the charms of a nobleman's daughter, in whose house he was entertained, he demanded that she should pass that very night with him, without once consulting the young lady's inclinations¹⁶. But his most remarkable amour was with the beautiful Elfrida; and, as it is connected with the history of the following reign, I shall relate it circumstantially. It will give you at once an idea of the manners of the age, and of the character of Edgar.

Elfrida the only daughter and sole heiress of Olgar, earl of Devonshire, though educated in the country, and a stranger at court, had filled all England with the reputation of her beauty. Edgar, who was never indifferent to any report of this kind, sent Athelwold his favourite to see if the young lady was indeed as fair as fame had represented her. Athelwold no sooner saw Elfrida than he was inflamed with love, and determined to sacrifice to it his fidelity to his master: he therefore told Edgar, on his return, that the fortune and quality of Elfrida alone had been the cause of the adulation paid, and that her charms, so far from being extraordinary, would have been entirely over-looked in a woman of inferior condition. "But," added he when he found he had blunted the edge of the king's

15. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

16. This demand was made to the mother, who being a woman of virtue, sent secretly to the king's bed, instead of her daughter, her maid Elfreda; with whom Edgar passed the night so much to his satisfaction, that he not only forgave the old lady for her pious deceit, but transferred his love to Elfreda, who became his favourite mistress. Gul. Malmes. ubi sup.

curiosity, “ though she has nothing to claim the attention
“ of a sovereign, her immense wealth would, to a subject,
“ be a sufficient compensation, for the homeliness of her
“ person; and, although it could never produce on me
“ the illusion of beauty, it might make her a convenient
“ wife!”

Edgar, glad of an opportunity of establishing his favourite's fortune, not only gave his approbation to the projected match, but forwarded its success by recommending him in the warmest manner to the earl of Devonshire; so that Athelwold was soon made happy in the possession of his beloved Elfrida. Dreading, however, the eyes of the king, he still found some pretence for detaining his wife in the country. But all his precautions were insufficient to conceal his amorous treachery. Royal favourites are never without enemies; Edgar was soon informed of the truth; but before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's perfidy, he resolved to satisfy himself fully in regard to Elfrida's beauty. He therefore told his deceiver, That he intended to pay him a visit at his castle, and be introduced to his wife, whose beauty he had formerly heard so much praised. Athelwold was thunderstruck at the proposal; but, as he could not refuse such an honour, he only begged leave to go a few hours before his royal guest, that he might make proper preparations for his reception. On his arrival, he fell at his wife's feet; discovered the whole secret, and conjured her, if she valued either her own honour or his life, to disguise as much as possible that fatal beauty which had tempted him to deceive his prince and friend. Elfrida promised compliance, though nothing appears to have been farther from her thoughts. She adorned her person with the most exquisite art, and called forth all her charms; not despairing, it should seem, yet to reach that exalted station of which Athelwold's fondness had deprived her. The event was answerable to her wishes; she excited at once in Edgar's bosom the warmest love, and the keenest desire of revenge. The king, however, who could dissemble those passions, as well as feel them, beheld her with seeming

ing indifference, and having seduced Athelwold into a wood, under pretence of hunting, he stabbed him with his own hand, took Elfrida to court, and soon after publicly married her¹⁷.

This reign is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves from England. Edgar took great pleasure in pursuing those ravenous animals: and when he found they had all taken shelter in the mountains and forests of Wales, he changed the tribute of money imposed on the Welsh princes by Athelstan, into an annual tribute of three hundred head of wolves¹⁸, a policy which occasioned so much diligence in hunting them, that the breed soon became extinct in the island.

Edgar was succeeded by his son Edward, commonly called the martyr, whom he had by his first wife, the daughter of earl Ordmer. A. D. 975.

The succession of Edward did not take place without much opposition. Elfrida, his step-mother, had a son named Ethelred, only seven years old, whom she attempted to raise to the throne. But the principal nobility, dreading her imperious temper, opposed a measure which must increase her authority, if not put her in possession of the regency; and Dunstan, to whom it was of great importance to have a king favourable to his cause, resolutely crowned and anointed Edward, over whom he had already gained an absolute ascendant. His short reign was remarkable for nothing but a continual struggle between the monks and the secular clergy. He was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Elfrida, in order to make room for her son Ethelred. A. D. 978.

Soon after the accession of Ethelred, a prince without courage or capacity, England was visited anew by the Danes. The wise regulations of Alfred, and the valour of his immediate successors had long deterred those ravagers from approaching the British shores; and

17. Gul. Malmes. Hoveden. Drompton, ubi sup.

18. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

their settlement in France had required, for a time, most of their superfluous hands. But a new race of men having now sprung up in the northern regions, who could no longer disburden themselves on Normany, and England being no longer governed by an Alfred or an Edgar, they ventured to renew their depredations. Ethelred, instead
 A. D. 991. of rousing his people to defend with courage their prince and their property, meanly compounded with the enemy for his safety, by bribing them to depart the kingdom¹⁹.

That shameful expedient, which invited assailants instead of repelling them, was attended with the success that might have been expected; the Danes again returned, and were again bribed to depart. In the meantime Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of massacring the Danes throughout all his dominions. Secret orders were accordingly given to commence the execution on the same day,
 A. D. 1002. and all the Danes were destroyed without mercy. Even Gunilda, sister to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Paling, and embraced Christianity, was seized and put to death by Ethelred, after having seen her husband and children butchered before her face²⁰.

This unhappy princess foretold, in the agonies of despair, that her murder would soon be revenged by the

19. Id. *ibid.*

20. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. Contrary to the testimony of most of our old English historians, who represent the massacre of the Danes as universal, Wallingford, (p. 548.) says that it affected only a military body in the pay of the king, dispersed over the country; become insolent in an uncommon degree, and in some measure masters of the kingdom; which, instead of protecting, they often ravaged, in conjunction with the foreign Danes. After so great an elapse of time it is impossible to decide upon the matter with certainty; but as the kingdoms of Northumberland and East-Anglia were chiefly peopled with Danes, Wallingford's account seems most probable.

total ruin of the English nation. Never was prophecy better fulfilled, nor ever did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its projectors. Sweyn, king of Denmark, breathing vengeance for the slaughter of his countrymen, landed speedily in the west of England, and desolated the whole kingdom with fire and sword. The English, sensible what they had to expect from a barbarous and enraged enemy, attempted several times to make a stand; but they were successively betrayed by Alferic and Edric, governors of Mercia. The base and imprudent expedient of money was again tried, till the nation was entirely drained of its treasure, but without effect. The Danes continued their ravages; and Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and the treachery of his own subjects, fled over to his brother-in-law, Richard duke of Normandy, who received him with a generosity that does honour to his memory²¹.

Sweyn died soon after Ethelred left England, and before he had time to establish himself in his newly acquired dominions. Ethelred was recalled; but his misconduct was incurable. On resuming the government, he discovered the same incapacity, indolence, cowardice, and credulity, which had so often exposed him to the insults of his enemies: and the English found in Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than his father. An army was assembled against him under the command of Edric and prince Edmond. Edric, whom the infatuated king still trusted, continued his perfidious machinations. After endeavouring in vain to get the prince into his power, he found means to dissipate the army, and then openly revolted to Canute with forty vessels²².

Notwithstanding this misfortune, Edmond, whose intrepidity never failed him, collected the remaining force

21. Hen. Hunting. lib. vi.

22. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

of the kingdom, and was soon in a condition to give the enemy battle. But the king had so often experienced the perfidy of his subjects, that he had lost all confidence in them; he therefore refused to take the field; so that the prince's vigorous measures were rendered altogether ineffectual, the army being discouraged by the timidity of their sovereign. As the north had already submitted to Canute's power, Edmond retired to London, determined there to maintain the small remains of English liberty. In the meantime his father died, after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years.

Ethelred left two sons by his first marriage: Edmond, who succeeded him, and Edwy, whom Canute afterwards murdered. His two sons by the second marriage, Alfred and Edward, were conveyed into Normandy by queen Emma, immediately after the death of their father.

Edmond, who received the name of Ironside from his hardy valour, possessed courage and abilities sufficient to have saved his country; not only from sinking under its present calamities, but even to have raised it from that abyss of misery into which it was already fallen, had the English, among their other misfortunes, not been infected with treachery and disloyalty. But these rendered his best concerted schemes, and his noblest efforts fruitless. The traitor Edric pretended to return to his duty; and, as Edmond had no general in whom he could repose more confidence, he gave him a considerable command in the army. A battle was soon after fought at Assington in Essex. Edric deserted to the enemy, in the beginning of the day, and occasioned the total defeat of the English army, with a great slaughter of the nobility.

The indefatigable Edmond, however, had still resources. He assembled a new army at Gloucester, and was again in a condition to dispute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally tired of the struggle, obliged their kings to come to terms. The kingdom was divided between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself

himself the northern division; Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely subdued: the southern parts were left to Edmond, who survived the treaty only a month. He was murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains, accomplices of Edric, whose treachery made way for the accession of Canute the Dane to the throne of England²³; Edwin and Edward, the son of Edmond, being yet in their infancy.

LETTER XVIII.

FRANCE, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HUGH CAPET, TO THE INVASION OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM DUKE OF NORMANDY.

WHILE England changed its line of sovereigns, and Germany its form of government, France also had changed its reigning family, and was become, like Germany, a government entirely feudal. A. D. 987. Each province had its hereditary counts or dukes. He who could only seize upon two or three small villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province; and he who had only a castle, held it of the possessor of a town. The kingdom was a monstrous assemblage of members, without any compact body.

Of the princes, or nobles, who held immediately of the crown, Hugh Capet was not the least powerful. He possessed the dukedom of France; which extended as far as Touraine: he was also count of Paris; and the vast domains which he held in Picardy and Champagne, gave him great authority in those provinces. He therefore

23. Gul. Malmes. Hen, Hunting. ubi sup.

seized the crown on the death of Lewis V. and brought more strength to it than he derived from it; for the royal domain was now reduced to the cities of Laon and Soissons, with a few other disputed territories¹.

The right of succession belonged to Charles, duke of Lorraine, uncle to Lewis V. but the condition of vassal of the empire appeared to the French nobility a sufficient reason for excluding him, and Hugh Capet secured the favour of the clergy by resigning to them the abbies which had been hereditary in his family. An extreme devotion, real or assumed, recommended him to the people; and particularly, his veneration for reliques. Force and address seconded his ambition, and the national aversion against his rival completed its success. He was acknowledged in an assembly of the nobles; he was anointed at Rheims; and he farther established his throne, by associating his son Robert in the government of the kingdom, and vesting him with those ensigns of royalty, which he prudently denied himself, as what might give umbrage to men who were lately his equals².

In the mean time the duke of Lorraine entered France, made himself master of Laon by assault, and of Rheims by the treachery of archbishop Arnold, his relation. But this unhappy prince was afterwards himself betrayed by the bishop of Laon, and made prisoner for life³.

A council was assembled for the trial of Arnold. He was degraded: and Gerbert, a man of learning and genius who had been tutor to the emperor Otho III. and to the king's son Robert was elected archbishop of Rheims. But the election was declared void: Arnold was re-established and Gerbert deposed. The first, however, remained in prison till the death of Hugh Capet, who was more afraid of Arnold's intrigues than of the thunder of the Vatican⁴. while the second, having found an asylum in the court of his pupil Otho, became archbishop of Ravenna, and afterwards pope, under the name of Sylvester II.

1. *Glab. Hist. sui Temp.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Sigeberti. Chron.*

4. *Id. ibid.*

Nothing else memorable happened during the reign of Hugh Capet, who conducted all his affairs with great prudence and moderation; and had the singular honour of establishing a new family, and in some measure a new form of government, with few circumstances of violence, and without shedding blood. He died in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the eighth of his reign, and was quietly succeeded by his son Robert, a prince of a less vigorous genius, though not of a less amiable disposition. A. D. 996.

The most remarkable circumstance in the reign of Robert, and the most worthy of our attention, is his excommunication by the pope. This prince had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage not only lawful according to our present ideas of things, and justified by the practice of all nations, ancient and modern, but necessary to the welfare of the state, she being the sister of Rodolph, king of Burgundy. But the clergy, among their other usurpations, had about this time made a sacrament of marriage, and laid the most essential of civil engagements under spiritual prohibitions, which extended even to the seventh degree of consanguinity. The popes politically arrogated to themselves a special jurisdiction over this first object of society, and that on which all the rest hang. Gregory V. therefore, undertook to dissolve the marriage between Robert and Bertha, though it had been authorised by several bishops; and, in a council held at Rome, without examining the cause, and without hearing the parties, he published, with the most despotic authority, an imperious decree, which ordered the king and queen to be separated, under peril of excommunication. And all the bishops who had countenanced the pretended crime, were suspended from their functions, until such time as they should make satisfaction to the holy see^s.

Robert, however, persisted in keeping his wife, and thereby incurred the sentence of excommunication; which,

according to cardinal Peter Damien, an historian of those times, had such an effect on the minds of men, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domestics, two servants excepted. And these threw to the dogs all the victuals which their master left at meals, and purified by fire, the vessels in which he had been served: so fearful were they of what had been touched by an excommunicated person⁶!...The same credulous author adds, that the queen was brought to bed of a monster, which had a neck and head like a goose; a certain proof and punishment of incest!...But, as Voltaire very justly observes, there was nothing monstrous in all this affair, but the insolence of the pope, and the weakness of the king; who giving way to superstitious terrors, or afraid of civil commotions, at last repudiated his wife Bertha, and married Constance, daughter to the count of Arles, in whom he found an imperious termagant, instead of an amiable consort. Gregory also obliged him to restore the traitor Arnold to the see of Rheims⁷.

In the meantime Robert had it in his power to have been master of the popes, if he had possessed the ambition and the vigour necessary for such an enterprize. After the death of Henry II. the last emperor of the house of Saxony, the Italians, sick of the A. D. 1024. German dominion, offered their crown, and the imperial dignity, to the king of France. Robert, however, had the resolution to refuse it; and not only his own subjects,

6. Let us not, however, with certain sarcastical historians, represent this mode of inspiring religious terrors as an invention of the Christian priesthood. For Cæsar tells us that, among the ancient Gauls, if any one, whether magistrate or private person, refused to submit to the *sentence* of the Druids, he was *interdicted* the *sacrifices*; and that, while under such *prohibition*, all men *shunned* him, lest they should *suffer* by the contagion of his *impiety* (Cæsar, *Bell. Gal.* lib. vi.) The power of EXCOMMUNICATION, or the authority of *excluding* the *vicious* and *refractory* from *religious privileges*, is necessary indeed to every body of priests. But it ought to extend no farther, to *affect* no *legal right*, nor any *civil privilege*.

7. Aimon. *Hist.* lib. v.

but Europe in general was soon convinced that he had, acted wisely; for those who made the proposal, afterwards deserted the person who accepted it⁸.

The latter years of Robert's reign were rendered very unhappy by the disorders of his family. Unfortunate in the death of his eldest son Hugh, whom he had associated in the sovereignty, his queen Constance, whose haughtiness was altogether insupportable, attempted to regulate the succession. Having an aversion against her son Henry, she wanted to place her younger son Robert on the throne. But the king, by the advice of his parliament, confirmed the succession to Henry, his eldest surviving son. Provoked at this measure, the queen wanted to embroil the brothers⁹; but they, being united by a sincere friendship, withstood all her irritations. At length, become equally the objects of her hatred, they retired from court, and took arms in order to obtain a separate establishment. In the mean-
A. D. 1031.
time the king died, and was succeeded by his son Henry.

There is not any monarch in the French history more generally, or more highly commended than Robert, notwithstanding his weakness of temper, or on whose death the lamentations of all ranks of people were louder or more sincere. The monks spoke the sense of the whole nation, when they deplored him in these words: "We have lost a father, who governed us in peace. We lived under him in security; for he did not oppress, or suffer oppression: we loved him, and there was nobody whom he feared¹⁰."

Henry I. was twenty-seven years of age at his accession to the throne, and with all the spirit of a young man, he had the sagacity and prudence of one more advanced in years; without which, the crown had been shaken from his head almost as soon as it was placed there. His mother Constance, who hated him, as has been observed, and who was ambitious still to govern, had drawn over to her

8. Id. Ibid. 9. Glab. *Hist. sui Temp.* 10. Helgaldus. Glab. ubi sup.
party

party a number of Lords and bishops, under pretence of supporting the cause of her younger son Robert. Henry, therefore, after some ineffectual struggles, was obliged to take refuge in Normandy, where he was received with all possible respect by duke Robert; who assured him, that the treasures and forces of the duchy were at his disposal. Nor were these mere expressions of civility: an army of Normans entered France on one side, while the king and the royal party invaded it on the other. The queen dowager and her faction were humbled, and Henry recovered all that he had lost. But although this contest ended gloriously for the king, it proved hurtful to the monarchy; for as the success of the war was principally owing to the duke of Normandy, Henry added to his duchy Gisors, Chaumont, Pontoise, and that part of the Vexin which yet remained to the crown¹¹.

The next affair of importance that occupied the king's attention was the succession to the duchy of Normandy. Duke Robert had thought fit, in compliance with the fashionable devotion of those times, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But before his departure, as he was a prudent prince, though now old and superstitious, he assembled his nobles; and, informing them of his pious purpose, the length of the journey, and the dangers to which he must be exposed, he engaged them to swear allegiance to his natural son William, whom he tenderly loved, and intended for his successor, as he had no legitimate issue. He also recommended the guardianship of this son, who was only nine years of age, to two persons in whom he placed the greatest confidence; Henry I. king of France, and Alain duke of Bretagne¹². But these precautions did not prevent many disorders, which a mind not hoodwinked by superstition must have foreseen; arising from the habitual turbulency of the great, the illegitimacy of William and the claims from other branches of the ducal family.

11. Gul. Gemet. lib. vi. 12. Id. ibid.

Robert died, as he had apprehended, in his pilgrimage; and left his son rather the heir of his wishes than of his dominions. The A. D. 1035. licentious nobles, freed from the awe of sovereign authority, broke out into personal quarrels, and made the whole duchy a scene of war and devastation. Alain, duke of Bretagne, came to appease their animosities; but being very roughly treated, he returned home, and was soon after carried off by slow poison, supposed to have been given him in Normandy. Various pretenders arose to the succession; and the king of France forgetting what he owed to Robert, seemed willing to deprive his infant son of his inheritance, by taking advantage of these troubles. He accordingly invaded the Norman frontier, and reduced several places: but not finding the conquest so easy as he expected, or influenced by the returning sentiments of friendship and generosity, he united his forces with those of the young duke, and the malecon- A. D. 1046. tents were totally routed in the battle of Val de Dunes, which gave William quiet possession of his dominions¹³.

Henry I. died in 1060, and was succeeded by his son Philip, whom he had by his second wife, and the first with whom he cohabited, the daughter of Joradislus, duke of Russia; a circumstance truly remarkable, in an age when the intercourse between nations was so little familiar. But the prohibitions of marriage were so multiplied, and the example of his father so alarming, that Henry is supposed to have sought a wife in this remote country, in order to avoid the crime of incest, and the danger of excommunication. What must the disorders of society have been, when even a king did not know whom he might lawfully marry.

Philip I. was only eight years of age at the time of his accession; and, what is very singular, instead of being put under the guardian- A. D. 1060.

13. Gul. Gemet. ubi sup.

ship of his mother or his uncle, one of whom it might naturally be supposed would have been called to the regency, he was committed by his father to the care of Baldwin V. surnamed the Pious, earl of Flanders; a man of strict honour, and brother-in-law to Henry. Baldwin gave his pupil an education suitable to his rank; he kept the nobility in awe, without giving them just cause of offence; and he maintained peace, by being always prepared for war. History, in a word, scarce furnishes us with an instance of a minority more quiet and of none more happy; an example the more remarkable, as the times and circumstances of it were both delicate.

The only colour that Baldwin gave for censure, was in his conduct towards William duke of Normandy, who was preparing to invade England, and whom he permitted to raise forces in France and Flanders; a liberty which, from the event, was judged impolitic. But the duke being his son-in-law, he could not refuse him with a good grace: and there was yet a farther motive for compliance. The fortunate and enterprising William might have entered France with that army which he had assembled against England where he succeeded more speedily, and with more ease than could possibly have been expected. But the particulars of that invasion, and its consequences, belong to the history of our own country. I shall therefore only here observe, that to balance in some measure the increase of William's power, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the crowns of France and Scotland. Soon after that negotiation Baldwin died, and left his pupil Philip I. in peaceable possession of his kingdom, when he had attained his fifteenth year¹⁴.

14. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

LETTER XIX.

ENGLAND FROM THE DANISH TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen Edmond Ironside inhumanly murdered, and England exposed to the ambition of Canute the Dane; a prince both active and brave, and at the head of a numerous army, ready to take advantage of the minority of Edwin and Edward, the sons of Edmond. ^{A. D. 1017.}

The English could therefore expect nothing but total subjection from Canute. But the Danish monarch, commonly so little scrupulous, shewed, on this occasion, an anxiety to conceal his injustice under plausible pretences. Before he seized the inheritance of the two young princes, he summoned a general assembly of the states of England in order to fix the succession; and having suborned some noblemen to depose that in the treaty of Gloucester it was agreed, "That Canute, in case of Edmond's decease, should succeed to the whole kingdom," the states, convinced by this evidence, or overawed by his victorious arms, immediately put the Dane in full possession of the government¹.

But although Canute had now attained the great object of his ambition in the undivided sovereignty of England, he was at first obliged to make many sacrifices to it; and to gratify the chief nobility, by bestowing on them extensive governments and jurisdictions. He also thought himself obliged, from political motives, to exercise some severities. In order to reward his Danish followers, he loaded the people with oppressive taxes; and jealous of the two young princes, but sensible that he should render himself detested if he ordered them to be murdered in England, he sent them to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he desired to get them privately

1. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. R. Hoveden, Annal. pars prior.

dispatched,

dispatched, as soon as they arrived at his court. But the Swedish monarch was too generous to comply with such a barbarous request. Afraid, however, to draw on himself the displeasure of Canute, by protecting the English princes, he sent them to be educated in the court of Solomon, king of Hungary; a strange place surely to seek for a preceptor. But the defenceless seek only a protector: and the sons of Edmond found one in Solomon. Edwin, the eldest, was married to that monarch's sister; but he dying without issue, Solomon gave his sister-in-law, Agatha, daughter of the Emperor Henry II. in marriage to Edward, the younger brother: and she bore him Edgar Atheling, whom I shall have occasion to mention; Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland; and Christina, who retired into a convent².

The removal of Edmond's children into so distant a country as Hungary, was regarded by Canute, next to their death, as the greatest security of his government. But he was still under alarm on account of Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred, who were protected and supported by their uncle, Richard duke of Normandy. Richard had even fitted out a fleet, on purpose to restore the English princes to the throne of their ancestors. In order, therefore, to break the storm, and to secure himself on that side, Canute paid his addresses to queen Emma, the duke's sister, and the mother of those princes who disputed his sway. He was listened to: Richard sent over Emma to England; where she was soon after married to Canute, the enemy of her former husband's family, and the conqueror of that country which her children had a right to rule. But Canute promised that her children should still rule it, though not the children of Ethelred; and, although the English disapproved of the match, they were pleased to find at court a sovereign to whom they were accustomed: so that the conqueror, by this marriage, not only secured the alliance of Normandy, but acquired the confidence of

2. Id. *ibid.*

his new subjects. Having thus freed himself from the danger of a revolution, Canute determined, like a truly wise prince, by the equity of his administration, to reconcile the English yet farther to the Danish yoke. He sent back to their own country as many of his followers as could safely be spared: he restored the Saxon customs; he made no distinction between the Danes and English in the distribution of justice; and he took care, by a strict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his subjects³. The Danes were gradually incorporated with the native English; and both were glad to breathe a little from those multiplied calamities, which the conquerors, no less than the conquered, had experienced in their struggle for dominion.

The first use that Canute made of this tranquillity was to visit Denmark, where he obtained a victory over the Swedes, by the valour of the English under the command of earl Godwin, on whom A. D. 1019. he bestowed his daughter in marriage. In a second voyage to Denmark, he made himself master of Norway, and expelled the good Olaus from his kingdom. Canute seems to have attained the height of his ambition; for, from this period, he appears not A. D. 1028. only to have laid aside all thoughts of future conquests, but to have held in contempt all the glories and pleasures of the world: a necessary consequence, my dear Philip, of assigning to human enjoyments a satisfaction which they cannot yield, and more especially of pursuing them (another effect of the same cause) at the expense of justice and humanity.

During this change of mind it must have been that Canute, the greatest and most powerful prince of his time, being sovereign of Denmark, Norway, and England, put to the blush his flattering courtiers, who exclaimed in admiration of his grandeur, that every thing was *possible* for him. He ordered a chair to be brought,

3, Gul. Malmes. lib. ii.

and seated himself on the sea-shore, while the tide was rising; and as the waves approached, he said, in an imperious tone, "Thou sea! art under my dominion, and the land which I sit upon is mine: I charge thee, approach no farther! nor dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." He even sat some time in seeming expectation of submission: but as the sea still advanced towards him, and at last began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and observed, that every creature in the universe is feeble and impotent; and that power resides only with ONE Being, in whose hands are the elements of nature, and who can say to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther!"

But although Canute, sick of worldly greatness, began to turn his eyes towards a future state of existence, the spirit which prevailed in that age unfortunately gave a wrong direction to his piety. Instead of making reparation to the persons whom he had injured by former acts of violence, he built churches, endowed monasteries, and appointed prayers to be said for the souls of those who had fallen in battle against him; nay, more meritorious than all the rest! he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome.

After his return from Rome, Canute performed nothing memorable, except an expedition against Malcolm king of Scotland, whom he humbled. He died A. D. 1035. in 1035, and left the crown of England to his son Harold Harefoot, by his first wife, Alfwen, daughter to the earl of Hampshire, in prejudice of Hardicanute, his son by queen Emma, to whom he had promised the succession⁵.

Harold reigned only four years. He was succeeded A. D. 1039. by his brother Hardicanute, whose reign was yet shorter. Neither of these princes had any qualities that merit your attention, nor did any thing memorable happen during their reigns. It

4. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

5. *Chron. Sax. H. Hunting R. Hoveden.*

will therefore be sufficient to observe, that on the death of Hardicanute, who fell a sacrifice to his brutal intemperance, the English shook off the Danish yoke, and recalled from Normandy Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, surnamed the Confessor, to the throne of his ancestors. A. D. 1041.

This revolution was effected without bloodshed : and the mild and equitable government of Edward soon reconciled the Danes, no less than the English, to his sway. The distinction between the two nations vanished. But the English in vain flattered themselves, that they were forever delivered from foreign masters. A little time convinced them, that the evil was rather suspended than removed.

Edward had been educated in Normandy ; and having contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners, the court of England was soon filled with Normans, who were distinguished by the royal favour, and had great influence on the national councils. He had also, it appears, though married to a beautiful woman, made an indiscreet vow of virginity, which rendered his bed sterile, but obtained to him from the monks the title of saint and Confessor : and he had given his kinsman, William duke of Normandy, hopes of succeeding to the English crown. What use that enterprizing prince made of this promise, real or pretended, we shall afterward have occasion to see.

In the mean time the English, and particularly earl Godwin, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom, and who had hopes of exalting his own son to the throne, became jealous of the preference shewn to foreigners, and openly revolted. The rebels were reduced : the estates of Godwin and his son were confiscated ; and they were obliged to flee the realm. But they soon after returned, and reduced the king to conditions ; the most considerable A. D. 1053

of which was, that all foreigners should be banished the kingdom⁶.

Godwin's death, which happened shortly after this treaty, prevented him from establishing that authority which he had acquired at the expense of the crown. But his son Harold, who succeeded him in his estates and offices, and who, with an ambition equal to his father's, was superior to him in address and insinuation, proved no less dangerous to the unsuspecting and unwarlike Edward, whose confidence he had obtained. And the death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, while it enfeebled the royal authority, gave still more consequence to the ambitious Harold. Siward, beside his loyalty, and exploits in behalf of the crown, had acquired honour to England, by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during this reign: and as it is connected with a memorable circumstance in the history of a neighbouring kingdom, as well as with the intrigues of Harold, it doubly deserves our attention.

Duncan, king of Scotland, a prince of a gentle disposition, and some talents, but not possessed of sufficient vigour to govern a turbulent nation, distracted by the animosities of the great, had laid himself open to the designs of Macbeth, a powerful nobleman, nearly allied to the crown; and who, not contented with curbing the king's authority, carried yet farther his traitorous ambition. He murdered his sovereign; usurped the crown; and chased Malcolm Kenmure, the prince and heir, into England. Siward whose daughter was married to Duncan, undertook, by Edward's orders, the protection of this unhappy family. He marched an army into Scotland, defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, and restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. This service added to his former connections with the royal family of Scotland, brought great acces-

6. R. Hoveden. Sim. Dunelm.

sion to the authority of Siward in the north, and enabled him to be highly useful to Edward, in restraining the ambition of Godwin and his powerful family; but as he had lost his eldest son Osbern, in the action with Macbeth, it proved eventually fatal to his house and hurtful to the crown. The duke's second son, Woltheof, appeared too young, on his father's death, to be entrusted with the government of Northumberland: and Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for Tosti his own brother⁷.

There are two anecdotes related of Siward, which strongly mark his character, and are eminently expressive of that enthusiasm of valour, so long predominant in the house of Northumberland. When informed of his son Osbern's death, he was at first inconsolable. But enquiring how he fell, and being told that he behaved with great gallantry, and that his wound was in the *breast*, the feelings of the father seemed lost in those of the soldier; his grief was transformed into joy. "Would to God," exclaimed he, "that I had as many sons as I have hairs, that I might lose them thus!" And when he found his own death approaching, he ordered himself to be clothed in a suit of complete armour; and sitting erect on a couch, with a spear in his hand, "In this posture," said he, "the only one worthy of a warrior, I will meet the tyrant: if I cannot conquer, I shall at least *face* the combat⁸."

Tosti behaved so tyrannically in his government of Northumberland, that the people rose against him, and expelled him by force of arms; a circumstance which contributed much to his brother's aggrandizement. Harold was appointed by the king to punish the Northumbrians, and advanced with an army for that purpose; but being met by a deputation from Morcar, who had been elected duke, and finding that Tosti had acted in a manner unworthy of his station, he returned to the king, and

7. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. Buchanan, lib. vii. 8. H. Hunting. lib. vii.

generously persuaded him not only to pardon the rebels, but even to confirm Morcar in the dukedom. He afterward married the sister of that nobleman, and got her younger brother, Edwin, elected into the government of Mercia. He also undertook an expedition against the Welsh, whom he obliged to receive English governors⁹.

By these political and fortunate steps, Harold soon found himself in a condition openly to aspire at the succession to the crown. He had gained the affections of his countrymen by his lenity to the Northumbrians : he had raised their admiration of his valour, by his conquest of Wales ; and so great was his influence that he laid almost all England under the command of himself or his friends. His competitors for the succession were Edgar Atheling, the sole surviving heir to the crown, who had been recalled from Hungary, and William duke of Normandy, the king's cousin. But the first was a youth whose imbecility was thought sufficient to set aside his claim, and the second a foreigner. Edward's prepossessions hindered him from supporting the pretensions of Harold, and his irresolution from
 A. D. 1066. securing the crown to the duke of Normandy, whom he secretly favoured: he therefore died without appointing a successor, being worn out with age and infirmities, and more anxious about obtaining a heavenly, than settling his earthly inheritance.

Edward the Confessor was the first who *touched* for the schrophula, hence denominated the King's evil. The opinion of his sanctity procured belief, among the superstitious vulgar, to this mode of cure : and his successors regarded it as a part of their royalty to support the same idea. The practice was first dropt by the princes of the house of Brunswic ; who wisely considered, that such a pretension must be attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of cultivated minds, and even become the scorn of an enlightened populace. Posterity are more indebt-

9. Orderic. Vital.

ed to this prince for the body of laws which he compiled, and which on account of their mildness, were long dear to our ancestors.

Though Edward left the succession undecided, it did not long continue so. Harold immediately stepped into the vacant throne; and so well had he taken his measures, that his accession was attended with as little opposition or disturbance, as if he had succeeded by the most indisputable hereditary title. The right of Edgar Atheling was scarce ever mentioned; and still less the claim of the duke of Normandy: the whole nation seemed joyfully to swear allegiance to the new king^o.

The first danger that Harold experienced was from abroad, and from his own brother. Tosti, when expelled the government of Northumberland, had submitted to a voluntary banishment in Flanders: but no sooner was he informed of the accession of Harold, to whose fortunate ambition he considered himself to have fallen a sacrifice, than he entered into a league with Halfager king of Norway, who invaded England with a fleet of three hundred sail. Tosti himself had collected about sixty vessels in the ports of Flanders, with which he put to sea; and after committing some depredations on the south and east coasts of England, he sailed to Northumberland, where he was joined by Halfager and his powerful armament. The combined fleets disembarked their troops at the mouth of the Humber; and the earls of Northumberland and Mercia were defeated in attempting to oppose the invaders.

Harold was no sooner informed of this disaster, than he hastened to the north; anxious for the safety of his people, and ambitious to shew himself worthy of that crown which had been conferred upon him by his countrymen. The English flocked from all quarters to his standard: so that he found himself in a condition to give battle to his enemies, as soon as he reached them.

The two armies engaged at Stanford. The action, which was long and bloody, ultimately terminated in the total rout of the Danes, and in the death of Tosti and Halfager. Harold, however, had scarce time to rejoice on account of this victory, before he received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy, having landed with a formidable force in the south of England, determined to dispute with him the crown.

The Norman prince (whom I have already had occasion to mention, both in the history of France and of England) founded his claim to the English crown on a pretended will of Edward the Confessor in his favour. This claim he fortified with an oath extorted from Harold when shipwrecked on the coast of France, that he would never aspire to the succession, and by which he bound himself to support the pretensions of William. The will Harold knew to be void of foundation, and the oath he entirely disregarded, as it had not only been drawn from him by the fear of violence, but was in itself unlawful; unless William had not only been appointed successor by the king, but chosen by the people, the English crown not being at the disposal of the sovereign. He therefore replied to the Norman ambassadors, who summoned him to resign the kingdom, that he was determined strenuously to maintain those national liberties with which he had been intrusted, and that the same moment should put a period to his life and his sway¹¹.

This answer was no other than what William expected. He knew the valour of Harold, and the power of the English nation; but he consulted only his ambition, and his courage. The boldness of the enterprise he thought would astonish the enemy, and inspire his soldiers with resolution from despair, as well as from a desire of supporting the reputation of their countrymen; who had about this time revived

11. Gul. Malmes. lib. iii. Higden. Matth. West.

their ancient fame, as we shall afterward have occasion to see, by the most hazardous exploits, and the most wonderful successes, in the other extremity of Europe.

Nor were these the only foundation of William's hopes. A military spirit had universally diffused itself over Europe; and the feudal nobles, whose minds were elated by their princely situation, greedily embraced the most hazardous enterprizes, how little soever they might be interested in the failure or success. Hence their passion for chivalry, and their ambition to outshine each other in exertions of strength or prowess. William had long been distinguished among those haughty chieftains by his power, his courage, and his address in all military exercises; and every one ambitious of acquiring renown in arms, repaired to the court of Normandy, where they were entertained with that hospitality and courtesy which distinguished the age. The fame of the intended invasion of England had been every where diffused: the more perilous the attempt appeared, the more it suited the genius of the times: multitudes of adventurers therefore crowded to tender their service to William, impatient to acquire fame under so renowned a leader, or to support, by new acts of valour, that reputation which they had already earned¹²; so that the duke's army consisted of the flower of all the warriors of the continent, determined to die or to conquer.

The continental monarchs could surely have obstructed those supplies. But Philip I. of France, whose interest most it was, being a minor, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, William's father-in-law, who then held the reigns of government, favoured the duke's levies (as I have had occasion to observe) both in France and Flanders; and the emperor Henry IV. besides giving all his vassals leave to embark in this expedition, which so much engaged the attention of Europe, promised his protection to the duchy of Normandy during the

12. Gul. Pictav.

absence of the duke, and thereby enabled him to draw his whole strength to the attack of England.

But William's most important ally was pope Alexander II. who had a mighty influence over the warriors of that age ; and who, besides being flattered by an appeal which William had made to the court of Rome in favour of his undertaking, at a time when this pontiff wanted to be the arbiter of princes, foresaw that if the French and Norman barons were successful in their enterprize, they would import into England, which still maintained some degree of independence in ecclesiastical matters, a more devoted reverence to the holy see. He therefore declared immediately in favour of William's claim : pronounced Harold a perjured usurper ; denounced excommunication against him and his adherents ; and in order more particularly to encourage the duke, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it¹³. Thus, as the sagacious Hume remarks, all the ambition and violence of this invasion were covered safely over with the broad mantle of religion.

The Norman fleet, which consisted of three hundred vessels, great and small, and carried an army of sixty thousand men, selected by William from those numerous supplies that courted his service, had been assembled early in the summer, and put to sea soon after ; but being long detained by contrary winds, the troops began to imagine that heaven had declared against them, and that, notwithstanding the pope's benediction, they were destined to destruction. The wind, however, fortunately changed on the eve of the feast of St. Michael, the tutelar saint of Normandy ; and the soldiers and their bold leaders, who had an equal contempt of real, and a dread of imaginary dangers, fancying they saw the hand of Providence in the cause of their former terrors, set out with the greatest alacrity, and safely arrived at Pevensey in Sussex, where the troops quietly disem-

13. Baker, *Chron.*

barked. The duke himself had the misfortune to fall, as he leaped ashore ; a circumstance which, considering the superstition of the times, might have been construed to his disadvantage, but which he had the presence of mind to turn in his favour, by calling aloud, " I have taken possession of England !" and a soldier running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked some thatch, which he presented to his general, as giving him seisin of the kingdom¹⁴. The confidence of William and his followers was now so great, that when they heard even of Harold's victory over the Danes, instead of being discouraged they seemed only to long, with more impatience for the arrival of the English army.

They had not long occasion to wait. Harold was at York when he received intelligence of the Norman invasion, and hastened by quick marches to meet his competitor. But on reviewing his forces, he found them much diminished, though he had been reinforced with fresh troops from London and other places. His victory proved his ruin. Many of his bravest officers, and veteran soldiers fell in the action; some retired from fatigue, and others secretly withdrew from discontent, because he had refused to distribute the Danish spoils among them: a conduct little suited to his usual generosity of temper, and which can only be accounted for from a desire of easing his people in the war that hung over them from Normandy, and which he foresaw must be attended with great expense.

From these and other circumstances, Gurth the king's brother, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehensions of the event; and represented to the king, That it would be better policy to prolong the war than to risk a general action, as the winter was approaching, when the enemy would suffer many hardships, while the English, better sheltered, and becoming every day more incensed against their invaders, would hasten from all quarters to his assistance, and render his army invin-

14. Order. Vital.

cible; or, if he thought it necessary to hazard a battle, he ought at least not to expose his person, that some resource might still be left for the liberty and independency of the kingdom. But Harold, deaf to all these arguments, rejected his brother's advice with disdain; and, elated with past prosperity, as well as stimulated by his native courage, replied, That he would give battle in person, and convince his subjects, that he was worthy of the crown which they had set upon his head¹⁵.

With this resolution he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp to Hastings. He was even so confident of success, that he sent a message to the duke of Normandy, offering him a sum of money, if he would depart the kingdom without the effusion of blood; and William, not to be behind him in vaunting, commanded him to resign the crown of England, to submit their cause to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in single combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would soon be the arbiter of all their differences¹⁶.

Both armies now impatiently expected the awful decision; but night drawing on, it was deferred till morning. During this interval of darkness and suspense, the scene was very different in the two camps: The English spent the night in riot and feasting; the Normans, in prayer and preparations for battle. As soon
 Oct. 15. as day began to appear, the duke assembled his principal officers, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He next divided his army into three lines. The first consisted of archers and light-armed infantry; the second was composed of his bravest battalions, heavy armed, and ranged in close order. The cavalry, at the head of which William placed himself, formed the third line, and were so disposed that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. He commanded the signal to be given; and the whole army moved at once, and, singing the celebrated

15. Order. Vital. Gul. Malmes. lib. iiii.

16. Higden.

song of Rowland, the fabulous nephew, but renowned captain of Charlemagne, advanced in order of battle¹⁷.

Harold, whose army was inferior to William's, in number as well as in discipline, had seized the advantage of a rising ground; and having drawn some trenches to secure his flanks, seemed inclined to act upon the defensive, and to avoid all encounter with the Norman cavalry, to which his strength in horse was very unequal. The Kentish men were placed in the front, a post which they had always claimed as their due: the Londoners guarded the standard; and the king, dismounting, placed himself in the centre, at the head of his infantry expressing his resolution to conquer or die. The first attack of the Norman foot was terrible: their archers sorely galled their adversaries; and, as the English ranks were close, the arrows did great execution. But Harold's army received the shock of the enemy undismayed; and after a furious struggle, which long remained undecided, the Normans began to give ground. Confusion was spreading from rank to rank; when William, who found himself on the brink of ruin, hastened with a select band to the relief of his broken forces. His presence restored the battle. The English were obliged to retire in their turn; but the duke finding they still made a vigorous resistance, aided by the advantage of ground, and animated by the example of their valiant prince, ordered his troops to make a hasty retreat, and allure their antagonists from their station by the appearance of flight. The artifice succeeded. Impelled by the enthusiasm of valour and the heat of action, the troops of Harold precipitately followed the Normans into the plain: while William instructed his infantry at once to face about on their pursuers, and the cavalry to make an assault upon their wings. The English were thrown into disorder, and driven back with loss to the hill; where being rallied by the generalship of Harold, they were again able to maintain the combat. William tried the same stratagem a second time, and with equal success. Yet he still found a large body of English

17. Gul. Malmes. lib. iii. Du Cang. in *Glos. Verb. Cant.* *Roland.*
forces

forces that remained firm around their prince, and seemed determined to dispute the field to the last man; when fortune decided a victory which valour had left doubtful. Harold, who had fought with unspeakable courage and personal prowess from dawn until eve, was shot into the brains with an arrow, while bravely defending the royal standard at the head of his guards. His two gallant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, also were slain; and the English army, dispirited by the loss of its leaders, gave way on all sides, and was pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans¹⁸.

Thus, my dear Philip, was gained by William the Norman, afterwards surnamed the Conqueror, the famous battle of Hastings, which terminated the Anglo-Saxon monarchy in England; and which, by the heroic feats of valour displayed on both sides, by both armies, and both commanders, seemed worthy to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. Fifteen thousand of the Normans fell, and a much greater number of the English forces¹⁹.—But we must take a view of the other nations of Europe, and also throw a glance on those of Asia and Africa, before I consider the consequences of this victory, and the influence of the revolution by which it was followed, upon the laws, government, and manners of England. In the meantime, however, it will not be improper to take a slight survey of the state of England at the Norman conquest.

POSTSCRIPT.

NÖ territory of so small an extent has ever so much engaged the attention of mankind, for so long a series of ages, as the island of Britain. From the most remote antiquity it was visited by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, on account of its tin and other valuable productions.

18. Gul. Malmes. ubi sup.
Paris. Order. Vital.

Gul. Pict. H. Hunting. R. Hoveden. M.
19. Gul. Gemet. chap. xxxvi.

The Romans, in the height of their power, made themselves masters of the southern part of it, at a vast expense of blood and treasure; and they thought the acquisition of sufficient importance to preserve their footing in this distant and transmarine province for three hundred years, by maintaining in it a great naval and military force. The ancient Britons lost their courage and their independent spirit under the Roman dominion, but received from their enlightened governors some knowledge of arts and letters²⁰. The Saxons, in achieving their sanguinary conquest, destroyed every trace of ingenuity which the Romans had introduced into the island, without bringing along with them one peaceful art with which the Britons were not better acquainted: and the inveterate wars between the princes of the Heptarchy afterwards obstructed, among their people, the usual progress of civilization. But no sooner was England united into one kingdom under Egbert, than commerce and manufactures began to be cultivated in a country so highly favoured by nature; abounding in the materials of industry, and surrounded on three sides by the sea, which forms on its coasts many commodious bays and safe harbours²¹.

The commerce and navigation of the Anglo-Saxons, however, was cruelly injured by the piracy and predatory invasions of the Danes: yet did England, under their government, contain many large trading towns, and a greater number of inhabitants, both in the towns,

20. If the Britons had any knowledge of letters before the arrival of the Romans, that knowledge was confined chiefly if not solely to their priests, the mysterious Druids.

21. The principal English exports, during the Anglo-Saxon times, were tin, lead, wool, hides, horses, and *slaves*!—These slaves consisted not solely of such unhappy persons as the laws of war, or other causes had reduced to the condition of perpetual servitude. The Anglo-Saxons were accused by cotemporary writers, of making merchandise even of their nearest relations; “a custom,” adds a respectable historian who lived after the Norman conquest, “which prevails in Northumberland, even in our own days.” Gul. Malmes. lib. i.

and in the country than could have been expected in such a turbulent and hostile period. London, York, Bristol²², Exeter, and Norwich, were great and populous cities; and as the labours of husbandry were chiefly performed by slaves or villains, who were excluded from military service, the number of freemen in England, *habituated to the use of arms*, if not greater, must have been as great at the Norman invasion, as in any former or subsequent period²³. But let us not hence conclude,

22. The Bistol traders were distinguished, even in those early ages, by their mercantile sagacity. "The people of this town," says an author of undoubted veracity, "were cured of a most odious and inveterate custom by Wulfstan, (bishop of Winchester at the Norman conquest) of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them for the sake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price!" *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

23. To that exemption from rustic labour, which was friendly to the use of arms, may also perhaps be ascribed the dissolute manners of the Anglo-Saxons. Unless when employed in war or hunting, their whole time was spent in drinking and feasting. This licentious life seems to have much impaired the native courage of the English nation, before the Danish conquest. The wars which introduced and accompanied that conquest, revived their martial spirit: and under the Danish princes, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have emulated their conquerors all in acts of prowess and valour. But both were alike given to long and excessive drinking, in large societies or clubs: and the Danes added to this convivial intemperance an inordinate passion for women; in which they seem to have gloried, and often gratified in a manner shocking to humanity. Violence in love, was with them as common as in war. Yet they sometimes made use of other means to accomplish their purpose: they affected gallantry; and, by their attention to dress and cleanliness, are said to have seduced many English wives. That cleanliness, however, by which they were distinguished, consisted only in combing their hair once a day, and washing themselves once a week. Wallingford, ap. Gale, tom. i. Gul. Malmes. lib. ii. *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

The manners of the Welsh, in this dark period, must have been even less delicate than those of the Anglo-Saxons: for they thought it necessary, we find, to make a law, That none of the *countiers* should give the

queen

conclude, that sixty thousand men, under an experienced leader, have at all times been sufficient to overturn the constitution of this vigorous kingdom. William was ultimately indebted for his good fortune, less to the rashness of the English monarch, his own conduct, or the valour of his troops, than to the unsettled state of the succession to the crown. Harold had owed his exaltation to the throne, as much to fear as affection; and, on his death, the English nobility, who had borne with impatience the sway of an equal, naturally looked up to his conqueror and competitor, the kinsman of their ancient princes, as their sovereign, their head, and centre of union. The duke of Normandy, at Hastings, had triumphed over their elected king, but not over their liberties. These they imprudently put into his hands (as we shall afterward have occasion to see) in hopes that he would not abuse their generosity, when resistance, and even vengeance, was in their power.

queen a blow, or snatch any thing violently out of her bands, under penalty of forfeiting her majesty's protection. (Leg. Wallicæ, p. 11.) And if any woman brought an action for a rape, which was denied by the man, she was ordered to take hold of the culprit by the offending part, with her left hand, and to lay the right on the holy reliques; and in that position, to make oath of the violation of her person—quod isper vim se isto membro vitia verit. Ibid. p. 80.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

PA IN, THE ARABS AND THE EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, DURING THE NINTH, TENTH, AND PART OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

SPAIN.

THE death of Abdurrahman, the Moorish king, whom we have seen reign with so much lustre at Cordova, was followed by dissensions among his children, which procured some relief to the Spanish Christians. The little kingdom of the Asturias, or of Leon and Oviedo, as it was afterwards called, founded by Pelagius, increased under Alphonso III. surnamed the Great, on account of his wisdom and valour. Garcias Ximenes, descended from the ancient Spaniards, had also founded, in 758, the kingdom of Navarre, which became one of the most considerable Christian principalities in Spain.

The Moors however, still possessed Portugal, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Granada, Tortosa, and the interior part of the country as far as the mountains of Castile, and Saragossa ; more than three-fourths of Spain, and the most fertile provinces. Among them, as in the other nations of Europe, a crowd of too powerful nobles affected independency, and the sovereign was obliged to contend with his subjects for dominion. This was the time to have crushed the Mahometan power ; but the Spanish Christians were not more united than their enemies. Though continually at war with the Moors, they were always destroying each other. The reign of Alphonso the Great was full of conspiracies and revolts : his own wife and his two sons were among the number of the rebels. He resigned his crown to Garcias the eldest : he even generously fought,

fought under his command ; and died in 912, with the glory of a hero, and the piety of a saint'.

Ramiro II. king of Leon and Oviedo, another Spanish hero, gained, 938, the celebrated victory of Simancas, where the Moors are said to have lost fourscore thousand men. He had promised to St. James, in a pilgrimage to Compostella, that if he was victorious, all his subjects should offer annually a certain measure of wheat to the church of that saint. The church was enriched, and the name of St. James became the alarm to battle among the Spaniards.

Men are chiefly indebted for all their heroic achievements to their passions ; hence nothing is so irresistible as the valour inspired by enthusiasm, while it lasts. The name of St. James was long terrible to the Moors, and long the companion of victory. Mahomet Almanzor, however, the celebrated general, and prime minister of Hissem king of Cordova, found means, by another artifice, to turn the tide of success. Seeing his troops began to fly, in a battle fought on the banks of the river Ezla, he dismounted from his horse ; sat down in the field ; threw his turban on the ground ; and laying his arms across his breast, declared he would in that posture meet his fate, since he was abandoned by his army. This stratagem had the desired effect : his troops returned to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The Moors became sensible that they could conquer in spite of St. James ; and the Christians in their turn, trembled at the name of Almanzor.

That great man, who was no less a politician than a warrior, is said to have vanquished the Christian princes in fifty engagements. He took the city of Leon by assault ; sacked Compostella ; pillaged the church of St. James, and carried the gates in triumph, on the shoulders of his army, to Cordova. This triumph pro-

ved his ruin. A flux breaking out among his troops, the Christians considered that distemper as a punishment inflicted by St. James : the flame of enthusiasm rekindled, and Almanzor was defeated. But what was infinitely more advantageous to the Christians, as well as more fatal to himself, he was so much ashamed of his misfortune, that he would neither eat nor drink, and obstinately perished of hunger².

About the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abdurrahman being extinct, the kingdom of Cordova was dismembered, by the ambition of a number of noblemen, who all usurped the title of king. Toledo, Valentia, Seville, Saragossa, and almost all the great cities, had their independent sovereigns. The provinces were changed into kingdoms, which multiplied in the same manner among the Christians ; who had a king of Leon, of Navarre, of Castile, of Arragon : and Sancho, surnamed the Great, king of Navarre, was so imprudent as to subdivide his dominions amongst his four sons. Perpetual jealousies, with all the crimes that accompany them, were the consequence of these divisions of territory : treachery, poisonings, assassinations ! the common weapons of petty neighbouring and rival princes, who have much ambition and small means of gratifying it. Hence the history of Spain becomes always less important, in proportion to the increase of the kingdoms. One circumstance, however, merits your attention, both on account of its nature and its singularity.

In this dark and oppressive period, when the commonalty all over Europe were either degraded to a state of actual slavery, or in a condition little more to be envied, the people of Arragon shared the government with their sovereign. The representatives of

2. Rod. Tolet de *Reb. Hisp. Annal. Compostel.*

cities and towns had a place in their Cortes, or national assembly. But the Arragonians, not satisfied with this check on the royal prerogative, nor willing to trust the preservation of their liberties solely to their representatives, elected a Justiza, or grand judge, who was the supreme interpreter of the laws, and whose particular business it was to restrain the encroachments of the crown, and protect the rights of the subject. He was chosen from among the cavalleros, or second order in the state, answering to our gentlemen commoners, that he might be equally interested in curbing the oppressive spirit of the nobles, and setting bounds to the ambition of the prince. His person was sacred, and his jurisdiction almost unbounded: his power was exerted in superintending the administration of government, no less than in regulating the course of justice. He had a right to review all the royal proclamations and patents, and to declare whether they were agreeable to law, and ought to be carried into execution:—and he could by his sole authority, exclude any of the king's ministers from the management of affairs, and call them to answer for their conduct while in office. He himself was answerable to the Cortes alone.

The justiza had also the singular privilege of receiving the coronation oath, in the name of the people; when, holding a naked sword opposite to the king's heart, he repeated these remarkable words, "We, who are your equals, make you our sovereign, and promise obedience to your government, on condition that you maintain our rights and liberties; if not—not!" And it was accordingly an established maxim in the constitution of Arragon, that if the king should violate his engagements, it was lawful for the people to depose him, and to elect another in his stead.

3. Zurit. *Annal. de Arag.* Hier. Blanca. *Comment. de Rer. Arag.*

THE EMPIRE OF THE ARABS.

FROM the Arabs in Spain, we pass naturally to those of Asia, and the neighbouring continent of Africa. The great empire of the Arabs, as well as its branches, had experienced those revolutions, which war and discord naturally produce, and which sooner or later overturn the best founded governments. The glory of the califat was obscured toward the end of the ninth century. Under weak or wicked princes, the African governors shook off their allegiance. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, formed particular states. Religious quarrels augmented those of ambition. The Fattimides, a Mahometan sect, flamed with all the fury of fanaticism. They A. D. 969. founded an empire in Egypt, from which they expelled the race of Abbas; and Cairo, the capital of that empire, became the seat of a new calif, and a flourishing city of commerce.

Another fanatical sect, persuaded that the abuses introduced into the religion of Mahomet required reformation, delivered themselves up to the transports of enthusiasm, and acquired strength by being persecuted. They revolted, obtained several victories, and seized the provinces on the western coast of Africa, which form the present kingdom of Morocco; where their chief, like the other califs, uniting the royalty with the priesthood, governed his new empire under the name of Miramoulin, or Commander of the Faithful, a title implying his claim to the califat.

Other circumstances conspired to dismember the empire of the Arabs. The califs of Bagdat had received into their armies a body of Turks, or Turcomans, a Tartar tribe. These auxiliaries, on account of their valour, were soon employed as the royal guard, and sub-

jected

jected those whom they were hired to protect. They took advantage of the civil wars raised against the calif, to make themselves lords of Asia: they stript the califs, by degrees of the sovereignty, but permitted them to retain the pontificate, which they revered; prudently submitting themselves to the religion of the country, and kneeling to the priest while they despoiled the king⁴.

A variety of sovereigns sprung up under the name of Sultans, who were invested with their dominions by the califs, but took care to leave them very little authority; so that the successors of Mahomet found themselves, towards the middle of the eleventh century, in much the same situation with those of St. Peter under the first German emperors; or with the kings of Europe about the same time, whose power declined in proportion to the increase of their vassals.

THE EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

WHILE the empire of the Arabs was thus overturned, and that of Charlemagne falling to pieces, the empire of Constantinople, to borrow a simile from Voltaire, still stood like a large tree, vigorous though old, stript of its branches, some of its roots, and buffeted on every side by storms and tempests. Though much circumscribed on the eastern frontier, it yet extended over all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, Illyricum: it was contracted indeed, but not dismembered; often changing its emperors, but always united under the person who swayed the sceptre. How unworthy, in general, of the imperial dignity! and what a people had they to govern!

Nicephorus, whom we have seen dethrone Irene, was an execrable tyrant. The Saracens robbed him of the isle of Cyprus; and the Bulgarians, the scourge of Thrace, took him prisoner, after

A. D. 811.

4. Leunclav. *Annal. Turcici*. Georg. Elmacin. *Histor. Saracenia*.

having cut off his army, beheaded him, and threw his body to the beasts of the field, while they made a drinking-cup of his skull⁵.

Stauracus, the son of Nicephorus, rendered himself so odious in the beginning of his reign, that he was abandoned by his people, and obliged to become a monk.

Michael Rangabus refused to make peace with the Bulgarians, because a monk declared, that he could not in conscience, deliver up the deserters. In consequence of this refusal, the Greeks were defeated by the Bulgarians: the emperor betook himself to flight: and the officers, incensed at his behaviour, proclaimed Leo the Armenian.

Leo attempted to assassinate the king of the Bulgarians; who, in revenge, pillaged the suburbs of Constantinople. The emperor could conceive nothing more effectual to save the state than the extirpation of idolatry; that is to say the abolition of images. He accordingly commanded a new persecution; and eight hundred and twenty persons were massacred in one church.

Michael the Stammerer, the successor of Leo, at first tolerated the worship of images: but he afterwards changed his system: he persecuted those whom he had formerly protected, and would even have had the sabbath observed, and the passover celebrated in the manner of the Jews. The Saracens took advantage of his weakness to make themselves masters of the isle
A. D. 823. of Crete, now Candia: they also conquered almost all Sicily, and ravaged Apulia and Calabria⁶.

During the reign of Theophilus, though more worthy of the imperial throne, the persecution was redoubled, and the Saracens extended their conquests. But after his death, the empress Theodora, governing during the minority of Michael III. re-established the worship of images, as Irene had formerly done. Afterward, desirous to convert the Manicheans by terror, she caus-

5. Theophan. 6. Cerdan.

ed them to be destroyed in thousands. Those who escaped went over to the Bulgarians, and the empire was obliged to contend with its own subjects. Michael confined Theodora in a convent, and delivering himself up to all manner of crimes, carried his impiety so far, as to sport with the ecclesiastical ceremonies. He was assassinated by Basil, whom he had associated in the empire, and imprudently would have deposed. A. D. 867.

Basil, originally a beggar, now found himself emperor. He is celebrated for his justice and humanity; but he was a dupe to the patriarch, Photius, whom he favoured with his confidence, even after he had exiled him. His reign is the æra of the grand schism, which forever divided the Greek and Latin churches.

This schism, which took its rise from a jealousy between the primates of the East and West was brought to a crisis by the conversion of the Bulgarians. As Bulgaria had formerly belonged to the Eastern empire, it was disputed, whether the new Christians ought to be subject to the pope, or to the patriarch of Constantinople. A variety of other reasons was assigned for the squabble that followed; but this is the true one, and the only one which it is necessary for you to know. The council of Constantinople gave judgment in favour of the patriarch; but the pope's legates protested against the decision. New circumstances widened the breach. The two primates excommunicated each other; and although the quarrel was sometimes moderated by the mediation of the emperors, it was never made up. The schism continued. A. D. 879.

The Saracens took Syracuse, while Basil was employed in founding a church; and his son Leo composed sermons, while the empire was ravaged on all sides. Leo, however, is styled the Philosopher; because he loved learning, and favoured learned men, not from being an Alfred or a Marcus Aurelius.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son and successor of Leo, merits the eulogies bestowed on him, as a pro-

tector of the sciences, which he himself cultivated with success. Men of the first rank taught philosophy, geometry, and rhetoric, at Constantinople, during his reign, which commenced in A. D. 912 and ended in 959. But the affairs of the empire were not conducted better than formerly.

They were still worse conducted under Romanus, the son of Constantine, who poisoned his father, and was the tyrant of his people.

Nicephorus Phocas had the honour of vanquishing the Saracens, and of recovering from them Crete, Antioch, and other places. His avarice and tyranny, however, made him detested; his own wife joined in a conspiracy against him; and he was murdered in bed.

John Zimisce, one of the assassins, seized the empire and delivered it from the Rossi, or Russians, whom he defeated in several engagements. This brave prince was poisoned by the eunuch Basil, his chamberlain; who notwithstanding, preserved his credit under Basil II. grandson of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

Basil was a warrior, but a barbarous one. Having vanquished the Bulgarians, he caused the eyes of five thousand prisoners to be put out. His subjects, loaded with taxes, could not enjoy his triumphs. He fought for himself, not for them. His death was followed by a train of the blackest crimes of which we have any example in history.

The princess Zoe, daughter of Constantine, the brother and colleague of Basil, had espoused Romanus Argyropulus, who was proclaimed emperor. Zoe, afterwards became enamoured of Michael Paphlagonotus, a man of low birth: she poisoned her husband, in order to give the throne to her lover; but the poison not operating quick enough, she caused Argyropulus to be drowned in a bath. The patriarch of Constantinople

stantinople at first scrupled to marry the empress to Michael. But a sum of money quieted his conscience, and the imperial crown followed the sanction of the church. A. D. 1034.

The emperor Paphlagonotus, a prey to diseases and remorse, died in the habit of a monk: and Zoe gave the empire and her hand to Michael Calaphates, the son of a caulker, or cobbler of ships, by a sister of the other Michael, hoping that he would be the slave of her will. But the new emperor, jealous of his power, put her in confinement. The people revolted: they released the empress and her sister Theodora, and put out the eyes of Calaphates. A. D. 1041.

The two sisters reigned together a year, and employed themselves only about trifles. The people would have a prince; and Zoe, at last, married Constantine Monomachus, one of her ancient lovers, who was crowned. This upstart emperor neglected his wife for a young mistress. The Greeks incensed at his conduct, seized him in a procession, and declared they would only obey two empresses. He would have been cut in pieces, if the princesses had not interposed. A. D. 1042.

Monomachus augmented the miseries of the empire by his rapacity. The frontier provinces had been exempted from taxes, on condition that they should defend themselves against the barbarians. The emperor pretended that he would defend them, and made them pay like the rest of the empire⁷: but they were poorly defended, notwithstanding the taxes.

These particulars will be sufficient to enable you to judge of the state of Constantinople. If at any time we find an able and warlike prince there, we always find the same reigning spirit of superstition and rebellion. Isaac Comnenus, one of the best Greek emperors, proclaimed in 1057, made himself hated by the monks, because he

7. Ibid. See also Curpolatus and Leo Grammaticus.

applied to the public exigencies the superflux of their wealth. Lamed by a fall from his horse, he A. D. 1059. gave himself up to devotion: resigned his crown in favour of Constantine Ducas, and took the habit of a monk.

Ducas, too much a friend to peace, abandoned the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three sons emperors, and left the regency to their mother Eudoxia, exacting from her a promise that she would never marry: and this promise he obliged her to confirm in writing. Eudoxia, however, soon resolved to marry Romanus Diogenes, whom she had condemned to die, but whose fine person subdued her heart. Her promise, deposited in the hands of the patriarch, now gave her much uneasiness. In order to recover it, she artfully pretended to have fixed her choice on the patriarch's kinsman. This amorous deceit had the desired effect.

A. D. 1068. The writing was restored; and the empress, absolved from her promise of widowhood, did not fail to take advantage of her release. She immediately married Romanus, and procured him the empire⁸.

Could ignorant savages have acted more absurdly? or ruffians amenable to public justice more atrociously? —Yet the Greeks were still the most learned and polished people in Europe; and Constantinople, notwithstanding all its misfortunes, its revolutions, and crimes, having never felt the destructive rage of the barbarians, continued to be the largest and most beautiful European city, after the fall of Rome, and the only one where any image of ancient manners or ingenuity remained.

Thus, my dear Philip, we rapidly traverse the wilds of history; where the objects are often confused, rude, and uninteresting. But it is necessary to travel these first stages, in order to arrive at more cultivated fields.

We shall soon meet with a new set of objects equally interesting and important: and then more leisure and attention will be required. In the mean time we must take a review of past ages.

LETTER XXI.

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE, FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MODERN NATIONS, TO THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

I HAVE already given you, in a particular letter, an account of the system of policy and legislation established by the barbarians, or northern invaders, on their first settlement in the provinces of the Roman empire: and I have endeavoured, in the course of my general narration, to mark the progress of society, as it regards religion, laws, government, manners, and literature. But, as the history of the human mind is of infinitely more importance than the detail of events, this letter, my dear Philip, shall be entirely devoted to such circumstances as tend more particularly to throw light upon that subject. I shall also pursue the same method, at different intervals, during the subsequent part of your historical studies.

Though the northern invaders wanted taste to value the Roman arts, laws, or literature, they generally embraced the religion of the conquered people. And the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity would doubtless have softened their savage manners, had not their minds been already infected by a barbarous superstition; which, mingling itself with the Christian principles and ceremonies, produced that absurd mixture of violence,

devotion, and folly, which has so long disgraced the Romish church, and which formed the character of the middle ages. The clergy were gainers, but Christianity was a loser, by the conversion of the barbarians. They rather changed the object than the spirit of their religion.

The Druids among the Gauls and Britons, the Priests among the ancient Germans, and among all the nations of Scandinavia, possessed an absolute dominion over the minds of men. These people, after embracing Christianity, retained their veneration for the priesthood. And unhappily the clergy of those times had neither virtue enough to preserve them from abusing, nor knowledge sufficient to enable them to make a proper use of their power. They blindly favoured the superstitious homage: and such of the barbarians as entered into holy orders, carried their ignorance and their original prejudices along with them.

The Christian emperors of Rome and Constantinople had enriched their church: they had lavished on it privileges and immunities: and these seducing advantages had but too much contributed to a relaxation of discipline and the introduction of disorders, more or less hurtful, which had altered the spirit of the gospel. Under the dominion of the barbarians the degeneracy increased, till the pure principles of Christianity were lost in a gross superstition; which, instead of aspiring to virtuous sanctity, the only sacrifice that can render a rational being acceptable to the great Author of order and excellence, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of God by the same means that satisfied the justice of men, or by those employed to appease their fabulous deities².

As the punishments due for civil crimes, among the northern conquerors, might be bought off by money, they attempted, in like manner, to bribe Heaven, by benefactions to the church, in order to supersede all future inquest. And the more they gave themselves up to

2. Mosheim. *Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. ii.

their

their brutal passions, to rapine, and to violence, the more profuse they were in this species of good works. They seem to have believed, says the Abbe de Mably, that avarice was the first attribute of the divinity, and that the saints made a traffic of their influence and protection. Hence the *bon mot* of Clovis: "St. Martin serves his friends very well; but he makes them pay soundly for his trouble!"

"Our treasure is poor," said Chilperic, the grandson of Clovis; "our riches are gone to the church: the bishops are the kings!"—And indeed the superior clergy, who, by the acquisition of lands, added the power of fortune to the influence of religion, were often the arbiters of kingdoms, and disposed of the crown while they regulated the affairs of the state. There was a necessity of consulting them, because they possessed all the knowledge that then remained in Europe: they only knew any thing. The acts of their councils were considered as infallible decrees; and they spoke usually in the name of God; but, alas! they were only men.

As the interest of the clergy clashed with that of the laity, opposition and jealousy produced new disorders. The priests made use of artifice against their powerful adversaries: they invented fables to awe them into submission; they employed the spiritual arms in defence of their temporal goods; they changed the mild language of charity into frightful anathemas! the religion of Jesus breathed nothing but terror. To the thunder of the church, the instrument of so many wars and revolutions, they joined the assistance of the sword. Warlike prelates, clad in armour, combated for their possessions or to usurp those of others; and like the heathen priests, whose pernicious influence was founded on the ignorance of the people, the Christian clergy sought to extend their authority by confining all knowledge to their own order. They made a mystery of the most necessary sciences: truth was not permitted to see the light, and

reason was fettered in the cell of superstition. Many of the clergy themselves could scarce read, and writing was chiefly confined to the cloisters³; where a blind and interested devotion, equally willing to deceive and to believe, held the quill; and where lying chronicles and fabulous legends were composed, which contaminated history, religion, and the principles and the laws of society.

Without arts, sciences, commerce, policy, principles, the European nations were all as barbarous and wretched as they could possibly be, unless a miracle had been wrought for the disgrace of humanity. Charlemagne indeed in France, and Alfred the Great in England, as you have had occasion to see, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and tame their subjects to the restraints of law: and they were so fortunate as to succeed. Light and order distinguished their reigns. But the ignorance and barbarism of the age were too powerful for their liberal institutions: the darkness returned, after their time, more thick and heavy than formerly, and settled over Europe, and society again tumbled into chaos.

The ignorance of the West was so profound during the ninth and tenth centuries, that the clergy, who alone possessed the important secrets of reading and writing, became necessarily the arbiters and the judges of almost all secular affairs. They comprehended within their jurisdiction, marriages, contracts, wills; which they took care to involve in mystery, and by which they opened to themselves new sources of wealth and power⁴. Every thing wore the colour of religion; temporal and spiritual concerns were confounded: and from this unnatural mixture sprung a thousand abuses. The history of those

3. Persons who could not write made the sign of the cross, in place of their name, in confirmation of any legal deed. (Du Cange, Gloss. voc. *Crux*.) Hence the phrase *signing*, instead of *subscribing* a paper.

4. Du Cange, voc. *Curia Christian*. Fleury. *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xix. *Disc. Prelim.*

ages forms a satire on the human soul ; and on religion, if we should impute it to the faults of its ministers.

“ Redeem your souls from destruction,” says St. Egidius, bishop of Noyon, “ while you have the means in your power : offer presents and tythes to churchmen ; come more frequently to church ; humbly implore the patronage of the saints ; for if you observe these things, you may come with security in the day of the tribunal of the eternal Judge, and say, Give us O Lord, for we have given unto the⁵!

In several churches of France a festival was celebrated in commemoration of the Virgin Mary’s flight into Egypt. It was called the Feast of the Ass. A young girl richly dressed, with a child in her arms, was upon an ass superbly caparisoned. The ass was led to the altar in solemn procession. High mass was said with great pomp. The ass was taught to kneel at proper places ; a hymn, no less childish than impious, was sung in his praise ; and when the ceremony was ended, the priest, instead of the usual words with which he dismissed the people, brayed three times like an ass : and the people, instead of the usual response, brayed three times in return⁶.

Letters began to revive in the eleventh century, but made small progress till towards its close. A scientific jargon, a false logic, employed about words, without conveying, any idea of things, composed the learning of those times. It confounded all things, in endeavouring to analyse every thing. As the new scholars were mostly clergymen, theological matters chiefly engaged their attention ; and as they neither knew history, philosophy, nor criticism, their labours were as futile as their inquiries, which were equally disgraceful to reason and religion. The conception of the blessed Virgin, and the digestion of the eucharist, were two of

5. D. Specileg. *Vet. Script.* vol. ii.

6. Du Cange. voc. *Festum.*

the principal objects of their speculation: and out of the last a third arose; which was, to know whether it was voided again⁷.

The disorders of government and manners kept pace, as they always will, with those of religion and learning. These disorders seem to have attained their utmost height about the middle of the tenth century. Then the feudal policy, the defects of which I have pointed out⁸, was become universal. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquises employed to guard the marches, and even the counts intrusted with the administration of justice, all originally officers of the crown, had made themselves masters of their duchies, marquisesates, and counties. The king indeed as superior lord, still received homage from them for those lands which they held of the crown; and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain. He had a right of calling them out to war, of judging them in his court by their assembled peers, and of confiscating their estates in case of rebellion: but, in all other respects, they themselves enjoyed the rights of royalty. They had their sub-vassals, or subjects; they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own name, and levied war against their private enemies⁹.

The most frightful disorders arose from this state of feudal anarchy. Force decided all things. Europe was one great field of battle; where the weak struggled for freedom, and the strong for dominion. The king was without power, and the nobles without principle: they were tyrants at home, and robbers abroad. Nothing remained to be a check upon ferocity and violence. The Scythians in their deserts could not be less indebted to the laws of society, than the Europeans during the period under review. The people, the most numerous as well as the most useful class in the community,

7. *Hist. Littéraire de France.* 8. Letter. II. 9. Du Cang, voc. *Feudum*

were

were either actual slaves, or exposed to so many miseries, arising from pillage and oppression, to one or other of which they were a continual prey, and often to both, that many of them made a voluntary surrender of their liberty for bread and protection¹⁰. What must have been the state of that government where slavery was an eligible condition?

But, conformable to the observation of the philosophic Hume, there is a point of depression as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs seldom pass, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progress. This utmost point of decline, society seems to have attained in Europe, as I have already said, about the middle of the tenth century; when the disorders of the feudal government, together with the corruption of taste and manners consequent upon these, were arrived at their greatest excess. Accordingly from that æra, we can trace a succession of causes and events, which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and introduce order and politeness.

Among the first of these causes we must rank Chivalry; which, as the elegant and inquisitive Dr. Robertson remarks, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations.

The feudal state, as has been observed, was a state of perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy. The weak and unarmed were exposed every moment to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs, and the legislative authority too feeble to redress them. There was scarce any shelter from violence and oppression, except what the valour and generosity of private persons afforded: and the arm of the brave was the only tribunal to which the helpless could appeal for justice. The trader could no longer travel in

10. Marculfus, lib. cap. 8.

safety, or bring unmolested his commodities to market. Every possessor of a castle pillaged them, or laid them under contribution; and many not only plundered the merchants, but carried off all the women that fell in their way. Slight inconveniencies may be overlooked or endured, but when abuses grow to a certain height, the society must reform or go to ruin. It becomes the business of all to discover, and to apply such remedies as will most effectually remove the prevailing disorders. Humanity sprung from the bosom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles who had been guilty of every species of outrage and every mode of oppression; who equally unjust, unfeeling, and superstitious, had made pilgrimages, and had pillaged! who had massacred, and done penance! touched at last with a sense of natural equity and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety¹¹. So honourable was the origin of an institution generally represented as whimsical.

The young warrior among the ancient Germans, as well as among the modern knights, was armed, for the first time, with certain ceremonies proper to inspire martial ardour; but chivalry, considered as a civil and military institution, is as late as the eleventh century. The previous discipline and solemnities of initiation were many and singular. The novice in chivalry was educated in the house of some knight, commonly a person of high rank, whom he served first in the character of page, and afterwards of squire; nor was he admitted to the supreme honour of knighthood, until he had given many striking proofs of his valour and address. The ceremony of initiation was very solemn. Severe fastings, and nights spent, in a church or chapel, in prayer; confession of sins; and the receiving of the sacraments with devotion; bathing, and putting on white robes, as emblems of that purity of manners required by the laws of chivalry, were necessary preparations for this ceremony.

11. *Mem. sur l'Ancienne*, par. M. de la Curne de St. Palaye.

When the candidate for knighthood had gone through all these, and other introductory formalities, he fell at the feet of the person from whom he expected that honour, and on his knees delivered to him his sword. After answering suitable questions, the usual oath was administered to him; namely, to serve his prince, defend the faith, protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to rescue, at the hazard of his life, widows, orphans, and all unhappy persons, groaning under injustice or oppression. Then the knights and ladies, who assisted at the ceremony, adorned the candidate with the armour and ensigns of chivalry; beginning with putting on the spurs, and ending with girding him with the sword. Seeing him thus accoutred, the king or nobleman, who was to confer the honour of knighthood, gave him the *accolade*, or dubbing, by three gentle strokes with the flat part of his sword on the shoulder, or with the palm of his hand on the neck, saying, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight! be thou loyal, brave, and hardy"¹².

Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristics of chivalry: and to these was added religion; which, by infusing a large portion of enthusiastic zeal, carried them all to a romantic excess, wonderfully suited to the genius of the age, and productive of the greatest and most permanent effects both upon policy and manners. War was carried on with less ferocity, when humanity, no less than courage came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood, and knighthood a distinction superior to royalty, and an honour which princes were proud to receive from the hands of private gentlemen; more gentle and polished manners were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues, and every knight devoted himself to the service of some lady; and violence and oppression decreased, when it was accounted meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most

12. Id. *ibid.*

religious attention to fulfil every engagement, but particularly those between the sexes, as more easily violated, became the distinguishing character of a gentleman: because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to that point¹³. And valour, seconded by so many motives of love, religion, and virtue, became altogether irresistible.

That the spirit of chivalry often rose to an extravagant height and had sometimes a pernicious tendency, must however be allowed. In Spain, under the influence of a romantic gallantry, it gave birth to a series of wild adventures, which have been deservedly ridiculed: in the train of Norman ambition, it extinguished the liberties of England, and deluged Italy in blood; and we shall soon see it, at the call of superstition, and as the engine of papal power, desolate Asia under the banner of the cross. But these violences, resulting from accidental circumstances, ought not to be considered as arguments against an institution laudable in itself, and necessary at the time of its establishment. And they who pretend to despise it, the advocates of ancient barbarism and ancient rusticity, ought to remember, That chivalry not only first taught mankind to carry the civilities of peace into the operations of war, and to mingle politeness with the use of the sword,

13. This sentiment became reciprocal. Even a princess, says Tirant le Blanc, declares, That she submits to lose all right to the benefit of chivalry, and consents that never any knight shall take arms in her defence if she keeps not the promise of marriage, which she has given to the knight who adored her. And a young gentlewoman, whose defence was undertaken by Gerard de Nevers, beholding the ardour with which he engaged in it, took off her glove, we are told, and delivered it to him saying, "Sir my person, my life, my lands, and my honour, I deposit in the care of God and you; praying for such assistance and grace that I may be delivered out of this peril." (*M. de la Curie de St. Palaye, ubi sup.*) Many similar examples might be produced of this mutual confidence, the basis of that elegant intercourse between the sexes, which so remarkably distinguishes modern from ancient manners.

but

but roused the human soul from its lethargy; invigorating the human character, even while it softened it, and produced exploits which antiquity cannot parallel. Nor ought they to forget, that it gave variety and elegance, and communicated an increase of pleasure, to the intercourse of life, by making woman a more essential part of society; and is therefore entitled to our gratitude, though the point of honour, and the refinements in gallantry, its more doubtful effects, should be excluded from the improvements in modern manners.

But the beneficial effects of chivalry were strongly counteracted by other institutions of a less social kind. Some persons of both sexes, of most religions and most countries, have in all ages secluded themselves from the world; in order to acquire a reputation for superior sanctity, or to indulge a melancholy turn of mind, affecting to hold converse only with the Divinity. The number of these solitary devotees, however, in ancient times, was few; and the spirit of religious seclusion among the heathens, was confined chiefly to high southern latitudes, where the heat of the climate favours the indolence of the cloister. But the case has been very different in more modern ages: for although the monastic life had its origin among the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, it rapidly spread not only over all Asia and Africa, but also over Europe, and penetrated to the most remote corners of the north and west, almost at the same time that it reached the extremities of the east and south; to the great hurt of population and industry; and the obstruction of the natural progress of society¹⁴.

Nor were these the only consequences of the passion for pious solitude. As all who put on the religious habit after the monastic system was completely formed, took a vow of perpetual chastity, the commerce of the sexes was

14. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. ii. et Auct. cit. in loc.

represented by those holy visionaries as inconsistent with Christian purity; and the whole body of the clergy, in order to preserve their influence with the people, found themselves under the necessity of professing a life of celibacy. This condescension, which was justly considered as a triumph by the monks, increased their importance, and augmented the number of their fraternities. Nothing was esteemed so meritorious, during the period under view, as the building and endowing of monasteries. And multitudes of men and women of all conditions, but especially of the higher ranks, considering the pleasures of society as seducers to the pit of destruction, and turning with horror from sensual delight, retired to mountains and deserts, or crowded into cloisters: where, under the notion of mortifying the body and shutting all the avenues of the soul against the allurements of external objects, they affected an austerity that gained them universal veneration, and threw a cloud over the manners of the Christian world¹⁵.

The extravagance to which both sexes are said to have carried that austerity, during the first fervours of monastic zeal, seems altogether incredible to cool reason, unenlightened by philosophy. In attempting to strip human nature of every amiable and ornamental quality, in order to humble pride, and repress the approaches of loose desire; or, in their own phrase, “to deliver the *celestial spirit* from the *bondage of flesh and blood*,” they in a manner divested themselves of the human character. They not only lived among wild beasts, but after the manner of those savage animals; they ran naked through the lonely deserts with a furious aspect, and lodged in gloomy caverns; or grazed in the fields, like the common herd, and like cattle took their abode in the open air¹⁶. And some monks, and holy virgins, by the habit of going naked, became so completely covered with hair, as to require no other veil to modesty. Many chose

15. Id. ib. 16. Mosheim, vol. ii. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii.

their rugged dwelling in the hollow side or narrow cleft of some rock, which obliged them to sit or stand in the most painful and excruciating posture, during the remainder of their wretched lives; while the others, with no small exultation, usurped the den of some ferocious brother brute, whom they affected to resemble; and not a few, under the name of Stylites, or Pillar-saints, ascended the top of some lofty column, where they remained for years, night and day, without any shelter from heat or cold.¹⁷

Even after religious houses were provided for the devout solitaries of both sexes, and endowed with ample revenues by the profuse superstition of the newly converted barbarians, they attempted, in their several cells to extinguish every spark of sensuality, by meagre fastings, bloody flagelations, and other cruel austerities of discipline, too shocking to bear a recital. But no sooner did the monastic fury subside, than nature began to assert her empire in the hearts of the deluded fanatics; to tell them they had wants inconsistent with their engagements, and that in abandoning society, they had relinquished the most essential requisites of human happiness. The holy sisters and brothers, convinced of their pious folly, endeavoured by tender familiarities to console each other; but without violating, as they affirmed, their vow of chastity¹⁸. And although this delectable commerce was prohibited¹⁹, as alike scandalous and dangerous, by resembling too nearly the ways of the world, and provoking sensibilities too strong for the curb of restraining grace, other solacing practices took place in the convents, not more for the honour of the monastic life²⁰.

17. Id. *ibid*.18. Mosheim, *ubi. sup*.

19. The sixth general council (canon xvii.) forbids women to pass the night in a male, or men in a female monastery. And the seventh general council (canon xx.) forbids the erecting of double, or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes. (Beveridge, tom. i.) On the irregular pleasures of the monks and nuns, see Thomassin, tom. iii.

20. Mosheim, vol. ii.

Whenever any set of people, by laying a constraint upon the natural appetites, seek to arrive at a degree of purity inconsistent with the welfare of society, they never fail to be guilty of crimes which society disclaims, and nature abhors ; unless they relax the rigour of their institutions, or slide back, by a blameless corruption, into the more smooth but slippery paths of erring humanity.

The ignorance of the times, however, favoured by certain circumstances, continued the veneration for religious solitude, notwithstanding the licentiousness of the monks. Many new monastic orders were instituted in the eleventh century, under various rules of discipline ; but all with a view to greater regularity of manners. And monks were called from the lonely cell to the most arduous and exalted stations ; to fill the papal chair, and support the triple crown ; or to discharge the office of prime minister in some mighty kingdom, and regulate the interests of nations. Though utterly ignorant of public transactions, their reputation for superior sanctity, which was easily acquired, by real or affected austerity, in ages of rapine and superstition, made them be thought fit to direct all things. This ghostly reputation even enabled them to trample upon the authority, and insult the persons of the princes whose government they administered ; especially if the lives of such princes, as was very commonly the case, happened to be stained with any atrocious acts of lust, violence, or oppression. In order to stay the uplifted arm of divine justice, and render the Governor of the world propitious, the king knelt at the feet of the monk and the minister ! happy to commit to the favourite of Heaven the sole guidance of his spiritual and temporal concerns²¹. And if chivalry

21. Beside the wealth and influence acquired by the monks, in consequence of the superstitious ignorance of the great, who often shared not only their power but the fruits of their rapine with their pious directors, a popular opinion which prevailed toward the close of the
tenth

ry, by awakening a spirit of enterprise, had not roused the human powers to deeds of valour, and revived the passion for the softer sex, by connecting it with arms, and separating it from gross desire, Europe might have sunk under the tyranny of a set of men, who pretended to renounce the world and its affairs, and Christendom have become but one great cloister.

LETTER XXII.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ROME AND THE ITALIAN STATES, UNDER CONRAD II. AND HIS DESCENDANTS OF THE HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.

WE now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of history, which I shall endeavour to trace as exactly as possible, that you may be able to keep in view the train of events, without which, you will neither be able to reason distinctly on them yourself, nor to understand clearly the reasonings of others. I shall therefore bring down the history of the German empire to the death of Henry V. when the quarrel between the popes and the emperors came to a stand, before I speak of the affairs of France and England; which, from the Norman conquest, became inseparably intervoven, but had little influence for some centuries on the rest of Europe.

Great disputes ensued on the death of Henry II. about the nomination of a successor to the empire; that

tenth century, contributed greatly to augment their opulence. The thousand years, from the birth or death of Christ, mentioned dy St. John in the book of Revelations, were supposed to be nearly accomplished, and the Day of Judgment at hand. Multitudes of Christians, therefore, anxious only for their eternal salvation delivered over to the monastic orders all their lands, treasures, and other valuable effects, and repaired with precipitation to Palestine, where they expected the appearance of Christ on Mount Sion. Mosheim, vol. ii.

prince-

prince, as you have had occasion to see, dying without issue. The princes and states assembled in the open fields between Mentz and Worms, no hall being sufficient to hold them; and, after six weeks encampment and deliberation, they elected Conrad, duke of Franconia, surnamed the Salic, because he was born on the banks of the river Sala.

The Lombards revolting, as usual, soon after the election of the new emperor, Conrad marched into Italy; and having reduced the rebels by force of arms, he went to Rome, here he was consecrated and crowned by Pope John XX. in presence of Canute the Great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and Rodolph III. king of Transjurane Burgundy. But his stay at Rome was short. Scarce was the coronation over, when he was obliged to return to Germany, on account of some insurrections raised in his absence. He took the precaution, however, before he attempted to humble the insurgents, to get his son Henry, then above twelve years of age, declared his successor, and solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The rebellion was soon after suppressed by the valour of Conrad. He defeated the authors of it in several engagements; in one of which, Ernest, duke of Suabia, who had been put to the ban of the empire, was slain².

The word *ban* originally signified banner, afterwards edict, and lastly, a declaration of outlawry, which was intimated thus “ We declare thy wife a widow, thy children orphans; and send thee, in the name of the devil, to the four corners of the earth.” This is one of the first examples of that proscription.

The emperor next turned his arms against the Poles, and afterward against the Huns, and obliged both to subscribe to his own conditions. In the mean time Rodolph, king of Transjurane Burgundy, dying without issue, left

1. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

2. Heiss lib. ii.

his dominions to Conrad. They were of small extent, but included the seignioral superiority over the Swiss, the Grisons, Provence, Franche-Compte, Savoy, Geneva, and Dauphine. Hence the lands on the other side of the Rhine are still called the Lands of the Empire; and all the noblemen of those cantons, who formerly held of Rodolph and his predecessors, now hold of the emperor³.

While Conrad II. was employed in taking possession of his new inheritance, the Poles revolted; and this rebellion was no sooner quelled than he had occasion to oppose another in Italy, headed by Hubert, bishop of Milan, whom he had loaded with favours. Conrad made so much haste, that Milan was taken by surprise. The bishop was condemned to perpetual banishment; and the emperor died soon after his return to Germany, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, generous, and magnanimous prince⁴.

Henry III. surnamed the Black, son of Conrad and Gisella of Suabia, was elected in consequence of his father's recommendation, and crowned a second time at Aix-la-Chappelle.

The first years of Henry's reign were signalized by successful wars against Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary; which, however, produced no memorable event. Rome and Italy, as usual, were involved in confusion, and distracted by factions, particularly those of the Pandolphi and the Ptolemei. The Pandolphi had thrust Benedict IX. a boy of twelve years of age, into the papacy. He was deposed by Ptolemei and the people, who substituted in his place Sylvester III. This new pope was deposed, in his turn, by the Pandolphi, and his rival re-established. Benedict, however, finding himself universally despised, voluntarily resigned in favour of John, archpriest of the Roman church: but afterwards repenting of his resignation, he wanted to resume his dignity.

3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

4. Heiss, lib. ii.

These three popes, supported by their several partizans, and living peaceably with each other, maintained themselves each upon a different branch of the holy see. One resided at St. Peter's, another at Santa Maria Major, and the third in the palace of the Lateran, all leading the most profligate and scandalous lives. A priest, called Gratian, at last put an end to this singular triumvirate. Partly by artifice, partly by presents, he prevailed upon all three to renounce their pretensions to the papacy; and the people of Rome, out of gratitude for so signal a service to the church, chose him pope, under the name of Gregory VI.

Henry III. took umbrage at this election, in which he had not been consulted, and marched with an army into Italy. No emperor ever exercised more absolute authority in that country. He deposed Gregory, as having been guilty of simony, and filled the papal chair with his own chancellor, Suidger or Heidiger, A. D. 1046. bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the name of Clement II. and afterward consecrated at Rome, Henry and the empress Agnes^s.

This ceremony being over, and the Romans having sworn never to elect a pope without the approbation of the reigning emperor, Henry proceeded to Capua, where A. D. 1047. he was visited by Drago, Rainulphus, and other Norman adventurers; who, having left their country, namely the duchy of Normandy, at different times, had made themselves masters of great part of Apulia and Calabria, at the expense of the Greeks and Saracens. Henry entered into a treaty with them; and not only solemnly invested them with those territories which they had acquired by conquest, but prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the Beneventines, who had refused to open their gates to him, and bestowed that city and its dependencies, as fiefs of the empire, upon the Norman princes, provided they took possession by

5. Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. ii.

force of arms⁶. What use they made of the imperial favour, we shall afterwards have occasion to see. At present the papacy claims all our attention.

The emperor was scarce returned to Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Clement II. Clement was succeeded in the apostolic see, by Damasus II. who also dying soon after his elevation, Henry nominated Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the vacant chair. A. D. 1048. This Bruno, who was the emperor's relation, immediately assumed the pontificals; but being a modest and pious prelate, he threw them off on his journey, by the persuasion of Hildebrand, a monk of Cluny, and went to Rome as a private man. "The emperor alone," said Hildebrand, "has no right to create a pope." He accompanied Bruno to Rome, and secretly retarded his election, that he might arrogate to himself the merit of obtaining it⁷. The scheme succeeded to his wish, Bruno, who took the name of Leo IX. believing himself indebted to Hildebrand for the pontificate, favoured him with his particular friendship and confidence: and hence originated the power of this enterprising monk, of obscure birth but boundless ambition, who so long governed Rome, and whose zeal for the exaltation of the church occasioned so many troubles to Europe.

Leo soon after his elevation, waited on the emperor at Worms, to crave assistance against the Norman princes, who were become the terror of Italy, and treated their subjects with great severity. Henry furnished the pope with an army; at the head of which his holiness marched against the Normans, after having excommunicated them, accompanied by a great number of bishops and other ecclesiastics, who were all either killed or taken prisoners, the Germans and Italians being totally routed. Leo himself was led

6. *Hist. Conq. de Norm. Vit. Greg. VII.*

7. *Leo Ostiensis, lib. ii. Diehmar*

captive to Benevento, of which the Normans were now masters, and which Henry had granted to the pope in exchange for the fief of Bamberg in Germany; and the apostolic see is to this day in possession of Benevento, by virtue of Henry's donation. The Norman chiefs, however, who had a right to that city by a prior grant, restored it in the mean time, to the princes of Lombardy; and the holy father was treated with so much respect by the conquerors, that he revoked the sentence of excommunication, and joined his sanction to the imperial investiture for the lands which they held in Apulia and Calabria⁸.

Leo died soon after his release; and the emperor
 A. D. 1054. about the same time, caused his infant son, afterwards the famous Henry IV. to be declared king of the Romans, a title still in use for the acknowledged heir of the empire. Gebhard, a German bishop was elected pope, under the name of Victor II. and confirmed by the address of Hildebrand, who waited on the emperor in person for that purpose, though he disdained to consult him before hand. Perhaps Hildebrand would not have found this task so easy, had not Henry been involved in a war with the Hungarians, who pressed him hard, but whom he obliged at last to pay a large tribute and furnish him annually with a certain number of fighting men.

As soon as the emperor had finished this war, and others to which it gave rise, he marched into Italy to inspect the conduct of his sister Beatrice, widow of Boniface marquis of Mantua, and made her prisoner. She had married Gozelo, duke of Lorraine, without the emperor's consent: and contracted her daughter Matilda, by the marquis of Mantua, to Godfrey duke of Spoleto and Tuscany, Gozelo's son by a former marriage.
 A. D. 1056. This formidable alliance justly alarmed Henry: he therefore attempted to dissolve it by

8. Giannone, *Hist. di Napol.*

9. Leo Ostiensis, lib ii. *Hist. Litte.*

raire de la France. tom. vii.

carrying his sister into Germany, where he died soon after his return, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

This emperor, in his last journey to Italy, concluded an alliance with Contarini, doge of Venice. That republic was already rich and powerful, though it had only been enfranchised in the year 998, from the tribute of a mantle of cloth of gold, which it formerly paid, as a mark of subjection, to the emperors of Constantinople. Genoa was the rival of Venice in power and in commerce, and was already in possession of the island of Corsica, which the Genoese had taken from the Saracens¹⁰. These two cities, which I shall afterwards have occasion frequently to mention, ingrossed at this time almost all the trade of Europe. There was no city in France or Germany equal, in any respect, to either of them.

Henry IV. surnamed the Great, was only five years old at his father's death. He was immediately acknowledged emperor in a diet of the princes convoked at Cologne, and the care of his education was committed to his mother Agnes, who also governed the empire. She was a woman of spirit and address, and discharged both her public and private trust with diligence and ability.

Germany, during the first years of this reign, was harassed with civil wars; so that the empress Agnes, notwithstanding her strong talents, found it difficult to maintain her authority. And at length the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, uncles of the young emperor, carried him off from her by stratagem, accusing her of sacrificing the public welfare to the will of the bishop of Augsburg, her minister and supposed gallant. Thus divested of the regency, she fled to Rome, and there took the veil¹¹.

Henry was now put under the tuition of the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen, who discharged their trust in a very opposite manner. The first endeavoured

10. Muratori., *Annal. d'Ital.* tom. vi. 11. *Amal. de l'Emp.*

to inspire him with a love of learning and virtue, while the second sought only to acquire an ascendancy over his passions, by indulging him in all the pleasures of youth. This indulgence produced a habit of licentiousness which he could never afterwards restrain.

Italy, in the meantime, was a prey, as usual, to intestine disorders. After a variety of troubles, excited on account of the pontificate, Nicholas II. the creature of Hildebrand, passed a famous decree, which gave rise to many more; and by which it was ordained, in a council of a hundred and thirteen bishops, "That for the future the cardinals only should elect the pope, and that the election should be confirmed by the rest of the Roman clergy and the people: saving the honour," adds he, "due to our dear son Henry, now king; and who, if it please God, shall one day be emperor, according to the privilege which we have already conferred upon him; and saving the honour of his successors on whom the apostolic see shall confer the same high privilege¹²."

The same pope Nicholas II. after having in vain excommunicated the Norman princes, made protectors and vassals of them; and they, who were feudatories of the empire, less afraid of the popes than the emperors, readily did homage for their lands to Nicholas, in 1059, and agreed to hold them of the church¹³.

This mode of holding was very common in those days of rapacity both for princes and private persons, the only authority then respected being that of the church: and the Normans wisely made use of it as a safeguard against the emperors. They gave their lands to the church under the name of an offering or *oblata*, and continued in possession

12. *Chronicon Farsense* in Murat. *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. ii. par. ii. To this edict of Nicholas II. the college of cardinals owes the extensive authority and important privileges it still enjoys. Under the name of *Cardinals* he comprehends the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as his suffragans, and also the twenty-eight presbyters, or parish priests who officiated in the principal churches. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol ii.

13. Giannone, *Hist. di. Napol.*

of them on paying a slight acknowledgment. Hence the pope's claim of superiority over the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Robert Guiscard, brother of Drago, and one of the gallant sons of Tancred of Hauteville, received from the pope the ducal crown of Apulia and Calabria; and Richard, count of Aversa, was confirmed prince of Capua, a title which he had already assumed. The pope also gave the Normans a right to hold Sicily in the same manner with their other possessions, provided they could expel the Saracens from it¹⁴: and Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger made themselves fully masters of that island in 1061.

Henry IV. assumed the reins of government at the age of twenty-two, and began his administration with restraining the thefts, robberies, and extortions, which his subjects of the duchy of Saxony exercised upon strangers, as well as upon each other. But the Saxon princes and nobles, who were gainers by these abuses, particularly by the infamous practice of imprisoning travellers, and making them pay for their ransom, opposed the intended reformation, and entered into an association against the emperor, under pretence that their liberties were in danger. In this rebellious disposition they were encouraged by the arrogance of pope Alexander II. who, at the instigation of Hildebrand, his confidant and oracle, summoned Henry to appear before the tribunal of the holy see, on account of his loose life, and to answer to the charge of having exposed the investiture of bishops to sale^{c¹⁵}.

Henry treated the pope's mandate with the contempt it deserved; and at the same time carried on war with vigour against the Saxons and their rebellious associates, whom he totally routed in a bloody engagement, and made himself master of all Saxo-
A. D. 1074.

14. Id. *ibid.* 15. Leo Ostiensis, lib. iii. Dithmar. *Vit. Greg.* VII.

ny. The heads of the rebellion asked pardon of the emperor in public, and begged to be restored to his favour: he generously accepted their submission, and peace was restored to Germany¹⁶.

But Henry was not suffered long to enjoy the fruits of his valour. A new storm threatened him from Italy: which afterwards fell with violence on his head, and shook all the thrones in Christendom. On the death of Alexander II. in 1073, Hildebrand had been elected pope under the name of Gregory VII. and although he had not asked the emperor's voice, he prudently waited for his confirmation, before he assumed the tiara. He obtained it by this mark of submission: Henry confirmed his election; and Gregory having nothing further to fear, pulled off the mask. He began his pontificate with excommunicating every ecclesiastic who should receive a benefice from a layman, and every layman by whom such benefice should be conferred. This was engaging the church in an open war with the sovereigns of all nations. But the thunder of the holy see was more particularly directed against the emperor; and Henry, sensible of his danger, and willing to avert it, wrote a submissive letter to Gregory, who pretended to take him into favour, after having severely reprimanded him for the crimes of simony and debauchery, laid against him by the late pope, and of which he now confessed himself guilty¹⁷.

Gregory, at the same time, proposed a crusade, in order to deliver the holy sepulchre from the hands of the Infidels; offering to head the Christians in person, and desiring Henry to serve as a volunteer under his command¹⁸!—a project so wild and extravagant, that nothing but the prevailing spirit of the times, the double enthusiasm of religion and valour, can save the memory of its author from the imputation of insanity.

16. Heiss, *Hist. de l'Emp.* lib. ii. 17. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i. Dithmar. *Vit. Greg.* VII. 18. *Id. ibid.*

Gregory's project of making himself lord of Christendom, by not only dissolving the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, but also by subjecting to the papal authority all temporal princes, and rendering their dominions tributary to the see of Rome, seems no less romantic; yet this he undertook, and not altogether without success. Solomon, king of Hungary, dethroned by his brother Geysa, had fled to Henry for protection, and renewed the homage of Hungary to the empire. Gregory, who favoured Geysa, exclaimed against this act of submission: and said, in a letter to Solomon, " You ought to know, that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman church; and learn, that you will incur the indignation of the holy see, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominions of the pope, and not of the emperor ?!"

This presumptuous declaration, and the neglect it met with, brought the quarrel between the empire and the church to a crisis. It was directed to Solomon, but intended for Henry. And if Gregory could not succeed in one way, he was resolved that he should in another: he therefore resumed the claim of investitures, for which he had a more plausible pretence; and as that dispute and its consequences merit particular attention, I shall be more circumstantial than usual.

The predecessors of Henry IV. had always enjoyed the right of nominating bishops and abbots, and of giving them investiture by the ring and crosier. This right they had in common with almost all princes. The predecessors of Gregory VII. had been accustomed, on their part, to send legates to the emperors, in order to entreat their assistance; to obtain their confirmation, or desire them to come and receive the papal sanction, but for no other purpose. Gregory, however, sent two legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent,

19. Goldast. *Apologia pro Hen. IV. Thomas. Conten. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

because he still continued to bestow investitures, notwithstanding the apostolic decree to the contrary; adding, that if he should fail to yield obedience to the church, he must expect to be excommunicated and dethroned.

Incensed at that arrogant message from one whom he considered as his vassal, Henry dismissed the legates with very little ceremony, and convoked an assembly of all the German princes and dignified ecclesiastics at Worms; where, after mature deliberation, they concluded, that Gregory having usurped the chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the church of God with many novelties and abuses, and deviated from his duty to his sovereign in several scandalous attempts, the emperor, by that supreme authority derived from his predecessors, ought to divest him of his dignity, and appoint another in his place²⁰.

In consequence of this determination, Henry sent an ambassador to Rome, with a formal deprivation of Gregory; who, in his turn convoked a council, at which were present a hundred and ten bishops, who unanimously agreed, that the pope had just cause to depose Henry; to dissolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and states had taken in his favour, and to prohibit them from holding any correspondence with him on pain of excommunication. And that sentence was immediately fulminated against the emperor and his adherents. “In the name of Almighty God, and by your authority,” said Gregory, alluding to the members of the council, “I prohibit Henry, the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Teutonic kingdom, and Italy: I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him; and I strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as king²¹.”

This is the first instance of a pope’s pretending to deprive a sovereign of his crown, but it was too flattering to ecclesiastical pride to be the last!—No prelate,

20. Schilter. *De Libertat. Eccles. German.* lib. iv. 21. Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

from the foundation of the church, had ever presumed to use so imperious a language as Gregory; for although Lewis the Debonnaire had been deposed by his bishops, there was at least some colour for that step. They condemned Lewis, in appearance, only to do public penance.

The circular letters written by this pontiff breathe the same spirit with his sentence of deposition. In these he repeatedly asserts, That "bishops are superior to kings, and made to judge them!"—expressions alike artful and presumptuous, and calculated for bringing in all the churchmen of the world to his standard. Gregory's purpose is said to have been, to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to the Vicar of Christ, as King of kings and Lord of lords, all the potentates of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms and sovereign states were to be decided; the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined²².

The haughty pontiff knew well what consequences would follow the thunder of the church. The German bishops came immediately over to his party, and drew along with them many of the nobles: the brand of civil war still lay smouldering, and a bull properly directed was sufficient to set it in a blaze. The Saxons, Henry's old enemies, made use of the papal displeasure as a pretence for rebelling against him. Even his favourite Guelf, a nobleman to whom he had given the duchy of Bavaria, supported the malecontents with that power which he owed to his sovereign's bounty: nay, those very princes and prelates who had assisted in deposing Gregory, gave up their monarch to be tried by the pope; and his holiness was solicited to come to Augsburg for that purpose²³.

22. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. ii. par. ii. cent. xi. et Auct. cit. is loc.

23. Dithmar. ubi sup. *Annal. German.* ap. Struv.

Willing to prevent this odious trial at Augsburg, Henry took the unaccountable resolution of suddenly passing the Alps at Tyrol, accompanied only by a few domestics, in order to ask absolution of Gregory, his tyrannical oppressor, who was then in Canosa, on the Apennines; a fortress belonging to the countess or duchess Matilda, whom I have already had occasion to mention. At the gates of this place the emperor presented himself as an humble penitent. He alone was admitted within the outer court: where, being stript of his robes, and A. D. 1077. wrapt in sack-cloth, he was obliged to remain three days, in the month of January, barefooted and fasting, before he was permitted to kiss the feet of his holiness, who all that time was shut up with the devout Matilda, whose spiritual director he had long been; and, as some say, her gallant. But be that as it may, her attachment to Gregory, and her hatred against the Germans, was so great, that she made over all her estates to the apostolic see: and this donation is the true cause of all the wars, which since that period have raged between the emperors and the popes. She possessed, in her own right, great part of Tuscany; Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and almost the whole of what is now called the patrimony of St. Peter, from Viterbo to Orvieto; together with part of Umbria, Spoleto, and the Marche of Ancona²⁴.

The emperor was at length permitted to throw himself at the feet of the haughty pontiff, who condescended to grant him absolution, after he had sworn obedience to his holiness in all things, and promised to submit to his solemn decision at Augsburg; so that Henry got nothing but disgrace by his journey, while Gregory, elated with his triumph, and now looking upon himself, not altogether without reason, as the lord and master of all the crowned heads in Christendom, said in several of his letters, that it was his duty "to pull down the "pride of kings."

24. Fran. Mar. Florent. *Mem della Contessa Matilda.*

This extraordinary accommodation gave much disgust to the princes of Italy. They never could forgive the insolence of the pope nor the abject humility of the emperor. Happily however for Henry, their indignation at Gregory's arrogance overbalanced their detestation of *his* meanness. He took advantage of this temper; and by a change of fortune, hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he found a strong party in Italy, when abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms against the pope, while he was raising all Germany against the emperor.

Gregory, on the one hand made use of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany; and Henry, on his part, left nothing undone to persuade the Italians to elect another pope. The Germans chose Rodolph, duke of Suabia, who was solemnly crowned at Mentz; and Gregory, hesitating on this occasion, behaved truly like the supreme judge of kings. He had deposed Henry, but still it was in his power to pardon that prince: he therefore affected to be displeased that Rodolph was consecrated without his order; and declared, that he would acknowledge as emperor and king of Germany, him of the two competitors who should be most submissive to the holy see²⁵. A. D. 1078.

Henry, however, trusting more to the valour of his troops than to the generosity of the pope, set out immediately for Germany, where he defeated his enemies in several engagements: and Gregory seeing no hopes of submission, thundered out a second sentence of excommunication against him, confirming at the same time the election of Rodolph, to whom he sent a golden crown, on which the following well-known verse, equally haughty and puerile, was engraved: A. D. 1080.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

25. Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.* Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.*

This donation was also accompanied with a prophetic anathema against Henry, so wild and extravagant, as to make one doubt, whether it was dictated by enthusiasm or priestcraft. After depriving him of *strength in combat*, and condemning him *never to be victorious*, it concludes with the following remarkable apostrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul: “ Make all men sensible, “ that as you can bind and loose every thing in Heaven, “ you can also upon earth take from, or give to every “ one according to his deserts, empires, kingdoms, “ principalities—let the kings and princes of the age “ then instantly feel your power, that they may not “ dare to despise the orders of your church; let your “ justice be so speedily executed upon Henry, that “ nobody may doubt but he falls by your means, and “ not by chance²⁶.”

In order to avoid the effects of the second excommunication, Henry took a step worthy of himself. He assembled at Brixen, in the county of Tyrol, about twenty German bishops; who acting also for the bishops of Lombardy, unanimously resolved, that the pope, instead of having power over the emperor, owed him obedience and allegiance; that Gregory VII. having rendered himself unworthy of the papal chair, by his misconduct and rebellion, ought to be deposed from a dignity he so little deserved. They accordingly degraded Hildebrand, and elected in his room Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, a person of undoubted merit, who took the name of Clement III.

Henry promised to put the new pope in possession of Rome. But he was obliged, in the mean time, to shift the scene of action, and to employ all his forces against his rival Rodolph, who had re-assembled a large body of troops in Saxony. The two armies met near Mersburg, and both fought with great fury. Victory remained long doubtful; but the fortune of the day

26. Hardouin, *Concil. Fleury, Hist. Eccles.*

seemed inclining to Rodolph, when his hand was cut off by the famous Godfrey of Bouillon, then in the service of Henry, and afterwards renowned by the conquest of Jerusalem. Discouraged by the misfortune of their chief, the rebels immediately gave way; and Rodolph perceiving his end approaching, ordered the hand that was cut off to be brought him, and made a speech to his officers on the occasion, which could not fail to have a favourable influence on the emperor's affairs. "Behold," said he, "the hand with which I took the oath of allegiance to Henry; an oath, which at the instigation of Rome, I have violated, in perfidiously aspiring to an honour that was not my due²⁷."

The emperor, thus delivered from his formidable antagonist, soon dispersed the rest of his enemies in Germany, and set out for Italy, in order to settle Clement III. in the papal chair. But the gates of Rome being shut against him, he was ^{A. D. 1081.} obliged to attack it in form. The siege continued upwards of two years; Henry, during that time, being obliged to quell some insurrections in Germany. The city was at length carried by assault, and with difficulty saved from being pillaged; but Gregory was not taken: he retired into the castle of St. Angelo, and thence defied and excommunicated the conqueror.

The new pope was however consecrated with the usual ceremonies, and expressed his gratitude ^{A. D. 1084.} by crowning Henry, with the concurrence of the Roman senate and people. Meanwhile the siege of St. Angelo was going on; but the emperor being called about some affairs into Lombardy, Robert Guiscard took advantage of his absence to release Gregory, ^{A. D. 1085.} who died soon after at Salerno. His last words, borrowed from the scripture, were worthy of the greatest saint: "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity: therefore I die in exile²⁸!"

27. *Chron. Magdeb.* 28. *Vit. Greg. VII.* Murat. ubi sup.

Henry did not long enjoy the successes of his Italian expedition, or that tranquillity which might have been expected from the death of Gregory. Germany was involved in new troubles : thither he hastened with all expedition. The Saxons, his old enemies, had elected a king of the Romans, whom he defeated in several engagements, and whose blood atoned for his presumption. Another pretender shared the same fate. Every thing yielded to the emperor's valour.

But while Henry was thus victorious in Germany, his enemies were busy in embroiling his affairs in Italy, into which he found it necessary again to march. Not satisfied with Clement III. the emperor's pope, they had elected the abbot of Monte Cassino, under the name of Victor III. and he dying in a short time, they chose in his room Urban II. who, in conjunction with the countess Matilda, seduced the emperor's son, Conrad, into a rebellion against his father.—It was this Urban who held the famous council of Clermont, of which I shall afterwards have occasion to speak, and where the first crusade was resolved upon.

Conrad assumed the title of king of Italy, and was actually crowned by Anselmo, archbishop of Milan. Soon after this ceremony, he married the daughter of Roger, king of Sicily ; and succeeded so well in his usurpation, that the greater part of the Italian cities and nobles acknowledged him as their sovereign. The emperor, therefore, despairing of being able to reduce his son to obedience, returned to Germany ; where he assembled the princes, who put Conrad to the ban of the empire, and declared his brother Henry king of the Romans. An accommodation was made with the Saxons and Bavarians, and the emperor hoped to spend the latter part of his life in peace.

In the mean time Conrad died ; and Pascal II. another Hildebrand, succeeded Urban in the see of Rome. This pope no sooner found himself safely seated

in the papal chair, than he called a council, to which he summoned the emperor; and as Henry did not obey the citation he excommunicated him ^{A. D. 1101.} new for the schisms which he had introduced into the church. But that vengeance, though sufficiently severe, was gentle, in comparison of what Pascal meditated and accomplished. He excited young Henry to rebel against his father, under pretence of defending the cause of the orthodox; alleging, that he was bound to take upon himself the reins of government, as he could neither acknowledge a king nor a father that was excommunicated.³⁰

In vain did the emperor use every paternal remonstrance to dissuade his son from proceeding to extremities: the breach became wider and wider, and both prepared for the decision of the sword. But the son dreading his father's military superiority, and confiding in his tenderness, made use of a stratagem equally base and effectual. He threw himself unexpectedly at the emperor's feet, and begged pardon for his undutiful behaviour, which he imputed to the advice of evil counsellors. In consequence of this submission, he was immediately taken into favour, and the emperor dismissed his army. The ungrateful youth now bared his perfidious heart: he ordered his father to be confined; while he assembled a diet of his own confederates, at which the pope's legate presided, and repeated the sentence of excommunication against the emperor Henry IV. ^{A. D. 1106.} who was instantly deposed, and the paracidious usurper Henry V. proclaimed³¹.

The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne were sent as deputies to the old emperor, to intimate his deposition, and demand the crown and other regalia. Henry received this deputation with equal surprize and concern; and finding the chief accusation against him was, "the scandalous manner in which he had set bishopricks

30. Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.* 31. Id. *ibid.*

“to sale,” he thus addressed the audacious ecclesiastics: “If we have prostituted the benefices of the church for hire, you yourselves are the most proper persons to convict us of that simony. Say then, I conjure you, in the name of the eternal God! what have we exacted, or what have we received, for having promoted you to the dignities which you now enjoy?” They acknowledged he was innocent, as far as regarded their preferment:—“and yet,” continued he, “the archbishopsricks of Mentz and Cologne being two of the best in our gift, we might have filled our coffers by exposing them to sale. We bestowed them, however, on you, out of free grace and favour;—and a worthy return you make to our benevolence!—Do not, we beseech you, become abettors of those who have lifted up their hand against their lord and master, in defiance of faith, gratitude, and allegiance.”

The two archbishops, unmoved by that pathetic address, insisted on his compliance with the purport of their errand. On this he retired, and put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment he had left, and seating himself on a chair of state, he renewed his remonstrance in these words: “Here are the marks of that royalty with which we were invested by God and the princes of the empire; if you disregard the wrath of Heaven, and the eternal reproach of mankind, so much as to lay violent hands on your sovereign, you may strip us of them. We are not in a condition to defend ourselves.”

This speech had no more effect than the former upon the unfeeling prelates, who instantly snatched the crown from his head; and dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, Henry exclaimed, “Great God!”—the tears trickled down his venerable cheeks—“thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt repay this outrage.

“I have

“ I have sinned, I own, and merited such shame by the
 “ follies of my youth ; but thou wilt not fail to punish
 “ those traitors, for their perjury, insolence, and ingra-
 “ titude³².”

To such a degree of wretchedness was this unhappy prince reduced by the barbarity of his son, that, destitute of the common necessities of life, he intreated Gertard, bishop of Spire, whom he had created, to grant him a canonicate for his subsistence ; representing that he was capable of performing the office of “ chanter or reader !” Being denied that humble request, he shed a flood of tears, and turning to those who were present, said, with a deep sigh, “ My dear friends, at least have pity on
 “ my condition, for I am touched by the hand of the
 “ Lord³³!”—The hand of man, at least, was heavy upon him for he was not only in want, but under confinement.

In the midst of these distresses, when every one thought his courage was utterly extinguished, and his soul overwhelmed by despondence, Henry found means to escape from his keepers, and reached Cologne, where he was recognized as lawful emperor. He next repaired to the Low Countries, where he found friends, who raised a considerable body of troops to facilitate his restoration ; and he sent circular letters to all the princes of Christendom, in order to interest them in his cause. He even wrote to the pope, giving him to understand, that he was inclined to an accommodation, provided it could be settled without prejudice to his crown. But before any thing material could be executed in Henry's favour, he died at Liege, in the fifty-^{AUG. 7.}sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. He was a prince of great courage, and excellent endowments both of body and mind. There was an air of dignity in his appearance that spoke the greatness of his soul. He possessed a natural fund of eloquence and

32. Dithmar, ubi sup. Heiss, ii. cap. ix. 33. Id. ibid.

vivacity ;

vivacity ; was of a mild and merciful temper ; extremely charitable ; and an admirable pattern of fortitude and resignation³⁴.

Henry V. put the finishing stroke to his barbarous, unnatural, and hypocritical conduct, by causing his father's body, as the carcase of an excommunicated wretch, to be dug out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral of Liege, and be carried to a cave at Spire³⁵. But notwithstanding his obligations and seeming attachment to the church, this paracidious zealot no sooner found himself established upon the imperial throne, than he maintained that right of investiture, in opposition to which he had taken arms against his father, and the exercise of which was thought to merit anathemas so frightful as to disturb the sacred mansions of the dead.

In order to terminate that old dispute, Henry invited the pope into Germany. But Pascal, who was well acquainted with the emperor's haughty and implacable disposition, thought proper to take a different route, and put himself under the protection of Philip I. king of France, who undertook to mediate an accommodation between the empire and the holy see. A conference was accordingly held at Chalons, in Champagne, but without effect.

After this unsuccessful meeting, the pope held a council at Troyes, and Henry convoked a diet A. D. 1107. at Mentz : the first supported Pascal's pretensions, and the last declared for the emperor's right of investiture. But more weighty affairs demanding Henry's attention, the dispute was laid aside for a time. He was engaged for several years in wars with Hungary and Poland, which ended in the weariness of all parties, and left things nearly as at the beginning.

When tired of fighting, Henry thought of disputing : he was desirous of settling his contest with the pope ;

34. Gob. Pers. Leo Ostiens. *Chron. Magdeb.* 35. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

and, lest force should be necessary, he entered Italy with an army of eighty-thousand men. ^{A. D. 1111.} Pascal received him with the greatest appearance of cordiality, but would not renounce the claim of investitures ; and Henry, finding himself deceived in his expectations, ordered the pope to be seized. The consul put the citizens in arms, and a battle was fought within the walls of Rome. The Romans were defeated ; and the carnage was so great, that the waters of the Tiber were stained with blood. Pascal was taken prisoner, and became less inflexible. He crowned Henry, and confirmed him in the right of investiture ; dividing the host with him, at the same time, in token of perfect reconciliation, and pronouncing the following anathema : “ As this part of the vivifying body,” breaking it, “ is separated from the other, let him of us two, who shall infringe the treaty, “ be separated from the kingdom of Christ³⁶!”

But Henry had no sooner left Italy than it appeared that the court of Rome was by no means sincere in the concessions it had made ; for although Pascal himself still preserved the exteriors of friendship and good faith, a council of the Lateran, called by ^{A. D. 1112.} him, set aside the bull touching the investiture of benefices, and ordered the emperor to be excommunicated. The clergy every where attempted to fill the vacant sees, and the whole empire was again involved in trouble and dissention.

A rebellion broke out in Saxony, which Henry was enabled to quell by the valour of his nephew, Frederick duke of Suabia and Alsace, whom ^{A. D. 1114.} he promoted to the supreme command of his army. In the meantime the countess Matilda dying, the emperor, as her nearest relation, claimed the succession, notwithstanding the steps she had taken in fa- ^{A. D. 1115.} vour of the holy see, alledging that it was not in her power to alienate her estates, which depended imme-

36. *Chron. Abb. St. Petri de Eurgo. Padre Paolo, Benef. Eccles.*

diately upon the empire. He therefore set out for Lombardy, and sent ambassadors to Rome, beseeching the pope to revoke the sentence of excommunication, which had been fulminated against him, expressly contrary to their last agreement.

Pascal would not so much as favour the ambassadors with an audience ; but convoked a council, in which his treaty with the emperor, was a second time
A. D. 1116. condemned. Incensed at such arrogance, Henry advanced towards Rome, determined to make his authority respected : and the pope, well acquainted with his inflexible disposition, took shelter among the Norman princes in Apulia, the new vassals and protectors of the church.

The emperor entered Rome in triumph, and was crowned a second time by Bardinus, arch-
A. D. 1117. bishop of Prague, who attended him in this expedition. But Henry's presence being necessary in Tuscany, Pascal privately returned to Rome, where he died in a few days ; and on the third day after
A. D. 1118. his decease, cardinal Cajetan was elected his successor, without the privity of the emperor, under the name of Gelasius II.

Enraged at this presumption, Henry declared the election of Gelasius void, and appointed in his place Bardinus, who assumed the name of Gregory VIII. revoked the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, and confirmed his right of investiture. Gelasius, though supported by the Norman princes, was obliged to take
A. D. 1119. refuge in France, where he died ; and the arch-bishop of Vienna was elected in his room by the cardinals then present, under the name of Calixtus II.

Calixtus attempted an accommodation with Henry ; which not succeeding, he called a council, and again ex-
A. D. 1120. communicated the emperor, the anti-pope, and their adherents. He next set out for Rome, where he was honourably received, and Gregory VIII. retired to Sutri, a strong town, garrisoned by the emperor's

emperor's troops. They were not, however, able to protect him from the fury of his rival. Calixtus, assisted by the Norman princes, besieged Sutri; and the inhabitants, afraid of the consequences, delivered up Gregory, who was mounted, by his competitor, upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and conducted through the streets of Rome, amid the scoffs and insult of the populace, as a prelude to his confinement for life³⁷.

In the mean time the states of the empire, quite tired with this long quarrel between the popes and the emperors, unanimously supplicated Henry for peace. He referred himself entirely to their decision: and a diet being assembled at Worms, it was decreed, A.D. 1122. that an embassy should immediately be sent to the pope, desiring that he would convoke a general council at Rome, by which all disputes might be determined. Calixtus accordingly called the famous council, which was opened during Lent, and at which were present three hundred bishops, and about seven hundred abbots.

The imperial ambassadors being heard before this grand assembly, the affair of investitures was at length settled, with their consent, on the following conditions:—
 “ That, for the future, the bishops and abbots shall be
 “ chosen by the monks and canons; but that this elec-
 “ tion shall be made in presence of the emperor, or
 “ of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose:
 “ that, in case a dispute arise among the electors, the
 “ decision of it shall be left to the emperor, who is to
 “ consult with the bishops on that subject; that the
 “ *bishop or abbot* elect shall take an *oath of allegiance* to
 “ the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and
 “ do *homage* for them; that the emperors shall no longer
 “ confer the *regalia* by the ceremony of the *ring* and
 “ *crozier*, which are the *ensigns* of a *ghostly dignity*, but
 “ by that of the *sceptre*, as more proper to invest the

37. Dithmar. *Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.*

“ person.

“ person elected in the *possession of rights and privileges*
 “ merely *temporal*³⁸.”

Thus, in substituting the *sceptre* for the *ring* and *crozier*, ended one of the most bloody quarrels that ever desolated Christendom. But, as no mention had been made in this accommodation, of the emperor's right to create popes, or to intermeddle in their election, Calixtus was no sooner dead than the cardinals, A. D. 1124. clergy, and people of Rome, without the participation of Henry, proceeded to a new election, which was carried on with so much disorder, that two persons were elected at the same time ; Theobald, called Celestin, and Lambert, bishop of Ostia, who assumed the name of Honorius II. Honorius was confirmed in the papacy, on the voluntary resignation of his competitor.

Henry died at Utrecht a few years after his accommodation with Rome. He was a wise, politic, A. D. 1125. and, resolute prince ; and exclusive of his unnatural behaviour to his father, was worthy of the imperial throne. He married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Henry I. king of England, by whom he had no children ; so that the empire was left without a head.—But a variety of objects demand your attention, before I carry farther the affairs of Germany.

38. Padre Paolo, ubi sub. Schilter *de libertat. Eccles. German.* lib. iv

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

ENGLAND, FROM THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS, TO THE DEATH
OF HENRY I.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen William, duke of Normandy, victorious at Hastings. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the English nation, when made acquainted with the issue of that
A. D. 1066. unfortunate battle—with the death of their king, and the slaughter of their principal nobility. And William, in order to terminate an enterprise, which he knew celerity and vigour only could render finally successful, instantly put his army in motion, and advanced by forced marches to London. His approach increased the general alarm, and the divisions already prevalent in the English councils. The superior clergy, who even then were mostly French or Normans, began to declare in his favour; and the pope's bull, by which his undertaking was avowed and consecrated, was now offered as a reason for general submission.

Other causes rendered it difficult for the English nation, destitute as it was of a head, to defend their liberties in this critical emergency. The body of the people had, in a great measure, lost their ancient pride and independent spirit, by their recent and long subjection to the Danes; and as Canute had, in the course of his administration, much abated the rigours of conquest, and governed them equitably by their own laws, they regarded with less terror a foreign sovereign; and deemed the inconveniencies of admitting the pretensions of William less dreadful than those of bloodshed, war, and resistance. A repulse, which a party of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed the terror of the great defeat at Hastings: the easy submission of all the inhabitants of Kent, was an additional discouragement to them; and the burning of Southwark before their eyes,
made

made the citizens of London dread a like fate for their capital. Few men longer entertained any thoughts but of immediate safety and self-preservation.

Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, met the conqueror at Barkhamstead, and, made submissions to him: and before he reached London, all the chief nobility, with the weak Edgar Atheling, their lawful but deservedly neglected prince, came into William's camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. They requested him to accept the crown, which they now considered as vacant; and orders were immediately issued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation. It was accordingly performed in Westminster-abbey, in presence of the most considerable nobility and gentry, both English and Norman, with seeming satisfaction'. This appearance of satisfaction, on the part of the former, if it contained any sincerity, must have been the effect of the conciliating manner in which the coronation ceremony was conducted. The duke of Normandy took the usual oath administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their inauguration; namely, "to preserve inviolate the constitution, and govern according to the laws," before the crown was placed upon his head, and after the consent of all present had been asked and obtained².

William thus possessed of the throne, by a pretended will of king Edward, and an irregular
 A. D. 1067. election of the people, abetted by force of arms, retired to Barking in Essex; where he received

1. Gul. Pictav. Orderic Vital.

2. Ibid. Aware that such an oath would be demanded, and conscious that he must either violate it or relinquish the right of conquest, William is said to have hesitated whether he should accept the offer of the English crown from the nobility and clergy, or owe it solely to the sword. But his most experienced captains advised him to moderate his ambition; sensible that the people of England, when they saw they had to contend for their free constitution, and not merely for the person who should administer their government, would fight with double fury (Gul. Pictav.) when they found that their dearest interests, their liberty and property were at stake.

the submissions of all the nobility, who had not attended his coronation, and whom he generally confirmed in the possession of their lands and dignities, forfeiting only the estates of Harold, and those of his most active adherents. Every thing wore the appearance of peace and tranquillity. The new sovereign seemed solicitous to unite, in an amicable manner, the English and Normans, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his subjects, who approached his person, were received with affability and respect. No signs of suspicion appeared even in regard to Edgar Atheling, the natural heir to the crown. On the contrary, the king confirmed him in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and affected on all occasions to treat him with the greatest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his friend and benefactor. He also confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and all the other cities of England; and seemed, in a word, desirous of resting every thing on ancient foundations. In his whole administration he bore the semblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror; so that the English began to flatter themselves they had only changed the succession of their sovereigns, a matter which gave them little concern, without injury to the form of their government.

But William, notwithstanding this seeming confidence and friendship, which he expressed for his English subjects, took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans, and still to keep possession of that sword to which he eventually owed his crown. He every where disarmed the inhabitants: he built fortresses in all the principal cities, where he quartered Norman soldiers: he bestowed the forfeited estates on the most powerful of his captains, and he established funds for the payment of his troops. While his civil administration wore the face of the legal magistrate, his military institutions wore that of a master and a tyrant. And, by this mixture of rigour and lenity, he so subdued and composed the minds
of

of the people of England, that he ventured to visit his native country within six months after he had left it³.

Various reasons have been assigned by historians for this extraordinary journey; for extraordinary it certainly was in William, as Normandy remained in perfect tranquillity, to absent himself so soon after the submission of a great, warlike, and turbulent nation. Some have ascribed it to ostentatious vanity, which made him impatient to display his pomp and magnificence among his ancient courtiers; while others, supposing him incapable of such weakness, affirm, that in this step, apparently so extravagant, he was guided by a concealed policy; that finding he could neither satisfy his rapacious captains, nor secure his unstable government, without seizing the possessions of the English nobility and gentry, he left them to the mercy of an insolent and licentious army in order to try their spirit, to provoke them to rebellion, and to give a colour to his intended usurpations. For my own part, I can see no reason why William, solid as his genius was, may not have been influenced by both these motives in undertaking his journey to Normandy. But, whatever was the cause, the effect is certain; the English nobility and gentry revolted in consequence of the king's absence; and he thenceforth either embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the resolution of seizing their lands, and of reducing them to the most abject condition.

But although the natural violence and austerity of William's temper made him incapable of feeling any scruples in the execution of his tyrannical purpose, he had art enough to conceal his intention, and still to preserve some appearance of justice in his oppressions. He was prevailed on to pardon the rebels, who submitted themselves to his mercy; and he ordered all his English subjects, who had been arbitrarily expelled by the Normans during his absence,

A. D. 1068.

to be restored to their possessions. The public discontents, however, daily increased; and the injuries committed and suffered on both sides, rendered the quarrel between the victors and vanquished, mortal. The insolence of imperious masters, dispersed throughout the kingdom, seemed intolerable to the natives, who took every opportunity to gratify their vengeance by the private slaughter of their enemies. Meanwhile an insurrection in the northern counties drew general attention, and seemed big with the most important events.

Edwin and Morcar, the potent earls of Mercia and Northumberland, were the conductors of this attempt to shake off the Norman yoke. And these warlike noblemen, before they took arms, had stipulated for aid from Blethin, prince of North-Wales, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Sweyn, king of Denmark. Aware of the importance of celerity in crushing a rebellion, supported by such powerful leaders, and in a cause so agreeable to the wishes of the body of the people, William, who had always his troops in readiness, marched northward with speed; and reached York before the hostile chieftains were prepared for action, or had received any succours, except a small reinforcement from Wales. Edwin and Morcar, therefore, found it necessary to have recourse to the clemency of the king; and their adherents, thus deserted, were unable to make any resistance. But the treatment of the chieftains and their followers, after submission, was very different. William observed religiously the terms granted to the former, and allowed them for the present to keep possession of their estates; but he extended the rigour of his confiscations over the latter, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, whom he planted through the whole country⁴.

4. Orderic Vital. Sim. Dunelm.

The English were now convinced their final subjection was intended; and that, instead of a legal sovereign, whom they had at first hoped to gain by their prompt submission, they had unwisely surrendered themselves to a master and a tyrant. The early confiscation of the estates of Harold's followers seemed iniquitous, as the proprietors had never sworn fealty to the duke of Normandy, and fought only in defence of the government which they themselves had established in their own country. Yet that rigour, how contrary soever to the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon laws, was excused on account of the urgent necessities of the victor: and they who were not involved in those forfeitures, hoped to enjoy unmolested their possessions and their dignities. But the subsequent confiscation of so many estates convinced them, that the Norman prince intended to rely solely, for the maintenance of his authority on the support and affection of foreigners. And they foresaw new forfeitures and attainders, to be the necessary consequences of this destructive plan of policy.

Impressed with a sense of their dismal situation, many Englishmen fled into foreign countries; with an intention of passing their lives abroad, free from oppression, or of returning on a favourable opportunity, to assist their friends in recovering their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himself dreading the insidious caresses of William, made his escape into Scotland, and carried thither his two sisters Margaret and Christina. They were well received by Malcolm III. then king of that country, who soon after espoused Margaret, the eldest sister: and, partly with a view of strengthening his kingdom by the accession of so many strangers, partly in hopes of employing them against the growing power of William, he gave great countenance to all the English exiles⁵. Many of them settled in Scotland, and there laid the foundations of families, which afterward made a figure in that kingdom.

While the people of England laboured under those oppressions, new attempts were made for the recovery of their liberties. Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, three sons of Harold, had sought a retreat in Ireland, after the defeat at Hastings; and having met with a kind reception from Dermot, and other princes of that island, they projected an invasion of England, and hoped that all the exiles from Denmark, Scotland, and Wales, assisted by forces from these several countries, would at once commence hostilities, and rouse the resentment of the English nation against their haughty conquerors. They landed in Devonshire, but found a body of Normans ready to ^{A. D. 1069.} oppose them; and being defeated in several rencounters, they were obliged to seek shelter in their ships, and return with great loss into Ireland.

The struggle, however, was not yet over: all the north of England was soon in arms. The Northumbrians, impatient of servitude, had attacked Robert de Comyn, governor of Durham, and put him and seven hundred of his adherents to death. This example animated the inhabitants of York, who slew Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, and besieged in the castle William Mallet, on whom the chief command had devolved. About the same time the Danish succours were landed from three hundred vessels, under the command of Osberne, brother to king Sweyn, accompanied by Harold and Canute, two sons of that northern monarch. Edgar Atheling also appeared from Scotland, and brought along with him a number of English noblemen, who had shared his exile, and who easily excited the warlike and discontented Northumbrians to a general insurrection.

In order more effectually to provide for the defence of the citadel of York, Mallet set fire to some neighbouring houses. But that expedient proved fatal to himself, and to every man under his command. The flames spreading into the adjacent streets, reduced the
whole

whole city to ashes; and the enraged inhabitants, aided by the Danes, took advantage of the confusion to attack the fortress, which they carried by assault, and put the garrison, amounting to three thousand men, to the sword. This success served as a signal of revolt to many other parts of the kingdom. The English every where repenting of their former too easy submission, seemed determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their liberty and the expulsion of their oppressors⁶.

Undismayed amid that scene of confusion, William assembled his forces, and animating them by the prospect of new confiscations and forfeitures, marched against the insurgents in the north, whom he considered as most formidable. Not chusing, however, to trust entirely to force, he endeavoured to weaken the rebels, by detaching the Danes from them. And he accordingly prevailed upon Osberne, by large presents, and the liberty of plundering the sea-coast, to desert his engagements. Many English noblemen in despair, followed the unworthy example, made submissions to the conqueror, and were taken into favour. Malcolm, the Scottish king, coming too late to support his confederates, was obliged to retire; so that the Normans found themselves once more undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling and his followers again sought an asylum in Scotland; but despairing of success, and weary of a fugitive life, that prince afterwards submitted to his enemy, and was permitted to live unmolested in England⁷.

William's seeming clemency, however, proceeded only from political considerations, or from his esteem of individuals: his heart was hardened against all compassion toward the English as a people; and he scrupled no measure, how violent soever, which seemed requisite to support his plan of tyrannical administration. Acquainted

6. Ord. Vital. Gul. Gemet. Sim. Dunelm. 7. Gul. Gemet. R. Hoveden.

with the restless disposition of the Northumbrians, who had begun the revolt, and determined to incapacitate them from ever more molesting him, he issued orders for laying waste that fertile country, which, to the extent of sixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees⁸. The houses were reduced to ashes by the unfeeling Normans; the cattle were seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed; and the inhabitants were compelled either to seek a subsistence in the southern parts of Scotland, or to perish miserably in the woods from cold and hunger, which many of them chose rather to do than abandon their native soil. The lives of an hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy⁹, which, by seeking a remedy for a temporary evil, inflicted a lasting wound on the power and populousness of the nation.

But William was now determined to proceed to extremities against all the natives of England, and to reduce them to a condition in which they should be no longer formidable to his government. The insurrections and conspiracies, in different parts of the kingdom, had involved the bulk of the landholders, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took advantage of executing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were commonly spared, but their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal domain, or conferred, with the most profuse bounty, on the Normans and other foreigners. Against a people thus devoted to destruction, any suspicion served as the most undoubted proof of guilt. It was crime sufficient in an Englishman to be opulent, noble, or powerful: and the policy of the king concurring with the rapacity of needy adventurers, produced an almost total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary. The nobles were every where treated with ignominy and

8. *Cbron. Sax.* W. Malmes. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Sim. Dunelm.

9. *Order. Vital.*

contempt: they had the mortification to see their castles and manors possessed by Normans of the meanest condition, and to find themselves excluded from every road that led either to riches or preferment¹⁰.

Power naturally follows property. This change of landholders alone, therefore, gave great security to the Norman government. But William also took care, by the new institutions that he established, to retain forever the military authority in those hands which had enabled him to acquire the kingdom. He introduced into England the feudal polity, which he found established in France and Normandy; and which, during that age, was the foundation both of the stability and of the disorders in most of the monarchical governments of Europe. He divided all the lands of England, with few exceptions, beside the royal domain, into baronies; and he conferred these, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of his followers. The barons, who held immediately of the crown, shared out part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission, in peace and war, which he owed to his sovereign. None of the native English were admitted into the first rank: the few, who retained any landed property, were therefore glad to be received into the second; and, under the protection of some powerful Norman, to load themselves and their posterity with a grievous servitude, for estates which had been transmitted free to them from their ancestors¹¹.

10. M. West Order. Vital.

11. M. West. M. Paris. Bracton, lib. i. cap. 11. Fleta, lib. i. cap. 8. The proprietors of land, under the Anglo-Saxon princes, were only subjected to three obligations; namely, to attend the king with their followers in military expeditions, to assist in building or defending the royal castles, and to keep the highways and bridges in a proper state of repair (Hickesi, *Dissertat. Spelman, Reliquiæ*,) emphatically called the *three necessities*, as they certainly were in a government without regular troops, and almost without revenue.

William's next regulations regarded the church. He deposed Stigand, the primate, and several other English bishops, by the assistance of Ermonfroy, the pope's legate; and as it was a fixed maxim in this reign, as well as in some of the subsequent, that no native of the island should ever be advanced to any dignity, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, the king promoted Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, to the see of Canterbury. That prelate professed the most devoted attachment to Rome, which thenceforth daily increased in England, and became very dangerous to some of William's successors; but the arbitrary power of the Conqueror over the English, and his extensive authority over the Normans, kept him from feeling any inconveniencies from it. He retained the clergy in great subjection, as well as his lay subjects, and would allow no person of any condition or character to dispute his absolute will and pleasure. None of his ministers or barons, whatever might be their offences, could be subjected to spiritual censures, until his consent was obtained. He prohibited his people to acknowledge any one for pope, whom he himself had not received; and he ordered, that all ecclesiastical canons, voted in any synod, should be submitted to him, and ratified by his authority, before they could be valid. Even bulls or letters from Rome, before they were produced, must receive the same sanction. And when the imperious Gregory VII. whom we have seen tyrannizing over kings and emperors, wrote to this monarch, requiring him to fulfil his promise of doing homage for the kingdom of England to the see of Rome, and to send him over that tribute which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the vicar of Christ (meaning *Peter's Pence*, a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, which the court of Rome, as usual, was inclined to construe into a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom), William coolly replied, that the money should be remitted as formerly, but that he neither had promised to do homage to Rome, nor entertained any thoughts of imposing that servitude on his

his kingdom. Nay, he went so far as to refuse the English bishops liberty to attend a general council, which Gregory had summoned against his enemies¹².

The following anecdote shews, in a still stronger light, the contempt of this prince for ecclesiastical dominion. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's maternal brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and entrusted with a great share of power, had amassed immense riches; and, agreeable to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his present eminence as only a step to future grandeur. He aspired at nothing less than the papacy, and had resolved to transmit all his wealth to Italy, and go thither in person, accompanied by several noblemen, whom he had persuaded to follow his example, in hopes of establishments under the future pope. William, from whom this project had been carefully concealed, was no sooner informed of it than he accused Odo of treason, and ordered him to be arrested; but nobody would lay hands on the bishop. The king himself was therefore obliged to seize him; and when Odo insisted, that, as a prelate, he was exempted from all temporal jurisdiction, William boldly replied, "I arrest not the bishop; I arrest the earl!" and accordingly sent him prisoner into Normandy, where he was detained in custody, during this whole reign, notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory¹³.

But the English had the cruel mortification to find, that their king's authority, how worthy soever of a sovereign, all tended to their oppression, or to perpetuate their subjection. William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing their language. He ordered the English youth to be instructed in the French tongue, in all the schools throughout the kingdom. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French: the deeds were often drawn in the same language; the laws were composed in that

¹² *Ang. Sacra.* Eadmer. Ingulph. Order. Vital. 13. *Ibid.*

idiom. No other tongue was used at court: it became the language of all fashionable societies; and the natives themselves affected to excel in it¹⁴. To this attempt of the Conqueror, and to the foreign dominions so long annexed to the crown of England, we owe that predominating mixture of French at present to be found in our language.

While William was thus wantonly exercising his tyranny over England, his foreign affairs fell into disorder; and the English had an opportunity of at once recovering their military character, and of taking vengeance on part of their foreign oppressors. Fulk, count of Anjou, had seized on the province of Maine, which had fallen under the dominion of the duke of Normandy, by the will of Herbert, the last count. But William, by the assistance of his new subjects, soon obliged the inhabitants, who had revolted, to return to their duty, and the count of Anjou to renounce his pretensions¹⁵. A. D. 1073.

The king now passed some years in Normandy; where his presence was become necessary on account of the turbulent disposition of his son Robert, who openly aspired at independency, and claimed the duchies of Normandy and Main, during his father's life-time. William gave him a positive refusal, repeating that homely saying, that he never intended to throw off his clothes till he went to bed. He accordingly called over an army of Englishmen, under his ancient captains, who bravely expelled Robert and his adherents. The prince took shelter in the castle of Gerberoy in the Beauvoisin, which the king of France, who secretly favoured his pretensions, had provided for him. In this fortress he was closely besieged by his father, against whom he made a gallant defence: under the walls of that place many rencounters passed, which resembled more the single combats of

14. *Chron. Rothum. Ingulph. Hist.* p 71. *Hume, Hist. Eng.* vol. i. *Warton, Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. 15. *Céron. Sam. Order. Vital.*

chivalry, than the military operations of armies. One of these was too remarkable, by its circumstances and its event, to be omitted. Robert happened to encounter the king; who being concealed by his helmet, a fierce combat ensued. But at last the prince wounded his father in the arm, and threw him from his horse; when calling for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son; who, struck with a sense of remorse, duty, and the dread of greater guilt, instantly flung himself at the feet of his king and father, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement. A return of kindness, however, did not immediately ensue. William's military pride was wounded, and his resentment was too obstinate at once to yield; but a reconciliation was soon brought about by the interposition of the queen, and other common friends¹⁶.

The peaceable state of William's affairs now gave him leisure to finish an undertaking which proves his great and extensive genius, and does honour to his memory. It was a general survey of all the lands of England; their extent in each district, their proprietors, tennures, value; the quantity of meadow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and, in some counties, the number of tenants, cottagers, and slaves of all denominations, who lived upon them. This valuable piece of antiquity, called the Doomsday-book, is still preserved in the exchequer, and helps to illustrate to us the ancient state of England.

William, like all the Normans, was much attached to the manly amusement of hunting: and his passion for this amusement he cruelly indulged at the expense of his unhappy subjects. Not contented with those large forests, which the Saxon kings possessed in all parts of England, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence. Accordingly, for that purpose, he laid waste the country for an extent of thirty

16. R. Hoveden. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

miles, in Hampshire, expelling the inhabitants from their houses, seizing their property, and demolishing churches and convents, without making the sufferers any compensation for the injury¹⁷. He also increased the rigour of the game-laws, now become so grievous.

This monarch's death was occasioned by a quarrel not altogether worthy of his life. A witticism gave rise to war. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness, while in Normandy; a circumstance which gave Philip I. of France occasion to say, with that vivacity natural to his country, that he was surprised his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. William, enraged at this levity, swore, "by the brightness and resurrection of God!" his usual oath, That, as soon as he got up, he would present so many *lights* at Notre Dame, as would give little pleasure to the king of France; alluding to the usual practice, at that time, of carrying a torch to church after child-birth. Accordingly, on his recovery, he led an army into the Isle of France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. But the progress of these hostilities was stopt, by an accident which put an end to the English monarch's life. His horse suddenly starting aside, he bruised his belly on the pommel of his saddle: and this bruise, joined to his former bad habit of body, brought on a mortification, of which he died, in the sixty-third of his age¹⁸. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son, Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William king of England; and he bequeathed to Henry, the youngest of the three, the possessions of his mother Matilda.

The characters of princes are best seen in their actions: I shall, however, give you a concise character of the Conqueror; for such he ultimately proved, though little more than a conditional sovereign when he first

17. Gul. Malmes. H. Hunting. *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. 18. M. Paris. M. Westminst. Order. Vital.

received the submissions of the English nation¹⁹. The spirit of William I. says a philosophic historian, was bold and enterprizing, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the restraints of justice, and still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of reason and sound policy. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and he seemed equally ostentatious, and ambitious of eclat, in his clemency and in his vengeance.

William II. surnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, was instantly crowned king of England, in consequence of his father's recommendatory letters to Lanfranc, the primate; and Robert at the same time took peaceable possession of Normandy.

But this partition of the Conqueror's dominions, though apparently made without any violence or opposition, occasioned in England many discontents, which seemed to promise a sudden revolution. The Norman barons, who generally possessed large estates both in England and their own country, were uneasy at the separation of those territories, and foresaw that as it would be impossible for them to preserve long their allegiance to two masters, they must necessarily resign their ancient property or their new acquisitions. Robert's title to Normandy they esteemed incontestable; his claim to England they thought plausible; and they all desired that this prince, who alone had any pretensions to unite

19. William acted so uniformly like a conqueror, that, before the end of his reign, there was not left one English, who was either earl, baron, bishop, or abbot. (Gul. Malmes. lib. iv. H. Hunt. lib. vii.) No revolution, ancient or modern, was ever, perhaps, attended with so complete and sudden a change of power and property, as that accomplished by the duke of Normandy. Nor was the administration of any prince ever more absolute than that of William I. though the government which he established was by no means a despotism, but a feudal monarchy, as has been already shewn.

the duchy and kingdom, might be put in possession of both²⁰.

A comparison between the personal qualities of the two princes, also led the malecontents to prefer the elder. Robert was brave, open, sincere, generous; whereas William, though not less brave than his brother, was violent, haughty, tyrannical, and seemed disposed to govern more by fear than the love of his people. Odo, bishop of Baieux, who had been released from prison on the death of the Conqueror, enforced all these motives with the dissatisfied barons, and engaged many of them in a formal conspiracy to dethrone the king. A. D. 1088.

Expecting immediate support from Normandy, the conspirators hastened to put themselves in a military posture: and William, sensible of his perilous situation, endeavoured to provide against the threatened danger by gaining the affections of the native English; who zealously embraced his cause, upon receiving some general promises of good treatment, and leave to hunt in the royal forests, having now lost all hopes of recovering their ancient liberties. By their assistance the king was enabled to subdue the rebels: but A. D. 1089. the Norman barons, who had remained faithful to him, only were the gainers. He paid no regard to the promises made to his English subjects, who still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions which they had experienced during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were augmented by the tyrannical temper of the present monarch²¹. Even the privileges of the church, which were held so sacred in those days, formed but a feeble rampart against the usurpations of William; yet

20. Orderic Vital.

21. *Chron. Sax.* Gul. Malmes. lib. iv. The application of William, however, and the service they had rendered him, made the natives sensible of their importance by reason of their numbers: and they gradually recovered their consequence in the course of the struggles between the king and the nobles.

the terror of his authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, kept every one in subjection, notwithstanding the murmurs of the clergy, and preserved general tranquillity in England.

William even thought himself sufficiently powerful to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy, and bribed several Norman barons to favour his unjust claim. The duke had also reason to apprehend danger from the intrigues of his brother Henry, who inherited more of his father's money than his possessions, and had furnished Robert, during his preparations against England with the sum of three thousand marks; in return for which slender supply, he had been put in possession of the Cotentin, almost one-third of the duke's dominions. But these two brothers, notwithstanding their mutual jealousies, now united, in order to defend their territories against the ambition of the A. D. 1090. king of England, who appeared in Normandy at the head of a numerous army: and affairs seemed to be hastening to extremity, when an accommodation was brought about by the interposition of the nobility.

Prince Henry, however, disgusted at the terms of that agreement, in which he thought himself treated with neglect, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbouring country with his incursions. Robert and William, his two brothers, besieged him in this place, and had nearly obliged him to surrender by reason of the scarcity of water: when the elder, hearing of his brother's distress, granted him permission to obtain a supply, and also sent him some pipes of wine from his own table; a conduct which could only have been dictated by the generous but romantic spirit of chivalry that prevailed in those times, and with which the duke was strongly infected. Being reproved by William for his imprudent generosity, Robert replied, "What! shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst?.....Where shall we find another brother when he is gone?"

William

William, during this siege, also performed an act of generosity less suited to his character. Riding out alone to survey the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers, and dismounted. One of the soldiers drew his sword, in order to dispatch the king. "Hold knave!" cried William, "I am the king of England." The soldier suspended his blow, and raised the king from the ground; who, charmed with the fellow's behaviour, rewarded him handsomely, and took him into his service²².

Prince Henry was at last obliged to capitulate: and being despoiled of all his dominions, wandered about for some time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty. A. D. 1091.

In the mean time William was engaged in humbling the Scots and Welsh, who had infested England with their incursions during his Norman expedition. He had also occasion to quell a conspiracy of his own barons, who meant to exalt to the throne Stephen, count of Aumale, nephew to the Conqueror. A. D. 1095. But the noise of these petty wars and commotions was quite sunk in the tumult of the crusades, which then engaged the attention of all Europe, and have since attracted the curiosity of mankind, as the most singular examples of human folly that were ever exhibited on the face of the globe. The cause and consequences of these pious enterprises I shall afterwards have occasion to consider: at present I shall only speak of them as they affect the history of England.

Robert duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted himself in the first crusade; but being always unprovided with money, he found it would be impossible for him, without some supply, to appear, in a manner suitable to his rank, at the head of his numerous vassals, who, transported with the general fury, were desirous of following him into Asia. He, therefore, resolved to mortgage, or to sell

²² Gal. Malmes, ubi sup. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

his dominions, which he had not prudence to govern: and he offered them to his brother William, who kept aloof from all those fanatical and romantic warriors, for so small a sum as ten thousand marks²³. The bargain was concluded, and William was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; while Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land in pursuit of glory, and in full hopes of securing his eternal salvation.

In the mean time William, who regarded only the things of this world, was engaged in a quarrel with Anselm, commonly called St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a Piedmontese monk, whom he had called over in a fit of remorse, and whom he wanted to deprive of his see for refractory behaviour. Anselm appealed to Rome against the king's injustice, and affairs came to such extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired permission to retire beyond sea. It was granted him, but all his temporalities were confiscated. He was nevertheless received with great respect by Urban II. who considered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even threatened the king with the sentence of excommunication on account of his proceedings against the primate²⁴.

Anselm afterwards distinguished himself in the council of Bari, where the famous dispute between the Greek and Latin churches, relative to the *procession* of the third person of the trinity was agitated; namely, whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only. He also assisted in a council at Rome, where spiritual censures were denounced against all ecclesiastics who did homage to laymen, for their benefices, and on all laymen who

23. Our old historians are not agreed in regard to the particulars of this transaction: but the ten thousand marks seem to have been paid for a mortgage, or uninterrupted possession, of five years. Vide Eadmer. M. Paris. Order. Vital.

24 Ibid.

exacted such homage. The arguments made use of on that occasion, in favour of the clergy, are worthy of the ignorance of the age, and strongly mark the gross superstition into which the human mind was sunk.

The ceremony of homage, by the feudal customs, as I have had occasion to observe, was, that the vassal should throw himself on his knees, put his hands between those of his superior, and in that posture swear fealty to him. Churchmen had been accustomed thus to do homage for their benefices. But this council declared such homage inconsistent with the dignity of the sacerdotal character, as well as with the independency of the church: "For," said Urban, "it is execrable, that holy hands, appointed to perform what was never granted to any angel, to create God, the creator, and offer him to God, his Father, for the salvation of mankind, should be reduced to the humiliating baseness of slavishly mingling with profane hands; which, besides being soiled with rapine and blood-shed, are day and night employed in impure offices and obscene contacts²⁵!"

The fanaticism of the times afforded the king of England a second opportunity of increasing his dominions. Poitiers and Guicenne were offered to be mortgaged to him for the same pious purpose that had induced his brother Robert to put him in possession of Normandy and Maine. The bargain was concluded, and William had prepared a fleet and army to escort the money, stipulated as the price of his new territory, and to secure the possession of it, when an A. D. 1100. accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the sole amusement, and, except war, the chief occupation of princes

²⁵ Flenry, *Hist. Eccles. Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. Eadmer. Brompton. Sim. Dunelm. Eadmerius, who was present at that council, tells us, that on the close of this impious speech of His holiness, all the venerable fathers cried "Amen! Amen!"

in those rude times, when this accident happened. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery, attended him in that recreation, of which the New-Forest was the scene; and as William had dismounted after the chase, Tyrrel, impatient to shew his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag, which suddenly started before him. The arrow glancing against a tree, struck the king to the heart, and instantly killed him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the seashore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to the Holy Land²⁶: a penance which he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime, and which was deemed sufficient to expiate crimes of the blackest dye.

William II. though a man of sound understanding, appears to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour, and an unkind and ungenerous relation. His vices, however, have probably been much exaggerated by the monkish writers, the only historians of those times, as he was utterly void of superstition, and seemingly wanting in a decent respect for religion. Of this many examples might be produced, but one will be sufficient. When the body of the clergy presented a petition, that he would give them leave to send as a form of prayer to be used in all the churches of England, "That God would move the heart of the king to appoint an archbishop!" he having kept the revenues, or temporalities of the see of Canterbury in his own hands almost five years, he carelessly replied, "You may pray as you please, and I will act as I please²⁷." Had he lived a few years longer, he would greatly have enlarged his dominions; and as he was the most powerful and politic prince in Europe, he might perhaps have become its arbiter. He built the tower, Westminster-hall, and London-bridge, monuments of his greatness, which still remain. His most liberal

26. Chron. Sax. R. Hoveden. H. Hunt. 27. Gul. Malmes. p. 124. col. i.

measure was the sending of an army into Scotland, in order to restore prince Edgar, the true heir of that crown, the son of Malcolm III. surnamed Canmore, by Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling. The enterprize succeeded.

Toward the latter part of this reign, Magnus king of Norway made a descent on the Isle of Anglesea, but was beat off by the earl of Shrewsbury. Since that repulse the northern nations have made no attempt against England.

As William Rufus was never married, and consequently could leave no lawful issue, the kingdom of England now belonged to his brother Robert, both by the right of birth and of solemn compact, ratified by the nobility. But as prince Henry was hunting in the New-Forest when the king was slain, he immediately galloped to Winchester; secured the royal treasure, was saluted king, and proceeded to the exercise of the sovereign authority. Sensible, however, that a crown usurped against all the rules of justice would sit very unsteady on his head, Henry resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. Besides taking the usual coronation oath, to maintain the constitution, and to execute justice, he passed a charter, which was calculated to remedy many of the grievous oppressions complained of during the reign of his father and his brother; and he promised a general confirmation and observance of the laws of Edward the Confessor²⁸.

In order farther to establish himself on the throne, the king recalled archbishop Anselm, and reinstated him in the see of Canterbury. He also married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. And this marriage, more than any other measure of his reign, tended to endear Henry to his English subjects; who had felt so severely the tyranny of the Normans, that they reflected with infinite regret

28. M. Paris. R. Hagulstad

on their former liberty, and hoped for a more equal and mild administration, when the blood of their native princes should be united with that of the new sovereigns²⁹. But the policy and prudence of Henry I. ran great hazard of being frustrated by the sudden appearance of his brother Robert, who returned from the Holy Land about a month after the death of William II. took possession of Normandy without resistance, and made preparations for asserting his title to the crown of England.

The great reputation which Robert had acquired in the east, favoured his pretensions; and the Norman barons, still impressed with apprehensions of the consequences of the separation of the duchy and kingdom, discovered the same discontent which had appeared on the accession of Rufus. Henry was, therefore, in danger of being deserted by all his subjects; and it was only through the exhortations of archbishop Anselm, that they were engaged to oppose Robert, who had landed at Portsmouth. The two armies continued some days in sight of each other without coming to action; and by the interposition of the same prelate, an accommodation was happily brought about between the brothers.

In this treaty it was agreed, That Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive an annual pension of three thousand marks; that if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned, and restored to all their possessions, and that neither the king nor the duke should thenceforth countenance the enemies of each other³⁰. But these conditions, though so favourable to Henry, were soon violated by his rapacity and ambition. He restored indeed the estates of Robert's adherents, but took care they should not remain long in the undisturbed possession of them. Various pretences were formed for despoiling and humbling all

29. M. Paris. H. Hoveden. 30. *Chron. Sax.* Order. Vital.

who, in his opinion, had either inclination or abilities to disturb his government.

Enraged at the fate of his friends, Robert imprudently ventured into England, but met with such a bad reception, that he became alarmed for his own safety, and was glad to purchase his escape with the loss of his pension. One indiscretion followed another. The affairs of Normandy fell into confusion; Henry went over, by invitation, to regulate them; but, instead of supporting his brother's authority, he increased the discontents by every art of bribery, intrigue, and insinuation, and at length made himself master of the duchy. The unfortunate Robert, who seemed born only to be the sport of fortune, was carried prisoner into England; where he remained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years; and died a captive in the castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire³¹. A. D. 1106.

The acquisition of Normandy was a great point of Henry's ambition, being the ancient patrimonial inheritance of his family, and the only territory which gave him any weight or consideration on the continent. But the injustice of the usurpation was the source of much inquietude, and the jealousy of the French monarch gave rise to those wars which were to prove so fatal to posterity. Lewis VI. in concert with the counts of Anjou and Flanders, supported the claim of William, son of Robert, to the duchy of Normandy: he even craved the assistance of the church for reinstating the true heir in his dominions, and represented the enormity of detaining in prison so brave a prince as Robert, one of the most eminent champions of the Cross. But Henry knew how to defend the rights of his crown, with vigour, and yet with dexterity. He detached the count of Anjou from the alliance, by contracting his eldest son, William, to that prince's daughter,

31. *Annal. Waverl. Gal. Malmes. lib. v.*

while he gained the pope and his favourites by liberal presents and promises. Calixtus II. who was A. D. 1119. then in France, declared, after a conference with Henry, that of all men, whom he had ever seen, the king of England was beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive³². The complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth disregarded.

The military operations of Lewis proved as unsuccessful as his intrigues. The French and English armies engaged near Andeley, in Normandy; where a sharp action ensued, in which William, the son of Robert, behaved with great bravery. Henry himself was in eminent danger. He was wounded in the head by a gallant Norman, named Crispin, who had followed the fortunes of William; but, rather roused than intimidated by the blow, the king collected all his might, and beat his antagonist to the ground³³. The English, animated by the example of their sovereign, put the French to total route; and an accommodation soon after took place between the two monarchs, in which the interests of young William were entirely neglected.

But Henry's public prosperity was much overbalanced by a domestic misfortune. His son William, who A. D. 1120. had attained his eighteenth year, had accompanied him into Normandy, but perished in his return, with all his retinue. The royal youth was anxious to get first to land; and the captain of his vessel, being intoxicated with liquor, heedlessly ran her on a rock, where she was immediately dashed to pieces. Beside the prince, above one hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. The king was so much affected by the news, that he is said never to have smiled more³⁴.

As prince William left no children, Henry had now no legitimate issue, except his daughter Matilda, whom he had betrothed when a child to the emperor A. D. 1127. Henry V. who also dying without children,

32. M. Paris. H. Hunting.

33. Ibid.

34. R. Hoveden.

the king bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldest son of the count of Anjou, and endeavoured to secure her succession, by having her recognized heiress of all his dominions; and he obliged the barons both of Normandy and England to swear fealty to her. After six years she was delivered of a son, who received the name of Henry; and the king, farther to insure the succession, made all the nobility renew the oath of fealty which they had already sworn to her, and also to swear fealty to her infant son³⁵. A. D. 1133.

The joy of this event, and the pleasure of his daughter's company, made Henry take up his residence in Normandy: where he died in the sixty-seventh year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving his daughter Matilda heiress of all his dominions. He was one of the most able and accomplished princes that ever filled the English throne, possessing all the qualities, both mental and personal, that could adorn the high station to which he attained, or fit him for the government of an extensive territory. His learning, which procured him the name of *Beauclerc*, or the *fine scholar*, would have distinguished him in private life, and his talents would have given him an ascendant in any condition. A. D. 1135.

The affairs of France, my dear Philip, and the crusades, which took their rise in that kingdom, claim your attention, before I speak of the disputed succession of Matilda, and of her son Henry II. commonly known by the name of Plantagenet, whose reign affords some of the most interesting spectacles in the History of England. In the mean time it will be proper to take a slight review of the change produced in our ancient constitution, and in the condition of our Saxon ancestors, by the Norman conquest or revolution.

35. Ypod. Neust. R. de Diceto.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE original government of the Anglo-Saxons, as we have seen, was a kind of military democracy, under a king or chief, whose authority was very limited, and whose office was not strictly hereditary, but depended on the will of the people. This government they brought into Britain with them. Matters of small consequence were settled by the king in council: but all affairs of general concern or national importance, the making of laws the imposing of taxes, the declaring of war, were laid before the Wittenagemot or parliament, and determined by the majority of voices, or at least by the preponderation of public opinion³⁶.

From that assembly no freeman could be said to be excluded; for although a certain portion of land was necessary as a qualification, a husbandman or tradesman no sooner acquired that portion, which was different at different times of the Anglo-Saxon government³⁷, than he had a right to be present, not only as a spectator, a privilege that was common to every one, but as a constituent member of the Wittenagemot. And all merchants, who had made two voyages to foreign countries, on their own account, became possessed of the same right by a law passed in the reign of king Athelstan³⁸; so that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors might make with truth the glorious boast of modern Englishmen, that, every member of the community shared with his sovereign the power and authority by which he was governed. Little wonder, therefore, that the great lines of this ennobling system of freedom, long after it was destroyed, seemed to be engaged in their hearts, by the keen sorrow with which it was regretted!

36. Spelman, *Glos. in voc. Wittenagemot.*

37. It was originally only five hides, but was raised by degrees as high as forty.

38. Wilkins, *Leges Saxon.* Selden, *Tit. Hong.*

If the Anglo-Saxons, as a nation, had reason to think themselves happy in their deliberative and legislative, they were no less so in their juridical capacity. Justice was universally the care of the great body of the people: and a regular chain of appeal was established from the tithing or decennary, consisting of ten families, up to the Wittenagemot, which was a supreme court of law, as well as a national council or assembly. But the grand security of justice, and even of liberty and property, was the court called the *Shiremote*, held twice a year in every county, at a stated time and place; where, along with the alderman or earl of the shire, and the bishop of the diocese, all the clergy and landholders of the country were obliged to be present, and determined, by the majority of voices, all causes brought before them, in whatever stage of their progress; beginning with the causes of the church, taking next under cognizance the pleas of the crown, and lastly the disputes of private persons³⁹.

As the duke of Normandy, by taking the usual oath administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, had solemnly engaged to maintain the constitution, and to administer justice according to the laws, the English nation had reason to believe they had merely changed their native sovereign for one of foreign extraction: a matter to them of small concern, as I have had occasion to observe, especially as the line of succession had been already broken by the usurpation or election of Harold. But although William affected moderation for a while, and even adopted some of the laws of Edward the Confessor, in order to quiet the apprehensions of his new subjects, to these laws he paid little regard; and no sooner did he find himself firmly established on the throne, than he utterly subverted the form of government, and the manner of administering justice throughout the whole kingdom. The government which he substituted was a rigid feudal monarchy, or military aristocracy, in which a regular chain

39. Spelman. *Reliquiæ, Hicæsi, Dissertat. Epist.*

of subordination and service was established, from the sovereign or commander in chief, to the serf or villain; and which, like all feudal governments, was attended with a grievous depression of the body of the people, who were daily exposed to the insults, violences, and exactions of the nobles, whose vassals they all were, and from whose oppressive jurisdiction it was difficult and dangerous for them to appeal.

This depression, as might be expected, was more complete and humiliating in England, under the first Anglo-Norman princes, than in any other feudal government. William I. by his artful and tyrannical policy, by attainders and confiscations, had become, in the course of his reign, proprietor of almost all the lands in the kingdom. These lands, however, he could not retain, had he been even willing, in his own hands: he was under the necessity of bestowing the greater part of them on his Norman captains or nobles, the companions of his conquest and the instruments of his tyranny, who had led their own vassals to battle⁴⁰. But those grants he clogged with heavy feudal services, and payments or prestations, which no one dared to refuse. He was the general of a victorious army, which was still obliged to continue in a military posture, in order to secure the possessions it had seized. And the Anglo-Norman barons, and tenants *in capite*, by knight's-service, who only held immediately of the crown, and with the dignified clergy formed the *national assembly*, imposed obligations yet more severe on their vassals, the inferior landholders, consisting chiefly of unhappy English gentlemen, as

40. Nothing can more strongly indicate that necessity, than the following anecdote. Earl Warren, when questioned, in a subsequent reign, concerning his right to the lands he possessed, boldly drew his sword. "This," said he, "is my title!—William the Bastard did not conquer England himself: the Norman Barons, and my ancestors, among the rest, "were joint adventurers in the enterprize." Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i.

well as on the body of the people, for whom they seemed to have no bowels of compassion⁴¹.

41. The state of England, at the death of William the conqueror, is thus described by one of our ancient historians, who was almost cotemporary with that prince. "The Normans, had now fully executed the wrath of heaven upon the English. There was hardly one of that nation who possessed any power; they were all involved in *servitude* and *sorrow*; insomuch, that to be called an Englishman was considered as a *reproach*. In those miserable times many oppressive taxes and tyrannical customs were *introduced*. The king *himself*, when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came and offered more, and afterwards a third, and offered still more, violated all his *former pactions*, and gave them to him who offered most; and the great men were *inflamed* with such a rage for *money* that they cared not by what means it was *acquired*. The more they talked of justice, the more injuriously they acted. Those who were called justiciaries," alluding most likely to the barons in their courts, "were the fountains of all iniquity. Sheriffs and judges, whose peculiar duty it was to pronounce righteous judgments, were the most cruel of all tyrants, and greater plunderers than common thieves and *robbers*." (Hen. Hunting. lib. viii.) And the author of the Saxon Chronicle, in speaking of the miseries of a subsequent reign, says, that the great barons "*grievously oppressed the poor people* with building castles; and when they were built, they filled them with wicked men, or rather devils, who *seized both men and women* supposed to be *possessed of any money*; threw them into prison and put them to *more cruel tortures* than the *martyrs* ever endured." (*Chron. Sax.* p. 238.) The truth of this melancholy description is corroborated by the testimony of William of Malmsbury. *Hist.* lib. ii.

The great power and success of the Normans made them licentious as well as tyrannical. This licentiousness was so great, that the princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, who had received her education in England, and was afterwards married to Henry I. thought it necessary to wear the religious habit, in order to preserve her person from violation. Before a great council of the Anglo-Norman clergy, she herself declared, That she had been induced by no other motive to put on the veil. And the council admitted her plea, in the following memorable words: "when *the great king William conquered this land*, many of his followers, elated with their extraordinary success, and thinking that *all things* ought to be *subservient to their will and pleasure*, not only *seized the possessions* of the *vanquished*, but *invaded the honour* of their *matrons and virgins*. Hence many young ladies, who *dreaded such violences*, were induced to seek shelter in *convents*, and even to take the *veil* as a *farther security* to their virtue." Eadmer. *Hist.* lib. iii.

But the rigour of the Anglo-Norman government, and the tyrannical and licentious spirit of the nobles, proved ultimately favourable to general liberty. The oppressed people looked up to the king for protection: and circumstances enabled them to obtain it. The defect in the title of William II. and of Henry I. induced them to listen to the complaints of their English subjects, and to redress many of their grievances. The people, in some measure satisfied with the relief afforded them, became sensible of their consequence, and of their obligations to the crown: while the barons, finding themselves in quiet possession of their English estates, and apprehending no future disturbance from the natives, bore with impatience the burdens imposed upon them by William I. and to which they had readily submitted, in the hour of conquest and of danger. They saw the necessity of being more indulgent to their vassals, in order to obtain a sufficient force to enable them to retrench the prerogatives of the sovereign, and of connecting their cause with that of the people. And the people, always formidable by their numbers, courted by both parties, and sometimes siding with one, sometimes with the other, in the bloody contest between the king and the barons, recovered by various progressive steps, which I shall have occasion to trace in the course of my narration, their ancient and natural right to a place in the parliament or national assembly.

Thus restored to a share in the legislature, the English commonalty felt more fully their own importance; and by a long and vigorous struggle, maintained with unexampled perseverance, they wrested from both the king and the nobles, all the other rights of a free people, of which their Anglo-Saxon ancestors had been robbed by the violent invasion, and cruel policy of William the Norman. To those rights they were entitled as men, by the great law of nature and reason, which declares the *welfare* of the *whole* community to be the end of all civil government; and as Englishmen, by inheritance.

In

In whatever light, therefore, we view the privileges of the commons, they are RESUMPTIONS, not USURPATIONS.

In order to establish this important political truth, some of our popular writers have endeavoured to prove, that the people of England were by no means robbed of their liberty or property by William I. and that the commons had a *share* in the *legislature* under *all* the Anglo-Norman princes. But as this position cannot be maintained without violating historical testimony, the advocates for prerogatives have had greatly the advantage in that contentious dispute⁴². I have therefore made the usurpations of William, in violation of his coronation oath, the basis of my argument. Usurpation can create no right, nor the exercise of illegal authority any prerogative.

LETTER XXIV.

FRANCE, UNDER PHILIP I. AND LEWIS VI. WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

PHILIP I. as I have already observed¹, had been perfectly well educated. Nor was he by any means deficient in point of capacity; but his mind had acquired

42. Mr. Hume, in particular, has triumphed over every adversary. His collected arguments, supported by facts, to prove "that the commons originally formed no part of the Anglo-Norman parliament," are strong and satisfactory. But the following clause in the great charter is of itself sufficient to determine the dispute. "We will cause to be summoned," says the king, "as a COMMON COUNCIL OF THE KINGDOM, the archbishops, bishops, earls, and great barons, personally, by our letters; and besides, we will cause to be summoned, in general, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all others who HOLD OF US IN CHIEF." (*Mag. Chart. c. xiv.*) This indubitable testimony, so full and conclusive, when duly weighed, must preclude all future controversy on the subject.

1. Letter XVIII.

a wrong bias, which discovered itself in all his actions, and swayed him upon all occasions, to prefer his interest, or his inclinations, to his honour. His reign is not so remarkable for any thing, as his marrying Bertrand de Montford, duchess of Anjou, while her husband and his queen were both alive. For this irregularity he was excommunicated by Urban II. in the famous council of Clermont, where the first A. D. 1095. Crusade was preached for the recovery of the Holy Land²; a circumstance which naturally leads me to speak of that extravagant expedition, its causes, and its consequences.

Gregory VII. among his other vast ideas, had formed, as we have seen, the project of uniting the western Christians against the Mahometans, and of recovering Palestine from the hands of those infidels³: and his quarrels with the emperor Henry IV. by which he declared himself an enemy to the civil power of princes, only could have obstructed the progress of this undertaking, conducted by so able a politician, at a time when the minds of men were fully prepared for such an enterprize. The work, however, was reserved for a meaner instrument; for a man whose condition could excite no jealousy, and whose head was as weak as his imagination was warm. But before I mention this man, I must say a few words of the state of the east at that time, and of the passion for pilgrimages which then prevailed in Europe.

We naturally view with veneration and delight those places which have been the residence of any illustrious personage, or the scene of any great transaction. Hence the enthusiasm with which the literati still visit the ruins of Athens and Rome; and hence flowed the superstitious devotion with which Christians, from the earliest ages of the church, were accustomed to visit that country where their religion had taken its rise,

2. Harduin. *Concil.* tom. xi. 3. See Letter XXII.

and that city in which the Messiah had died for the redemption of those who believe in his name. Pilgrimages to the shrines of saints and martyrs were also common; but as this distant pilgrimage could not be performed without considerable expense, fatigue, and danger, it appeared more meritorious than all others, and came to be considered as an expiation for almost every crime. And an opinion which prevailed over Europe towards the close of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh century, increased the number and the ardour of the credulous devotees, that undertook this tedious journey. The thousand years mentioned by St. John, in his book of Revelations, were supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the world at hand. A general consternation, as I have had occasion to notice, seized the minds of Christians. Many relinquished their possessions, abandoned their friends and families, and hurried with precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined Christ would suddenly appear to judge the quick and the dead⁴.

But the Christians, though ultimately undeceived in regard to the day of Judgment, had the mortification, in these pious journies, to see the holy sepulchre, and the other places made sacred by the presence of the Saviour, fallen into the hands of Infidels. The followers and the countrymen of Mahomet, had early made themselves masters of Palestine, which the Greek empire, far in its decline, was unable to protect against so warlike an enemy. They gave little disturbance, however, to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem: nay, they allowed every one, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the holy sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and return in peace. But the Turks, a Tartar tribe, who had also embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens as you have seen, about the middle of the eleventh century, and made themselves masters of Jerusalem,

4. *Chron. Will. Godelli ap. Bouquet. Recueil des Hist. de France, tom. x.*
pilgrims

pilgrims were thenceforth exposed to outrages of every kind from these fierce barbarians. And this change, coinciding with the panic of the consummation of all things, and the supposed appearance of Christ on Mount Sion, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every pilgrim who returned from Palestine, related the dangers he had encountered in visiting the holy city, and described, with exaggeration, the cruelty and vexations of the Turks; who, to use the language of those zealots, not only profaned the sepulchre of the Lord by their presence, but derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion, and where the Son of God was speedily expected to hold his great tribunal⁵.

While the minds of men were thus roused, a fanatical monk, commonly known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, revived the project of Gregory VII. of leading all the forces of Christendom against the Infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land. He had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was so deeply affected with the danger to which that act of piety now exposed Christians, that he ran from province to province on his return, with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war; and wherever he came, he kindled the same enthusiastic ardour for it with which he himself was animated.

Urban II. who had at first been doubtful of the success of such a project, at length entered into Peter's views, and summoned at Placentia a council, A. D. 1095. which was obliged to be held in the open fields, no hall being sufficient to contain the multitude: it consisted of four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand laymen, who all declared for the war against the Infidels, but none of them heartily engaged in the enterprize. Urban, therefore, found it necessary to call another council the same year, at Clermont, in Auvergne, where the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes

5. Eccard. *Corp. Script. Medii Evi*, vol. i.

attended;

attended; and when the pope and the hermit had concluded their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by immediate inspiration, exclaimed with one voice: "It is the will of God!—It is the will " of God"—words which were deemed so memorable, and believed to be so much the result of a divine influence, that they were employed as the motto on the sacred standard, and as the signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of the champions of the *Cross*; the symbol chosen by the devoted combatants, in allusion to the death of Christ, as the badge of union, and affixed to their right shoulder, whence their expedition got the name of a Crusade⁶.

Persons of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour. Not only the gallant nobles of that age, with their martial followers, whom the boldness of a romantic enterprize might have been apt to allure, but men in the more humble and pacific stations of life; ecclesiastics of every order, and even women, concealing their sex beneath the disguise of armour, engaged with emulation in an undertaking which was deemed so sacred and meritorious. The greatest criminals were forward in a service, which they regarded as a propitiation for all their crimes. If they succeeded, they hoped to make their fortune in this world; and if they died, they were promised a crown of glory in the world to come. Devotion, passion, prejudice, and habit, all contributed to the same end; and the combination of so many causes produced that wonderful emigration which made the princess Anna Comnena say, that Europe, loosened from its foundations, and impelled by its moving principle, seemed in one united body to precipitate itself upon Asia⁷.

The number of adventurers soon became so great, that their more experienced leaders, Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the French king; Robert, duke

6. Theod. Ruinart. in *Vit. Urbani II.* Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* tom. xi.

7. Alexias, lib. x.

of Normandy: Raymond, count of Thoulouse; Godfrey, of Bouillon, prince of Brabant; and Stephen, count of Blois; grew apprehensive that the greatness of the armament would defeat its purpose. They therefore permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at three hundred thousand men, to go before them, under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyless, and other wild fanatics.

A. D. 1069. Peter and his army, before which he walked with sandals on his feet, a rope about his waist, and every other mark of monkish austerity, took the road to Constantinople, through Hungary and Bulgaria. Godscald, a German priest, and his banditti, took the same route; and trusting that Heaven, by supernatural means would supply all their necessities, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. But they soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder, what they had vainly expected from miracles. Want is ingenious in suggesting pretences for its supply. Their fury first discharged itself upon the Jews. As the soldiers of Jesus Christ, they thought themselves authorised to take revenge upon his murderers: they accordingly fell upon those unhappy people, and put to the sword without mercy such as would not submit to baptism, seizing their effects as lawful prize. In Bavaria alone twelve thousand Jews were massacred, and many thousands in the other provinces of Germany. But Jews not being every where to be found, these pious robbers, who had tasted the sweets of plunder, and were under no military regulations, pillaged without distinction; until the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, rose and cut them almost all off. The Hermit, however, and the remnant of his army, consisting of twenty thousand starving wretches, at length reached Constantinople, where he received a fresh supply of German and Italian vagabonds, who were guilty of the greatest disorders, pillaging even the churches⁸.

8. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*, tom. i.

Alexis Comnenus, the Greek emperor, who had applied to the Latins for succour against the Turks, entertained a hope, and but a feeble one, of obtaining such an aid as might enable him to repulse the enemy. He was, therefore, astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed by an inundation of licentious barbarians, strangers alike to order and discipline, and to hear of the multitudes that were following, under different leaders. He contented himself, however, with getting rid, as soon as possible, of such troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport themselves to the other side of the Bosphorus; and general Peter soon saw himself in the plains of Asia, at the head of a Christian army, ready to give battle to the Infidels. Soliman, sultan of Nice, fell upon the disorderly crowd, and slaughtered them almost without resistance. Walter the Moneyless, and many other leaders of equal distinction, were slain; but Peter the Hermit found his way back to Constantinople, where he was considered as a maniac, who had enlisted a multitude of madmen to follow him⁹.

In the mean time the more disciplined armies arrived at the imperial city, and were there joined by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, A. D. 1097. from motives of policy rather than piety. Having no other inheritance but the small principality of Tarentum, and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthusiasm of the times to assemble under his banner ten thousand horsemen, well armed, and some infantry, with which he hoped to conquer a few provinces either from the Christians or Mahometans. His presence gave much alarm to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, with whom he had been formerly at war. But the refined policy of that prince, who carressed those rapacious allies whom he wished to ruin, and secretly regarded as more dangerous than the enemies they came to

9. Anna Comnena, ubi sup.

combat, diverted all apprehensions of harm either from Bohemond or the other leaders of the crusade. He furnished them with provisions, and transported them safely into Asia: after having conciliated their affections by presents and promises, and engaged them to do him homage for the lands they should conquer from the Turks¹⁰.

Asia, like Europe, was then divided into a number of little states, comprehended under the great ones. The Turkish princes paid an empty homage to the caliphs, but were in reality their masters; and the sultans, or soldans, who were very numerous, weakened still farther the empire of Mahomet by continual wars with each other, the necessary consequence of divided sway. The soldiers of the cross, therefore, who amounted, when mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus, to the incredible number of one hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand foot, were sufficient to have conquered all Asia, had they been united under one head, or commanded by leaders that observed any concert in their operations. But they were unhappily conducted by men of the most independent, intractable spirit, unacquainted with discipline, and enemies to civil or military subordination. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force, still carried them forward, and advanced them to the great end of their enterprize, in spite of every obstacle; the scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, and the influence of unknown climes. After an obstinate siege, they took A. D. 1098. Nice, the seat of old Soliman, the sultan of Syria, whose army they had twice defeated: they had made themselves masters of Antioch, the seat of another sultan, and entirely broke the strength of the Turks, who had so long tyrannised over the Arabs¹¹.

The caliph of Egypt, whose alliance the Christians had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the

10. Maimbourg, ubi sup. 11. Dach. Specileg. vol. iv. Maimbourg, tom. i.

Turkish power, the authority of the caliphs of Jerusalem. On this he sent ambassadors to the leaders of the crusade, informing them, that they might now perform their religious vows, if they came disarmed to that city, and that all Christian pilgrims, who should thenceforth visit the holy sepulchre, might expect the same good treatment which they had ever received from his predecessors. His offer was, however, rejected. He was required to yield up the city to the Christians; and, on his refusal, the champions of the Cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, the great object of their armament, and the acquisition of which they considered as the consummation of their labours.

These pious adventurers were now much diminished by the detachments they had made, and the disasters they had suffered: and what seems almost incredible, they did not exceed, according to the testimony of most historians, twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, while the garrison of Jerusalem consisted of forty thousand men. But, be that A. D. 1099. as it may, after a siege of five weeks, they took the city by assault, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword, without distinction. Arms protected not the brave, or submission the timid: no age or sex was spared: infants perished by the same sword that pierced their mothers, while imploring mercy. The streets of Jerusalem were covered with heaps of slain; and the shrieks of agony or despair still resounded from every house, when these triumphant warriors, glutted with slaughter, threw aside their arms, yet streaming with blood, and advanced with naked feet, and bended knees, to the sepulchre of the Prince of Peace! sung anthems to that Redeemer, who had purchased their salvation by his death; and, while dead to the calamities of their fellow-creatures, dissolved in tears for the sufferings of the Messiah²!—So inconsistent is human nature with itself;

12. M. Paris. Order. Vital. Vertot, *Hist. de Chev. de Malt.* tom. i. and

and so easily, as the philosophic Hume remarks, does the most effeminate superstition associate both with the most heroic courage, and with the fiercest barbarity.

About the same time that this great event happened in Asia, where Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen king of Jerusalem, and Bohemond, and some other Christian princes, settled in their new conquests, Urban II. the author of the crusade, and the queen of France, died in Europe. In consequence of these deaths, Philip I. who still continued to live with the countess of Anjou, was absolved, by the new pope, from the sentence of excommunication denounced in the council of Clermont. But although this absolution quieted in some measure his domestic troubles, his authority, which the thunder of the church, together with his indolent and licentious course of life, had ruined, was far from being restored. The nobility more and more affected independency; they insulted him every hour; plundered his subjects, and entirely cut off the communication between Paris and Orleans¹³.

In order to remedy these evils, Philip associated his son Lewis in the government; or, at A. D. 1100. least, declared him, with the consent of the nobility, his successor. This young prince was, in all respects, the reverse of his father; active, vigorous, affable, generous, and free from the vices incident to youth. He saw that in a state so corrupted, nothing could be done but by force: he therefore kept continually in the field, with a small body of troops about him, and these he employed against such nobles as would not listen to the dictates of justice and equity, but treated the laws of their country with derision. He A. D. 1192. demolished their castles; he compelled them to make restitution to such as they had pillaged, and he forced them to abandon the lands they had usurped from the clergy: yet all these rigours he exe-

¹³. Order. Vital. Mezeray.

cuted in a manner so disinterested, and with so indisputable a zeal for the public welfare, that he gained the affections of the virtuous part of the nobility, and the reverence of the people, while he restored order to the state, and preserved the monarchy from subversion¹⁴.

This prince, who is commonly called by the old historians Lewis the Gross, from his great size in the latter part of life, and who was the sixth Lewis that sat upon the throne of France, succeeded his father in 1108, when he was thirty years of age. A. D. 1108. Soon after his coronation, he engaged in a war against Henry I. of England, a powerful vassal, whom it was his interest to humble. The war was carried on with a variety of fortunes during the greater part of this reign, but without producing any remarkable event, except what I have related in the history of England, or any alteration in the state of either kingdom¹⁵.

A peace was at length concluded between the two rival princes; after which Lewis devoted himself to the regulation of the interior polity A. D. 1128. of his kingdom, and either humbled or overawed the great vassals of the crown, so as to procure universal tranquillity. This he accomplished, partly by establishing the commons or third state; partly by enfranchising the villains or bondmen; and partly by diminishing the exorbitant authority of the seignioral jurisdictions; sending commissaries into the provinces to receive the complaints and redress the wrongs of such as had been oppressed by the dukes and counts, and every where encouraging appeals to the royal judges.—But the king of France, in the midst of his prosperity, fell into a languishing disorder, occasioned by his excessive corpulency; and when he thought his death at hand, he ordered his son to be called to him, and gave him the following excellent advice. “By this sign,” said he, (drawing the signet from his finger, and putting it on

14. Order. Vital. Sug. Vit. Lud. Grossi. 15. See Letter XXIII.

that of the prince) “ I invest you with sovereign authority; but remember, that it is nothing but a public employment, to which you are called by Heaven, and for the exercise of which you must render an account in the world to come¹⁶.”

The king unexpectedly recovered; but he would never afterwards use any of the ensigns of royalty. A. D. 1137. An accident contributed to the revival of his strength. William, duke of Guienne, and earl of Poitou, resolved to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, bequeathed his extensive territories to his daughter Eleanor, on condition that she married young Lewis, already crowned king of France, at the desire of his father; and the duke dying in that pilgrimage, the marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Bourdeaux, where Lewis VII. was solemnly inaugurated as lord of Guienne and Poitou¹⁷.

In the mean time Lewis VI. unable to support the heat of the dog-days, died at Paris on the first of August, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. A better man, historians agree, never graced the throne of France; but with the addition of certain qualities, his countrymen say he might have made a better king. Posterity, however, may not perhaps be inclined to think worse of his character, when they are told that the qualities he wanted were hypocrisy and dissimulation, and that his vices were honesty and sincerity: which led him to despise flattery, and indulge himself in a manly freedom of speech.

We should now, my dear Philip, return to the history of England; but the second crusade, which was conducted by the sovereigns of France and Germany, makes it necessary to carry farther the affairs of the continent.

16. Sug. Vit. Lud. Grosse. Henault, *Hist. tom. i.* 17. Id. *ibid.*

LETTER XXV.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ROME AND THE ITALIAN STATES, FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY V. TO THE ELECTION OF FREDERICK I. SURNAMED BARBAROSSA.

AS Henry V. left no issue, it was universally believed that the states would confer the empire on one of his nephews, Conrad, duke of Franconia, or Frederic, duke of Suabia, who were princes of great merit; but Albert, archbishop of Mentz, found means to influence the German chiefs to give their suffrages in favour of Lothario, duke of Saxe-Supplem-^{A. D. 1125.} bourg, who had supported him in all his contests with the late emperor. Lothario was accordingly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in presence of the pope's nuncio. Meanwhile his two competitors neglected nothing in their power to obtain the throne. But after a short opposition, which was, however, obstinate and bloody, they dropped their pretensions, and were reconciled to Lothario, who afterwards honoured them with his friendship.

The first expedition of the new emperor was against the Bohemians, whom he obliged to sue for peace, and do homage to the empire. He next marched into Italy, where the ecclesiastical affairs, as usual, were in much disorder. Innocent II. had succeeded^{A. D. 1130.} Honorius II. by virtue of a canonical election; notwithstanding which cardinal Leoni, the grandson of a wealthy Jew, was also proclaimed pope by the name of Anacletus, and kept possession of Rome by means of his money, whilst his rival was obliged to retire into France, the common asylum of distressed popes. Lothario espoused the cause of Innocent, with^{A. D. 1132.}

1. Annal de l'Emp. tom. i. Heis. lib. ii. cap. xi.

whom he had an interview at Liege; accompanied him to Rome at the head of an army, and re-established him in the papal chair, in spite of all the efforts and opposition of Anacletus².

After being solemnly crowned at Rome, the emperor returned to Germany; where, by the advice of Ernerius, a learned professor of the Roman law, he ordered that justice should be administered in the empire according to the *Digesta*, or Code of Justinian, a copy of which was, about this time, found in Italy³. In the mean time, Roger, duke of Apulia, who had lately conquered the island of Sicily, raised an army in favour of Anacletus, and made himself master of almost all the places belonging to the holy see. Pope Innocent retired to Pisa, which was then one of the most considerable trading cities in Europe, and again implored the assistance of Lothario. The emperor did not desert him in his adversity: he immediately put himself at the head of a powerful army; and, by the help of the Pisans, the imperial forces soon recovered all the patrimony of St. Peter. Pope Innocent was re-conducted in triumph to Rome: a circumstance which so much affected Anacletus, that he fell a martyr to the success of his competitor, literally dying of grief.

The emperor afterwards drove Roger, duke of Apulia, from city to city; and, at length, obliged him to take refuge in Sicily, his new kingdom. He then subdued the provinces of Apulia and Calabria, and all Roger's Italian dominions, which he formed into a principality, and bestowed it, with the title of duke, upon Renaud, a German prince, and one of his own relations.

2. Jean de Launes, *Hist. du Pontificat. du Pape Innocent II.*

3. On this subject, which is involved in controversy, see Hen. Brenchmann, *Hist. Pandect. Murat. Antiq. Ital.* tom. ii.

On his way to Germany, Lothario was seized with a dangerous distemper, which carried him off, near Trent, in the twelfth year of his reign. He was distinguished by a passionate love of peace, and an exact attention to the administration of public justice.

Conrad, duke of Franconia, nephew to Henry V. was unanimously elected emperor, on the death of Lothario. But the imperial throne was disputed by Henry the Haughty, duke of Bavaria, the name of whose family was Guelph; hence those who espoused his party were called Guelphs, an appellation afterwards usually bestowed on the enemies of the emperors.

Henry the Haughty died during this contest, after being divested of his dominions by the princes of the empire; but the war was still carried A. D. 1140. on against the emperor by Guelph, the duke's brother, and Roger, king of Sicily. The imperial army was commanded by Frederic, duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who being born at the village of Hieghibelin, gave to his soldiers the name of Ghibelins; an epithet by which the imperial party was distinguished in Italy, while the pope's adherents grew famous under that of Guelphs⁴.

Guelph, and his principal followers, were besieged in the castle of Weinsberg; and having sustained great loss in a sally, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The emperor, however, instead of using his good fortune with rigour, granted the duke, and his chief officers, permission to retire unmolested. But the duchess, suspecting the generosity of Conrad, with whose enmity against her husband she was well acquainted, begged that she, and the other women in the castle, might be allowed to come out with as much as each of them could carry, and be conducted to a place of safety. Her request was granted, and the evacuation was imme-

4. *Annal. de l'Émp.* tom. i. 5. *Mura Dissertat. de Guelph. et Guibel.* Sigon. lib. xi. *Krant. Sax.* lib. viii.

diately performed; when the emperor and his army, who expected to see every lady loaded with jewels, gold, and silver, beheld, to their astonishment, the duchess and her fair companions, staggering beneath the weight of their husbands. The tears ran down Conrad's cheeks: he applauded their conjugal tenderness, and an accommodation with Guelph and his adherents, was the consequence of this act of female heroism⁶.

While these things were transacting in Germany, new disorders broke out in Italy. The people of Rome formed a design of re-establishing the commonwealth; of retrieving the sovereignty of their city, and abolishing the temporal dominion of the popes. Lucius II. marched against the rebels, and was killed at the foot of the capitol; but Eugenius III. his successor, found means to reduce them to reason, and preserve the authority of the apostolic see⁷.

This pope afterwards countenanced the second crusade against the Saracens, preached by St. Bernard, in which the emperor and the king of France, engaged, as I shall soon have occasion to relate. Another crusade was preached against the Moors in Spain, in which a great number of Germans, from the neighbourhood of the Rhine and Weser, engaged; and the Saxons, about the same time, undertook a crusade against the pagans of the north, whom they cut off in thousands, without making one convert⁸.

Nothing remarkable happened in the empire, after the return of Conrad III. from the east, except the death of prince Henry, his eldest son, who had been elected king of the Romans. This event greatly affected the emperor, who died soon after; and his nephew Frederic, surnamed Barbarossa, duke of

6. Heis. lib. ii. cap. xii. 7. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. xiv. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. 8. Id. *ibid.*

Suabia, was raised to the imperial throne by the unanimous voice of the princes and nobles both of Italy and Germany.

LETTER XXVI.

FRANCE UNDER LEWIS VII. TILL THE DIVORCE OF QUEEN ELEANOR, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND CRUSADE.

LEWIS VII. surnamed the Young, was no sooner seated on the throne of France, than he found himself engaged in one of those civil wars, which the feudal government rendered unavoidable; and having, in an expedition into Champagne, A. D. 1137. made himself master of the town of Vitri, he ordered it to be set on fire. In consequence of the conflagration that followed, thirteen hundred persons, who had taken refuge in the church, all perished A. D. 1143. in the flames. This cruel action made a deep impression upon the king's mind, and prepared the way for a second crusade, which now demands our attention.

The Christians of the east grew weaker every day in those countries which they had conquered. The little kingdom of Edessa had already been taken by the Turks, and Jerusalem itself was threatened. Europe was solicited for a new armament; and as the French had begun the first inundation, they were again applied to, in hopes of a second.

Pope Eugenius III. to whom the deputies from the east had been sent, very wisely pitched upon Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, as the instrument of this pious warfare. A. D. 1145. Bernard was learned for

those times, naturally eloquent, austere in his life, irreproachable in his morals, enthusiastically zealous and inflexible in his purpose. He had long held the reputation of a saint, was heard as an oracle, and revered as a prophet; little wonder, therefore, that he found means to persuade the king of France, that there was no other method of expiating his guilt but by an expedition to the Holy Land.

At Vezelai in Burgundy, a scaffold was erected in the market-place, on which St. Bernard appeared by the side of Lewis VII. The saint spoke first, the king seconded him, after taking the cross, and the example of the royal pair was followed by all present, among whom were many of the chief nobility².

Suger, abbot of St. Dennis, then prime minister, a man very different from Bernard, endeavoured in vain to dissuade the king from abandoning his dominions, by telling him that he might make a much more suitable atonement for his guilt by staying at home and governing his kingdom in a wise and prudent manner. The eloquence of St. Bernard, and the madness of the times, prevailed over reason and sound policy. Suger, however, retained his opinion; and made no scruple of foretelling the inconveniencies that would attend an expedition into Palestine, whilst Bernard made himself answerable for its success, and extolled it with an enthusiasm that passed for inspiration.

From France this fanatical orator went to preach the crusade in Germany; where, by the force of his irresistible eloquence, he prevailed on the emperor Conrad III. Frederick Barbarossa, afterwards emperor, and an infinite number of persons of all ranks, to take the cross; promising them, in the name of God, victory over the Infidels. He ran from city to city, every where communicating his enthusiasm; and, if we believe the historians of those times, working miracles. It is not indeed pretended that he restored the dead to life; but

2. *Epist. Ludovic. ad Suger.*

the blind received sight, the lame walked, the sick were healed. And to these bold assertions, we may add a fact no less incredible, that while St. Bernard's eloquence operated so powerfully on the minds of the Germans, he always preached to them in French, a language which they did not understand ! or in Latin, equally unintelligible to the body of the people³.

The hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greater part of the knights in their dominions : and it is said, that in each army there were reckoned seventy thousand men in complete armour : with a prodigious number of light horse, besides infantry ; so that we cannot well reduce this second emigration to less than three hundred thousand persons. And these, joined to one million three hundred thousand sent before, make in the whole sixteen hundred thousand transplanted inhabitants.

The Germans took the field first, the French followed them : and the same excesses, that had been committed by the soldiers of the first crusade, A. D. 1147. were acted over again by those of the second. Hence Manuel Comnenus, who now filled the throne of Constantinople, was disquieted with the same apprehensions which the former enterprize had raised in the mind of his grandfather Alexis. If the Greek emperor behaved ungenerously to them, it must therefore be ascribed to the irregularity of their own conduct, which made craft necessary, where force was unequal ; especially as Manuel is represented, on all other occasions, as a prince of great generosity and magnanimity. But the mortality which prevailed in the German army, near the plains of Constantinople, may be fully accounted for from intemperance and the change of climate, without supposing the wells to be poisoned or the meal to be mingled with lime.

After Conrad had passed the Bosphorus, he acted with that imprudence which seems inseparable from

3. Henault. *Chron. Hist.* tom. i. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. i.

such romantic expeditions. As the principality of Antioch was yet in being, he might have joined those christians who remained in Syria, and there have waited for the king of France. Their numbers united would have insured them success. But instead of such a rational measure, the emperor, jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marched immediately into the middle of Asia Minor; where the sultan of Iconium, a more experienced general, drew his heavy German cavalry among the rocks, and cut his army in pieces. Conrad fled to Antioch; went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, instead of appearing there as the leader of an army, and returned to Europe with a handful of men⁴.

The king of France was not more successful in his enterprize. He fell into the same snare that had deceived the emperor; and being surprised among the rocks near Laodicea, was worsted, as Conrad had been. But Lewis met with a domestic misfortune that gave him more uneasiness than the loss of his army. Queen Eleanor was suspected of an amour with the prince of Antioch, at whose court her husband had taken refuge. She is even said to have forgot her fatigues in the arms of a young Turk: and the conclusion of the whole expedition was, that Lewis, like Conrad, returned to Europe with the wreck of a great army, after visiting the holy sepulchre, and being dishonoured by his pious consort, whose affection and zeal led her to embrace the cross, and accompany him into Asia⁵! A thousand ruined families in vain exclaimed against St. Bernard for his deluding prophecies: he excused himself by the example of Moses; who, like him, he said, had promised the Israelites to conduct them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the desert.

4. Otho de Frising. Gul. Tyr. Chron. Muriniac. 5. Gul. Tyr. Gest. Ludovic. VII. Henault, Chron. Hist. tom. i.

Lewis, more delicate than politic, annulled soon after his return, his marriage with queen Eleanor, who immediately espoused his formidable vassal, Henry Plantagenet duke of Normandy, count of Anjou and Maine, and presumptive heir to the crown of England; an inheritance which the accession of power arising from this alliance enabled him to obtain, while France lost the fine provinces of Guienne and Poitou, the hereditary possessions of the queen. But before I treat of that subject, we must take a view of England during the introductory reign.

LETTER XXVII.

ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY I. TO THE ACCESSION
OF HENRY II.

HENRY I. my dear Philip, as you have had occasion to see, left his dominions by will to his daughter Matilda; and as the nobility, both of England and Normandy, had sworn fealty to her, she had reason to expect the inheritance of both states. A. D. 1135. But the aversion of the feudal barons against female succession, prevailed over their good faith, and prepared the way for the usurpation of Stephen, count of Boulogne, son of the count of Blois, and grandson of the conqueror, by his daughter Adela.

Stephen was a prince of vigour and ability: but the manner in which he had obtained the crown of England, obliged him to grant exorbitant privileges to the nobility and clergy, who might be said to command the kingdom. A. D. 1136. The barons built and fortified castles: garrisoned them with their own troops; and when offended, bid their monarch defiance, while wars between themselves was carried on with the utmost fury in

in every quarter. They even assumed the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, every act of jurisdiction; and the inferior gentry, and the people, finding no guardianship from the laws during this total dissolution of sovereign authority, were obliged to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, and to purchase his protection, not only by yielding to his exactions, but by assisting him in his rapine upon others'.

While things continued in this distracted situation, David king of Scotland appeared at the head of a considerable army, in defence of his niece Matilda's title; and, penetrating into Yorkshire, laid the whole country waste. These barbarous outrages enraged the northern nobility, who might otherwise have been inclined to join him, and proved the ruin of Matilda's cause. The earl of Albemarle, and other powerful nobles, assembled an army at North Allerton, where a
A. D. 1138. great battle was fought, called the *Battle of the Standard*, from a high crucifix erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army, as a military ensign. The Scots were routed with great slaughter, and the king narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English army².

This success over-awed the malecontents in England, and might have given stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been so elated by prosperity as to engage in a contest with the clergy, who were at that time an over-match for any monarch. They acted entirely as barons; fortified castles, employed military power against their sovereign or their neighbours, and thereby increased those disorders which it was their duty to prevent, while they claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction, and attracted popularity by the sacredness of their character. The
A. D. 1139. bishop of Salisbury, whose castle had been seized by order of the king, appealed to the pope; and had not Stephen and his partizans employed

1. Gul. Malmes. Hist. Novel. lib. i.
Standard.

2. R. Hagulst. Ailred. de *Bell*.

menaces, and even shewn a disposition of executing vengeance by the hands of the soldiery, affairs had instantly come to extremity between the crown and the mitre.

In the mean time Matilda, encouraged by these discontents, and invited by the rebellious clergy, landed in England, accompanied by Robert SEPT. 30. earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, and a retinue of an hundred and forty knights. She fixed her residence at Arundel castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen-dowager, now married to William de Albini, earl of Sussex. Her party daily increased; she was soon joined by several barons: war raged in every quarter of the kingdom; and was carried on with so much fury, that the land was left untilld, and the instruments of husbandry A. D. 1140. destroyed or abandoned. A grievous famine, the natural consequence of such disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want³.

Things were in this deplorable situation, when an unexpected event seemed to promise some mitigation of the public calamities. The royal army was defeated near the castle of Lincoln; and A. D. 1141. Stephen himself, surrounded by the enemy, and borne down by numbers, was made captive, after displaying uncommon efforts of valour. He was conducted to Gloucester, thrown into prison, and ignominiously loaded with irons. But he was soon after released in exchange for earl Robert, Matilda's brother, who was no less the soul of one party than Stephen was of the other, and the civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever⁴.

The weakness of both parties, however, at last produced a tacit cessation of arms, and the empress Matilda

3. *Chron. Sax. Gest. Reg. Stephani.* II. Hunting. lib. viii.

4. *Gal. Malmes. Hist. Nov.* lib. ii Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

retired into Normandy. But an event soon after happened, which threatened a revival of hostilities
 A. D. 1148. in England. Prince Henry, son of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet, had reached his sixteenth year, and was desirous of receiving the honour of knighthood from his grand uncle, David king of Scotland. For this purpose he passed through England with a great retinue, and was visited by the most considerable of his partizans, whose hopes he roused by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exercises, and his prudence in every
 A. D. 1150. occurrence. He staid some time in Scotland, where he increased in reputation; and on his return to Normandy, he was invested in that duchy with the consent of his mother Matilda. His father died the following year, when Henry took possession of Anjou and
 A. D. 1151. Maine, and espoused the heiress of Guienne and Poitou, who had been married sixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, but whom he had divorced, as I have already observed, on account of her gallantries. This marriage, which brought Henry a great accession of power, rendered him extremely formidable to his rival; and the prospect of his rising fortune had such an effect in England, that the archbishop of Canterbury refused to anoint Eustace, Stephen's son, as his successor, and made his escape beyond sea, to avoid the fury of the enraged monarch⁵.

As soon as Henry was informed of these dispositions in the people, he invaded England. Stephen
 A. D. 1153. advanced with a superior army to meet him: and a decisive action was every day expected, when the great men on both sides, terrified with the prospect of farther bloodshed and confusion, interposed their good offices, and set on foot a negotiation between the contending princes. The death of Eustace, which happened during the course of the treaty, facilitated its conclusion; and an accommodation was at last settled, by which it

5. Id. *ibid.*

was agreed, that Stephen should possess the crown during his life-time; that justice should be administered in his name, even in the provinces which had submitted to his rival; and that Henry, on Stephen's death, should succeed to the kingdom of England, and William, Stephen's son, to Boulogne and his patrimonial estate⁶.

The barons all swore to the observance of this treaty, and did homage to Henry as heir of the crown. He immediately after evacuated the kingdom; and Stephen's death, which happened next year, prevented those jealousies and feuds, which were likely to have ensued in so delicate a situation. The character of Stephen is differently represented by historians; but all allow, that he possessed industry, activity, and courage, to a great degree; and had he succeeded by a just title, he seems to have been well qualified to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects, notwithstanding the miseries that England suffered under his reign⁷.

6. Hen. Hunt. ubi sup. *Annal Waverl.* M. Paris. J. Brompton.

7. These miseries are thus described by a cotemporary historian. "All England wore a face of desolation and wretchedness. Multitudes abandoned their beloved country and went into voluntary exile: others, forsaking their own houses, built sorry huts in the church-yards, hoping for protection from the sacredness of the place. Whole families, after sustaining life as long as they could, by eating herbs, roots, and the flesh of dogs and horses, at last died of hunger;—and you might see many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex." *Gest. Reg. Steph.*

LETTER XXVIII.

ENGLAND, DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY II. WITH AN ACCOUNT
OF THE AFFAIRS OF FRANCE.

I HAVE already observed, my dear Philip, that before the conquest of England by the duke of Normandy, this island was as distinct from the rest of the world in politics as situation. The English had then neither enemies nor allies on the continent. But the foreign dominions of William and his successor connected them with the kings and great vassals of France: and while the opposite pretensions of the popes and the emperors in Italy produced a continual intercourse between Germany and that country, the two great monarchs of France and England formed, in another part of Europe, a separate system, and carried on their wars and negotiations, without meeting either with opposition or support from their neighbours; the extensive confederacies by which the European potentates are now united, and made the guardians of each other, being then totally unknown. No wonder, therefore, that Lewis VII. king of France, observed with terror the rising greatness of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet, whose continental dominions composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and which gave a sovereign to England in the person of Henry II. The jealousy occasioned by this alarming circumstance, however, as we shall have occasion to see, not only saved France from falling a prey to England, but exalted that kingdom to the pitch of grandeur which it has so long enjoyed. The king of England soon became a kind of foreigner in his continental dominions; and the other powerful vassals of the French crown, instead of being roused at the oppression of a co-vassal, were rather pleased at the expulsion of the Anglo-Normans.

But

But as these important consequences could not be foreseen by human wisdom, the king of France had maintained a strict union with Stephen, in order to prevent the succession of Henry. The sudden death of the usurper, however, rendered abortive all the schemes of Lewis. Henry was received in England with the acclamations of all orders of men, who joyfully swore to him the oath of allegiance: and he began his reign with re-establishing justice and good order, to which the kingdom had been long a stranger. For this purpose he dismissed all those foreign mercenaries retained by Stephen; and that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the new-erected castles, which had proved so many sanctuaries to rebels and free-booters, to be demolished¹. In order yet farther to conciliate the affections of his subjects, he voluntarily confirmed that charter of liberties, which had been granted by his grandfather, Henry I².

Tranquillity was no sooner restored to England, than Henry had occasion to visit his foreign dominions; where all things being likewise settled, he returned A. D. 1156. to repress the incursions of the Welsh, who at first gave him much trouble, but at length submitted. In the mean time a quarrel broke out between Lewis and Henry, relative to the county of A. D. 1157. Thoulouse, and war was openly carried on between the two monarchs. But these hostilities produced A. D. 1161. no memorable event, were stopt by a cessation of arms, and soon terminated in a peace, through the mediation of the pope.

This war, so insignificant in itself, is remarkable for the manner in which it was conducted. An army formed of feudal vassals, as I have had occasion frequently to observe, was commonly very intractable and undisciplined; both because of the independent spirit of the persons who composed it, and because the commissions were not bestowed by the choice of the sovereign, in reward of the

1. Gervas. Chron. Gul. Neubrig, lib. ii.

2. Vide Blackstone's *Law Tracts*, vol. ii.

military talents and services of the officers. Each baron conducted his own vassals, and his rank in the army was greater or less, in proportion to the value of his property. Even the chief command, under that of the prince was often attached to birth; and as the military vassals were obliged to serve only forty days, at their own charge, the state reaped very little benefit from their attendance. Henry, sensible of these inconveniences, levied upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from Thoulouse, the seat of war, a sum of money in place of their service: and this commutation, by reason of the greater distance, was still more advantageous to his English vassals. He therefore imposed a *scutage* of three pounds upon each knight's fee; a condition, though unusual, and the first perhaps to be met with in history, to which the military tenants readily submitted. With this money he levied an army, which was more at his disposal, and whose service was more durable and constant: and, in order to facilitate those levies, he enlarged the privileges of the people, and rendered them less dependent on the barons, by whom they had long been held in servitude, or in a state of the most grievous oppression.

Having thus regulated his civil and military affairs and accommodated his differences with Lewis, A. D. 1162. Henry soon after his return to England, began to cast his eye upon the church, where abuses of every kind prevailed. The clergy, among their other inventions to obtain money, had inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin. They had also introduced the practice of paying large sums of money, as a composition for such penances. By these means the sins of the people were become a revenue to the priests; and the king computed, that, by this invention alone, they levied more money from his subjects than flowed into the royal treasury by all the methods of public supply³. Feeling for his oppressed people, he therefore required

3. Fitz-Steph. *Vit. St. Thom.*

that a civil officer, appointed by the crown, should for the future be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and whose consent should be necessary to every composition made by sinners for their spiritual offences.

But the grand difficulty was, how to carry this order into execution ; as the ecclesiastics, in that age, had renounced all immediate subordination to the civil power. They openly claimed exemption, in cases of criminal accusation, from a trial before courts of justice. Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences ; and as the clerical habit was thus become a protection for all enormities, they could not fail to increase. Accordingly crimes of the deepest dye were daily committed with impunity by ecclesiastics : and it was found upon inquiry, that no less than an hundred murders had been perpetrated since the king's accession, by men in holy orders, who had never been called to account for these offences against the laws of nature and society⁴.

In order to bring such criminals to justice, as the first step towards his projected reformation of the church, and by that means to restore union between the civil and ecclesiastical power, so necessary in every government for the maintenance of peace and harmony ! Henry exalted Thomas à Becket, his chancellor, and the first man of English descent who had occupied an eminent station since the Norman conquest, to the see of Canterbury, on the death of archbishop Theobald ; rightly judging, that if the present opportunity should be neglected, and the usurpations of the clergy allowed to proceed, the crown must be in danger, from the predominating superstition of the people, of falling under subjection to the mitre.

Becket, while chancellor, was pompous in his retinue, sumptuous in his furniture, and luxurious in his table, beyond what England had seen in a subject. His house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility, and the king himself frequently condescended to

4. Gul. Neubr. lib. ii.

partake of his chancellor's entertainments. His amusements were as gay as his manner of life was splendid and elegant. He employed himself at leisure hours in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship. His complaisance and good humour had rendered him agreeable, and his industry and abilities useful to his master. He was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather confining within ancient bounds all ecclesiastical privileges, and having always shewed a ready disposition to comply with every advance to that purpose, Henry considered him as the fittest person he could place at the head of the English church. But no prince of so much penetration, as appeared in the issue, ever so little understood the character of his minister.

Becket was no sooner installed in the see of Canterbury, which rendered him the second person in the kingdom, than he secretly aspired at being the first, in consequence at least, and totally altered his manner of life. He affected the greatest austerity, and the most rigid mortification: he wore sackcloth next his skin, which he changed so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread, his drink water: he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted upon it; and he daily washed on his knees, in imitation of Jesus Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents⁵. Every one who made professions of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as piety and mortification of the holy primate; whose aspect now wore the appearance of intense seriousness, mental reflection, and sacred devotion. And all men of penetration saw, that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had taken a new and more dangerous direction.

This champion of the church (for such he now declared himself) did not even wait till the king had matured those

5. Fitz-Steph. ubi sub.

projects, which he knew had been formed against ecclesiastical power: he himself began hostilities, and endeavoured to over-awe the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his measures. But although Henry found himself thus grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had promoted to the primacy, he determined not to desist from his former intention of retrenching clerical usurpations:—and an event soon occurred which gave him a plausible pretence for putting his design in execution, and brought matters to a crisis with the archbishop.

A parish clerk in Worcestershire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had about this time proceeded to murder the father. The general A. D. 1163. indignation against so enormous a crime made the king insist, that the clerk should be delivered up to the civil magistrate, and receive condign punishment; but Becket insisted on the privileges of the church, and maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted upon him than degradation⁶. Henry laid hold of so favourable a cause to push the clergy with respect to all their usurpations, and to determine at once those controversies which daily multiplied between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England, and put them to this concise and decisive question: Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops answered equivocally, and the king left the assembly with marks of the highest indignation. They were struck with terror, and gave a general promise of observing the ancient customs⁷.

But a declaration in general terms was not sufficient for Henry: he wanted to define exactly the limits between the rival powers. For this purpose he summoned A. D. 1164. at Clarendon a general council of the bishops and nobles, to whom he submitted that great and important

6. *Ibid.*7. R. Hoveden, *Hist. Quad.*

question.

question. The barons were all gained to the king's party, either by the reasons he urged or by his superior authority, while the bishops were over-awed by the general combination against them. And the following laws, among others, commonly called the Constitutions of Clarendon, were voted without opposition: "That no chief tenant of the crown shall be excommunicated, or have his lands put under an interdict, without the king's consent; that no appeals in spiritual causes shall be carried before the holy see, nor any clergyman be suffered to depart the kingdom, unless with the king's permission; that laymen shall not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses; and lastly," which was the great object aimed at, "that churchmen, accused of any crime, shall be tried in the civil courts⁸."

These articles were well calculated to prevent the principal abuses in ecclesiastical affairs, and put a final stop to the usurpations of the church: and having been passed in a national and civil assembly, they fully established the superiority of the legislature over all papal decrees and spiritual canons. But as Henry knew the bishops would take the first opportunity to deny the authority which had enacted these constitutions, he resolved they should set their seal to them, and give a promise to observe them. With this view they were reduced to writing; and none of the prelates dared to oppose the king's will except Becket, who at length consented. He set his seal to the constitutions; promised *legally*, with *good-faith*, and without *fraud* or *reserve* to observe them, and even took an oath to that purpose⁹.

Henry, thinking he had now finally prevailed in this great contest, sent the Constitutions of Clarendon to Alexander III. to be ratified. But the pope, who plainly saw they were calculated to establish the independency of England from the holy see, abrogated, annulled, and re-

3. M. Paris. *Hist. Quad.*9. Fitz-Steph. *Gervas.*

jected them ; and when Becket found he might hope for the papal support in an opposition to regal authority, he expressed the deepest sorrow for his concessions. He redoubled his austerities, as a punishment for his criminal compliance ; and he refused to exercise any part of his ecclesiastical function, until he should receive absolution from the pope. Absolution was readily granted him ; after receiving which he set no bounds to his obstinacy and ambition.

Henry, however, who was entirely master of his extensive dominions, and sure every one would obey his will except the man whom he had lifted into power, and to whose assistance he had trusted in forwarding his favourite project against the clergy, was now incensed beyond all measure, and resolved both to humble the church and make the prelate feel the weight of his indignation. He accordingly summoned Becket to give an account of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbies, and baronies which had been subject to his management, during that time.

This prosecution, which seems to have been more dictated by passion than by justice, or even by sound policy, threw Becket and all the clergy of England, into the utmost confusion. Some bishops advised him to resign his see, on receiving an acquittal ; others were of opinion, that he ought to submit himself entirely to the king's mercy : for they were fully sensible, that accounts of so much intricacy could not be produced of a sudden, in such a manner as to satisfy a tribunal resolved to ruin and oppress him. But the primate, thus pushed to extremity, had too much courage to yield : he determined to brave all his enemies ; to trust to the sacredness of his character for protection ; and to defy the utmost efforts of royal indignation, by involving his cause with that of God and the church. He therefore strictly prohibited his suffragans to assist at any such trial, or give their sanction to any sentence against him : he put himself and his see under the immediate protection of the vicegerent

vicegerent of Christ, and appealed to his holiness against any penalty which his iniquitous judges might think proper to inflict upon him. “The indignation of a great monarch,” added he, “such as Henry, with his sword, can only kill the body; while that of the church, intrusted to the primate, can kill the soul, and throw the disobedient into infinite and eternal perdition.”

Appeals to Rome, even in spiritual causes, had been prohibited by the Constitutions of Clarendon, and consequently were become criminal by law; but an appeal in a civil cause, such as the king’s demand upon Becket, was altogether new and unprecedented, and tended directly to the subversion of the English government. Henry, therefore, being now furnished with so much better a pretence for his violence, would probably have pushed this affair to the utmost against the primate, had he not retired beyond sea and found patrons and protectors in the pope and the king of France.

The violent prosecution carried on against Becket at home, had a natural tendency to turn the public favour on his side, and to make men forget his former ingratitude towards the king, and his departure from all oaths and engagements, as well as the enormity of those ecclesiastical privileges, of which he affected to be the champion: and political considerations conspired with sympathy, to procure him countenance and support abroad. Philip, earl of Flanders, and Lewis, king of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, were glad of an opportunity to give him disturbance in his government. They pretended to pity extremely the condition of the persecuted archbishop; and the pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in abetting his cause, honoured Becket with the highest marks of distinction. A residence was assigned him in the abbey of Pontigny, where he lived, for some years, in great magnificence, partly by a pension out of the revenues

of the abbey, and partly by the generosity of the French monarch¹.

In the mean time the exiled primate filled all Europe with exclamations against the violence he had suffered. He compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal, and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which his church laboured². But complaint was a language little suited to the vehemence of Becket's temper, and in which he did not long acquiesce. Having resigned his see into the hands of the pope, as a mark of submission, and received it again from the head of the church, with high encomiums on his piety and fortitude, he issued out a sentence of excommunication against the king's chief ministers, by name, comprehending, in general, all those who had favoured or obeyed the constitutions of Clarendon: he abrogated and annulled those constitutions, absolving all persons from the oaths which they had taken to observe them: and he suspended the spiritual thunder over Henry, only that he might avoid the blow by a timely repentance¹³.

Henry, on the other hand, employed the temporal weapons still in his power. He suspended the payment of St. Peter's Pence, and made A. D. 1165. some advances towards an alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, who was then engaged in violent wars with pope Alexander III. Both parties grew sick of contention, and each was afraid of the other. Although the vigour of Henry's government had confirmed his authority in all his dominions, he was sensible that his throne might be shaken by a sentence of excommunication: but as the trials hitherto made of the spiritual weapons by Becket had not succeeded to his expectation, and every thing remained quiet both in Eng- A. D. 1166. land and Normandy, nothing seemed impos- sible, on the other hand, to the vigilance and capacity of so great a prince.

11. *Epist. St. Thom.* 12. *Ibid.* 13. *M. Paris. R. Hoveden Fitz-Steph. Vit. St. Thom.*

These considerations produced frequent attempts at an accommodation, which was long obstructed by mutual jealousy. After all differences seemed adjusted, the king offered to sign the treaty, with a salvo to his *royal dignity*; a reservation A. D. 1168. which gave so much umbrage to the primate, that the negotiation became fruitless. And in a second negotiation, Becket, imitating Henry's example, offered to make his submissions with a salvo of the *honour of God*, and the *liberties of the church*; a proposal, which, for a like reason, was offensive to the king, and rendered the treaty abortive. A third conference was broken off by the same means. And even in a fourth, when all things were settled, and the primate expected to be introduced to the king, Henry refused A. D. 1169. to grant him the kiss of peace, under pretence that he made a rash vow to the contrary. The want of this formality, insignificant as it may seem, prevented the conclusion of the treaty, it being regarded in those times as the only sure mark of forgiveness.

In one of these conferences, at which the French king was present, Henry said to that monarch, "There have been many kings of England, some of greater, some of less authority than myself: there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury, holy and good men, and entitled to every kind of respect: let Becket only act towards me with the same submission, which the greatest of his predecessors has paid to the least of mine, and there shall be no controversy between us¹⁴."

Lewis was so much struck with this state of the case, and with an offer which Henry made to submit his cause to the French clergy, that he could not forbear condemning Becket, and withdrawing his friendship for a time. But their common animosity against Henry soon produced a renewal of their former intimacy, and the primate revived his threats and excommunication. All difficulties

14. *Vit. St. Thom.* lib. ii.

between the parties, however, were at last got over, and Becket was permitted to return on conditions both honourable and advantageous: a certain proof how much Henry dreaded the interdict that was A. D. 1170. ready to be laid upon his dominions, if he had continued in disobedience to the church, and how terrible the thunder of the church must then have been, since it could humble a prince of so haughty a spirit!

This accommodation with Becket, though settled on terms by no means favourable to the crown, did not even procure Henry that temporary tranquillity which he had hoped to reap from it. Instead of being taught moderation by a six years exile, the primate was only animated with a spirit of revenge. Elated by the victory which he had obtained over his sovereign, he set no bounds to his arrogance. On his arrival in England, where he went from town to town in a sort of triumphal cavalcade, he notified to the archbishop of York the sentence of suspension; and to the bishops of London and Salisbury that of excommunication, which at his solicitations, the pope had pronounced against them, because they had assisted at the coronation of prince Henry, whom the king had associated in the royalty, during the absence of the primate, and when an interdict was ready to be laid upon his dominions; a precaution thought necessary to insure the succession of that prince. By this violent measure, therefore, Becket in effect declared war against the king himself; yet, in so doing, he appears to have been guided by policy as well as passion. Apprehensive lest a prince of such profound sagacity should in the end prevail, he resolved to take all the advantage which his present victory gave him, and to disconcert the cautious measures of the king, by the vehemence and vigour of his own conduct. Assured of support from Rome, he was little apprehensive of dangers, which his courage taught him to despise and which, though followed by the most fatal consequences, would still gratify his thirst of glory, and reward his ambition with the crown of martyrdom.

The suspended and excommunicated prelates waited upon the king at Baieux in Normandy, where he then resided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket: and Henry, sensible that his whole plan of operations was overturned, and the contest revived, which he had endeavoured by so many negotiations to appease, was thrown into the most violent agitation. “Will my “servants,” exclaimed he, “still leave me exposed to “the insolence of this ungrateful and imperious priest?” These words seemed to call for vengeance; and four gentlemen of the king’s household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, communicating their thoughts to each other, and swearing to revenge their sovereign’s quarrel, secretly withdrew from court, and made the best of their way to England.

In the mean time Henry, informed of some menacing expressions which they had dropt, dispatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders came too late to prevent their fatal purpose. Though they took different roads, to avoid suspicion, they arrived nearly about the same time at Canterbury, where they found the primate in perfect security: and on his refusing, with his usual insolence and obstinacy, to take off the excommunication and suspension of the bishops, they murdered him in the church of St. Benedict, during the evening service¹⁵.

Such, my dear Philip, was the tragical death of Thomas à Becket; a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover from the world, and probably from himself, the efforts of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for the interests of Christ and his church. His death confirmed to the clergy those privileges which his opposition could not obtain. Though Henry had proposed to have him arrested, when informed of his renewed

15. *Vit. St. Thom.* lib. iii. M. Paris. Benedict. Abbas.
insolence,

insolence, he was no sooner told of the primate's murder than he was filled with the utmost consternation. Interdicts and excommunications, weapons in themselves so terrible, would now, he foresaw, be armed with double force: in vain should he plead his innocence, and even his total ignorance of the fact; he was sufficiently guilty, if the church thought fit to esteem him so. These considerations gave him the deepest and most unaffected concern, which he was at no pains to conceal. He shut himself up from the light of the sun for three days, denying himself all manner of sustenance; and as soon as he recovered, in any degree, his tone of mind, he sent a solemn embassy to Rome, maintaining his innocence, and offering to submit the whole affair to the decision of the holy see¹⁶. A. D. 1171.

The pope, flattered by this unexpected condescension, forbore to proceed to extremities against Henry; more especially as he was sensible, that he could reap greater advantages from moderation than from violence. Meantime the clergy were not idle in magnifying the sanctity of the murdered primate. Other saints had borne testimony, by their sufferings, to the general doctrines of Christianity, but Becket had sacrificed his life for the power and privileges of the church. This peculiar merit challenged (nor without a ready concurrence) a tribute of gratitude to his memory from the whole body of the priesthood. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his relics were more numerous, more nonsensical, and more impudently attested, than those which ever filled the legend of any saint or martyr. His shrine not only restored dead men to life; it also restored cows, dogs, and horses. Presents were sent, and pilgrimages performed, from all parts of Christendom, in order to obtain his intercession with Heaven: and it was computed that in one year, above an hundred thousand pil-

16. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

grims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb¹⁷.

As Henry found, however, that he was in no immediate danger from the thunder of the Vatican, he undertook the conquest of Ireland; an enterprize which he had long meditated, and for which he had obtained a bull from pope Adrian IV. but which had been deferred by reason of his quarrels with the primate. Of that island something must here be said.

Ireland was probably first peopled from Britain, as Britain was from Gaul; and the inhabitants of all those countries seem to have proceeded from the same Celtic origin, which is lost in the most distant antiquity. The Irish, from the earliest accounts of history or tradition, had been buried in ignorance and barbarism; and as their country was never conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, who communicated to the western world civility and slavery, they had remained almost in their primitive condition. The small principalities into which the island was divided, exercised perpetual hostilities against each other; and the uncertain succession of the Irish princes was a continual source of domestic convulsion, the usual title of each petty sovereign to his principality being the murder of his predecessor. Courage and force, though exercised in the commission of violence, were more honoured than pacific virtues; and the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were almost wholly unknown among the rude natives of Ireland.

From this short account of the state of the country, you will be less surprised, my dear Philip, when you are told, that Henry, who landed at the head of no more than five hundred knights and their attendants, in a progress which he made through that island, had
A. D. 1172. little other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish

17. Gul. Neubrig. J. Brompton. R. Hoveden.

chieftains

chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories: he bestowed lands on some of his English adventurers; and, after a stay of a few months, returned to Britain, where his presence was much wanted, having annexed Ireland to the English crown¹⁸.

The pope's two legates, Albert and Theodin, to whom was committed the trial of Henry's conduct in regard to the death of Becket, were arrived in Normandy, before his return, and had sent frequent letters to England full of menacing expressions. The king hastened over to meet them; and was so fortunate as to conclude an accommodation with them, on terms more easy than could have been expected. He cleared himself by oath of all concern in the murder of Becket. But as the passion which he had expressed on account of that prelate's conduct, had probably been the cause of his violent death, he promised to serve three years against the infidels either in Spain or Palestine, if the pope should require him; and he agreed to permit appeals to the holy see, in ecclesiastical causes, on surety being given that nothing should be attempted against the rights of his crown¹⁹.

Henry seemed now to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity. His dangerous controversy with the church was at an end, and he appeared to be equally happy in his domestic situation and his political government. But this tranquillity was of short duration. Prince Henry, at the instigation of Lewis VII. his father-in-law, insisted that his father A. D. 1173. should resign to him either the kingdom of England, or the duchy of Normandy: and the king's two younger sons, Geoffrey and Richard, also leagued with the court of France, by the persuasions of their mother, queen Eleanor; whose jealousy, when in years, was as violent as her amorous passions, in youth.

Thus Europe saw, with astonishment, the best and most indulgent of parents obliged to maintain war against

18. Benedict. Abbas. M. Paris. *Expugnat. Hibern.* lib. i.

19. M. Paris. R. Hoveden.

his whole family; and, what was still more extraordinary, several princes were not ashamed to support this absurd and unnatural rebellion!—Not only Lewis, king of France, but William, king of Scotland, Philip, earl of Flanders, and several other princes on the continent, besides many barons, both English and Norman, espoused the quarrel of young Henry and his brothers²⁰.

In order to break that alarming confederacy, the king of England humbled himself so far as to supplicate the court of Rome. Though sensible of the danger of ecclesiastical authority in temporal disputes, he applied to the pope to excommunicate his enemies, and by that means reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found such reluctance to punish by the sword. The bulls required were issued by Alexander III. but they not having the desired effect, Henry was obliged to have recourse to arms: and he carried on war successfully, and at the same time, against France, Scotland, and his rebellious barons in England and Normandy.

Meanwhile, the English monarch, sensible of his danger, and of the effects of superstition on the minds of the people, went barefooted to Becket's tomb; prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint; remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day; watched all night the holy reliques; and assembling a chapter of the monks, put a scourge of discipline into each of their hands, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these incensed ecclesiastics not sparingly inflicted upon him!—Next morning he received absolution; and his generals obtained, on the same day, a great victory over the Scots, which was regarded as a proof of his final reconciliation with Heaven, and with Thomas à Becket²¹.

The victory over the Scots was gained near Alnwick, where their king was taken prisoner; and the spirit of the English rebels being broken by this blow, the whole

20. Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden. W. Neubrig. 21. Ibid.

kingdom

kingdom was restored to tranquillity. It was deemed impious any longer to resist a prince, who seemed to lie under the immediate protection of Heaven. The clergy exalted anew the merits and the powerful intercession of Becket; and Henry, instead of opposing their superstition, politically propagated an opinion so favourable to his interests²². Victorious in all quarters, crowned with glory, and absolute master of ^{A. D. 1175.} his English dominions, he hastened over to Normandy; where a peace was concluded with Lewis, and an accommodation brought about with his sons.

Having thus, contrary to all expectation, extricated himself from a situation in which his throne was exposed to the utmost danger, Henry occupied himself for several years in the administration of justice, enacting of laws, and in guarding against those inconveniencies, which either the past convulsions of the state, or the political institutions of that age, rendered unavoidable. The success which had attended him in all his wars, discouraged his neighbours from attempting any thing against him; so that he was enabled to complete his internal regulations without disturbance from any quarter. Some of these regulations deserve particular notice.

As the clergy, by the constitutions of Clarendon, which Henry endeavoured still to maintain, were subjected to a trial by the civil magistrate, it seemed but just to afford them the protection of that power to which they owed obedience: he therefore enacted a law, That the murderers of a clergyman should be tried before the justiciary, in the presence of the bishop or his official; and besides the usual punishment for murder, should be subjected to a forfeiture of their estates, and a confiscation of their goods and chattels²³. He also passed an equitable law, That the goods of a vassal should not be seized for the debt of his lord, unless the vassal was surety for the debt; and that, in cases of insolvency, the

22. R. Hoveden.

23. Gervase. Diceto.

rents of vassals should be paid to the creditors of the lord, not to the lord himself²⁴.

The partition of England into four divisions, and the appointment of itinerant judges, learned in the law, to go the circuit in each division, and to decide the causes in the counties, after the example of the commissaries of Lewis VI. and the *missi* of Charlemagne, was another important ordinance of the English monarch; a measure which had a direct tendency to curb the oppressions of the barons, and to protect the inferior gentry or small landholders, and the common people in their property²⁵. And that there might be fewer obstacles to the execution of justice, he was vigilant in demolishing all the new erected castles of the nobility, in England as well as in his foreign dominions. Nor did he permit any fortress to remain in the custody of those he found reason to suspect²⁶.

But lest the kingdom should be weakened by this peaceful policy, Henry published a famous decree, called an *Assize of Arms*; by which all his subjects were obliged to put themselves in a situation to defend themselves and the realm. Every person possessed of a single knight's fee, was ordered to have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance: and the same accoutrements were required to be provided by every one, whether nobleman or gentleman, for whatever number of knight's fees he might hold. Every free layman, who had rents or goods to the value of sixteen marks, was to be armed in like manner: every one that had ten marks was obliged to have an iron gorget, a cap of iron, and a lance; and all burghesses were to have a cap of iron, a lance, and a coat thickly quilted with wool, tow, or some such materials, called a *Wumbais*²⁷.

While the English monarch was thus liberally employed in providing for the happiness and security of his subjects, the king of France had fallen into a most abject

24. Benedict. Abbass. 25. R. Hoveden. 26. Benedict Abbas.

27. *Annal. Waverl.* Benedict. Abbas.

superstition; and was induced, by a devotion more sincere than Henry's, to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his intercession for the recovery of Philip, his son and heir. Lewis, as the sagacious Hume remarks, with no less ingenuity than pleasantry, probably thought himself entitled to the favour of that saint, on account of their ancient intimacy: and hoped that Becket, whom he had protected while on earth, would not now, that he was so highly advanced in heaven, forget his old friend and benefactor: the young prince was restored to health; and, as was supposed, through the intercession of Becket. But the king himself, soon after his return, was struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his judgment; and Philip II. afterwards surnamed Augustus, took upon him the administration, though only fifteen years of age. His father's death, which happened next year, opened his way to the throne; and he proved the ablest, and the greatest monarch, that had governed France since the age of Charlemagne. The superior age and experience of Henry, however, while they moderated his ambition, gave him such an ascendant over this prince, that no dangerous rivalship, for some time, arose between them. The English monarch, instead of taking advantage of Philip's youth, employed his good offices in composing the quarrels which arose in the royal family of France: and he was successful in mediating an accommodation between the king, his mother, and uncles. But these services were ill requited by Philip; who, when he came to man's estate, encouraged Henry's sons in their ungrateful and undutiful behaviour towards their father²⁸.

The quarrels between the king of England and his family, however, were in some measure quieted by the death of his two sons, young Henry and his brother Geoffrey, who had both been in open

28. Benedict. Abbas. R. Hoveden.

rebellion against their parental sovereign: and the rivalry between old Henry and Philip seemed, for a time, to give place to the general passion for the relief of the Holy Land. Both assumed the cross, and imposed a tax amounting to the tenth of all moveables, on such of their subjects as remained at home²⁹.

But before this great enterprise could be carried into execution, many obstacles were to be surmounted. Philip, still jealous of Henry's greatness, entered into a private confederacy with prince Richard, now heir apparent to the English crown; and by working on his ambitious and impatient temper, persuaded him to seek present power and independency at the expense of filial duty, and of the grandeur of that monarchy which he was one day to inherit. The king of England was therefore obliged, at an advanced age, to defend his dominions by arms, and to enter on a war with France, and with his eldest surviving son; a prince of great valour and popularity, who had seduced the chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Anjou, and Normandy. Henry, as might be expected, was unsuccessful; a misfortune which so much subdued his spirit, that he concluded a treaty on the most disadvantageous terms. He agreed that Richard should receive the homage, an oath of fealty of all his subjects, and that all his associates should be pardoned: and he engaged to pay the king of France a compensation for the charges of the war³⁰.

But the mortification which Henry, who had been accustomed to give law to his enemies, received from these humiliating conditions was light, in comparison of what he experienced from another cause on that occasion. When he demanded a list of the persons, to whom he was to grant an indemnity for confederating with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his favourite son John, who had always shared his

29. *Benedict. Abbas.*30. *M. Paris, Bened. Abbas. R. Hoveden.*

confidence;

confidence; and who, on account of his influence with the king, had often excited the jealousy of Richard. Overloaded with cares and sorrows and robbed of his last domestic comfort, this unhappy father broke out into expressions of the utmost despair: he cursed the day of his birth; and bestowed on his undutiful and ungrateful children a malediction, which he could never be brought to retract³¹. The more his heart was disposed to friendship and affection, the more he resented the barbarous return which his four sons had successively made to his parental care; and this fatal discovery, by depriving him of all that made life desirable, quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he soon after expired, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, in Normandy.

The character of Henry, both in public and private life, is almost without a blemish: and his natural endowments were equal to his moral qualities. He possessed every mental and personal accomplishment, which can make a man either estimable or amiable. He was of a middle stature, strong and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and entertaining; his elocution easy, persuasive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, severe in the execution of justice without rigour, and temperate without austerity. He is said to have been of a very amorous complexion, and historians mention two of his natural sons by Rosamond, the fair daughter of Lord Clifford; namely, Richard Longespee or Longsword (so called from the sword which he usually wore), who married the heiress of Salisbury; and Geoffrey, first bishop of Lincoln and afterward archbishop of York. The other circumstances of the story commonly told of that lady seem to be fabulous, though adopted by many historical writers.

31. R. Hoveden.

Like most of his predecessors of the Norman line, Henry spent more of his time on the continent than in England. He was surrounded by the English nobility and gentry, when abroad; and the French nobility and gentry attended him when he returned to this island. All foreign improvements, therefore, in literature and politeness, in laws and arts, seem now to have been transplanted into England: and the spirit of liberty, which still continued to animate the breasts of the native English, communicated itself to the barons, who were all yet of Norman extraction; and made them both more desirous of independency themselves, and more willing to indulge it to the people, whom they at first affected to despise, and of restraining those exorbitant prerogatives and arbitrary exactions, to which the necessities of war, and the violence of conquest had originally obliged them to submit.

The effects of this secret revolution in the sentiments of men, we shall afterwards have occasion to trace. At present I must return to the affairs of Germany; remarking by the way, that Henry II. left only two legitimate sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and John, commonly denominated Lack-Land, because he inherited no territory, though his father at one time, had intended to leave him a large share of his extensive dominions.

LETTER XXIX.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ROME AND THE ITALIAN STATES, UNDER FREDERIC I. SURNAMED BARBAROSSA, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD CRUSADE.

I HAVE already observed, my dear Philip, That Frederic duke of Suabia, surnamed Barbarossa, a prince of great courage and capacity, was unanimously elected emperor on the death of his uncle Conrad III. A. D. 1152. not only by the Germans, but also by the Lombards,

Lombards, who gave their votes on that occasion. His election was no sooner known, than almost all the princes of Europe sent ambassadors to Mersburg, to congratulate him on his elevation. The king of Denmark went thither in person for the investiture of his dominions; and Frederic crowned the Danish monarch with his own hand, and received the oath of allegiance from him as a vassal of the empire¹.

But although the reign of Frederic thus auspiciously commenced, it was soon involved in troubles, which required all his courage and capacity to surmount, and which it would be tedious circumstantially to relate. I shall therefore only observe, That, after having settled the affairs of Germany, by restoring Bavaria to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, the emperor marched into Italy, in order to compose the disturbances A. D. 1155. of that country, and be crowned by the pope, in imitation of his predecessors².

Adrian IV. who then filled St. Peter's chair, was an Englishman, and a great example of what may be done by personal merit and good fortune. The son of a mendicant, and long a mendicant himself, strolling from country to country, he was received as a servant to the canons of St. Rufus in Provence; where, after a time, he was admitted a monk, was raised to the rank of abbot, and general of the order, and at length to the pontificate. Adrian was inclined to crown a vassal, but afraid of giving himself a master: he therefore insisted upon the Roman ceremonial: which required, that the emperor should prostrate himself before the pope, kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the distance of nine Roman paces.

Frederic looked upon this ceremony as an insult, and refused to submit to it. On his refusal the cardinals fled, as if the emperor had given the signal of civil war; and the Roman chancery, which kept a register of every

1. *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i.

2. *Id. ibid.*

thing of this kind, assured him that his predecessors had always complied with these forms. The ceremony of kissing the pope's feet, which he knew to be the established custom, did not hurt Frederic's pride, but he could not bear that of holding the bridle and the stirrup, which he considered as an innovation: and indeed it does not appear that any emperor, except Lothario, successor to Henry V. had complied with this part of the ceremony. Frederic's pride, however, at length digested these two supposed affronts, which he construed only as empty marks of Christian humility, though the court of Rome viewed them as proofs of real subjection³.

But the emperor's difficulties were not yet over. The citizens of Rome sent him a deputation, insolently demanding the restoration of their ancient form of government, and offering to stipulate with him for the imperial dignity. "Charlemagne and Otho conquered you by their valour," replied Frederic, "and I am your master by right of succession; it is mine to prescribe laws, and yours to receive them." With these words he dismissed the deputies, and was inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope; who put the sceptre into his hand, and the crown upon his head⁴.

The nature of the empire was then so little understood, and the pretensions so contradictory, that on the one hand, the Roman citizens mutinied, and a great deal of blood was spilt, because the pope had crowned the emperor, without the consent of the senate and the people; and, on the other hand, pope Adrian, by all his letters, declared, That he had conferred the *benefice* of the Roman empire on Frederic I. "*beneficium imperii Romani*;" now the word *beneficium* literally signified a fief, though his holiness explained it otherwise. Adrian likewise exhibited, publicly in Rome, a picture of the emperor Lothario on his knees before pope Alexander II. holding both his hands joined between those of the pontiff, which was the distinguishing mark of

3. Bunau. *Hist. Fred. I. Murat. Antiq. Ital.*

4. Id. *ibid.*
vassalage;

vassalage; and on the picture was this inscription:

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores
Post homo fit papæ; sumit quo dante coronam*⁵.

“ Before the gates the king appears,
“ Rome’s honours to maintain he swears;
“ Then to the pope sinks lowly down,
“ Who grants him the imperial crown.”

Frederic, who had retired to his German dominions, was at Besançon, when he received information of Adrian’s insolence; and having expressed his displeasure at it, a cardinal then present made answer, “ If he does not hold the empire of the pope, of whom does he hold it?” Enraged at this impertinent speech, Otho, count Palatine, would have run the author of it through the body, with the sword which he wore as marshal of the empire, had not Frederic prevented him. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty. The Germans then made use of no argument but force, and the court of Rome sheltered itself under the ambiguity of its expressions. Adrian declared, that *benefice*, according to his idea, signified a *favour* not a *fief*, and he promised to put out of the way the painting of the consecration of Lothario⁶.

A few observations will not here be improper. Adrian IV. besieged by William I. king of Sicily, in Benevento, gave up to him several ecclesiastical pretensions. He consented that Sicily should never have any legate, nor be subject to any appeal to the see of Rome, except with the king’s permission. Since that time, the kings of Sicily, though the only princes who are vassals of the pope, are in a manner popes themselves in their own island. The Roman pontiffs, thus at once adored and abused, somewhat resembled, to borrow a remark from Voltaire, the idols which the Indians scourge to obtain favours from them.

5. *Annal. de l’Emp.* tom. i. Budau, ubi sup.

6. Id. *ibid.*

Adrian

Adrian, however, fully revenged himself upon other princes who stood in need of him. He wrote in the following manner to Henry II. of England. “There is no doubt, and you acknowledge it, that Ireland, and all the islands which have received the faith, appertain to the Roman church; but if you want to take possession of that island, in order to banish vice from it, to enforce the observance of the Christian doctrines, and with an intent of paying the yearly tribute of St. Peter’s penny for every house, we with pleasure grant you our permission to conquer it.”

Thus an English beggar, become bishop of Rome, bestowed Ireland, by his sole authority, upon an English king, who wanted to usurp it, and who had power to carry his design into execution.

The intrepid activity of Frederic Barbarossa had not only to subdue the pope, who disputed the empire; Rome which refused to acknowledge a master, and many other cities of Italy, that asserted their independency; he had, at the same time, the Bohemians, who had mutinied against him, to humble; and also the Poles, with whom he was at war. Yet all this he effected. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom: he quelled the tumults in Bohemia; and the king of Denmark is said to have renewed to the empire the homage for his dominions⁸. He secured the fidelity of the German princes, by rendering himself formidable to foreign nations; and flew back to Italy, where hopes of independency had arisen, in consequence of his troubles and perplexities. He found every thing there in confusion; not so much from the efforts of the several cities to recover their freedom, as from that party-rage, which constantly prevailed, as I have frequently had occasion to observe, at the election of a pope.

On the death of Adrian IV. two opposite factions tumultuously elected two persons, known by the names

7. M. Paris, Gerald. Cambr. Spelm. Concil. 8. *Annal. de l’Emp.*

of Victor IV. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies necessarily acknowledged the pope chosen by him: and those princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the shame and scandal of Rome, therefore became the signal of division over all Europe. Victor IV. Frederic's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and one half of Italy on his side. The other kingdoms and states submitted to Alexander III. in honour of whom the Milanese, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did Frederic's party endeavour to have it called Cæsaria, the pope's name prevailed: and it was afterwards called out of derision, *Alexandria del Paglia*, or *Alexandria built of straw*, on account of the meanness of its buildings⁹.

Happy had it been for Europe, if that age had produced no disputes attended with more fatal consequences; but unfortunately that was not the case. Milan, for maintaining its independency, was, by the emperor's orders, razed to the foundations, and salt strewed upon its ruins; Brescia and Placentia were dismantled by the conqueror; and all the other cities, which had aspired at independency, were deprived of their privileges. A. D. 1162.

Pope Alexander III. however, who had excited these revolts, and had been obliged to take refuge in France, returned to Rome, after the death of his rival; and, at his return, the civil war was renewed. The emperor caused another pope to be elected, under the appellation of Pascal III. who also dying in a short time, a third was nominated by Frederic, under the title of Calixtus III. Meanwhile Alexander was not intimidated. He solemnly excommunicated the emperor; and the flames of civil discord, which he had raised, continued to spread. The chief cities of Italy, supported by the A. D. 1164. A. D. 1167.

9. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.*

Greek emperor, and the king of Sicily, entered into an association for the defence of their liberties; and the pope, at length, proved stronger by negotiation, than the emperor by fighting. The imperial army, worn out by fatigues and diseases, was defeated by the confederates, and Frederic himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. About the same time he was defeated at sea by the Venetians, and his eldest son Henry, who commanded his fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy. Pope Alexander, in honour of this victory, sailed out into the Adriatic sea, or gulf of Venice, accompanied by the whole senate; and, after having pronounced a thousand benedictions on that element, threw into it a ring as a mark of his gratitude and affection. Hence the origin of that ceremony which is annually performed by the Venetians, under the notion of espousing the Adriatic¹⁰.

In consequence of these misfortunes, the emperor was disposed to an accommodation with the pope; but his pride would not permit him to make any humiliating advance. He therefore rallied his troops, and exerted himself with so much vigour in repairing his loss, that he was soon in a condition to risk another battle, in which his enemies were worsted: and being no less a politician than a general, he seized this fortunate moment to signify his desire of peace to Alexander III. who received the proposal with great joy. Venice had the honour of being the place of reconciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a number of princes and cardinals, repaired to that city, then mistress of the sea, and one of the wonders of the world. There the emperor put an end to his bloody dispute with the see of Rome, by acknowledging the pope, kissing his feet, and holding his stirrup while he mounted his mule¹¹."

This reconciliation was attended with the submission of all the towns in Italy, which had entered into an associa-

10. Id. *ibid.*

11. Eutau, *Hist. Fred. I.*

tion for their mutual defence. They obtained a general pardon, and were left at liberty to the use of their own laws and forms of government, but were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their superior lord.

Calixtus, the anti-pope, finding himself abandoned by the emperor, in consequence of that treaty, made his submissions to Alexander III. who received him with great humanity; and in order to prevent for the future, those schisms which had so often attended the election of popes, his holiness called a A. D. 1179. general council, in which it was decreed, That no pope should be deemed duly elected, without having the votes of two-thirds of the college of cardinals in his favour¹².

The affairs of Italy being thus settled, the emperor returned to Germany; where Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, had raised fresh troubles. He was a proud, haughty, and turbulent prince, like most of his predecessors, and not only oppressed his own subjects, but committed violences against all his neighbours. His natural pride was not diminished by his alliance with the king of England, whose daughter he had married. Glad of an opportunity of being revenged upon Henry, who had abandoned him in his Italian expedition, Frederic convoked a diet at Goslar, where the duke was put to the ban of the empire; and after a A. D. 1180. variety of struggles, the sentence was put in execution. He was divested of all his dominions, which were bestowed upon different vassals of the empire.

Sensible of his folly when too late, the degraded duke threw himself at the emperor's feet, and begged with great humility that some of his territories might be restored. Frederic, touched A. D. 1181. with his unfortunate condition, referred him to a diet of the empire at Erfurt. There Henry endeavoured

12. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii.

to acquit himself of the crimes laid to his charge. But as it was impracticable immediately to withdraw his fiefs from the present possessors, the emperor advised him to reside in England, until the princes who had shared his dominions could be persuaded to relinquish them; and he promised that, in the mean time, no attempts should be made upon the territories of Brunswick or Lunenburg, which he would protect in behalf of Henry's children. In compliance with this advice, the duke retired to England, where he was hospitably entertained by his father-in-law, Henry II. and there his wife bore him a fourth son, from whom the present house of Brunswick, and consequently the present royal family of England, is descended³.

While tranquillity was, in this manner, happily restored to Italy and Germany, the Oriental Christians were in the utmost distress. The great Saladin, a prince of Persian extraction, and born in the small country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike, and always free, having fixed himself, by his bravery and conduct, on the throne of Egypt, began to extend his conquest over all the east; and finding the settlements of the Christians in Palestine an invincible obstacle to the progress of his arms, he bent the whole force of his policy and valour to subdue that small and barren, but important territory. Taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed among the champions of the Cross, and having secretly gained the count of Tripoli, who commanded their armies, he invaded Palestine with a mighty force; and, aided by the treachery of that count, gained at Tiberias a complete victory over them, which utterly broke the power of the already languishing kingdom of
 A. D. 1187. Jerusalem. The holy city itself fell into his hands, after a feeble resistance: the kingdom of Antioch also was almost entirely subdued by his arms; and, except some maritime towns, nothing of importance remain-

ed of those boasted conquests, which, near a century before, had cost the efforts of all Europe to acquire¹⁴.

Clement III. who then filled the papal chair, no sooner received these melancholy tidings, than he ordered a crusade to be preached through all the countries in Christendom. Europe was filled with grief and consternation at the progress of the Infidels in Asia. To give a check to it seemed the common cause of Christians. Frederic Barbarossa, who was at that time employed in making regulations for the preservation of the peace and good order of Germany, assembled a diet at Mentz, in order to deliberate with the states of the empire on this subject. He took the cross; and his example was followed by his son Frederic, duke of Suabia, together with sixty-eight of the most eminent German nobles, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. The rendezvous was appointed at Ratisbon; and in order to prevent the inconvenience of too great a multitude, the emperor decreed, that no person should take the cross who could not afford to expend three marks of silver. But notwithstanding that regulation, wisely calculated to prevent those necessities which had ruined the former armies, so great was the zeal of the Germans, that adventurers assembled to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, well armed, and provided with necessaries for the expedition¹⁵.

Before his departure Frederic made a progress through the principal cities of Germany, accompanied by his son Henry, to whom he intended to commit the government of the empire; and that he might omit nothing necessary to the preservation of peace and harmony during his absence, he endeavoured so to regulate the succession to his dominions as that none of his children should have cause to complain, or any pretext to disturb the public tranquillity.

14. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*.

15. Id. *ibid.* Bunau, *ubi supra*.

The emperor in person marched at the head of thirty-thousand men, by the way of Vienna, to
 A. D. 1189. Presburg, where he was joined by the rest of his army. He thence proceeded through Hungary, into the territories of the Greek emperor; who, notwithstanding his professions of friendship, had been detached from the interests of Frederick by Saladin's promises and insinuations, and took all opportunities of harassing the Germans in their march. Incensed at this perfidy, Frederic laid the country under contribution; took and plundered Philippolis; defeated a body of Greek troops that attacked him by surprize; and compelled Isaacus Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, to sue for peace. He wintered at Adrianople; crossed the
 A. D. 1190. Hellespont in the spring; refreshed his troops a short time at Laodicea; defeated the Turks in several battles; took and pillaged the city of Iconium, and crossed mount Taurus. All Asia was filled with the terror of his name. He seemed to be among the soldiers of the cross, what Saladin was among the Turks; an able politician, and a good general, tried by fortune. The Oriental Christians, therefore, flattered themselves with certain relief from his assistance. But their hopes were suddenly blasted. This great prince, who was an expert swimmer, ventured to bathe in the cold river Cydnus, in order to refresh himself after fatigue in a sultry climate, perhaps in emulation of the Macedonian conqueror; and by that means caught a mortal distemper, which at once put an end to his life and his bold enterprize¹⁶.

Thus unfortunately perished Frederic I. in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign; a prince of a firm spirit, and strong talents, who had the good of his country always at heart, and who supported the dignity of the empire with equal courage and reputation. He was succeeded in the imperial throne by his

16. Maimbourg, ubi sup. Bunau, *Hist. Fred. I.*

son Henry VI. surnamed the Severe. But before I enter on the reign of that prince, my dear Philip, I must carry forward the history of the third crusade, continued by the kings of France and England.

LETTER XXX.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY II. TO THE GRANTING OF THE GREAT CHARTER BY KING JOHN, WITH A FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD CRUSADE.

THE death of Henry II. was an event esteemed equally fortunate by his son Richard, and by Philip Augustus, king of France. Philip had lost a dangerous and implacable enemy, and Richard got possession of that crown which he had so eagerly pursued. Both seemed to consider the recovery of the Holy Land as the sole purpose of their government; yet neither was so much impelled to that pious undertaking by superstition, as by the love of military glory. The king of England, in particular, carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that, when advised by a zealous preacher of the crusade (who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths) to rid himself of his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which the priest affectedly called the king's three favourite daughters; Richard promptly replied, "You counsel well!— and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my Bishops'."

The reiterated calamities attending the former crusades, taught the king's of France and England the

necessity of trying another road to the Holy Land. They determined to conduct their armies thither by sea; to carry provisions along with them; and, by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own states, and with all the western parts of Europe. The first place of rendezvous was the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, when Philip and Richard found their armies amount to one hundred thousand men: an invincible force, animated by religion and glory, and conducted by two warlike monarchs. They renewed their promises of mutual friendship; pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade, and exchanging the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the same effect, then separated. Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles, both with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to assemble in those harbours². They put to sea together; and both, nearly about the same time, were obliged by stress of weather to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This event laid the foundation of animosities between them, which were never afterwards entirely removed, and proved ultimately fatal to their armament.

But before I proceed to that subject, a few words relative to the character and circumstances of the two princes will be necessary. Philip and Richard, though professed friends, were, by the situation and extent of their dominions, rivals in power; by their age and inclinations, competitors for glory: and these causes of emulation, which might have stimulated them to martial efforts, had they been acting in the field against the common enemy, soon excited quarrels, during their present leisure, between monarchs of such fiery tempers. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated at the least appearance of injury, and they

2. R. Hoveden. Gaus. Vinisau. *Iter. Hierosol.* lib. ii.

were incapable, by mutual condescensions, to efface those occasions of complaint, which mutually arose between them. Nor were other sources of discord wanting.

William II. the last king of Naples and Sicily, had married Joan, sister to Richard; and that prince dying without issue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal sister Constantia, the only legitimate offspring surviving of Roger, the Norman, who conquered those states from the Greeks and Saracens, as we have already seen. Henry VI. then emperor of Germany, had married this princess, in expectation of that rich inheritance; but Tancred, her natural brother, by his interest among the Sicilian nobles, had acquired possession of the throne, and maintained his claim against all the efforts of the empire. The approach of the crusaders naturally gave the king of Sicily apprehensions for his unstable government: and he was uncertain whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or English monarch. Philip was engaged in strict alliance with the emperor, Tancred's competitor; Richard was disgusted by his rigour towards the queen-dowager, whom he confined in Palermo, because she had opposed his succession to the crown. Sensible, therefore, of the delicacy of his situation, Tancred resolved to pay his court to both these princes: nor was he unsuccessful in his endeavours. He persuaded Philip, that it would be highly improper to interrupt the expedition against the infidels by any attack upon a Christian prince: he restored queen Joan to her liberty, and even found means to make an alliance with Richard. But before this friendship was cemented, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Messina, had taken up his quarters in the suburbs, and possessed himself of a small fort, which commanded the harbour. The citizens took umbrage. Mutual insults and injuries passed between them and the English soldiers. Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpose.

While the two kings, who met in the open fields, were engaged in discourse on this subject, a body of the Sicilians seemed to be drawing towards them. Richard, always ardent and impatient, pushed forward, in order to learn the cause of that extraordinary movement; and the English adventurers, insolent from their power, and inflamed by former animosities, wanting only a pretence to attack the Messinese, chased them from the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. The king employed his authority to restrain them from pillage or massacring the defenceless inhabitants; but he gave order that the standard of England, in token of the victory, should be erected on the walls. Philip, who considered the city of Messina as his quarters, exclaimed against the arrogance of the English monarch, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard. But Richard informed him by a messenger, that although he would willingly himself remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others: and if the French king attempted such an insult on his dignity, he should not succeed but by the utmost effusion of blood. Philip, satisfied with this species of haughty condescension, recalled his orders, and the difference was seemingly accommodated; but the seeds of rancour and jealousy still remained in the breasts of the two monarchs³.

After leaving Sicily, the English fleet was assailed by a furious tempest. It was driven on the coast of Cyprus, and some of the vessels were wrecked near Lemisso in that island. Isaac Comnenus, despot of Cyprus, who had assumed the magnificent title of emperor, pillaged the ships that were stranded, and threw the seamen and passengers into prison. But Richard, who arrived soon after, took ample vengeance on him for the injury. He disembarked his troops; defeated the tyrant who opposed his landing; entered Lemisso by storm; gained next day a second victory; obliged Isaac

3. Bened. Abbas. M. Paris. G. Vainsauf, ubi sup.

to surrender at discretion; established governors over the island; and afterwards conferred it as a sovereignty upon Guy of Lusignan, the expelled king of Jerusalem. Thrown into prison, and loaded with irons, the Greek prince complained of the little respect with which he was treated. Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him; and this phantom of an emperor, pleased with the distinction, expressed a sense of the generosity of his conqueror⁴!

Richard, by reason of these transactions at Cyprus, was later of arriving in Asia than Philip. But the English monarch came opportunely to partake in the glory of the siege of Ptolemais; a sea-port town, which had been invested above two years by the united forces of all the Christians in Palestine, and defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. Before this place, Frederic, duke of Suabia, son of the emperor Barbarossa, and who succeeded him in the command, together with the remains of the German army, had perished. The arrival of the armies of France and England, however, with Philip and Richard at their head, inspired new life into the besiegers: and the emulation between these rival kings, and rival nations, produced extraordinary acts of valour. Richard especially, animated by a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the attention of all the religious and military world, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. Ptolemais was taken. The Saracen garrison, reduced to the last extremity, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and the governor engaged that Saladin, besides paying a large sum for their ransom, should release two thousand five hundred Christian prisoners of distinction, and restore the wood of the true cross⁵.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Benedict Abbas. G. Vinis auf. lib. iii. Saladin refused to ratify the treaty; and the Saracen prisoners, to the number of five thousand, were inhumanly butchered. *Id. ibid.*

Thus, my dear Philip, was this famous siege, which had so long engaged the attention of all Europe and Asia, brought to the desired close, after the loss of three hundred thousand men, exclusive of persons of superior rank; six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons. But the French monarch, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, and redeeming the holy city from slavery, being disgusted with the ascendant assumed and acquired by the king of England, and having views of many advantages, which he might reap by his presence in Europe, declared his resolution of returning to France; and he pleaded his ill state of health as an excuse for his desertion of the common cause. He left, however, to Richard ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and he renewed his oath never to commit hostilities against that prince's territories during his absence. But no sooner did he reach Italy than he applied to pope Celestine III. for a dispensation from his vow; and though denied that request he still proceeded, but after a more concealed manner, in his unjust projects. He seduced Prince John, king Richard's brother, from his allegiance, and did every thing possible to blacken the character of that monarch himself; representing him as privy to the murder of the marquis de Montserrat, who had been taken off, as was well known, by an Asiatic chief, called *The old Man of the Mountain*, the prince of the *Assassins*: a word which has found its way into most European languages, from the practice of these bold and determined ruffians, against whom no precaution was sufficient to guard any man, how powerful soever, and whose resentment the marquis had provoked⁶.

But Richard's heroic actions in Palestine, were the best apology for his conduct. The Christian adventurers, under his command, determined, on opening
 A. D. 1192. the campaign, to attempt the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem: and

6. W. Heming. J. Bromptom. G. Vinisauf. lib. iii. Rymer, vol. i.

they marched along the sea-coast with that intention. Saladin proposed to intercept their passage, and placed himself on the road with an army of three hundred thousand combatants. On this occasion was fought one of the greatest battles of that age, and the most celebrated for the military genius of the commanders; for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. The right wing of the Christian army, commanded by d'Avesness, and the left, conducted by the duke of Burgundy, were both broken in the beginning of the day, and in danger of being utterly defeated; when Richard, who commanded in the centre, and led on the main body, restored the battle. He attacked the enemy with admirable intrepidity, and presence of mind; performed the part of a consummate general and gallant soldier; and not only gave his two wings leisure to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, forty thousand of whom are said to have been slain in the field⁷. Ascalon soon after fell into the hands of the Christians: other sieges were carried on with success; and Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the great object of his hopes and fears, when he had the mortification to find, that he must abandon all thoughts of immediate success, and put a stop to the career of victory.

Animated with an enthusiastic ardour for these holy wars, the champions of the cross, at first, laid aside all regard to safety or interest in the prosecution of their pious purpose; and, trusting to the immediate assistance of Heaven, set nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long absence from home, fatigue, disease, famine, and the varieties of fortune which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury which nothing was able instantly to allay or withstand. Every leader, except the king of England, expressed a desire of speedily returning

7. G. Vinis auf. lib. iv.

to Europe; so that there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning, for the present, all hopes of farther conquest, and of securing the acquisitions of the adventurers by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with that monarch; stipulating that Ptolemais, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested⁸. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

Saladin died at Damascus, soon after concluding the truce with the leaders of the crusade. He was a prince of great generosity and valour; and it is truly memorable, that, during his fatal illness, he ordered his winding sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city, while a crier went before the person who bore that ensign of mortality, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East!" His last will is also remarkable. He ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew Christian, or Mahometan⁹; intending by this legacy to inculcate, that all men are brethren, and that, when we would assist them, we ought not to inquire what they believe, but what they feel: an admirable lesson to Christians, though from an Infidel! But the advantage of science, of moderation, and humanity were at that time, indeed, entirely on the side of the Saracens.

After the truce Richard had no further business in Palestine, and the intelligence which he received of the intrigues of his brother John and the king of France, made him sensible that his presence was necessary in Europe. Not thinking it safe, however, to pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwreck-

8. W. Heming. lib. ii. G. Vinisau. lib. vi. 9. Id. ibid.

ed near Aquileia, he put on the habit of a pilgrim, with an intention of taking his journey secretly through Germany. But his liberality and expenses betrayed him. He was arrested and thrown into prison by Leopold, duke of Austria, whom he had ^{A. D. 1193.} offended at the siege of Ptolemais, and who sold him to the emperor Henry VI. who had taken offence at Richard's alliance with Tancred, king of Sicily, and was glad to have him in his power^o. Thus the gallant king of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined to a dungeon, in the heart of Germany; loaded with irons, and entirely at the mercy of his enemy, the basest and most sordid of mankind¹.

While the high spirit of Richard suffered every insult and indignity in Germany, the king of France employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negotiation, against the dominions and the person of his unfortunate rival. He made the emperor the largest

10 W. Neubr. M. Paris.

11. *Chron.* T. Wykes. Not only the place of Richard's confinement, if we believe the literary history of the times, but even the circumstance of his captivity, was carefully concealed by his vindictive enemies: and both might have remained unknown, but for the grateful attachment of a Provençal bard, or minstrel, named Blondel, who had shared that prince's friendship, and tasted his bounty. Having travelled over all the European continent to learn the history of his beloved patron, who was a poet, it appears, as well as a hero, Blondel accidentally got intelligence of a certain castle in Germany, where a prisoner of distinction was confined, and guarded with great vigilance. Persuaded, by a secret impulse, that this prisoner was the king of England, the minstrel repaired to the place. But the gates of the castle were shut against him, and he could obtain no information relative to the name or quality of the unhappy person it secured. In this extremity, he bethought himself of an expedient for making the desired discovery. He chanted, with a loud voice, some verses of a song, which had been composed partly by himself, partly by Richard; and to his unspeakable joy, on making a pause, he heard it re-echoed and continued by the royal captive. (*Hist. Troubadours.*) To this discovery the English monarch is said to have owed eventually his release.

offers,

offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner: he formed an alliance by marriage with Denmark, desiring that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England might be transferred to him: he concluded a treaty with prince John, the king's brother, who is said to have done homage to him for the English crown; and he invaded Normandy, while the traitor John attempted to make himself master of England².

In the mean time Richard being produced before a diet of the empire, made such an impression on the German princes by his eloquence and spirit, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor. The pope also threatened him with excommunication; and although Henry had listened to the proposals of the king of France and prince John, he found it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their base purposes, or to retain any longer the king of England in captivity. He therefore concluded a treaty with Richard for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for one hundred and fifty thousand marks of pure silver, about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money³.

As soon as Philip heard of Richard's release, he wrote to his confederate John in these emphatical words: "Take care of yourself! A. D. 1194. the devil is broke loose." How different on this occasion were the sentiments of the English nation!—Their joy was extreme on the appearance of their king, who had acquired so much glory, and spread the reputation of their name to the farthest East. After renewing the ceremony of his coronation, amid the acclamations of all ranks of people, and reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents, Richard passed over with an army into Normandy; impatient to make war upon Philip, and to revenge himself for the many injuries he had sustained from that monarch⁴.

12. M. Paris. W. Heming. R. Hoveden.

13. Rymer, vol. i.

14. R. Hoveden.

When we consider two such powerful and warlike monarchs, inflamed with personal animosity against each other; enraged by mutual injuries; excited by rivalry; impelled by opposite interests, and instigated by the pride and violence of their own temper, our curiosity is naturally raised, and we expect an obstinate and furious war, distinguished by the greatest events, and concluded by some remarkable catastrophe. We find ourselves however, entirely disappointed; the taking of a castle, the surprize of a straggling party, a rencontre of horse, which resembles more a route than a battle, comprehend the whole of the exploits on both sides: a certain proof, as a great historian observes of the weakness of princes in that age, and of the little authority which they possessed over their refractory vassals¹⁵.

During this war, which continued with short intervals till Richard's death, prince John deserted Philip; threw himself at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and was received into favour, at the intercession of his mother queen Eleanor. "I forgive him with all my heart," said the king; "and I hope I shall as easily forget his offences, as he will my pardon"⁶.

Peace was just ready to be concluded between England and France, when Richard was unfortunately slain by an arrow, before an A. D. 1199. inconsiderable castle which he besieged, in hopes of taking from one of his vassals a great mass of gold which had been found hid in the earth. The story is thus related:

Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, had found a treasure, of which he sent part to the king, as a present. But Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole: and, at the head of some Brabançons, besieged the count in the castle of Chalus, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garrison offered to surrender; but the

15. Hume, *Hist. England*, vol. ii.

16. M. Paris.

king replied, since he had taken the trouble to come thither and besiege the place in person, he would take it by force, and hang every one of them. The same day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, leader of his Brabançons, went to survey the castle ; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the assault ; took the place and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, whom he reserved for a more cruel execution¹⁷.

Richard's wound was not in itself dangerous, but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal ; and when the king found his end approaching, he sent for Gourdon, and demanded the reason why he sought his life. " My father, and my two brothers," replied the undaunted soldier, " fell by your sword, and you " intended to have executed me. I am now in your " power, and you may do your worst ; but I shall endure the most severe torments with pleasure, provided " I can think that Heaven has afforded me such great " revenge, as, with my own hand, to be the cause of " your death." Struck with the boldness of this reply, and humbled by his approaching dissolution, Richard ordered the prisoner to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him. But the blood-thirsty Brabançon, Marcadee, a stranger to such generosity, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him¹⁸.

The most shining part of the character of Richard I. was his military talents. No man, even in that ro-

17. R. Hoveden. J. Brompton.

18. Hoveden. The Brabançons were ruffian mercenaries, formed out of the numerous bands of robbers, who, during the middle ages, infested every country of Europe, and set the civil magistrate at defiance. Excluded the protection of general society, these banditti formed a kind of government among themselves. Troops of them were sometimes enlisted in the service of one prince or baron, sometimes in that of another ; and they often acted in an independent manner, under leaders of their own. W. Neubrig. *Chron. Gerv.*

mantic age, carried personal courage or intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality obtained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or the *Lion-hearted Hero*. As he left no issue behind him, he was succeeded by his brother John.

The succession was disputed by Arthur, duke of Brittany, son of Geoffrey, the elder brother of John; and the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared in favour of this young prince's title. The king of France, whose daughter he espoused, also assisted him; and every thing pro- A. D. 1203.
mised success, when Arthur was unfortunately taken prisoner by his uncle John, and inhumanly murdered.

The fate of this unhappy prince is differently related, but the following account seems the most probable. After having employed unsuccessfully different assassins, John went himself in a boat, by night, to the castle of Rouen, where Arthur was confined, and ordered him to be brought forth. Aware of his danger, and subdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, and by the approach of death, the brave youth, who had before gallantly maintained the justice of his cause, threw himself on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy. But the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, stabbed his nephew to the heart; and fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine¹⁹.

John's misfortunes commenced with his crime. The whole world was struck with horror at his barbarity; and he was, from that moment, detested by his subjects, both in England and on the continent. The Bretons, disappointed in their fondest hopes, waged implacable war against him, in order to revenge the murder of their duke; and they carried their complaints before the French monarch, as superior lord, demanding justice for the inhuman violence committed by John on the person of Arthur. Philip II. received their application

19. T. Wykes. W. Heming. M. Paris. H. Knighton.

with pleasure: he summoned John to stand trial before him and his peers: and, on his non-appearance, he was declared guilty of felony and parricide, and all his foreign dominions were adjudged forfeited to the crown of France²⁰.

Nothing now remained but the execution of this sentence, in order to complete the glory of Philip, whose active and ambitious spirit had long with impatience borne the neighbourhood of so powerful a vassal as the king of England. He therefore greedily embraced the present favourable opportunity of annexing to the French crown the English dominions on the continent; a project which the sound policy of Henry II. and the military genius of Richard I. had rendered impracticable to the most vigorous efforts, and most dangerous intrigues, of this able and artful prince. But the general defection of John's vassals rendered every enterprize easy against him; and Philip not only re-united Normandy to the crown of France, but successively reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou under his dominion²¹. Thus, by the baseness of one prince, and the intrepidity of another, the French monarchy received, in a few years, such an accession of power and grandeur as, in the ordinary course of things, it would have required several ages to attain.

John's arrival in England completed his disgrace. He saw himself universally despised by the barons, on account of his pusillanimity and baseness; and a quarrel with the clergy drew upon him the contempt of that order, and the indignation of Rome. The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III. who having been exalted to it at a more early period of life than usual, and being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that

20. *Annal. Margan.* M. West. 29. *Chron. Trevit.* Ypod. Neust.

ghostly

ghostly superiority, which was yielded him by all the European princes, into a real dominion over them; strongly inculcating that extravagant maxim, "That neither princes nor bishops, civil governors nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power, in church or state, but what they derive from the pope." To this pontiff an appeal was made relative to the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. A. D. 1206.

Two primates had been elected; one by the monks or canons of Christ-church, Canterbury, and one by the suffragan bishops, who had the king's approbation. The pope declared both elections void; and commanded the monks, under penalty of excommunication, to chuse for their primate cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by his interests and attachments with the see of Rome. A. D. 1207.

The Monks complied: and John, inflamed with rage at such an usurpation of his prerogative, expelled them the convent; swearing by God's teeth, his usual oath, that, if the pope gave him any farther disturbance, he would banish all the bishops and clergy of England²². Innocent, however, knew his weakness, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; at that time the grand instrument of vengeance and policy employed against sovereigns by the court of Rome.

The execution of this sentence was artfully calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was suddenly deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion: the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself had been profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells them-

selves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except baptism of new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The dead were not interred in consecrated ground: they were thrown into ditches, or buried in the common fields; and their obsequies were not attended with prayers, or any hallowed ceremony. The people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, and debarred from all pleasures and amusements. Every thing wore the appearance of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehensions of divine vengeance and indignation²³.

While England groaned under this dreadful sentence, a new and very extraordinary scene disclosed itself on the continent. Pope Innocent III. published a crusade against the Albigenses, a species of sectaries in the south of France, whom he denominated heretics; because, like all sectaries, they neglected the rites of the church, and opposed the power and influence of the clergy. Moved by that mad superstition, which had hurried A. D. 1209. such armies into Asia, in order to combat the infidels, and the reigning passion for wars and adventures, people flocked from all parts of Europe to the standard of Simon de Montfort, the general of this crusade. The count of Thoulouse who protected the Albigenses,

23. John, besides banishing the bishops, and confiscating the estates of all the ecclesiastics who obeyed the interdict, took a very singular and severe revenge upon the clergy. In order to distress them in the tenderest point, and at the same time expose them to reproach and ridicule, he threw into prison all their concubines. (M. Paris. *An. Waverl.*) These concubines were a sort of inferior wives, politically indulged to the clergy by the civil magistrate, after the members of that sacred body were enjoined celibacy by the canons of the church. Padre Paolo, *Hist. Conc. Trid.* lib. i.

was stripped of his dominions ; and these unhappy people themselves, though the most inoffensive of mankind, were exterminated with all the circumstances of the most unfeeling barbarity²⁴.

Innocent having thus made trial of his power, carried still farther his ecclesiastical vengeance against the king of England, who was now both despised and hated by his subjects of all ranks and conditions. He gave the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, authority to denounce against John the sentence of excommunication. His subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and a sentence of deposition soon followed. But as this last sentence required an armed A. D. 1213. force to execute it, the pontiff pitched on Philip II. king of France, as the person into whose hand he could most properly entrust so terrible a weapon: and he proffered that monarch, besides the remission of all his sins, and endless spiritual benefits, the kingdom of England as the reward of his labour²⁵.

Seduced by the prospect of present interest, Philip accepted the pope's liberal offer ; although he thereby ratified an authority which might one day tumble him from his throne, and which it was the common concern of all princes to oppose. He levied a great army ; summoned all the vassals of his crown to attend him at Rouen ; Collected a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels, great and small, in the sea-ports of Normandy and Picardy ; and partly by the zeal of the age, partly by the personal regard universally paid him, prepared a force which seemed equal to the greatness of his enterprize. John on the other hand, issued out writs, requiring the attendance of all his military vassals at Dover, and even of all able-bodied men, to defend the kingdom in this dangerous extremity. An infinite number appeared, out of which he selected an army of sixty thousand men²⁶. He had

24. *Hist. Albig.*

25. M. Paris. M. Westminst.

26. *Ibid.*

also a formidable fleet at Portsmouth and he might have relied on the fidelity of both; not indeed from their attachment to him, but from that spirit of emulation which has so long subsisted between the natives of England and France.

All Europe was held in expectation of a decisive action between the two kings, when the pope artfully tricked them both and took to himself that tempting prize, which he had pretended to hold out to Philip. This extraordinary transaction was negotiated by Pandolfo, the pope's legate to France and England. In his way through France, he observed Philip's great armament, and highly commended his zeal and diligence. He thence passed to Dover, under pretence of negotiating with the barons in favour of the French king, and had a conference with John on his arrival. He magnified to that prince the number of the enemy, and the disaffection of his own subjects: intimating, that there was yet one way, and but one, to secure himself from the impending danger; namely, to put himself under the protection of the pope, who like a kind and merciful father, was still willing to receive him into his bosom.

John, labouring under the apprehensions of present terror, listened to the insidious proposal, and abjectly agreed to hold his dominions as a feudatory of the church of Rome. In consequence of this agreement, he did homage to the pope in the person of his legate, Pandolfo, with all the humiliating rites which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege-lord and superior. He came disarmed into the presence of the legate, who was seated on a throne; he threw himself on his knees before it; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them between those of Pandolfo; and swore fealty to the pope in the following words. "I John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my sins, and out of my own free will, with the advice and consent of my barons, do give unto the church of Rome, and to pope Innocent III. and his successors, the kingdoms

“ kingdoms of England and Ireland, together with all the
“ rights belonging to them; and will hold them of the
“ pope, of his vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the
“ church of Rome, to the pope my lord, and to his suc-
“ cessors lawfully elected; and I bind myself to pay him
“ a tribute of one thousand marks of silver yearly; to
“ wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and
“ three hundred for Ireland²⁷.”

Part of the money was immediately paid to the legate, as an earnest of the subjection of the kingdom: after which the crown and sceptre were also delivered to him. The insolent Italian trampled the money under his feet, indicating thereby the pope's superiority and the king's dependent state, and kept the regalia five days; then returned them to John, as a favour from the pope, their common master.

During this shameful negotiation, the French monarch waited impatiently at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to sea. The legate at length returned; and the king, to his utter astonishment, was given to understand, that he was no longer permitted to attack England, which was become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king a vassal of the holy see. Philip was enraged at this intelligence: he swore he would no longer be the dupe of such hypocritical pretences; nor would he have desisted from his enterprize but for weightier reasons. His fleet was utterly destroyed by that of England; and the emperor Otho IV. who at once disputed the empire with Frederick II. son to Henry VI. and Italy with the pope, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, the king of England, in order to oppose the designs of France, now become formidable to the rest of Europe. With this view he put himself at the head of a prodigious force; and the French monarch seemed in danger of being crushed for having grasped at a present proffered him by the pope.

27. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris, *Hist Major*.

Philip, however, advanced undismayed to meet his enemies, with an army of fifty thousand chosen men, commanded by the chief nobility of France, and including twelve hundred knights, and between six and seven thousand *gens-d'armes*. The emperor Otho, on the other side, had with him the earl of Salisbury, bastard brother to king John, the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, seven or eight German princes, and a force superior to that of Philip. The two armies met near the village of Bouvines, between Lisle and Tournay, where the allies were totally routed, and thirty thousand Germans are said to have been slain²⁸.

This victory established for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. John could therefore hope for nothing farther, than henceforth to rule his own kingdom in peace; and his close alliance with the pope, which he was determined at any price to maintain, ensured him, as he imagined, the certain attainment of that felicity. How much was he deceived! A truce was indeed concluded with France, but the most grievous scene of this prince's misfortunes still awaited him. He was doomed to humble himself before his own subjects, that the rights of Englishmen might be restored, and the privileges of humanity secured and ascertained.

The conquest of England by William the Norman, and the introduction of the feudal government into the kingdom, had much infringed the liberties of the natives. The whole people were reduced to a state of vassalage under the king or barons, and even the greater part of them to a state of actual slavery. The necessity also of devolving great power into the hands of a prince who was to maintain a military dominion over a vanquished nation, had induced the Norman barons to subject themselves to a more absolute authority, as I have already had occasion to observe, than men of their rank commonly submitted to in other feudal governments; so that England

28. Gul. Brit. *Vit Phil. August. Nag. Chron.* P. Æmil.

during

during the course of an hundred and fifty years had groaned under a tyranny unknown to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. Prerogatives once exalted are not easily reduced. Different concessions had been made by different princes, in order to serve their temporary purposes; but these were soon disregarded and the same unlimited authority continued to be exercised both by them and their successors. The feeble reign of John, a prince equally odious and contemptible to the whole nation, seemed therefore to afford all ranks of men a happy opportunity of recovering their natural and constitutional rights;—and it was not neglected.

The barons entered into a confederacy, and formally demanded a restoration of their privileges; and, A. D. 1215. that their cause might wear the greater appearance of justice, they also included those of the clergy and the people. They took arms to enforce their request: they laid waste the royal domains: and John, after employing a variety of expedients, in order to divert the blow aimed at the prerogatives of his crown, was obliged to lower himself, and treat with his subjects.

A conference was held between the king and the barons at Runnemede, between Windsor and Stains; a spot ever since deservedly celebrated, and even hallowed by every zealous lover of liberty. There John, after a debate of some days, signed and sealed the famous *Magna Charta*, or GREAT CHARTER; JUNE 19. which either granted or secured very important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the barons, to the clergy, and to the people.

What these privileges particularly were you will best learn, my dear Philip, from the charter itself, which deserves your most early and continued attention, as it involves all the great out-lines of a legal government, and provides for the equal distribution of justice, and free enjoyment of property; the chief objects for which political society was first founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and unalienable right to recall, and which no
time,

time, nor precedent, nor statute, nor positive institution, ought to deter them from keeping ever uppermost in their thoughts ?

The better to secure the execution of this charter, the barons stipulated with the king for the privileges of choosing twenty-five members of their own order, as conservators of the public liberties: and no bounds were set to the authority of these noblemen, either in extent, or duration. If complaint was made of a violation of the charter, any four of the conservators might admonish the king to redress the grievance; and if satisfaction was not obtained, they could assemble the whole council of twenty-five. This august body, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, was empowered to compel him to observe the charter: and in case of resistance, might levy war against him. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to the five and twenty barons; and the freeholders of each county were to chuse twelve knights, who should make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformable to the tenor of the Great Charter³⁰.

In what manner John acted after granting the charter, and under these regulations, to which he seemed passively to submit, together with their influence on the English constitution, and on the affairs of France, we shall afterwards have occasion to see. At present we must cast our eyes on the other states of Europe.

29. The most valuable stipulation in this charter, and the grand security of the lives, liberties, and properties of Englishmen, was the following concession. "No freeman shall be apprehended or imprisoned, or "disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any other way destroyed; nor "will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, except by the *legal* "judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." (*Mag. Chart.* Art. xxxii.) The stipulation next in importance seems to be the singular concession, that "no man will we sell, to no man will we delay right "and justice." (*Ibid.* Art. xxxiii.) These concessions shew, in a very strong light, the violences and iniquitous practices of the Anglo-Norman princes.

30. M. Paris. Rymer, vol. i.

LETTER

LETTER XXXI.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ROME AND THE ITALIAN STATES, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VI. TO THE ELECTION OF RÓDOLPH OF HAPSBURG, FOUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA, WITH A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES.

IT is necessary, my dear Philip, that I should here recapitulate a little; for there is no portion of Modern History more perplexed, than that under review.

The emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, died, as you have seen, in his expedition to the Holy Land; and his son, Henry VI. received almost at the same time intelligence of the death of his father and his brother-in-law, William king of Naples and Sicily, A. D. 1190. to whose dominions he was heir in right of his wife. After settling the affairs of Germany, he levied an army, and marched into Italy, in order to be crowned by the pope, and go with the empress Constantia to recover the succession of Sicily, which was usurped by Tancred, her natural brother. With this view he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the Lombards, by enlarging the privileges of Genoa, Pisa, and other cities, in his way to Rome. There the ceremony of coronation A. D. 1191. was performed, the day after Easter, by Celestine III. accompanied with a very remarkable circumstance. That pope, who was then in his eighty-sixth year, had no sooner placed the crown upon Henry's head, than he kicked it off again; as a testimony of the power residing in the sovereign pontiff, to make and unmake emperors¹.

Henry now prepared for the conquest of Naples and Sicily, in which he was opposed by the pope. For although

1. R. Hoveden. *Annal.* Heiss. lib. ii.

Celestine considered Tancred as an usurper, and wanted to see him deprived of the crown of Sicily, which he claimed, in imitation of his predecessors, as a fief of the holy see, he was still more averse against the emperor's possessing that kingdom; because such an accession of territory would have rendered him too powerful in Italy for the interests of the church. He dreaded so formidable a vassal. Henry, however, without paying any regard to the threats and remonstrances of his holiness, took almost all the towns of Campania, Apulia, and Calabria; invested the city of Naples, and sent for the Genoese fleet, which he had engaged to come and form the blockade by sea. But, before its arrival, he was obliged to raise the siege, in consequence of a dreadful mortality among his troops, and all future attempts upon the kingdom of Naples and Sicily proved ineffectual during the life of Tancred².

The emperor, after his return to Germany, incorporated the Teutonic knights into a regular
 A. D. 1192. order, religious and military, and built a house for them at Coblentz. These Teutonic knights, and also the Knights Templars, and Knights Hospitallers, were originally monks, who settled in Jerusalem, when it was first taken by the champions of the Cross. They were established into religious fraternities for the relief of distressed pilgrims, and for the care of the sick and wounded, without any hostile purpose. But the holy city being afterwards in danger, they took up arms, and made a vow to combat the Infidels, as they had formerly done to combat their own carnal inclinations. The enthusiastic zeal of the times increased their members: they grew wealthy and honourable; were patronized in Europe by different princes, and became a militia of conquerors³. Their exploits I shall have occasion to relate.

In what manner Richard I. king of England was arrested on his return from the Holy Land, by Leopold

2. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* lib. xv.

3. Heylot. *Hist. des Ordres.*

duke of Austria, and detained prisoner by the emperor, we have already seen. As soon as Henry received the money for that prince's ransom, he made new preparations for the conquest of Sicily; and ^{A. D. 1194.} Tancred dying about the same time, he effected his purpose by the assistance of the Genoese. The queen dowager surrendered Salerno, and her right to the crown, on condition that her son William should possess the principality of Tarentum. But Henry, joining the most atrocious cruelty to the basest perfidy, no sooner found himself master of the place, than he ordered the infant king to be castrated; to have his eyes put out, and be confined in a dungeon. The royal treasure was transported to Germany, and the queen and her daughter were shut up in a convent⁴.

While these things were transacting in Sicily, the empress, though near the age of fifty, was delivered of a son named Frederick. And Henry, in the plenitude of his power, assembled soon after a diet of the German princes to whom he explained his intention of rendering the imperial crown hereditary, in order to prevent those disturbances which attended the election of ^{A. D. 1196.} emperors. A decree was passed for that purpose; and Frederick II. yet in his cradle, was declared king of the Romans⁵.

In the mean time the emperor was solicited by the pope to engage in a new crusade, for the relief of the Christians in the Holy Land. Henry obeyed, but took care to turn it to his advantage. He convoked a general diet at Worms, where he solemnly declared his resolution of employing his whole power, and even of hazarding his life for the accomplishment of so holy an undertaking: and he expatiated on the subject with so much eloquence, that almost the whole assembly took the cross. Nay, such multitudes, from all the provinces of the empire, enlisted themselves, that Henry divided them

4. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Relius, *de Reg. Napol. et Sicil.*

5. Lunig. *Arch. Imp.* Heiss, lib. ii.

into three large armies; one of which, under the command of the bishop of Mentz, took the route of Hungary, where it was joined by Margaret, queen of that country, who entered herself in this pious expedition, and actually ended her days in Palestine. The second army was assembled in Lower Saxony, and embarked in a fleet furnished by the inhabitants of Lubec, Hamburg, Holstein, and Friesland; and the emperor in person conducted the third into Italy, in order to take vengeance upon the Normans of Naples and Sicily, who had risen against his government⁶.

The rebels were humbled, and their chiefs condemned to perish by the most excruciating tortures. One Jornandi, of the house of the Norman princes, was tied naked on a chair of red-hot iron, and crowned with a circle of the same burning metal, which was nailed to his head. The empress, shocked at such cruelty, renounced her faith to her husband, and encouraged her countrymen to recover their liberties. Resolution sprung from despair. The inhabitants betook themselves to arms, the empress Constantia headed them; and Henry having dismissed his troops, no longer thought necessary to his bloody purposes, and sent them to pursue their expedition to the Holy Land, (blessed atonement for his crimes and theirs!) was obliged to submit to his wife, and to the conditions which she was pleased to impose on him in favour of the Sicilians. He died at Messina, soon after this A. D. 1197. treaty; and, as was supposed, of poison administered by the empress, who saw the ruin of her country hatching in his perfidious and vindictive heart⁷.

But Henry, amid all his baseness, possessed many great qualities. He was active, eloquent, brave; his administration was vigorous, and his policy deep. None of the successors of Charlemagne were ever more feared and obeyed, either at home or abroad.

6. Giannone, *Hist. di Napol.*

7. Id. *ibid.* Relius, ubi sup.

The emperor's son Frederic, having already been declared king of the Romans, became emperor on the death of his father. But as Frederic II. was yet a minor, the administration was committed to his uncle, Philip duke of Suabia, both by the will of Henry and by an assembly of the German princes. Other princes, however, incensed to see an elective empire become hereditary, held a new diet at Cologne, and chose Otho duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion. Frederic's title was confirmed in a third assembly, at Arnsburg; and his uncle Philip was elected king of the Romans, in order to give greater weight to his administration⁸.

These two elections divided the empire into two powerful factions, and involved all Germany in ruin and desolation. Innocent III. who had succeeded Celestine in the papal chair, threw himself into the scale of Otho, and excommunicated Philip and all his adherents. This able and ambitious pontiff (of whom I have already had occasion to speak) was a sworn enemy to the house of Suabia; not from any personal animosity, but out of a principle of policy. That house had long been terrible to the popes, by its continued possession of the imperial crown: and the accession of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, made it still more to be dreaded. Innocent, therefore, gladly seized the present favourable opportunity for divesting the house of Suabia of the empire, by supporting the election of Otho, and sowing divisions among the Suabian party. Otho was also patronized by his uncle, the king of England; a circumstance which naturally inclined the king of France to the side of his rival. Faction clashed with faction; friendship with interest: caprice, ambition, or resentment gave the sway; and nothing was beheld on all hands, but the horrors and miseries of civil war⁹.

8. Krantz, lib. viii. Heiss, lib. ii. 9. Id. *ibid.* *Annal de l'Emp.* tom. i.

Meanwhile the empress Constantia remained in Sicily, where all was peace, as regent and guardian of her infant son, Frederic II. who had been crowned king of that island, with the consent of pope Celestine III. But she also had her troubles. A new investiture from the holy see being necessary, on the death of Celestine, Innocent III. his successor, took advantage of the critical situation of affairs for aggrandizing the papacy at the expense of the kings of Sicily. They possessed, as we have seen, the privilege of filling up vacant benefices, and of judging all ecclesiastical causes in the last appeal: they were really popes in their own island, though vassals of his holiness. Innocent pretended that these powers had been surreptitiously obtained; and demanded that Constantia should renounce them in the name of her son, and do liege, pure, and simple homage for Sicily. But before A. D. 1200, any thing was settled relative to this affair, the empress died, leaving the regency of the kingdom to the pope: so that he was enabled to prescribe what conditions he thought proper to young Frederic.^{10.}

The troubles of Germany still continued; and the pope redoubled his efforts to detach the princes and prelates from the cause of Philip, king of the Romans, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king of France. To these remonstrances he proudly replied, "Either Philip must lose the empire, or I the papacy!"

But all these dissensions and troubles in Europe did not prevent the formation of another crusade or expedition into Asia, for the recovery of the Holy Land. The adventurers who took the cross, were chiefly French and Germans. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was their commander; and the Venetians, as greedy of wealth and power as the ancient Carthaginians, furnished them with ships, for which they took care to be amply paid, both in money and territory. The Christian city of Zara, in

10. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* tom. vi. 11. *Gest. Innocent III.*

Dalmatia, had withdrawn itself from the government of the republic: the army of the Cross undertook to reduce it to obedience; and it was besieged and taken, notwithstanding the threats and excommunications of the pope¹². Nothing can shew in a stronger light the reigning spirit of those pious adventurers.

The storm next broke upon Constantinople. Isaac Angelas, the Greek emperor, had been dethroned, and deprived of his sight, in 1195, by his brother Alexis. Isaac's son, named also Alexis, who had made his escape into Germany, and was then in the army of the crusade, implored the assistance of its leaders against the usurper; engaging, in case of success, to furnish them provisions, to pay them a large sum of money, and to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the pope. By their means the lawful prince was restored. He ratified the treaty made by his son, and died; when young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having called in the Latins, became the victim of a new faction. One of his relations, surnamed Murtzufe, strangled him with his own hands, and usurped the imperial throne¹³.

Baldwin and his followers, who wanted only an apology for their intended violence, had now a good one; and under pretence of revenging the death of Alexis, made themselves masters of Constantinople. They entered it with little or no resistance; put every one who opposed them to the sword, and gave themselves up to all the excesses of avarice and fury. The booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thousand marks of silver: the very churches were pillaged! And what strongly marks the character of that giddy nation, which has been at all times nearly the same, we are told by Nicetas, that the French officers danced with the ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, after having robbed the altar, and drenched the city in blood¹⁴.

12. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades*. 13. Nicetas, *Chron.* 14. *Id. ibid.*

Thus was Constantinople, the most flourishing Christian city in the world, taken for the first time, and sacked by Christians, who had vowed to fight only against infidels!—Baldwin, count of Flanders, the most powerful of these ravagers, got himself elected emperor; and this new usurper condemned the other usurper, Murtzuffe, to be thrown headlong from the top of a lofty column. The Venetians had for their share Peloponnesus, the island of Candia, and several cities on the coast of Phrygia, which had not yet submitted to the Turkish yoke. The marquis de Monferrat seized on Thessaly: so that Baldwin had little left except Thrace and Mesia. The pope gained, for a time, the whole eastern church; and, in a word, an acquisition was made of much greater consequence than Palestine. Of this indeed the conquerors seemed fully convinced; for notwithstanding the vow they had taken, to go and succour Jerusalem, only a very inconsiderable number of the many knights who had engaged in this pious enterprize, went into Syria, and those were such as could get no share in the spoils of the Greeks¹⁵.

Innocent III. speaking of this conquest, says, in one of his letters, “ God, willing to console his church by the re-union of the schismatics, has made the empire pass from the proud, superstitious, disobedient Greeks, to the humble, pious, catholic, and submissive Latins.” So easy is it by words, to give that complexion to persons and things, which most favours our interests and our prejudices!

I should now, my dear Philip, return to the affairs of Germany; but a few more particulars, consequent on the taking of Constantinople, require first to be noted, as they cannot afterward be brought properly under review.

There still remained a number of princes of the imperial house of Comnenus, who did not lose their courage with the destruction of their empire. One of

15. Nicetas. Cantacuzenus.

those,

those, who bore among others the name of Alexis, took refuge on the coast of Colchis; and there, between the sea and mount Caucasus, erected a petty state to which he gave the name of the Empire of Trebisond; so much was the word empire abused!—Theodore Lascarus retook Nice, and settled himself in Bythinia, by opportunely making use of the Arabs against the Turks. He also assumed the title of emperor, and caused a patriarch to be elected of his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance with the Turks, and even called in their ancient enemies, the Bulgarians, to assist them against the emperor Baldwin: who, being overcome by those barbarians near Adrianople, had his legs and arms cut off, and was left a prey to wild beasts . Henry, his brother and successor, was poisoned in 1216; and within half a century, the imperial city, which had gone to ruin under the Latins returned once more to the Greeks. A. D. 1206.

While these things were transacting in the East, Philip and Otho were desolating the West. At length Philip prevailed; and Otho, obliged to abandon Germany, took refuge in England. Philip, elated with success, got his election confirmed by a second coronation, and proposed an accommodation with the pope, as the means of finally establishing his throne. But before that accommodation could be brought about, he fell a sacrifice to private revenge; being assassinated by the count Palatine of Ba- A. D. 1208. varia, in consequence of a private dispute¹⁷.

Otho returned to Germany on the death of Philip, married that prince's daughter, and was crowned at Rome by Innocent III. after A. D. 1209. yielding to the holy see the long disputed inheritance of the countess Matilda, and confirming the rights and privileges of the Italian cities.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Neiss, lib. ii. cap. xv.

But these concessions, as far at least as they regarded the pope, were only a sacrifice to present policy. Otho therefore no sooner found himself in a condition to act offensively, than he resumed his grant; and not only recovered the possessions of the empire, but made
 A. D. 1210. hostile incursions into Apulia, ravaging the dominions of young Frederic, king of Naples and Sicily: who was under the protection of the holy see. Hence we may date the ruin of Otho. Innocent excommunicated him: and Frederic, A. D. 1211. now fifteen years of age, was elected emperor, by diet of the German princes¹⁸.

Otho however, on his return to Germany, finding his party still considerable and not doubting but he should
 A. D. 1213. be able to humble his rival, by means of his superior force, entered into an alliance with his uncle, John king of England, against Philip Augustus king of France. The unfortunate battle of Bouvines, A. D. 1214. where the confederates were defeated as we have seen, completed the fate of Otho. He attempted to retreat into Germany, but was prevented by young Frederic; who had marched into the empire at the head of a powerful army, and was every where received with open arms.

Thus abandoned by all the princes of Germany, and altogether without resource, Otho retired to Brunswick, where he lived four years as a private man, dedicating his time to the duties of religion. He was not deposed, but forgot; and if it is true that, in the excess of his humility, he ordered himself to be thrown down, and trod upon by his kitchen-boys, we may well say with Voltaire, that the kicks of a turn-spit can never expiate the faults of a prince¹⁹.

Frederic II. being now universally acknowledged
 A. D. 1215. emperor, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with great magnificence: and, in order to preserve the favour of the pope, he added to the other

18. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xvi.

19. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. solemnities

solemnities of his coronation, a vow to go in person to the Holy Land²⁰.

About this time pope Innocent died, and was succeeded by Honorius III. who expressed great eagerness in forwarding the crusade, which ^{A. D. 1216.} he ordered to be preached up through all the provinces of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary: and his endeavours were crowned with extraordinary success. The emperor indeed excused himself from the performance of his vow, until he should have regulated the affairs of Italy; and almost all the other European monarchs were detained at home by domestic disturbances. But an infinite number of private noblemen and their vassals took the cross, under the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, the archbishop of Mentz, and the bishops of Munster and Utrecht; and Andrew, king of Hungary, who brought with him a body of fine troops, was declared generalissimo of the crusade²¹.

While these adventurers of Upper Germany marched towards Italy, in order to embark at ^{A. D. 1217.} Venice, Genoa and Messina, a fleet of three hundred sail was equipped in the ports of Lower Saxony, to transport the troops of Westphalia, Saxony, and the territory of Cologne. And those joining the squadron of the Frieslanders, Flemings, and subjects of Brabant, commanded by William count of Holland, George count of Weerden, and Adolphus count of Berg, set sail for the straits of Gibraltar, on their voyage to Ptolemais. But being driven by a tempest into the road of Lisbon, they were prevailed upon to assist Alphonso, king of Portugal, against the Moors. They defeated these infidels, and afterwards took from them the city of Alcazar²².

Meanwhile the king of Hungary and his army, having joined the king of Cyprus, landed at Ptolemais; where he was joyfully received by John de Brienne, a younger

20. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

21. *Annal. Paderborna.*

22. *Ibid.*

brother of the family of that name in Champagne, who had been nominated king of Jerusalem. After refreshing and reviewing their forces, the two kings marched into the great valley of Jesrael, against the Saracens, with the wood of the true cross carried before them. But Coradin, son of Saphadin, soldan of Egypt and Babylon, and nephew to the famous Saladin, finding himself greatly outnumbered by the Christians, retired without giving battle; and the champions of the Cross undertook the siege of Thabor, in which they miscarried. They now separated themselves into four bodies, for the conveniency of subsisting. The king of A. D. 1218. Cyprus died, and the king of Hungary returned to his own dominions, in order to quiet some disturbances which had arisen during his absence²³.

The fleet from the coast of Spain arrived at Ptolemais, soon after the departure of the king of Hungary; and it was resolved in a council of war to besiege Damietta in Egypt, which was accordingly invested by sea and land, and taken after a siege of eighteen A. D. 1219. months. During the siege Saphadin died; and his eldest son Meledin, his successor in the kingdom of Egypt, who came to the relief of the besieged, was defeated. The duke of Austria, with a large body of troops, returned soon after to Germany; and a reinforcement arrived from the emperor, under the conduct of cardinal Albano, legate of the Holy See²⁴.

This cardinal, who was a Spanish benedictine, pretended that he, as representative of the pope, the natural head of the crusade, had an incontestable right to be general; and that, as the king of Jerusalem held his crown only by virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to the legate of his holiness. Much time was spent in that dispute, and in writing to Rome for advice. At length the pope's answer came, by which he ordered the king of Jerusalem to serve under the

23. Jac. de Vitri. Maimbourg, ubi supra. 24. Vertot, *Hist. de Chex. de Malth.* tom. i. Maimbourg, *Hist. des Croisades.* tom. ii.

benedictine: and his orders were punctually obeyed. John de Brienne resigned the command, and this monkish general brought the army of the Cross between two branches of the Nile, just at the time that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The soldan, informed of the situation of his enemies, flooded the Christian camp, by opening the sluices; and while he burnt their ships on one side, the Nile, increasing on the other, threatened every hour to swallow up their whole army. The legate therefore now saw himself and his troops in a similar extremity to that in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are described, when they beheld the sea ready to rush in upon them. In consequence of this pressing danger, Damietta was restored; and the leaders of the crusade were obliged A. D. 1221. to conclude a dishonourable treaty, by which they bound themselves not to serve against Meledin, soldan of Egypt, for eight years²⁵.

The Christians of the East had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederic II. who was about this time crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III. whose friendship he had purchased, by promising to detach Naples and Sicily from the empire, and bestow it on his son Henry, to be held as a fief of the Holy See. He also promised to pass into Asia with an army, at any time the pope should appoint. But this promise Frederic was very little inclined to perform, and therefore found a thousand pretences for delaying his journey. He was indeed more worthily employed; embellishing and aggrandizing Naples; in establishing an university in that city, where the Roman law was taught; and in expelling the vagrant Saracens, who still infested Sicily²⁶.

In the mean time the unfortunate leaders of the crusade arrived in Europe: and the pope, incensed at the loss of Damietta, wrote a severe letter to the emperor, taxing him with having sacrificed the interests of A. D. 1225, Christianity, by delaying so long the perfor-

25. Id. *ibid.* i. 26. Sigon. *Reg. Ital.* Giannone, *Hist. di Napol.*

mance of his vow, and threatening him with immediate excommunication, if he did not instantly depart with an army into Asia. Frederic exasperated at these reproaches, renounced all correspondence with the court of Rome: renewed his ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Sicily; filled up vacant sees and benefices, and expelled A. D. 1226. some bishops, who were creatures of the pope, on pretence of their being concerned in practices against the state²⁷.

Honorius at first attempted to combat rigour, with rigour, threatening the emperor with the thunder of the church, for presuming to lift up his hand against the sanctuary; but finding Frederic not to be intimidated, his holiness became sensible of his own imprudence, in wantonly incurring the resentment of so powerful a prince, and thought proper to soothe his temper by submissive apologies and gentle exhortations. The emperor and the pope were accordingly reconciled, and conferred together at Veroli; where the emperor, as a proof of his sincere attachment to the church, published some very severe edicts against heresy, which seem to have authorised the tribunal of the Inquisition²⁸.

A solemn assembly was afterwards held at Ferentino, where both the pope and the emperor were present, together with John de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, who was come into Europe to demand succours against the soldan of Egypt. John had an only daughter named Yolanda, whom he proposed as a wife to the emperor, with the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dower, on condition that Frederic should, within two years, perform the vow he had made to lead an army into the holy land. Frederic married her on these terms, because he chose to please the pope: and since that time the kings of Sicily have taken the title of king of Jerusalem.

27. *Id. ibid.* 28. *Petr. de Vignes, lib. i.*

But the emperor was in no hurry to go and conquer his wife's portion, having business of more importance on his hands at home. The chief cities of Lombardy had entered into a secret league, with a view to throw off his authority. He convoked a diet at Cremona, where all the German and Italian noble-
A. D. 1227.
men were summoned to attend. A variety of subjects were there discussed, but nothing of consequence was settled. An accommodation, however, was soon after brought about, by the mediation of the pope; who, as umpire of the dispute, decreed, that the emperor should lay aside his resentment against the confederate towns, and that the towns should furnish and maintain four hundred knights for the relief of the Holy Land²⁹.

Peace being thus concluded, Honorius reminded the emperor of his vow: Frederic promised compliance; but his holiness died before he could see the execution of a project which he seemed to have so much at heart. He was succeeded in the papal chair by Gregory IX. brother of Innocent III. who, pursuing the same line of policy, urged the departure of Frederic for the Holy Land: and finding the emperor still backward, declared him incapable of holding the imperial dignity, as having incurred the sentence of excommunication. Frederic, incensed at such insolence, ravaged the patrimony of St. Peter, and was actually excommunicated. The
A. D. 1228.
animosity between the Guelphs and Ghibellines revived; the pope was obliged to quit Rome, and Italy became a scene of war and desolation: or rather of an hundred civil wars, which, by inflaming the minds, and exciting the resentment of the Italian princes, accustomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poisoning and assassination.

During these transactions, Frederic II. in order to remove the cause of so many troubles and to gratify the prejudices of a superstitious age, resolved to perform

29. Richard, *Chron.* ap. Murat.

his vow. He accordingly embarked for the Holy Land, leaving the affairs of Italy to the management of Renaldo, duke of Spoleto. The duke prohibited his departure, before he was absolved from the censures of the church. But Frederic went in contempt of the church, and succeeded better than any commander who had gone before him. He did not indeed desolate Asia, and gratify the barbarous zeal of the times, by spilling the blood of infidels; but he concluded a treaty with Meledin, soldan of Egypt, and master of Syria, by which the end of his expedition seemed fully answered. The soldan ceded to him Jerusalem, and its territory as far as Joppa; Bethlehem, Nazarath, and all the country between Jerusalem and Ptolemais; Tyre, Sidon, and the neighbouring territories. In return for these concessions, the emperor granted the Saracens a truce of ten years, and prudently returned to Italy, where his presence was much wanted³⁰.

Frederic's reign, after his return from the east, was one continued quarrel with the popes. The cities of Lombardy had revolted during his absence, at the instigation of Gregory IX. and before they could be reduced, the same pontiff excited the emperor's son Henry, who had been elected king of the Romans, to rebel against his father. The rebellion was suppressed, the prince was confined, and the emperor obtained a complete victory over the associated towns; but his troubles were not yet ended. The pope excommunicated him anew; and sent a bull into Germany, in order to sow division between Frederic and the princes of the empire, in which are the following remarkable words. "A beast of blasphemy, replete with names, is risen from the sea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a lion, and members of other different

30. *Annal. Boior.* lib. vii. Heiss. *Hist. de l'Emp.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. Maimbourg, ubi sup.

"animals

“ animals ; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth
 “ in blasphemy against the holy name ; not even fearing
 “ to throw the arrows of calumny against the tabernacle
 “ of God, and the saints that dwell in heaven. This beast,
 “ desirous of breaking every thing in pieces by his iron
 “ teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his feet,
 “ hath already prepared private battering rams against
 “ the wall of the catholic faith ; and now raises open ma-
 “ chines, in erecting soul-destroying schools of Ishmael-
 “ ites ; rising, according to report, in opposition to
 “ Christ the Redeemer of mankind, the table of whose
 “ covenant he attempts to abolish with the pen of wicked
 “ heresy. Be not therefore surprised at the malice of this
 “ blasphemous beast: if we, who are the servant of the Al-
 “ mighty, should be exposed to the arrows of his destruc-
 “ tion.—This king of plagues was even heard to say,
 “ that the whole world has been deceived by three
 “ impostors: namely, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahom-
 “ et. But he makes Jesus Christ far inferior to the other
 “ two: ‘ They,’ says he, ‘ supported their glory to the last,
 “ whereas Christ was ignominiously crucified.’ “ He also
 “ maintains,” continues Gregory, “that it is folly to believe
 “ the ONE only God, Creator of the Universe, could be
 “ born of a woman, and more especially of a virgin³¹.”

Frederic, on the other hand, in his apology to the Princes of Germany, calls Gregory the *Great Dragon*, the *Antichrist*, of whom it is written, “and another Red Horse
 “ arose from the sea, and he that sat upon him took
 “ Peace from the Earth³².”

The emperor’s apology was sustained in Germany ; and finding he had nothing to fear from that quarter, he resolved to take ample vengeance of the pope and his associates. With that view he marched to Rome, where he thought his party was strong
 A. D. 1239.
 enough to procure him admission. But this favourite scheme was defeated by the activity of Gregory, who

31. Gob. Pers. *Cosmol.* cap. lxiv.32. Id. *ibid*

ordered a crusade to be preached against the emperor, as an enemy of the Christian faith; a step which incensed Frederic so much, that he ordered all his prisoners, who wore the cross, to be exposed to the most cruel tortures³³.

The two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines continued to rage with greater violence than ever; involving cities, districts, and even private families, in troubles, divisions, and civil butchery, no quarter being given on either side. Meanwhile Gregory IX. died, A. D. 1243, and was succeeded in the see of Rome by Celestine IV. and afterwards by Innocent IV. formerly Cardinal Fiesque, and who had always expressed the greatest regard for the emperor and his interest. Frederic was accordingly congratulated upon this occasion; but having more penetration than those about him, he sagely replied, "I see little reason to rejoice. The cardinal was my friend, but the pope will be my enemy³⁴."

Innocent soon proved the justice of this conjecture. He ambitiously attempted to negotiate a peace for Italy. But not being able to obtain from Frederic his exorbitant demands, and in fear of the safety of his own person, he fled into France, assembled a general council at Lyons, and deposed the emperor. A. D. 1245. "I declare," said he, "Frederic II. attainted and convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated and dethroned; and I order the electors to choose another emperor, reserving to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily³⁵."

Frederic was at Turin when he received the news of his deposition, and behaved in a manner that seemed to border upon weakness. He called for the casket in which the imperial ornaments were kept; and opening it,

33. Krantz. lib. viii. Murat. *Annal. Ital.* tom. vii.

34. Id. *ibid.*

35. Gob. Pers. ubi sup.

and taking the crown in his hand, "Innocent," cried he, "has not yet deprived me of thee: thou art still mine! and before I part with thee, much blood shall be spilt³⁶."

Conrad, the emperor's second son, had been declared king of the Romans, on the death of his brother Henry, which soon followed his confinement; but the empire being now declared vacant by the pope, the German bishops (for none of the princes were present) at the instigation of his holiness, A. D. 1246. proceeded to the election of a new emperor. And they chose Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, who was styled, in derision, "The King of priests."

Innocent now renewed the crusade against Frederic. It was proclaimed by the preaching friars, since called Dominicans, and the minor friars, known by the name of Cordeliers or Franciscans; a new militia of the court of Rome, which, about this time, began to be established in Europe. The pope, however, did not confine himself to these measures only, but engaged in conspiracies against the life of an emperor who had dared to resist the decree of a council, and oppose the whole body of monks and zealots. Frederic's life was several times in danger from plots, poisonings, and assassinations; which induced him, it is said, to make choice of Mahometan guards, whom he was certain would not be under the influence of the prevailing superstition.

Meanwhile the landgrave of Thuringia dying, the same prelates who had taken the liberty of A. D. 1247. creating one emperor, made another; namely, William count of Holland, a young nobleman of twenty years of age, who bore the same contemptuous title as his predecessor³⁷.

Fortune, which had hitherto favoured Frederic, seemed now to desert him. He was defeated before Parma, which he had long besieged. A. D. 1248.

36. *M. Paris. Hist. Major.*37. *Annal. Boior.*

ed; and to complete his misfortune, he soon after learned, that his natural son Entius, whom he had made king of Sardinia, was worsted and taken prisoner by the Bolognese.

In this extremity, Frederic retired to his kingdom of Naples, in order to recruit his army, and there died of a fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age³⁹. He was a prince of great genius, erudition, and fortitude; and notwithstanding all the troubles he had to encounter, he built towns, founded universities, and gave a kind of new life to learning in Italy.

After the death of Frederic II. the affairs of Germany fell into the utmost confusion, and Italy continued long in the same distracted state in which he had left it. The clergy took arms against the laity, the weak were oppressed by the strong, and laws divine and human were disregarded. But a particular history of that unhappy period would fill the mind with disgust and horror: I shall therefore only observe, that after the death of Frederic's son, Conrad, who had assumed the imperial dignity, as successor to his father, and the death of his competitor, William of Holland, a variety of candidates appeared for the empire, and several were elected by different factions, among whom was Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. But no emperor was properly acknowledged, till the year 1273, when Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, was unanimously raised to the vacant throne.

During the interregnum which preceded the election of Rodolph, Denmark, Holland, and Hungary entirely freed themselves from the homage they were wont to pay to the empire; and nearly about the same time several German cities erected a municipal form of government, which still continues. Lubec, Cologne,

39. Krantz, lib. viii. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

Brunswick, and Dantzic, united for their mutual defence against the encroachments of the great lords, by a famous association, called the Hanseatic League; and these towns were afterwards joined by eighty others, belonging to different states, which formed a kind of commercial republic. Italy also during this period assumed a new form of government. That freedom for which the cities of Lombardy had so long struggled, was confirmed to them for a sum of money: they were emancipated by the fruits of their industry. Sicily likewise changed its government and its prince, as shall be related in the history of France, which furnished a sovereign to the Sicilians.

I next propose to carry forward the affairs of England to the reign of Edward I. a period at which the history of our own island becomes peculiarly interesting to every Briton.

LETTER XXXII.

ENGLAND, FROM THE GRANTING OF THE GREAT CHARTER, TO
THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

YOU have already seen, my dear Philip, in what manner king John was forced by his barons to grant the great charter of English liberty, and the regulations necessary for preserving it, to which he seemed passively to submit. He went still farther: A. D. 1215. he dismissed his forces, and promised that his government should be as gentle as his people could wish it. But he only dissembled, till he should find a favourable opportunity to revoke all his concessions; and in order to facilitate such an event, he secretly sent abroad emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and to invite the rapaci-

ous Brabançons into his service, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of England. He also dispatched a messenger to Rome, to lay the Great Charter before the pope; who, considering himself as superior lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, and issued a bull annulling the charter, absolving the king from his oath to observe it, and denouncing a general sentence of excommunication against every one who should persevere in maintaining such treasonable pretensions¹.

John now pulled off the mask: he recalled all that he had done; and as his foreign mercenaries arrived along with the bull, he expected nothing but universal submission. But our gallant ancestors were not so easily to be frightened out of their rights. Langton, the primate, though he owed his elevation to an encroachment of the court of Rome, refused to obey the pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons. Persons of all ranks, among the clergy as well as laity, seemed determined to maintain, at the expense of their lives, the privileges granted in the Great Charter. John had therefore nothing to rely on for re-establishing his tyranny, but the sword of his Brabançons: and that unfortunately proved too strong, if not for the liberties of England, at least for its prosperity.

The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, had sunk into a kind of fatal security; having not only dismissed their vassals, but taking no rational measures for re-assembling them on any emergency: so that the king found himself master of the field, without any adequate force to oppose him. Castles were defended, and skirmishes risked, but no regular opposition was made to the progress of the royal arms; while the ravenous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and incensed prince, were let loose against the houses and estates of the barons, and spread devastation over the whole face of the kingdom.

1. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. *Hist. Major.*

Nothing was to be seen, from Dover to Berwick, but the flames of villages, castles reduced to ashes, and the consternation and misery of the helpless inhabitants².

In this desperate extremity, the barons dreading the total loss of their liberties, their lives and their possessions, had recourse to a remedy no less desperate. They offered to acknowledge as their sovereign, prince Lewis, eldest son of Philip Augustus king of France, provided he would protect them from the fury of their enraged monarch. The temptation was too great to be resisted by a prince of Philip's ambition. He sent over instantly a small army to the relief of the barons, and afterwards a more numerous body of forces, with his son Lewis at their head; although the pope's legate threatened him with interdicts and excommunications, if he presumed to invade the dominions of a prince under the immediate protection of the holy see. Assured of the fidelity of his subjects, these menaces were little regarded by Philip.

The French monarch, however, took care to preserve appearances in his violences, and only appearances. He pretended his son Lewis had accepted the offer from the English barons without his advice, and contrary to his inclinations, and that the armies sent into England were levied in that prince's name. But these artifices were not employed by Philip to deceive. He knew that the pope had too much penetration to be so easily imposed upon, and that they were too gross even to gull the people; but he knew, at the same time, that the manner of conducting any measure is of as much consequence as the measure itself, and that a violation of decency, in the eye of the world, is more criminal than a breach of justice.

Lewis no sooner landed in England, than John was deserted by his foreign troops, who being principally le-

2. M. Paris. *Chron. Mailros.*

vied in the French provinces, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy ; so that the barons had the melancholy prospect of succeeding in their purpose, and of escaping the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves and the nation, a foreign yoke. But the imprudent partiality of Lewis to his countrymen increased that jealousy, which it was so natural for the English to entertain in their present situation, and did great hurt to his cause. Many of the dissatisfied barons returned to the king's party ; and John was preparing to make a last effort for his crown, when death put an end to his troubles and his crimes, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His character is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious ; ruinous to himself and destructive to his people. But a sally of wit upon the usual corpulency of the priests, more than all his enormities, made him pass with the clergy of that age for an impious prince. " How plump and well fed is this animal ! " exclaimed he one day, when he had caught a very fat stag ;—" and yet I dare swear he never heard mass³."

John was succeeded by his son Henry III. only nine years old at his father's death : and for once a minority proved of singular service to England. The Earl of Pembroke, who by his office of mareschal was at the head of the military power, and consequently, in perilous times, at the head of the state, determined to support the authority of the infant prince. He was chosen protector ; and, fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation, the regency could not have been entrusted into more able and more faithful hands. In order to reconcile all classes of men to the government of his pupil, he made him renew and confirm the Great Charter. And he wrote letters in Henry's name to all the malecontent barons, representing, that whatever animosity they might

have harboured against the late king, they ought to retain none against his son, who had now succeeded to his throne, but neither to his resentments nor to his principles, and was resolved to avoid the paths which had led to such dangerous extremities; exhorting them, at the same time, by a speedy return to their duty, to restore the independency of the kingdom, and secure that liberty for which they had so zealously contended, and which was now confirmed to them by a second charter⁴.

These arguments, enforced by the character of Pembroke, had a mighty influence on the barons. Most of them secretly negociated with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. Lewis, therefore, who had made a journey to France, and brought over fresh succours with him from that kingdom, found his party much weakened on his return: and that the death of John, contrary to all expectation, had blasted his favourite designs. He laid siege, however, to Dover, which was gallantly defended by Hubert de Burgh. In the mean time the French army, commanded by the count de Perche, was totally defeated by the earl of Pembroke, before the castle of Lincoln; and four hundred knights, with many persons of superior rank, were made prisoners by the English. Lewis, when informed of this fatal event, retired to London, which was the centre and life of his party. He there received intelligence of a new disaster, which extinguished all his hopes. A French fleet, with a strong reinforcement on board, had been repulsed on the coast of Kent, and obliged to take shelter in their own harbours⁵.

The English barons, after this second advantage gained over the French, by the royal party, hastened from all quarters to make peace with the protector, and prevent, by an early submission, those attainders, to which they were exposed on account of their rebellion;

4. Rymer, vol. i. Brady. *Append.* No. 143.

5. M. Paris.

while Lewis, whose cause was now totally desperate, began to be anxious for the safety of his person, and was glad, on any tolerable conditions, to make his escape from a country where every thing was become hostile to him. He accordingly concluded a treaty with A. D. 1217. Pembroke, by which he promised to evacuate the kingdom; only stipulating in return, an indemnity to his adherents, a restitution of their honours and fortunes, and the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties, which had been granted to the rest of the nation⁶. Thus, my dear Philip, was happily terminated a civil war, which seemed to spring from the most incurable hatred and jealousy, and had threatened to make England a province of France.

The prudence and equity of the protector, after the expulsion of the French, contributed to cure entirely those wounds which had been made by intestine discord. He received the rebellious barons into favour; observed strictly the terms of peace, which he had granted them; restored them to their possessions; and endeavoured, by an equal behaviour, to bury all past animosities in perpetual oblivion. But, unfortunately for the kingdom, this great and good man did not long survive the pacification: and Henry, when he came of age, proving a weak and contemptible prince, England was again involved in civil broils, which it would be equally idle and impertinent to relate; as they were neither followed, during many years; by an event of importance to society, nor attended with any circumstances, which can throw light upon the human character. Their causes and consequences were alike insignificant.

It is necessary however to observe, that the king having married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, was surrounded by a multitude of strangers, from that and other countries, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched by an imprudent gene-

6. Rymer. vol. i.

rosity. The insolence of these foreigners is said to have arisen to such a height, that when, on account of their outrages or oppressions, an appeal was made to the laws, they scrupled not to say, "What do the laws of England signify to us? We mind them not." This open contempt of the English constitution, roused the resentment of the barons, and tended much to aggravate the general discontent arising from the preference shewn to strangers; as it made every act of violence, committed by a foreigner, appear not only an injury, but an insult. Yet no remonstrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them.

But Henry's profuse bounty to his foreign relations, and to their friends and favourites, would have appeared more tolerable to the English, had any thing been done for the benefit of the nation; or had the king's enterprizes in foreign countries been attended with any success or glory to himself or the public. Neither of these however was the case. As imprudence governed his policy, misfortune marked his measures. He declared war against France, and made an expedition A. D. 1242. into Guienne, upon the invitation of his father-in-law, who promised to join him with all his forces; but being worsted at Taillebourg, he was de- A. D. 1243.serted by his allies, lost what remained to him of Poitou, and was obliged to return with disgrace into England⁷.

Want of economy and an ill-judged liberality, were the great defects in Henry's domestic administration. These kept him always needy, and obliged him continually to harass his barons for money under different pretences. Their discontents were thereby increased, and he was still a beggar. Even before his foreign expedition, his debts had become so troublesome, that he sold all his plate and jewels, in order to discharge them.

⁷ M. Paris. W. Hemming. *Cbron. Dunst.*

When this expedient was first proposed to him, he asked where he should find purchasers. "In the city of London," it was replied. "On my word," said he, "if the treasury of Augustus were brought to sale, the citizens are able to be the purchasers. These clowns, who assume to themselves the name of barons, abound in every thing, while we are reduced to necessity⁸." And he was thenceforth observed to be more greedy in his exactions upon the citizens.

Many however as were the grievances that the English during this reign, had reason to complain of in their civil government, they seem to have been still less burdensome than those which proceeded from spiritual usurpations and abuses; and which Henry, who relied on the pope for the support of his tottering authority, never failed to countenance. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians, great numbers of whom were sent over to be provided for: and non-residence and pluralities were carried to so enormous a height, that Mansel, the king's chaplain, is computed to have held, at one time, seven hundred ecclesiastical livings. The pope exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices; the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues, without exception; the third of such as exceeded one hundred marks a year, and the half of such as were possessed by non-residents! He claimed also the goods of all intestate clergymen: he pretended a right to inherit all money got by usury, and he levied voluntary contributions on the people⁹.

But the most oppressive expedient employed by the court of Rome, in order to drain money from England, was that of embarking Henry in a project for the conquest of Sicily. On the death of the emperor Frederic II. the succession of that island devolved to his son Conrad, and afterwards to his grandson Conradine, yet an infant; and as Mainfroy, the em-

8. M. Paris. 9. Ibid,

peror's natural son, under pretence of governing the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, had formed a scheme for usurping the sovereignty, Innocent IV. had a good apology for exerting that superiority which the popes claimed over Sicily; and at the same time of gratifying his hatred against the house of Suabia. He accordingly attempted to make himself master of the kingdom; but being disappointed in all his enterprizes by the activity and artifices of Mainfroy, and finding that his own force was not sufficient for such a conquest, he made a tender of the crown to Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. and supposed to be the richest subject in Europe. Richard had the prudence to reject the dangerous present, but not the power to prevent the evil. The same offer being afterwards made to the king, in favour of his second son Edmond, that weak monarch was led by the levity and thoughtlessness of his disposition, to embrace the insidious proposal, and immense sums were drained from England, under pretence of carrying this project into execution; for the pope took that upon himself. But the money was still found insufficient: the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever. Henry, therefore, sensible at length of the cheat, was obliged to resign into the pope's hands that crown which he had more than purchased, but which it was never intended either he or his family should inherit¹⁰.

The earl of Cornwall had now reason to value himself on his foresight, in refusing the fraudulent bargain with Rome, and in preferring the solid honours of an opulent and powerful prince of the blood in England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign dignity; but he had not always firmness sufficient to adhere to this resolution. His immense wealth made the German princes cast their eye on him as a candidate for the empire, after the death of William

10. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. *Chron. Dunst.*

of Holland; and his vanity and ambition for once prevailed over his prudence and his avarice. He went over to Germany, was tempted to expend vast sums on his election, and succeeded so far as to be chosen by a faction, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; but having no personal or family connections in that country, he never could attain any solid power. He therefore found it necessary to return into England, after having lavished away the frugality of a whole life, in order to procure a splendid title¹¹.

England, in the meanwhile, was involved in new troubles. The weakness of Henry's government, and the absence of his brother, gave reins to the factious and turbulent spirit of the barons. They demanded an extension of their privileges; and, if we may credit the historians of those times, had formed a plan of so many limitations on the royal authority, as would have reduced the king to a mere cypher. Henry would agree to nothing but a renewal of the Great Charter; which, at the desire of the barons, was ratified in the following manner. All the prelates and abbots were assembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them: they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should violate that fundamental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the soul of every one, who incurs this sentence, so stink and corrupt in hell!" The king also bore a part in the ceremony, and subjoined, "So help me God; I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed¹²."

This tremendous ceremony, however, was no sooner over than the king forgot his engagements, and the barons renewed their pretensions. At the head of the malecontents was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leices-

11. M. Paris.

12. W. Hemming. M. Paris. M. West.

ter, a man of great talents and boundless ambition, who had married Eleanor, the king's sister, and hoped to wrest the sceptre from the feeble and irresolute hand that held it. He represented to his associates the necessity of reforming the state, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands than those which had hitherto been found, from repeated experience, unfit for that important charge. After so many submissions and fruitless promises, the king's word, he said, could no longer be relied on, and his inability to violate national privileges could thenceforth only insure their preservation.

These observations, which were founded in truth, and entirely conformable to the sentiments of those to whom they were addressed, had the desired effect. The barons resolved to take the administration A. D. 1258, into their own hands: and Henry having summoned a parliament at Oxford, found himself a prisoner in his national council, and was obliged to submit to the terms prescribed to him, called the Provisions of Oxford. According to these provisions, twelve barons were selected from among the king's ministers: twelve more were chosen by the parliament: and to those twenty-four barons unlimited authority was granted to reform the state. Leicester was at the head of this legislative body, to which the supreme power was in reality transferred: and their first step seemed well calculated for the end which they professed to have in view. They ordered that four knights should be chosen by each county; that they should make inquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and should attend the ensuing parliament, in order to give information to that assembly of the state of their particular counties¹³.

The earl of Leicester and his associates, however, having advanced so far as to satisfy the nation, instead of continuing in the same popular course, immediately

13. Rymer, vol. i. *M. Paris. Chron. Dunst.*

provided for the extension and continuation of their own exorbitant authority, at the expense both of the king and the people. They enjoyed the supreme power near three years; and had visibly employed it, not for the reformation of the state, their original pretence for assuming it, but for the aggrandizement of themselves and families. The breach of trust was evident to all the world: every order of men in England felt it, and murmured against it; and the pope, in order to gain the favour of the nation, absolved the king and all his subjects, from the oath which they had taken to observe the provisions of Oxford¹⁴.

As soon as Henry received the pope's absolution from his oath, accompanied with threats of excommunication against all his opponents, he resumed the government; offering, however, to maintain all the regulations made by the reforming barons, except those which entirely annihilated the royal authority. But these haughty chieftains could not peaceably resign that uncontrolled power, which they had so long enjoyed. Many of them adopted Leicester's views, which held in prospect nothing less than the throne itself. The civil war was renewed in all its horrors: and after several fruitless negotiations, the collected force of the two parties met near Lewes, in Sussex, where the royal army was totally defeated, and the king and prince Edward made prisoners.

No sooner had Leicester obtained this victory, and got the royal family in his power, than he acted as sole master, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He seized the estates of no less than eighteen barons, as his share of the spoil gained in the battle of Lewes: he engrossed to himself the ransom of all the prisoners, and told his barons, with wanton insolence, that it was sufficient for

them that he had saved them, by that victory, from the forfeitures and attainders which hung over them. All the officers of the crown were named by him; the whole authority, as well as arms of the state, was lodged in his hands¹⁵.

But it was impossible that things could remain long in this equivocal situation. It became necessary for Leicester either to descend to the rank of a subject, or mount up to that of a sovereign; and he could do neither without peril. He summoned a new parliament; which, for his own purposes, he fixed on A. D. 1265. a more democratical basis than any called since the Norman conquest, if not from the foundation of the monarchy. He ordered returns to be made not only of two knights from every shire, but also of deputies from the boroughs¹⁶; and thus introduced into the national council a second order of men, hitherto regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in those august assemblies, or have any share in the government of the state.

But although we are indebted to Leicester's usurpation for the first rude outline of the House of Commons, his policy only forwarded by some years an institution, for which the general state of society had already prepared the nation; and that house, though derived from so invidious an origin, when summoned by legal princes, soon proved one of the most useful members of the constitution, and gradually rescued the kingdom, as we shall have occasion to see, both from aristocratical and regal tyranny. It is but just, however, to observe, that as this necessary, and now powerful branch of our constitution, owed its rise to usurpation, it is the only one of the three that has latterly given an usurper to the state. The person to whom I allude, is Oliver Cromwell; and I will be so bold as to affirm, that if ever England is again subjected to the absolute will of any ONE man, unless from abroad, that man must be a member of the House of

15. Rymer, vol. i. M. Paris. W. Hemming. H. Knyghton. 16. Ibid. Commons.

Commons. The people are alike jealous of the power of the king and of the nobles; but they are themselves greedy of dominion, and can only possess it through their representatives. A popular member of the lower house, therefore, needs only ambition, enterprize, and a favourable conjuncture to overturn the throne; to strip the nobles of their dignities; and, while he blows the trumpet of liberty, to tell his equals they are slaves.

Leicester's motive for giving this form to the parliament, was a desire of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons; and trusting to the popularity acquired by such a measure, he made the earl of Derby be accused in the king's name, and ordered him to be seized and committed to prison without being brought to any legal trial. Several other barons were threatened with the same fate, and deserted the confederacy. The royalists flew to arms; prince Edward made his escape; and the joy of this young hero's appearance, together with the oppressions under which the nation laboured, soon produced him a force which Leicester was unable to resist. A battle was fought near Evesham; where Leicester was slain, and his army totally routed. When that nobleman, who possessed great military talents, observed the vast superiority in numbers, and excellent disposition of the royalists, he exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on our souls! for I see our bodies are prince Edward's: he has learned from me the art of war¹⁷." Another particular deserves to be noticed. The old king, disguised in armour, having been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle, had received a wound, and was ready to be put to death, when he weakly, but opportunely cried out, "Spare my life!—I am Henry of Winchester, your king¹⁸." His brave son flew to his rescue, and put him in a place of safety.

The victory of Evesham proved decisive in favour of the royal party, but was used with moderation. Although

17. W. Hentmiug. M. Paris.

18. W. Hemming, lib. iii.

the suppression of so extensive a rebellion commonly produces a revolution in government, and strengthens as well as enlarges the prerogatives of the crown, no sacrifices of national liberty were exacted upon this occasion. The clemency of this victory is also remarkable; no blood was shed on the scaffold. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of power, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state.

The affairs of England were no sooner settled than prince Edward, seduced by a thirst of glory, undertook an expedition into the Holy Land; where he signalized himself by many acts of valour, and A. D. 1270. struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him. The ruffian wounded Edward in the arm, but paid for his temerity with his life¹⁹. Meanwhile the prince's absence from England was productive of many pernicious consequences, which the old king, unequal to the burden of government, was little able to prevent²⁰. He therefore implored his gallant son to return, and assist him in swaying that A. D. 1271. sceptre which was ready to drop from his feeble hands. Edward obeyed; but before his arrival the king expired in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign, the longest in the English annals.

The most obvious feature in the character of Henry III. is his weakness. From this source, rather than from insincerity or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and hence, for the sake of present conveniency, he was easily induced to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people. A better head, with the same dispositions, would have prevented him from falling into so many errors!

19. M. Paris. T. Wykes.

20. The police was so loose during the latter part of Henry's reign, that not only single houses, but whole villages were often pillaged by bands of robbers. *Chron. Distr.*

but (every good has its alloy!) with a worse heart, it would have enabled him to maintain them.

Prince Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land; when he received intelligence of the death of his father, and immediately proceeded homeward. But a variety of objects; my dear Philip, claim your attention before I carry farther the transactions of our own island, which now become truly important. The reign of Edward I. forms a new æra in the history of Britain.

LETTER XXXIII.

FRANCE, FROM THE REIGN OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS, TO THE END
OF THE REIGN OF LEWIS IX. COMMONLY CALLED ST. LEWIS;
WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LAST CRUSADE.

THE reign of Philip Augustus has already engaged our attention. We have had occasion to observe the great abilities of that prince, both as a warrior and a politician: we have seen him reunite many fine provinces to the kingdom of France at the expense of the English monarchy: we have seen him attempt the conquest of England itself; and we have also seen in what manner prince Lewis was obliged to abandon that project, notwithstanding the power and the intrigues of Philip. Soon after the return of Lewis, A. D. 1223. his father died, and left the kingdom of France twice as large as he had received it; so that future acquisitions became easy to his successors.

Lewis VIII. however, did not enlarge the monarchy. His short reign was chiefly spent in a crusade against the

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the Albigenses, in the prosecution of which he died. He was succeeded by his son Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis. During the minority of this prince, though in his twelfth year at his accession, a variety of disorders arose in France, occasioned chiefly by the ambition of the powerful vassals of the crown. But all these were happily composed by the prudence and firmness of Blanche of Castile, the regent and queen-mother. A. D. 1226.

Lewis no sooner came of age than he was universally acknowledged to be the greatest prince in Europe; and his character is, perhaps, the most singular in the annals of history. To the mean and abject superstition of a monk, he united all the courage and magnanimity of a hero; nay, what may be deemed still more wonderful, the justice and integrity of the sincere patriot; and, where religion was not concerned, the mildness and humanity of the true philosopher. So far was he from taking advantage of the divisions among the English, during the reign of Henry III. or attempting to expel those dangerous rivals from the provinces which they still possessed in France, that he entertained many scruples in regard to the sentence of attainder pronounced against the king's father, and had not his bishops, it is said, persuaded him, that John was justly punished for his barbarity and felony, he would have restored all the conquests made by Philip Augustus¹. A. D. 1235.

When Gregory IX. after excommunicating Frederic II. offered the empire to the count of Artois, brother of St Lewis, this pious prince acted in the same disinterested manner. He did not indeed refuse that gift as what the pope had no right to bestow, but he replied, that Frederic had always appeared to him a good catholic; that ambassadors should first be sent to him, to know his sentiments touching the faith; that, if A. D. 1240.

1. Mangius, in *Vita Ludovici IX.*

orthodox, there could be no reason for attacking him; but if heretical, war ought to be carried on against him with violence; and, in such case, even against the pope himself².

This was Lewis's foible. Persuaded that heretics, or those who did not hold the established belief, deserved the punishment of death, he favoured the tribunal of the inquisition; and the same turn of thinking led him to ascribe merit to a war against infidels. His humane heart became a prey to the barbarous devotion of the times. Being seized with a dangerous illness, which deprived him of his senses, and almost of his life, his heated imagination took fire, and he thought he heard a voice commanding him to shed the blood of infidels. He accordingly made a vow, as soon as he recovered, to engage in a new crusade, and immediately took the cross. Nor could any remonstrances engage him to forego his purpose: he considered his vow as a sacred obligation, which it was not permitted man to dissolve³.

But Lewis, though not to be dissuaded from his eastern expedition, was in no hurry to depart. He spent four years in making preparations, and in settling the government of his kingdom, which he left to the care of his mother; and, at length, set sail for Cyprus, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, and almost all the knights of France. At Cyprus it was resolved to make a descent upon Egypt, as experience had shewn, that Jerusalem and the Holy Land could never be preserved, while that country remained in the hands of the infidels⁴. But before I speak of the transactions of Egypt, I must say a few words of the state of the east in those times.

Asia, my dear Philip, from the earliest ages, has been the seat of enormous monarchy, and the theatre of the most astonishing revolutions. You have seen with

2 Ibid.

3. Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis.*

4. Ibid.

what rapidity it was over-run by the Arabs, and afterwards by the Turks: you have seen those conquering people, for a time, borne down by the champions of the cross, and Saladin himself sink beneath the arm of our illustrious Richard. But neither the zeal of the Christians, nor the enthusiasm of the Mahometans, who were supposed to have carried conquest to its utmost point, was attended with a success equal to the hardy valour of the Moguls, or Western Tartars, under Genghiz-Kan; who, in a few years, extended his dominions, from a small territory, to more than eighteen hundred leagues, from east to west, and above a thousand, from north to south. He conquered Persia, and pushed his conquests as far as the Euphrates; subdued Indostan, and great part of China; all Tartary, and the frontier provinces of Russia.

This wonderful man died in 1226, when he was preparing to complete the conquest of China. His empire was divided among his four sons, whose names it is unnecessary here to mention. They continued united till the death of Octay, his successor as Great Kan, who totally subjected Egypt. One of his grandsons passed the Euphrates; dispossessed the Turks of that part of Asia Minor now called Natolia, and terminated the dominion of the Califs of Bagdat. Another of them carried terror into Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia, and to the very gates of Constantinople⁵.

These Western Tartars, accustomed from their birth to brave hunger, fatigue, and death, were irresistible, while they preserved their savage austerity of manners. The offspring of the same deserts which had produced the Scythians, the Huns, and Turks, they were more fierce than either; and as the Goths had formerly seized upon Thrace, when expelled by the Huns from their native habitations, the Korasmins, in like manner, flying before the Moguls, overran Syria, and Palestine, and

5. De la Croix, *Vit. Genghiz-Kan. Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. iii. fol. edit.

made themselves masters of Jerusalem in 1244, putting the inhabitants to the sword⁶. The Christians, however, still possessed Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, and Ptolemais; and though always divided among themselves, and cutting one another's throats, they united in imploring the assistance of Europe against this new danger.

Such was the situation of the east, and of the Oriental Christians, when St. Lewis set out for their relief. But, instead of sailing immediately for Palestine, he made a descent, as I have observed, upon Egypt. His declared purpose in so doing has been already explained. But as the soldan of Egypt was not now in possession of Jerusalem, this invasion must have proceeded from the king of France's ignorance of the affairs of the east; or from an ambition of conquering so fine a country, more than from any hope of advancing the interest of Christianity.

Lewis and his prodigious army, said to have been transported in eighteen hundred ships, landed near the city of Damietta; which, contrary to all expectation, was abandoned to them. He afterwards received fresh succours from France, and found himself in the plains of Egypt at the head of sixty thousand men, the flower of his kingdom, by whom he was both obeyed and loved. What might not have been expected from such a force, under such a general! Not only Egypt, but Syria, should have yielded to their arms. Yet this crusade, like all the rest, terminated in sorrow and disappointment. One half of these fine troops fell a prey to sickness and debauchery; the other was defeated by the soldan, at Massoura, where Lewis beheld his brother, Robert of Artois, killed by his side, and himself taken prisoner, together with his other two brothers, the count of Anjou and the count of Poitiers, and all his nobility⁷.

6. Id. *ibid.*

7. Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis.*

The French, however, were still in possession of Damietta. There St. Lewis's consort was lodged; and thinking her safety doubtful, as the place was besieged, she addressed herself to the Sieur Joinville, a venerable knight, and made him promise, on the faith of chivalry, to cut off her head, if ever her virtue should be in danger. "Most readily," answered Joinville, in the true spirit of the times, "will I perform at your request, what I thought indeed to do of myself, should misfortune make it necessary." But he had happily no occasion to put his promise into execution. Damietta held out, and a treaty was concluded with the soldan, by which that city was restored, in consideration of the king's liberty, and a thousand pieces of gold paid for the ransom of the other prisoners⁸.

Lewis was now solicited to return to Europe with the remnant of his fleet and army, but devotion led him to Palestine, where he continued four years, without effecting any thing of consequence. In the mean time the affairs of France were in much confusion. The queen-mother, during the king's captivity, had unadvisedly given permission to a fanatical monk, to preach a new crusade for her son's release; and this man availing himself of the pastoral circumstance in the Nativity, assembled near one hundred thousand A. D. 1258. people of low condition, whom he called shepherds. It soon appeared, however, that they might with more propriety have been styled wolves. They robbed and pillaged wherever they came; and it was found necessary to disperse them by force of arms. Nor was that effected without much trouble⁹.

The death of the queen-mother determined Lewis, at last, to revisit France. But he only re- A. D. 1258, turned in order to prepare for a new crusade; so strongly had that madness taken hold of his mind!—

8. Id. *ibid.*9. Fontainay, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic.* tom. xi. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii.

Meanwhile his zeal for justice, his care to reform abuses, his wise laws, his virtuous example, soon repaired the evils occasioned by his absence. He established on a solid foundation, the right of appeal to the royal judges, one of the best expedients for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles. He absolutely prohibited private wars, which the feudal anarchy had tolerated: he substituted juridical proofs, instead of those by duel; and no less enlightened than pious, he rescued France from the exactions of the court of Rome¹⁰.

In his transactions with his neighbours, Lewis was alike exemplary. Equity and disinterestedness were the basis of his policy. If he sometimes carried these virtues too far, as a prince, they always did him honour as a man: they even procured him respect as a sovereign, and secured to his subjects the greatest blessing that a people can enjoy, peace and prosperity. He ceded to James I. of Arragon his incontestible right to Rousillon and Catalonia, which had been subject to
 A. D. 1262. France from the time of Charlemagne, in exchange for certain claims of that monarch to some fiefs in Provence and Languedoc; and he restored
 A. D. 1263. to the English crown Querci, Perigord, and the Limousin, for no higher consideration than that the king of England should renounce all right to Normandy, Maine, and other forfeited provinces, which were already in the possession of France. But Lewis, as has been observed, was doubtful of the right by which he held those provinces. And although an ambitious prince, instead of making this compromise, might have taken advantage of the troubles of England under Henry III. to seize Guienne, and all that remained to that monarchy in France, such a prince might also, by these means, have drawn on himself the jealousy of his neighbours, and in the end have fallen a sacrifice to his rapa-

10. Id. *ibid.*

city: whereas Lewis, by his moderation, acquired the confidence of all Europe, and was chosen arbiter between the king of England and his barons, at a time when it was his interest to have ruined both; an honour never conferred upon any other rival monarch, and with which, perhaps, no other could ever safely have been trusted. He determined in favour of the king, without prejudice to the people: he annulled the provisions of Oxford, as derogatory to the rights of the crown, but enforced the observation of the Great Charter. And although this sentence was rejected by Leicester and his party, it will remain to all ages an eternal monument of the equity of Lewis¹¹. A. D. 1264.

The most blamable circumstance in this great monarch's conduct, and perhaps the only one that deserves to be considered in that light, was his approbation of the treaty between his brother and the pope, relative to Sicily. That kingdom had formerly been offered, as you have seen, to the earl of Cornwall, and to prince Edmond, son of Henry III. After being given up by England, it was offered to the count of Anjou: he accepted it; and Lewis permitted a crusade to be preached in France against Mainfroy, who had now actually usurped the Sicilian throne, in prejudice of his nephew Conradine. The count of Anjou marched into Italy at the head of a numerous army.—Mainfroy was defeated and slain in the plains of Benevento, and Conradine appeared in vindication of his native rights. He was also routed and taken prisoner, together with his uncle, the duke of Austria; and both were executed at Naples, upon a scaffold, at the request of the pope, and by the sentence of a pretended court of justice¹²; an indignity not hitherto offered to a crowned head. A. D. 1266.

11. Rymer, vol. i. *Chron.* T. Wykes. *Chron.* Dunst. M. Paris. W. Hemming.

12. Giannone, *Hist. di Nap.*

In consequence of the revolution that followed this barbarity, by which Charles, count of Anjou, established himself on the Siciian throne, the ancient rights of that island were annihilated, and it fell entirely under the jurisdiction of the pope. Meanwhile St. Lewis, who, either out of respect to his holiness, or of complaisance to his brother, thus beheld with indifference the liberties of mankind sacrificed, and the blood of princes unjustly spilt, was preparing to lead a new army against the infidels. He hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis; and, for that purpose, landed on the coast of Africa, sword in hand, at the head of his troops. But the Mus-

A. D. 1270. sulman refused to embrace Christianity: the French army was seized with an epidemical distemper, of which Lewis beheld one of his sons expire, and another at the point of death, when he

A. D. 1271. was seized with it himself, and died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. His son and successor, Philip, recovered; kept the field against the Moors; and saved the remains of the French army, which procured him the name of the Hardy¹³. But the reign of this prince must not at present engage our attention: we must return to the affairs of Spain, which had still little connexion with the rest of Europe, but was every day rising into consequence.

13. Joinville, ubi sup. Mezeray, tom. iii. Henault, tom. i.

LETTER XXXIV.

SPAIN, FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH TO THE END OF
THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

WE left Spain, my dear Philip, towards the middle of the eleventh century, dismembered by the Moors and Christians, and both a prey to civil wars. About that time Ferdinand, son of Sancho, surnamed the Great, king of Navarre and Arragon, reunited to his dominions Old Castile, together with the kingdom of Leon, which he took from his brother-in-law, whom he slew in battle. Castile then became a kingdom, and Leon one of its provinces¹. A. D. 1037.

In the reign of this Ferdinand lived Don Roderigo, surnamed the Cid, who actually married Chimene, whose father he had murdered. They who know nothing of this history, but from the celebrated tragedy written by Corneille, suppose that Ferdinand was in possession of Andalusia. The Cid began his famous exploits by assisting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldest son, to strip his brothers and sisters of the inheritance left them by their father; but Sancho being murdered in one of these unjust expeditions, his brothers entered again into possession of their estates. A. D. 1072.

A short digression will be here necessary. Besides the many kings at this time in Spain, who amounted to near the number of twenty, there were also many independent lords, who came on horse-back completely armed, and followed by several squires, to offer their service to the princes and princesses engaged in war.

1. Mariana, *Hist. Gen. de Espana.*

The princes with whom these lords engaged girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder; and hence the origin of knights-errant, and of the number of single combats, which so long desolated Spain.

One of the most celebrated of these combats was fought after the murder of that king Sancho, whose death I have just mentioned, and who was assassinated while he was besieging his sister Auraca in the city of Zamora. Three knights maintained the honour of the infanta against Don Diego de Lara, who had accused her. Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the infanta's knights, and the horse of the third having the reins of his bridle cut, carried his master out of the lists, and the combat was declared undecided.

Of all the Spanish knights, the Cid distinguished himself most eminently against the Moors. Several knights, ranged themselves under his banner; and these knights, with their squires and horsemen, composed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the most beautiful steeds in the country. With this force he overcame several Moorish kings; and having fortified the city of Alcastar, he there erected a little sovereignty.

But of the various enterprises in which the Cid and his followers were engaged, the most gallant was the A. D. 1084. siege of Toledo, which his master Alphonso VI. king of Old Castile, undertook against the Moors. The noise of this siege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy; particularly Raymond, count of Toulouse, and two princes of the blood-royal of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Moorish king, named Hiaya, was the son of Almamon, one of the most generous princes mentioned in history, and who had afforded an asylum, in this very city of Toledo, to Alphonso, when persecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together for a long time in strict friendship; and Almamon was so far from detaining Alphonso, when

when he became king, by the death of Sancho, that he gave him part of his treasures, and they shed tears, it is said, at parting. But the spirit of those times made every thing lawful against infidels, and even meritorious. Several Moorish princes went out of the city to reproach Alphonso with his ingratitude, and many remarkable combats were fought under the walls.

This siege lasted a whole year; at the end of which Toledo capitulated; on condition that the Moors should enjoy their religion and laws, A. D. 1085. and suffer no injury in their persons or property². All New Castile, in a short time, yielded to the Cid, who took possession of it in the name of Alphonso; and Madrid, a small place, which was one day to become the capital of Spain, fell into the hands of the Christians.

Immediately after the reduction of Toledo, Alphonso called an assembly of bishops, who, without the concurrence of the people, formerly thought necessary, promoted a priest named Bernard to the bishopric of that city; and Pope Urban II. at the king's request, made him primate of Spain. The king and the pope were also anxious to establish the Roman liturgy and ritual in place of the Gothic, or Musarabic, hitherto in use. The Spaniards contended zealously for the ritual of their ancestors: the pope urged them to receive that which he had given his infallible sanction: a violent squabble arose; and, to the disgrace of human reason, a religious opinion was referred to the decision of the sword. Two knights accordingly entered the lists in complete armour. The Musarabic champion was victorious; but the king and the archbishop had influence enough to get a new trial appointed, though contrary to all the laws of combat. The next appeal was to God by fire. A fire being prepared for that purpose, a copy of each liturgy was cast into the flames. The fire, most likely, respected neither; but authority prevailed. The Roman liturgy was ordered

2. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hist.* Mariana, ubi sup. Ferreras, *Hist. d'España.*

to be received; yet some churches were permitted to retain the Musarabic³.

Alphonso, either from policy or inclination, augmented the dominions which he had acquired through the valour of the Cid, by marrying Zaid, daughter of Abenhabet, the Mahometan king of Seville, with whom he received several towns in dowry: and he is reproached with having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, invited the Miramolin of Africa into Spain. But be that as it may, the Miramolin came; and, instead of assisting, as A. D. 1097. was expected, the king of Seville, in reducing the petty Moorish princes, he turned his arms against Abenhabet, took the city of Seville, and became a dangerous neighbour to Alphonso⁴.

In the mean time the Cid, at the head of his army of knights, subdued the kingdom of Valentia. Few kings in Spain were, at that time, so powerful as he; yet he never assumed the regal title, but continued faithful to his master Alphonso. He governed Valentia, however, with all the authority of a sovereign, receiving ambassadors, and being treated with the highest respect by all nations. After his death, which happened in 1096, the kings of Castile and Arragon continued their wars against the infidels; and Spain was more drenched in blood than ever, and more desolated.

Alphonso, surnamed the Battle-giver, king of Navarre and Arragon, took Saragossa from the A. D. 1118. Moors; and that city, which afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, never again returned under the dominion of the infidels. He was continually at war either with the Christians or Mahometans; and the latter gained a complete victory over him, which mortified him so much, that A. D. 1134. he died of chagrin, leaving his kingdom, by will, to the Knights Templars. This was bequeathing a civil war as his last legacy. The testament was esteemed

3. Id. *ibid.*

4. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp.*

valid;

valid; but fortunately these knights were not in a condition to enforce it; and the states of Arragon chose for their king Garcias Remiero, brother to the deceased monarch. He had led a monastic life for upwards of forty years, and proved incapable of governing. The people of Navarre therefore chose another king, descended from their ancient monarchs; and, by this division, both these states became a prey to the Moors. They were saved by the timely assistance of Alphonso VII. king of Castile; who had obtained many victories over the infidels, and in return for his protection received the city of Saragossa from the Arragonese, and the homage of the king of Navarre. This success so much elated Alphonso, that he assumed the title of emperor of Spain⁵.

Alphonso Henriquez, count of Portugal, received about this time the title of king from his soldiers, after a victory obtained over the Moors; and he took Lisbon from them by the assistance of the crusaders, as has been already mentioned. On this occasion pope Alexander III. steady to the policy of his predecessors, took advantage of the papal maxim, That all countries conquered from the infidels belong to the holy see, to assert his superiority over Portugal; and Alphonso politically allowed him an annual tribute of two marks of gold, on receiving a bull from Rome confirming his regal dignity, and his infallible right to that territory⁶.

A very few efforts would now have been sufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of Spain; but for that purpose it was necessary that the Spanish Christians should be united among themselves, whereas they were unhappily engaged in perpetual wars one with another. They united, however, at length, from a sense of common danger, and also implored the assistance of the other Christian princes of Europe.

5. Id. *ibid.*6. Neufville, *Hist. Geog. de Port.*

Mahomet Ben Joseph, Miramolin of Africa, having crossed the sea with an army of near one hundred thousand men, and being joined by the Moors in Andalusia, assured himself of making an entire conquest of Spain. The rumour of this great armament roused the attention of the whole European continent. Many adventurers came from all quarters. To these the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their forces: the kingdom of Portugal also furnished a body of troops; and the Christian and Mahometan armies met in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, on the borders of Andalusia, and in the province of Toledo. Alphonso the Noble, king of Castile, commanded the centre of the Christian army: the archbishop of Toledo carried the cross before him. The Miramolin occupied the same place in the Moorish army: he was dressed in a rich robe, with the Koran in one hand, and a sabre in the other. The battle was long and obstinately disputed, but at length the Christians prevailed⁷: and the sixteenth of July, the day on which the victory was gained, is still celebrated in Toledo.

The consequences of this victory, however, were not so great as might have been expected. The Moors of Andalusia were strengthened by the remains of the African army, while that of the Christians was immediately dispersed. Almost all the knights, who had been present at the battle, returned to their respective homes as soon as it was over. But although the Christians seemed thus to neglect their true interest, by allowing the Mahometans time to recruit themselves, the Moors employed that time more to their own hurt than the Christians could, if united against them. All the Moorish states, both in Spain and Africa, were rent in pieces by civil dissensions, and a variety of new sovereigns sprung up, which entirely broke the power of the infidels.

7. Rod. Tolet. *de Reb. Hisp.*

The period seemed therefore arrived, to use the language of that haughty and superstitious nation, marked out by Heaven for the glory of Spain, and the expulsion of the Moors. Ferdinand III. styled by his countrymen St. Ferdinand, took from the infidels the famous city of Cordova, the residence of the first Moorish kings; and James I. of Arragon dispossessed them of the island of Majorca, and drove them out of the fine kingdom of Valentia. St. Ferdinand also subdued the province of Murcia, and made himself master of Seville, the most opulent city belonging to the Moors⁸. Death at length put an end to his conquests: and if divine honours are due to those who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain justly reverences the name of Ferdinand III.

Alphonso, surnamed the Astronomer, or the Wise, the son of St. Ferdinand, likewise exalted the glory of Spain; but in a manner very different from that of his father. This prince, who rivalled the Arabians, in the sciences, digested the celebrated Spanish code, called *Las Partidas*; and under his inspection those astronomical tables were drawn up, which still bear his name, and do honour to his memory. In his old age he saw his son Sancho rebel against him, and was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of leaguings with the Moors against his own blood, and his rebellious Christian subjects. This was not the first alliance which Christians had entered into with Mahometans against Christians; but it was certainly the most excusable.

Alphonso invited to his assistance the Miramolin of Africa, who immediately crossed the sea; and the two monarchs met at Zara, on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and speech of the Miramolin, on this occasion, deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity. He gave the place of honour to Alphonso at meeting: " I

8. Id. *ibid.*

“ treat you thus, said he, because you are unfortunate; “ and enter into alliance with you merely to revenge the “ common cause of all kings and all fathers.”

The rebels were overcome; but the good old king died before he had time to enjoy the fruits of his victory: and the Miramolin being obliged to return to Africa, the unnatural Sancho succeeded to the crown A. D. 1303. in prejudice to the offspring of a former marriage. He even reigned happily; and his son Ferdinand IV. took Gibraltar from the Moors¹⁰.

This Ferdinand is called by the Spanish historians the Summoned; and the reason they assign for it is somewhat remarkable. Having ordered two noblemen, in a fit of anger, to be thrown from the top of a rock, those noblemen, before they were pushed off, summoned him to appear in the presence of God within a month, at the end of which he died¹¹. It is to be wished, as Voltaire very justly observes, that this story were true; or at least believed to be so by all princes who think they have a right to follow their own imperious wills at the expense of the lives of their fellow-creatures.

These are the circumstances most worthy of notice in the history of Spain during the period here examined. We must now take a view of the progress of Society.

LETTER XXXV.

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE DURING THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen letters begin to revive, and manners to soften, about the middle of the eleventh century. But the progress of

9. Ferreras et Mariana, ubi supra.

10. Ibid.

11. Ferreras, *Hist. Espana.*

refinement

refinement was slow during the two succeeding centuries and often altogether obstructed by monastic austerities, theological disputes, ecclesiastical broils, and the disorders of the feudal anarchy. Society, however, made many beneficial advances, before the close of this period. These I shall endeavour distinctly to trace.

The influence of the spirit of chivalry on manners, as we have seen, was great and singular; it enlarged the generousities of the human heart, and soothed its ferocity. But being unhappily blended with superstition, it became itself the means of violence; armed one half of the species against the other, and precipitated Europe upon Asia. I allude to the crusades. Yet these romantic expeditions, though barbarous and destructive in themselves, were followed by many important consequences, equally conducive to the welfare of the community and of the individual. All adventurers who assumed the cross being taken under the immediate protection of the church, and its heaviest anathemas denounced against such as should molest their persons or their property, private hostilities were for a time suspended or extinguished: the feudal sovereigns became more powerful, and their vassals less turbulent; a more steady administration of justice was introduced, and some advances were made towards regular government.

The commercial effects of the crusades were no less considerable than their political influence. Many ships were necessary to transport the prodigious armies which Europe poured forth, and also to supply them with provisions. These ships were principally furnished by the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese; who acquired by that service, immense sums of money, and opened to themselves, at the same time, a new source of wealth, by importing into Europe the commodities of Asia. A taste for these commodities became general. The Italian cities grew rich, powerful, and obtained extensive privileges. Some of them erected themselves into sovereignties, others into corporations, or inde-

pendent communities¹; and the establishment of those communities may be considered as the first great step towards civilization in modern Europe.

This subject requires your particular attention. The feudal government, as I have frequently had occasion to observe, had degenerated into a system of oppression. The nobles had reduced the great body of the people to a state of actual servitude, and the condition of those denominated free, was little, if at all, more desirable. Not only the inhabitants of the country, but even whole cities and villages held of some great lord, on whom they depended for protection; and the citizens were no less subject to his arbitrary jurisdiction, than those employed in cultivating the estates of their masters. Services of various kinds, equally disgraceful and oppressive, were exacted from them, without mercy or moderation: and they were deprived of the most natural and unalienable rights of humanity. They could not dispose of their effects by will, appoint guardians to their children, or even marry without the consent of their superior lord².

Men, in such a condition, had few motives to industry. Accordingly we find all the cities of Europe, before their enfranchisement, equally poor and wretched. But no sooner were they formed into bodies politic, governed by magistrates chosen from among their own members, than the spirit of industry revived, and commerce began to flourish. Population increased with independency; the conveniencies of life, with the means of procuring them: property gave birth to statutes and regulations; a sense of common interest enforced them; and the more frequent occasion of intercourse among men and kingdoms, gradually led to a greater refinement in manners, and tended to wear off those national and local prejudices which create dissension and animosity between the inhabitants of different states and provinces.

1. Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* vol. ii. 2. *Ordon. des Rois de France*,
tom. i. iiii. Dacq. *Spicileg.* tom. xi. Murat. *Antiquit. Ital.* vol. iv.

The manner in which these immunities were obtained, was different in the different kingdoms of Europe. Some of the Italian cities, as we have seen, acquired their freedom by arms, others by money; and in France and Germany, many of the great barons were glad to sell charters of liberty to the towns within their jurisdiction, in order to repair the expense incurred by the crusades. The sovereigns also granted, or sold, like privileges to the towns within the royal domain, in order to create some power that might counterbalance their potent vassals, who often gave law to the crown³. The practice quickly spread over Europe; and before the end of the thirteenth century, its beneficial effects were generally felt.

These effects were no less extensive upon government than upon manners. Self-preservation had obliged every man, during several centuries, to court the patronage of some powerful baron, whose castle was the common asylum in times of danger; but towns surrounded with walls, and filled with citizens trained to arms, bound by interest as well as the most solemn engagements, to protect each other, afforded a more commodious and secure retreat. The nobles became of less importance, when they ceased to be the sole guardians of the people; and the crown acquired an increase of power and consequence, when it no longer depended entirely upon its great vassals for the supply of its armies. The cities contributed liberally toward the support of the royal authority, as they regarded the sovereigns as the authors of their liberty, and their protectors against the domineering spirit of the nobles. Hence another consequence of corporation charters.

The inhabitants of cities having obtained personal freedom and municipal jurisdiction, soon aspired at civil liberty and political power. And the sovereigns, in most kingdoms, found it necessary to admit them to a

3. Du Cange, voc. *Communia*.

share in the legislature, on account of their utility in raising the supplies for government; it being a fundamental principle in the feudal policy, that no free man could be taxed but with his own consent. The citizens were now free; and the wealth, the power, and the consequence which they acquired on recovering their liberty, added weight to their claim to political eminence, and seemed to mark them out as an essential branch in the constitution. They had it much in their power to supply the exigencies of the crown, and also to repress the encroachment of the nobles. In England, Germany, and even in France, where the voice of liberty is heard no more, the representatives of communities accordingly obtained, by different means, a place in the national council, as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century⁴.

Thus, my dear Philip, an intermediate power was established between the king and nobles, to which each had recourse alternately, and which sometimes opposed the one, and sometimes the other. It tempered the rigour of aristocratical oppression with a mixture of popular liberty, at the same time that it restrained the usurpations of the crown: it secured to the great body of the people, who had formerly no representatives, active and powerful guardians of their rights and liberties; and it entirely changed the spirit of the laws, by introducing into the statutes, and the jurisprudence of the European nations, ideas of equality, order, and public good.

To this new power that part of the people still in servitude, the villains, who resided in the country, and were employed in agriculture, looked up for freedom. They obtained it, though contrary to the spirit of the feudal polity. The odious names of master and slave were abolished. The husbandman became farmer of

4. M. l'Abbe Mably, *Observat. sur l'Hist. de France*, tom. ii. Henault tom. i. Pfeffel. *Abrege de Hist. et Droit d'Allemagne*. Brady, *Treatise of Boroughs*. Madox, *Firma Burgi*.

the same fields which he had formerly been compelled to cultivate for the benefit of another. He reaped a share of the fruits of his own industry. New prospects opened, new incitements were offered to ingenuity and enterprize. The activity of genius was awakened; and a numerous class of men, who formerly had no political existence, were restored to society, and augmented the force and riches of the state.

The second great advance which society made during the period under review, was an approach towards a more regular administration of justice. The barbarous nations who over-ran the Roman empire, and settled in its provinces, rejected the Roman jurisprudence, as I have had occasion to observe, with the same contempt that they spurned the Roman arts. Both respected objects of which they had no conception, and were adapted to a state of society with which they were then acquainted. But as civilization advanced, they became sensible of the imperfection of their own institutions, and even of their absurdity. The trial by ordeal and by duel was abolished in most countries before the end of the thirteenth century, and various attempts were made to restrain the practice of private war; one of the greatest abuses in the feudal polity, and which struck at the foundation of all government.

As the authority of the civil magistrate was found ineffectual to remedy this evil, the church interposed; and various regulations were published, in order to set bounds to private hostilities. But these all proving insufficient, supernatural means were employed: a letter was sent from Heaven to a bishop of Aquitaine, enjoining men to cease from violence, and be reconciled to each other. This revelation was published during a season of public calamity, when men were willing to perform any thing, in order to avert the wrath of an offended God. A general reconciliation took place: and a resolution was formed, That no man should, in
times

times to come, attack or molest his adversaries during the seasons set apart for celebrating the great festivals of the church, or from the evening of Thursday in each week, to the morning of Monday in the week ensuing: the intervening days being considered as particularly holy, Christ's passion having happened on one of those days, and his resurrection on another. This cessation from hostilities was called "The Truce of God," and three complete days, in every week, allowed such a considerable space for the passions of the antagonists to cool, and for the people to enjoy a respite from the calamities of war, as well as to take measures for their own security, that if the Truce of God had been exactly observed, it must have gone far towards putting an end to private wars. That, however, was not the case; the nobles prosecuted their quarrels as formerly, till towards the end of the twelfth century, when a carpenter of Guienne gave out, that Jesus Christ, together with the blessed Virgin, had appeared to him, and having commanded him, to exhort mankind to peace, had given him, as a proof of his mission, an image of the Virgin holding her son in her arms, with this inscription "Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, give us peace!" This low fanatic was received as an inspired messenger of Heaven. Many prelates and barons assembled at Puy, and took an oath, not only to make peace with all their own enemies, but to attack such as refused to lay down their arms, and to be reconciled to their enemies. They formed an association for that purpose, and assumed the honourable name of "The Brotherhood of God." Like associations were formed in other countries; and these, together with civil prohibitions, enforced by royal power, contributed to remove this pernicious evil.

5. Du Cange, Gloss. voc. Treuga. Du Mont. *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. Robertson's *Introd. Hist. Chales V.* sec. i. Hume, *Hist. England*, Append. i.

When society was thus emerging from barbarism, and men were become sensible of the necessity of order, a copy of Justinian's Pandects was discovered at Amalphi, in Italy; and although the age had still too little taste to relish the beauty of the Roman classics, it immediately perceived the merit of a system of laws, in which all the points most interesting to mankind were settled with precision, discernment, and equity. All men of letters were struck with admiration at the wisdom of the ancients: the Justinian code was studied with eagerness; the professors at civil law were appointed, who taught this new science in most countries of Europe.

The effect of studying and imitating so perfect a model, were, as might be expected, great. Fixed and general laws were established; the principles and the forms by which judges should regulate their decisions, were ascertained; the feudal law was reduced into a regular system; the canon law was methodised; the loose uncertain customs of different provinces or kingdoms were collected and arranged with order and accuracy. And these improvements in the system of jurisprudence had an extensive influence upon society. They gave rise to a distinction of professions.

Among rude nations no profession is honourable but that of arms; and, as the functions of peace are few and simple, war is the only study. Such had been the state of Europe during several centuries. But when law became a science, the knowledge of which required a regular course of studies, together with long attention to the practice of courts, a new order of men naturally acquired consideration and influence in society. Another profession beside that of arms was introduced, and reputed honourable among the laity: the talents requisite for discharging it were cultivated; the arts and virtues of peace were placed in their proper rank; and the people of Europe became accustomed to see men rise to eminence by civil as well as military employment⁶.

6. Montesquieu, *l'Esprit des Loix*, liv. xxviii. Hume, *Hist. England* chap. xxiii. Robertson, *Introd. Charles V.* sec. i.

The study of the Roman law had also a considerable influence upon letters. The knowledge of a variety of sciences became necessary, in order to expound with judgment the civil code; and the same passion which made men prosecute the juridical science with so much ardour, made them anxious to excel in every branch of literature. Colleges and universities were founded, a regular course of studies was planned, and a regular set of professors established. Privileges of great value were conferred upon masters and scholars; academical titles and honours were invented, as rewards for the different degrees of literary eminence; and an incredible number of students, allured by these advantages, resorted to the new seats of learning⁷.

But a false taste unhappily infected all those seminaries, which is thus ingeniously accounted for by a learned and inquisitive writer:—Most of the persons who attempted to revive literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had received instruction, and derived their principle of science, from the Greeks in the eastern empire, or the Arabs in Spain and Africa. Both these people, acute and inquisitive to excess, corrupted the sciences which they cultivated. The Greeks rendered theology a system of speculative refinement or endless controversy; and the Arabs communicated to philosophy a metaphysical and frivolous subtlety. Misled by these guides, the persons who first applied to science were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Instead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and produce such works of elegant invention as might have improved the taste, and refined the sentiments of the age; instead of cultivating those arts which embellish human life, and render it delightful, they spent the whole force of their genius in speculations as unavailing as they were difficult⁸.

7. *Id. ibid.* 8. Robertson, *ubi sup.*

But fruitless and ill-directed as these speculations were, their novelty roused, and their boldness engaged the human mind; and although science was further circumscribed in its influence, and prevented during several ages from diffusing itself through society, by being delivered in the Latin tongue, its progress deserves to be mentioned, as one of the great causes which contributed to introduce a change of manners into modern Europe. That ardent, though mistaken spirit of inquiry which prevailed, put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour: it led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as interesting; it accustomed them to exercises and occupations that tended to soften their manners, and to give them some relish for those gentle virtues, which are peculiar to nations among whom science has been successfully cultivated.

Some ages indeed elapsed before taste, order, and politeness were restored to society: but anarchy and barbarism gradually disappeared with ignorance; the evils of life, with its crimes: and public and private happiness grew daily better understood; until Europe (wisely governed!) came to enjoy all those advantages, pleasures, amusements, and tender sympathies, which are necessary to alleviate the pains inseparable from existence, and soothe the sorrows allied to humanity.

LETTER XXXVI.

ENGLAND, DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD I. WITH AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND; SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY BY THE ENGLISH, AND THE FINAL REDUCTION OF WALES.

THE reign of Edward I. my dear Philip, as already observed, forms a new æra in the history of Britain. I must now make you sensible what entitles it to that distinction.

As soon as Edward returned to England (where his authority was firmly established, by his high character both at home and abroad), he applied himself assiduously to the correcting of those disorders, which the civil commotions, and the loose administration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. His policy, though severe, was equally liberal and prudent. By an exact distribution of justice, and a rigid execution of the laws, he gave at once protection to the inferior orders of the state, and diminished the arbitrary power of the nobles. He made it a rule in his own conduct to observe, except upon extraordinary occasions, the privileges secured to the barons by the Great Charter, and he insisted on their observance of the same charter towards their vassals; he made the crown be regarded as the grand fountain of justice, and the general asylum against violence and oppression. By these wise measures, the state of the kingdom was soon wholly changed; order and tranquillity were restored to society, and vigour to government¹.

Now it was, that the enterprising spirit of Edward began more remarkably to shew itself. He undertook an expedition against Lewellyn,

A. D. 1276.

1. M. West. T. Walsingham.

prince of Wales, who had formerly joined the rebellious barons, and whose two brothers, David and Roderic, had fled to Edward for protection; craving his assistance to recover their possessions, and seconding his attempts to enslave their native country.

The Welsh prince had no resource against the superior force of Edward but the inaccessible situation of his mountains, which had hitherto protected his forefathers against all the attempts of the Saxon and Norman conquerors. He accordingly retired with the bravest of his subjects among the hills of Snowdon. But Edward, no less vigorous than cautious, pierced into the heart of the country, and approached the Welsh army in its last retreat. Having carefully secured every pass behind him, he avoided putting to trial the valour of a nation proud of its ancient independency. He trusted to the more slow but sure effects of famine for success; and Lewellyn was at length obliged to ^{A. D. 1277.} submit, and receive the terms imposed upon him by the English monarch².

These terms, though sufficiently severe, were but ill observed by the victors. The English oppressed and insulted the inhabitants of the districts which were yielded to them. The indignation of the Welsh was roused: they flew to arms; and Edward again entered Wales with an army, not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final. This army he committed to the command of Roger Mortimer, while he himself waited the event, in the castle of Rudhlan; and Lewellyn, having ventured to leave his fastnesses, was defeated ^{A. D. 1283.} by Mortimer, and slain, together with two thousand of his followers. All the Welsh nobility submitted to Edward, and the laws of England were established in that principality³.

In order to preserve his conquest, Edward had recourse to a barbarous policy. He ordered David,

2. T. Wykes.

3. T. Walsingham. T. Wykes, *Annal. Waverl.*

Powel, *Hist. Wales.*

brother to Lewellyn, and his successor in the principality of Wales, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for taking arms in defence of his native country, which he had once unhappily deserted, and for maintaining by force his own hereditary authority. He
 A. D. 1284. also ordered all the Welsh bards to be collected together and put to death; from a belief, and no absurd one, that he should more easily subdue the independent spirit of the people, when their minds ceased to be roused by the ideas of military valour and ancient glory, preserved in the traditional poems of these minstrels, and recited or sung by them on all public occasions and days of festivity⁴.

Edward's conduct, in regard to Scotland, at which his ambition now pointed, is little more excusable. But several things must be premised, my dear Philip, before I proceed to his transactions with that country.

On the final departure of the Romans from this island, you have seen the Scots and Picts, its northern inhabitants, ravaging South Britain. They were repelled, but not subdued by the Saxons; and the first Norman princes were too much occupied with the affairs of the continent to push their conquests beyond the Tweed. Meanwhile fierce and bloody wars were, during several ages, carried on between the Scots and Picts, and Kenneth II. the sixty-ninth Scottish king, according to tradition, had obtained, in 838, a complete victory over the Picts, and united into one monarchy the whole country at present known by the name of North Britain. The Scots thenceforth became more formidable; and having less business on their hands at home, were always ready to join the English malecontents, and made frequent incursions, into the bordering counties. In one of these incursions, as I have had occasion to notice, William king of Scotland was taken prisoner; and Henry I. as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him

4. Sir J. Wynne.

an exorbitant ransom, and a promise to surrender the places of greatest strength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I. a more generous but less politic prince than his father, solemnly renounced his claim of homage, and absolved William from the other hard conditions which Henry had imposed. The crown of Scotland was therefore again rendered independent, and the northern potentate only did homage for the fiefs which he enjoyed in England, (a circumstance which has occasioned many mistakes, and much dispute among historians) in the same manner as the king of England himself swore fealty to the French monarch for the fiefs which he inherited in France. But on the death of Alexander III. near a century after the captivity of William, ^{A. D. 1286.} Edward I. availing himself of the situation of affairs in Scotland, revived the claim of sovereignty which had been renounced by Richard⁵.

This is the real state of the controversy concerning the independency of Scotland, which took its rise about this time, and in the following manner. As Alexander left no male issue, nor any descendant except Margaret of Norway, his grand-daughter, who did not long survive him, the right of succession belonged to the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, third son of king David I. Of that line, two illustrious competitors for the crown appeared: Robert Bruce, son of Isabel, earl David's second daughter; and John Baliol, grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter. According to the rules of succession now established, Baliol's right was preferable; he would succeed as the representative of his mother and grandmother; and Bruce's plea of being one degree nearer the common stock, would be disregarded. But in that age the question appeared no less intricate than important: the sentiments of men were divided: each claim was supported by a powerful faction; and arms alone, it was feared,

5. Buchanan, *Hist. Scot.* lib. viii. Robertson, book i.

must terminate a dispute too weighty for the laws to decide.

In this critical situation the parliament of Scotland, in order to avoid the miseries of civil war, embraced the dangerous resolution of appealing to Edward I. He was accordingly chosen umpire, and both parties agreed to acquiesce in his decree. Now it was that this ambitious and enterprising prince, already master of Wales, resolved more determinedly to make himself lord of the whole island of Britain, by reviving his obscure claim of feudal superiority over Scotland. Under pretence of examining the question with the utmost solemnity, he summoned all the Scottish barons to attend
A. D. 1291. him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern bank of the Tweed; and having gained some and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were present, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the two competitors for the succession, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the English crown, and swear fealty to him as their sovereign or liege lord⁶.

This step led to another still more important. As it was in vain to pronounce a sentence which he had not power to execute, Edward demanded possession of the disputed kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whose right should be found preferable: and that exorbitant demand was complied with both by the barons and the claimants. He soon after gave judgment in fa-
A. D. 1292. vour of Baliol, as being the least formidable of the competitors, we are told, by a respectable historian⁷; but in justice to Edward, I am bound to say, that his award, which was no less equitable than solemn, seemed to proceed merely from the state of the question. He not only referred it to the consideration of an hundred and forty commissioners, partly English and partly Scotch, but proposed it to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe, who returned an uniform answer con-

6. Rymer, vol. ii. W. Hemming, vol. i.
Scotland, book i.

7. Robertson, *Hist.*

formable to the king's decree. Baliol renewed the oath of fealty to England, and was put in possession of the kingdom⁸.

Edward having thus established his unjust claim of feudal superiority over Scotland, aspired next at the absolute sovereignty and dominion of that kingdom. He attempted to provoke Baliol by indignities; to rouse him to rebellion, and to rob him of his crown, as the punishment of his pretended treason and felony. The passive spirit of Baliol accordingly began to ^{A. D. 1295.} mutiny; and he entered into a secret alliance with France, which was already engaged in a war with England, the more effectually to maintain his independency.

The expenses attending these multiplied wars of Edward, and his new preparations for reducing Scotland, obliged him to have frequent recourse to parliamentary supplies, and introduced the lower orders of the state into the public councils. This period, therefore, the twenty-third year of his reign, seems to be the true æra of the House of Commons: for the former precedent of representatives from the boroughs, summoned by the earl of Leicester, was regarded as the act of a violent usurpation, and had been discontinued in all the subsequent parliaments. But when the multiplied necessities of the crown produced a greater demand for money, than could be conveniently answered by the common mode of taxation, Edward became sensible, that the most expeditious way of obtaining supplies was to assemble the deputies of all the boroughs; to lay before them the exigencies of the state; to discuss the matter in their presence, and to require their consent to the demands of their sovereign. He therefore issued writs to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough within their county, provided with sufficient powers from their community, to consent to what levies

8. Rymer, vol. ii. W. Hemming, vol.

should seem necessary for the support of government. "As it is a most equitable rule," says he, in his preamble to this writ, "that what concerns all should be approved of by all; and common dangers be repelled by united efforts." Such a way of thinking implies a generosity of mind much superior to what might be expected from Edward's general conduct.

The aldermen and common-council, after the election of these deputies, gave surety for their attendance before the king and parliament; and their charges were borne by the borough that sent them¹⁰. How different in that, as well as in other respects, from our modern representatives!—Instead of checking and controlling the authority of the king, they were naturally induced to adhere to him, as the great fountain of justice, and to support him against the power of the nobles, who at once oppressed them, and disturbed him in the execution of the laws. The king, in his turn, gave countenance to an order of men so useful, and so little dangerous. The peers also were obliged to pay them some respect, on account of their consequence as a body. By these means the commons, or third estate, long so subject in England, as well as in all other European nations, rose gradually to their present importance; and, in their progress, made arts and commerce, the necessary attendants on liberty and equality, flourish in Britain.

Edward employed the supplies granted by his people in warlike preparations against his northern neighbour. He cited Baliol, as his vassal, to appear in A. D. 1296. an English parliament, to be held at Newcastle. But that prince, having now received pope Celestine's dispensation from his oath of fealty, renounced the homage which had been done to England, and set Edward at defiance. This bravado was but ill supported by the military operations of the Scots. Edward crossed the Tweed without opposition, at the head of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Berwick was

9. Brady, *Treatise of Boroughs*, from the Records.
Reliquiæ Spelm.

10. *Id. ibid.*

taken by assault; the Scottish army was totally routed near Dunbar; the whole southern part of the kingdom was subdued; and the timid Baliol, discontented with his own subjects, and over-awed by the English, instead of making use of those resources which were yet left, hastened to make his submissions to the conqueror. He expressed the deepest penitence for his disloyalty to his liege lord; and he made a solemn and irrevocable renunciation of his crown into the hands of Edward¹¹.

The English monarch marched as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting a single enemy. No Scotsman approached him, but to pay him submission and do him homage. Even the turbulent Highlanders, ever refractory to their own princes, and averse against the restraints of law, endeavoured by a timely obedience to prevent the devastation of their country: and Edward, flattering himself that he had now attained the great object of his wishes, in the final reduction of Scotland, left earl Warrenne governor of the kingdom, and returned with his victorious army into England¹².

Here a few particulars are necessary. There was a stone to which the popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration. All their kings were seated on it when they received the rite of inauguration. Ancient tradition assured them, A. D. 2090. that their nation should always govern where this stone was placed; and it was carefully preserved at Scone, as the true palladium of their monarch, and their ultimate resource under all misfortunes. Edward got possession of it, and carried it with him into England. He also gave orders to destroy all the records, and all those monuments of antiquity which might preserve the memory of the independency of the kingdom of Scotland, and refute the English claims of superiority. The great seal of Baliol was broken, and that prince himself was carried prisoner to London, and committed to

11. Rymer, vol. ii. Hemming. vol. i. Trivet. *Annal.*

12. Id. *Ibid.*

close custody in the Tower¹³. Two years after he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France; where, without making any farther attempt for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private station.

Edward was not so successful in an effort which he made for the recovery of Guienne. The French monarch, Philip IV. surnamed the Fair, had robbed England of this province, by an artifice similar to that which Edward had practised against the Scots. He had cited the English monarch, as his vassal, to answer, in the court of peers, the charge of treason against his sovereign; for having permitted his subjects to seize some Norman vessels, and denied satisfaction: and Edward refusing to comply, was declared guilty of treason, and the duchy of Guienne confiscated. An English army was sent over to recover it, under the earl of Lancaster, who died in a short time; and the earl of Lincoln, who succeeded him in the command, failed in the attempt. But the active and ambitious spirit of Edward could not rest satisfied so long as the ancient patrimony of his family remained in the hands of his rival. He therefore entered into an alliance with the
A. D. 1296. earls of Holland and Flanders¹⁴; and hoped, that when he should enter the frontiers of France at the head of his English, Flemish, and Dutch armies, the French king would purchase peace by the restitution of Guienne.

But, in order to set this vast machine in motion, considerable supplies were necessary from parliament; and these Edward readily obtained both from the lords and commons. He was not so fortunate in his impositions on the clergy, whom he always hated, and from whom he demanded a fifth of all their moveables, as a punishment for their adherence to the Mountfort faction. They urged the pope's bull in opposition to

¹³ W. Hemming. T. Walsingham. ¹⁴ Rymer, vol. ii. Hemming, vol. i. all

all such demands; and Edward, instead of applying to Boniface VIII. then pontiff, for a relaxation of his mandate, boldly told the ecclesiastics, that since they refused to support the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it, and he would accordingly put them out of the protection of the laws.

This vigorous measure was immediately carried into execution. Orders were issued to the judges to receive no cause brought before them by the clergy; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants: to do every one justice against them, but to do them justice against nobody. The ecclesiastics soon found themselves in the most miserable situation imaginable. They could not remain always in their own houses or convents for want of subsistence; if they went abroad in quest of necessaries, they were robbed and abused by every ruffian, and no redress could be obtained by them for the most violent injury. The spirit of the clergy was at last broken by this harsh treatment. They all either publicly or privately complied with the king's demands, and received the protection of the laws¹⁵. Not one ecclesiastic, as the sagacious Hume remarks, seemed willing to suffer for the sake of religious privileges, this new species of martyrdom, the most tedious and languishing of any; the most mortifying to spiritual pride, and not rewarded by that crown of glory, which the church holds up with such ostentation to her faithful sons.

But all these supplies were not sufficient for the king's necessities. He was obliged to exert his arbitrary power, and lay an oppressive hand on every order of men in the kingdom. The people murmured, and the barons mutinied, notwithstanding their great personal regard for Edward. He was obliged
A. D. 1297.
 to make concessions; to promise all his
 subjects a compensation for the losses they had sus-

¹⁵ W. Hemming. vol. i. *Chron. Dunst.* vol. ii.

tained, and to confirm the Great Charter with an additional clause, in order to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes without consent of parliament ⁶. These concessions, my dear Philip, our ancestors, had the honour of extorting, by their boldness and perseverance, from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious monarch that ever sat upon the throne of England. The validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally disputed.

Such a number of domestic discontents obstructed the king's embarkation for Flanders; so that he lost the proper season for action, and after his arrival made no great progress against the enemy. The French monarch, however, proposed a cessation of arms; and peace was soon after brought about by the mediation of the pope, in consequence of which Guienne was restored to England.

In the mean time the Scots rebelled. Earl Warrenne having returned to England, on account of his ill state of health, had left the administration entirely in the hands of Ormsby and Cressingham, the officers next in rank; who, instead of acting with that prudence and moderation necessary to reconcile the Scottish nation to a yoke which they bore with such extreme reluctance,exasperated every man of spirit by the rigour and severity of their government. Among these William Wallace, whose heroic exploits are worthy of just panegyric, but to whom the fond admiration of the Scots has ascribed many fabulous acts of prowess, undertook and accomplished the desperate project of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. He had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer, to put him to death; and finding himself on that account obnoxious to the conquerors, he fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all whom the oppressions of the English governors had reduced to the like necessity. He was of a gigantic stature, and

endowed with wonderful strength of body; with invincible fortitude of mind: with disinterested magnanimity; with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons: so that he soon acquired, among his desperate associates, that authority to which his virtues so eminently entitled him. Every day brought accounts of his gallant actions, which were received with no less favour by his countrymen, than terror by the enemy. All men who thirsted after military fame were desirous to partake of his renown: his successful valour seemed to vindicate the nation from the ignominy under which it had fallen by its tame submission to the English; and although no nobleman of note ventured yet to join the party of Wallace, he had gained a general confidence and attachment, which birth and fortune alone are not able to confer.

So many fortunate enterprizes brought the valour of the Scottish chieftain's followers to correspond with his own: and he determined to strike a decisive blow against the English government. Ormsby, apprised of his intention, fled hastily into England; and all the other officers of his nation imitated his example. Their terror added courage to the Scots, who betook themselves to arms in every quarter. Many of the principal barons openly countenanced Wallace's party: and the nation, shaking off its fetters, prepared to defend, by one united effort, that liberty which it had so unexpectedly recovered from the hands of its oppressors.

Meanwhile Warrenne having collected an army of forty thousand men in the north of England, in order to re-establish his authority, suddenly entered Annandale, before the Scots had united their forces, or put themselves in a posture of defence; and many of the nobles, alarmed at the danger of their situation, renewed their oaths of fealty, and received a pardon for past offences. But Wallace, still undaunted, continued obstinate in his purpose. As he found himself unable to give battle to the enemy, he marched northwards, with an intention

of prolonging the war, and of turning to his advantage the situation of that mountainous and barren country. Warrenne attacked him in his camp near Stirling, on the banks of the Forth, where the English army was totally routed. Cressingham, whose impatience urged this attack, was slain; War-
SEPT. 11.
 renne was obliged to retire into England, and the principal fortresses in Scotland surrendered to the conqueror¹⁷.

Wallace was now universally revered as the deliverer of his country, and received from his followers the title of Regent or guardian of the kingdom, a dignity which he well deserved. Not satisfied with expelling the enemy, he urged his army to march into England, and revenge all past injuries, by retaliating on that hostile nation. The Scots, who deemed every thing possible with such a leader, joyfully attended his call. They broke into the northern counties during the winter season, laying every thing waste before them; and after extending their ravages on all sides, as far as the bishopric of Durham, returned into their own country, loaded with spoils, and crowned with glory, under the victorious Wallace¹⁸.

Edward was in Flanders, when he received intelligence of these events, and having already
A. D. 1298.
 concluded a peace with France, he hastened over to England, in assured hopes, not only of wiping off every disgrace, but of recovering the important conquest of Scotland, which he had always considered as the chief glory of his reign. With this view he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; and with an army of one hundred thousand combatants, entered the devoted kingdom. Scotland was never at any time able to withstand such a force. At present it was without a head and torn by intestine jealousies. The elevation of Wallace was the object of

17. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

18. W. Hemming, vol. i.
 envy

envy to the nobility, who repined to see a private man raised above them by his rank, and still more by his reputation. Sensible of these evils, Wallace resigned his authority; and the chief command devolved upon men more eminent by birth, though less distinguished by abilities, but under whom the nobles were more willing to serve in defence of their country. They fixed their station at Falkirk, where Edward came up with them, and the whole Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter¹⁹. JULY 22.

The subjection of Scotland, however, was not yet accomplished. The English army, after reducing all the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of provisions; and the Scots, no less enraged at their present defeat than elevated by their past victories, still maintained the contest for liberty. They were again victorious, and again subdued. Wallace alone maintained his independency amidst the universal slavery of his countrymen. But he was at length betrayed to the English by his friend Sir John Monteith: and Edward, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have led him to respect like qualities in an enemy, ordered this illustrious patriot to be carried in chains to London; to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submission or sworn fealty to England, and to be executed on Tower-hill²⁰. He could not think his favourite conquest secure, whilst Wallace was alive. Hence the unworthy fate of a man, who had defended for many years, with signal valour and perseverance, the liberties of his native country. A. D. 1299. A. D. 1305.

But the barbarous policy of Edward failed of the purpose to which it was directed. The cruelty and injustice exercised upon Wallace, instead of breaking the spirit, only roused more effectually the resentment of the Scots. All the envy which, during his life-time,

19. T. Walsingham. T. Wykes. W. Hemming. 20. M. West. Geo. Buchanan.

had attended that gallant chieftain, being now buried in his grave, he was universally regarded as the champion of Scotland, and equally lamented by all ranks of men. The people were every where disposed to rise against the English government: and a new and more fortunate leader soon presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

Robert Bruce, son of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, had succeeded, in consequence of his father's death, to all his pretensions; and the death of John A. D. 1306. Baliol, which happened about the same time in France, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. He had formerly served in the English army; but in a private conference held with Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk the flame of patriotism was suddenly conveyed from the breast of one hero to that of another. Bruce regretted his engagement with Edward, and secretly determined to seize the first opportunity of rescuing from slavery his oppressed country. The time of deliverance seemed now come. He hoped that the Scots, without a leader, and without a king, would unanimously repair to his standard, and seat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed with the ardour of youth, and buoyed up by native courage, his aspiring spirit saw alone the glory of the enterprize, or regarded the difficulties that must attend it as the source only of greater glory. The miseries and oppressions which he had beheld his countrymen suffer in their unequal contest for independency: the repeated defeats and misfortunes which they had undergone in the struggle, proved but so many incentives to bring them relief, and to lead them boiling with revenge, against the haughty victors.

In consequence of this resolution, and some suspicions that Edward was apprised of it, Bruce suddenly left the English court, and arrived in a few days at
Dumfries,

Dumfries, in Annandale, the chief seat of his family interest. There a number of the nobility were happily assembled, and among the rest John Cummin, to whom he had formerly communicated his designs, and who had basely revealed them to Edward. The noblemen were astonished at the appearance of Bruce, and yet more when he told them, that he was come to live or die with them in defence of the liberties of his country; and hoped, with their assistance, to redeem the Scottish name from all indignities which it had so long suffered from the tyranny of their imperious masters. It were better, he said, if Heaven should decree it, to perish at once like brave men, with swords in their hands, than to dread long, and at last undergo the fate of the unfortunate Wallace²¹.

The spirit with which this discourse was delivered, the bold sentiments which it conveyed, the novelty of Bruce's declaration, assisted by the graces of his youth and manly deportment, made deep impression on the minds of the nobles, and roused all those principles of indignation and revenge, with which they had long been secretly actuated. They declared their unanimous resolution to use the utmost efforts in delivering their country from bondage, and to second the courage of Bruce, in asserting his and their undoubted rights against their common oppressors. Cummin alone, who had privately taken his measures with Edward, opposed the general determination, by representing the great power of the English nation; and Bruce, already informed of his treachery, followed him out of the assembly, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asked him on his return, if the traitor was slain. "I believe so," replied Bruce: "And is that a matter," cried Kirkpatrick, "to be left to conjecture—I will secure him,"

21. Ibid.

He accordingly drew his dagger, ran to Cummin, and stabbed him to the heart²².

This deed of Bruce and his associates, my dear Philip, which contain circumstances justly condemned by our present manners, was regarded in that age as an effort of manly vigour and just policy. Hence the family of Kirkpatrick took for the crest of their arms a hand with a bloody dagger; and as a motto, the words employed by their ancestor, when he executed that violent action: "I will secure him!"

The murder of Cummin affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles. They had no resource left, but to shake off the yoke of England or perish in the attempt. The genius of the nation roused itself from its long dejection; and Bruce, flying to different quarters, excited his partizans every where to arms. He successfully attacked the dispersed bodies of the English; got possession of many castles; and having made his authority be acknowledged in most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned at Scone, by the bishop of St. Andrew's, who had zealously embraced his cause. The English were again driven out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the fortresses still in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, already twice conquered by his valour, were yet to subdue.

Conscious, however, of his superior power, as well as superior skill in arms, this great monarch made light of his antagonist. He thought of nothing but victory and vengeance. He sent a body of troops into Scotland under Aymar de Valence, his general; who falling unexpectedly upon Bruce, threw his army into disorder, and obliged him to take shelter in the Western Isles. Edward himself was advancing with a mighty force, determined to make the now defenceless Scots the victims of his severity, when he unexpectedly sickened and died at Carlisle; enjoining, with

A. D. 1307.

22. W. Hemming. M. West. T. Walsingham. G. Buchanan, lib. viii. his

his latest breath, his son and successor to prosecute the war, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland²³. But that, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, the second Edward was little able to accomplish.

The character of Edward I. as a warrior and politician, has already been sufficiently delineated. I shall, therefore, forbear touching again on those particulars, and conclude this letter with his merit as a legislator, which has justly obtained him the honourable appellation of the English Justinian. The numerous statutes passed during his reign settled the chief points of jurisprudence; and, as Sir Edward Coke observes, truly deserve the name of establishments, because they have been more constant, standing, and durable laws, than any made since. The regular order maintained in his administration, also gave the common law an opportunity to refine itself; brought the judges to a certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to precision in their pleadings. He regulated the jurisdiction of the several courts; established the office of justice of the peace, completed the division of the court of exchequer into four distinct courts, each of which managed its separate branch, without dependence upon any one magistrate; and as the lawyers afterwards invented a method of carrying business from one court to another, the several courts became rivals and checks on each other; a circumstance which tended very much to improve the practice of the law in this country²⁴. But although Edward took so much care that his subjects should do justice to each other, we cannot ascribe it to his love of equity; for in all his transactions, either with them or with his neighbours, he always desired to have his own hands free:—and his violences upon both were not few.

23. T. Walsingham. *Trivet*, *Annal.* 1307.

24. Hale, *Hist. of English Law*.

LETTER XXXVII.

ENGLAND, DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

THE critical situation of affairs between England and Scotland at the death of Edward I. makes it necessary, my dear Philip, to carry farther the history of our own island, before we return to the transactions on the continent.

No prince ever ascended the English throne with more advantages than Edward II. He was in the twenty-third year of his age, and universally beloved by the people, both on account of the sweetness of his own disposition, and as the son and successor of their illustrious monarch. He was at the head of a great army, ready to subject the whole island to his sway; and all men promised themselves tranquillity and happiness under his government. But the first act of his reign blasted all these hopes, and shewed him totally unqualified for his high station. Instead of prosecuting the conquest of Scotland, according to the desire of his father, he returned into England, after a few feeble efforts, and immediately disbanded his forces; although Robert Bruce had, before this time, emerged from his obscurity, and was become sufficiently formidable to make more vigorous measures necessary.

The next step taken by Edward was no less weak and imprudent. He recalled Piers Gaveston, a youthful favourite, whom the late king had banished the realm, on account of his ascendancy over this prince; and whom, on his death bed, he had made him promise never more to entertain. Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight of some distinction, and by his shining accomplishments had early insinuated himself into the affections of young Edward, whose heart was easily caught by appearances, and strongly disposed to friendship and confidence,

fidence. He was endowed with the utmost elegance of shape and person; was noted for a fine mien and easy carriage; had distinguished himself in all warlike and genteel exercises, and was celebrated for those quick sallies of wit in which his countrymen usually excel. Little wonder that such a companion was thought necessary to a gay monarch, whose foibles he was able to flatter: but a wise king will have no public favourite, and still less a foreign one. Edward experienced this danger.

Gaveston no sooner arrived at court than he was loaded with benefits, and exalted to the highest honours. The king bestowed upon him the earldom of Cornwall, which had escheated to the crown, by the death of prince Edmond, son of Richard king of the Romans. He married him to his own niece; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royalty but as it served to add lustre to this object of his fond idolatry. The haughty barons, already justly dissatisfied with Edward's conduct in regard to Scotland, were enraged at the superiority of a minion whom they despised. Nor did they take any care to conceal their animosity. Meanwhile Gaveston, instead of disarming envy by the moderation and modesty of his behaviour, displayed his power and influence with the utmost ostentation. Every day multiplied his enemies; and nothing was wanting but time to cement their union, and render it fatal both to him and his master.

This union was at length effected by Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood. He put himself at the head of that party among the barons who desired the de-
A. D. 1308.
 pression of this insolent stranger. The confederated nobles bound themselves by oath to expel Gaveston: they took arms for that purpose, and Edward was obliged to banish him. But he was afterwards recalled, reinstated in his former consequence, and became more than ever the object of general detestation among the nobility, on account of his ostentation and insolence. A new confederacy

deracy was formed against him: he was again banished, and again recalled by the fond deluded monarch. An universal revolt took place: Edward and his favourite were hunted from corner to corner; and Gaveston at last fell by the hands of the public executioner.

After the death of Gaveston, the king's person became less obnoxious to the people. The discontents of all men seemed to be much appeased; the animosities of faction no longer prevailed; and England, it was hoped, would now be able to take vengeance on all her enemies, but especially on the Scots, whose progress was become the object of general resentment and indignation.

Soon after Edward's retreat from Scotland, Robert Bruce made himself master of the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses. He daily reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominion: he enlisted under his standard every bold spirit, and enriched his followers with the spoils of the enemy. Sir James Douglas, in whom commenced the greatness and renown of that warlike family, seconded Robert in all his enterprizes. Edward Bruce, the king's brother, also distinguished himself by his valour; and the dread of the English power being now abated by the feeble conduct of Edward, even the least sanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independency. They obtained a truce, which was of short duration, and ill observed on both sides. But short as it was, it served to consolidate the power of the king, and introduce order into the civil government. War was renewed with greater fury than ever. Not content with defending himself, Robert made successful inroads into England; subsisted his needy followers by the plunder of the country, and taught them to despise the military genius of a people, who had long been the object of their terror.

Edward, at length roused from his lethargy, had marched an army into Scotland; and Robert, determined not to risk too much against a superior force, had again retired into his mountains. The English monarch advanced beyond Edinburg; but being destitute of provisions, and ill supported by his nobility, he was obliged to return home, without gaining any advantage over the enemy. The seeming union, however, of all parties in England, after the death of Gaveston, opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland, and promised a happy conclusion to a war in which both the interests and the passions of the nation were so deeply engaged.

Edward assembled forces from all quarters, with a view of finishing at one blow this important enterprize. He summoned the most warlike of his vassals from Gascony: he enlisted troops from Flanders, and other foreign countries: he invited over great numbers of the disorderly Irish, as to a certain prey: he joined to them a body of Welsh, who were actuated by like motives: he collected the whole military force of England, and entered Scotland at the head of an army of near one hundred thousand men. A. D. 1314. The Scottish army did not exceed thirty thousand combatants; but being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valour, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader as Bruce, be esteemed equal to a far more numerous body. Robert, however, left as little as possible to the superior gallantry of his troops. He posted himself strongly at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling; the only fortress in Scotland that remained in the hands of the English, and which was on the point of surrendering. He had a rivulet in front, a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. In this situation he waited the approach of Edward.

The English army arrived in sight towards evening, and a smart combat immediately commenced between

two bodies of cavalry. Robert, who was at the head of the Scots, engaged in single combat with
 JUNE 14. Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, and at one stroke cleft his antagonist to the chin with a battle-axe, in sight of the two armies. The English horse fled with precipitation to their main body, and night prevented any farther hostilities. Meanwhile the Scots, encouraged by this favourable event, and glorying in the prowess of their prince, prognosticated a happy issue to the contest of the ensuing day; and the English, confident in their numbers, and elated by past successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge. The darkness, though but of a few hours, was borne with impatience: and Edward, as soon as light appeared, drew up his forces, and advanced against the Scots. Both armies engaged with great ardour, and the dispute was fierce and bloody. Sir James Douglas had broken the English cavalry; but their line of infantry was still firm, when a stratagem decided the fortune of the field. Bruce had collected a number of waggons and sumpter boys, and furnished them with standards. They appeared upon the heights towards the left. The English mistook them for a fresh army coming to surround them: a panic seized them; they threw down their arms and fled. The Scots pursued with great slaughter as far as Berwick; and besides an inestimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, with above four hundred gentlemen, whom Bruce treated with great humanity, and whose ransom was a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. Edward himself narrowly escaped, by taking shelter in Dunbar, whence he passed by sea to Berwick².

Such was the great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, which secured the independency of Scotland; fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom, and may be deemed the most signal blow that the English monarchy has

received since the Norman invasion. The number of slain is not certainly known, but it must have been very great; for the impression of this defeat in the minds of the English was so strong, that no superiority of force could encourage them to keep the field against the Scots for some years.

In order to avail himself of his present success, Robert entered England; ravaged all the northern counties without opposition; and elated by his continued prosperity, now entertained hopes of making the most important conquests at the expense of the English. He sent over his brother Edward with an army of six thousand men into Ireland, and he himself followed soon after with a more numerous body of troops. But a grievous famine, which at that time desolated both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scottish army to the greatest extremity; so that Robert was obliged to return with his forces much diminished, into his own country. His brother, who assumed the title of king of Ireland, after experiencing a variety of hardships, was defeated and slain by the English near Dundalk; and Robert became sensible that he had attempted projects too extensive for the force of his narrow kingdom.

Edward, besides the disasters which he suffered from the invasion of the Scots, and the opposition formed against his government in Ireland, was harassed with a rebellion in Wales: and the factions of his nobility troubled him yet more than all these. They took advantage of the public calamities to insult his fallen fortunes, and endeavoured to establish their own independency on the ruins of the throne. The king's unhappy situation obliged him to comply with all their demands. The ministry was new modelled by the direction of Lancaster, and that prince was placed at the head of the council. Edward himself was evidently by nature unfit to hold the reins of government. He was sensible of his own defects, and sought to be governed; yet every favourite (for such they were rather than ministers)

whom he successively chose, was regarded as a fellow-subject exalted above his rank and station, and became the object of envy to the chief nobility. The king's principal favourite, after the death of Gaveston, was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of English birth, and of a noble family. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address that were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward, but was destitute of that moderation and prudence, which might have qualified him to mitigate the envy of the great, and conduct himself quietly through the perils of the dangerous station to which he was advanced.

No sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser, than the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons regarded him as their rival; made him the object of their animosity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. They withdrew themselves from parliament, betook themselves to arms, and demanded the banishment of the favourite and his father. These noblemen were then absent. The father was abroad, the son at sea; and both were employed in executing different commissions. The king therefore replied, that his coronation oath, by which he was bound to observe the laws, restrained him from giving his assent to so illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were accused of no crime, nor had any opportunity afforded them of giving answer. But equity and reason proved a feeble barrier against men who had arms in their hands, and who being already involved in guilt, saw no safety but in success and victory. They entered London with their troops: and giving into the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spensers (of which they did not attempt to prove one article), they procured by menaces and violence, a sentence of perpetual exile against those ministers³.

3. Tyrrel, from the Register of C. C. Canterbury. T. Walsingham, Tuttle's Collect. par. ii. Rymer, vol. iii,

This act of violence, in which the king was obliged to acquiesce, rendered his person and authority so contemptible, that every one thought himself entitled to treat the royal family with neglect. The queen was publicly insulted; but as that princess was generally beloved, Edward was permitted to take vengeance on the offender. Having now some forces on foot, and having concerted measures with his friends throughout England, he ventured to pull off the mask; to attack all his enemies, and to recall the two Spensers, whose sentence he declared illegal, unjust, and contrary to the tenor of the Great Charter⁴.

The king had now got the start of the barons; an advantage which in those times was generally decisive. It proved so in the present instance. Lancaster alone made resistance; he was taken prisoner, condemned by a court martial, and led to execution. About twenty more of the most notorious offenders were afterwards condemned by legal trial and executed. Many were thrown into prison; some made their escape beyond sea; and most of the forfeitures were seized by young Spenser, whose rapacity was insatiable. The barons of the king's party were disgusted with this partial division of the spoils: the envy against the favourite rose higher than ever. The people, who always hated him, made him still more the object of their aversion: all the relations of the attainted barons vowed revenge; and although tranquillity was in appearance restored to the kingdom, the general contempt of the king, and odium of Spenser, engendered future revolutions and convulsions.

In such a situation no success could be expected from foreign wars. Edward, therefore, after making one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence he retreated with dishonour, found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom

4. Rymer, ubi sup.

by a truce of thirteen years. This truce was so much the more seasonable for England, as the nation was at that time threatened with hostilities from France. Charles the Fair had some grounds of complaint against the English ministers in Guienne, and seemed desirous to take advantage of Edward's weakness, in order to confiscate all his foreign dominions.

After an embassy by the earl of Kent, the king's brother had been tried in vain, queen Isabella obtained permission to go over to Paris, and endeavoured to adjust matters with her brother. She there found a number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction, and their common hatred of young Spenser, soon begot a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess, who envied the favourite his influence with the king. Among these refugees was Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh Marches, who had been condemned for high treason, but had made his escape from the tower. His consequence introduced him to queen Isabella, and the graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in her affections. He became her confidant and counsellor in all her measures; and gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last, to her passion, all the sentiments of honour and fidelity to her husband. Hating now the man she had injured, and whom she never loved, she entered ardently into all Mortimer's conspiracies; and having artfully got into her hands the young prince, and heir of the monarchy, she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of his favourite. She engaged her brother to take part in the same criminal purpose: her court was daily filled with exiled barons: Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her, and a correspondence was secretly carried on with the male-content party in England⁵.

5. T. Walsingham. T. de la More. Ypod. Neust.

When Edward was informed of these alarming circumstances, he required the queen speedily to return with the prince. But Isabella publicly replied, that she would never set foot in the kingdom, until Hugh Spenser was forever removed from his presence and councils. This declaration procured her great popularity in England, and drew a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprizes. She no sooner arrived with her son in England than the king was entirely deserted. He fled to Wales. The elder Spenser, now earl of Winchester, and governor of the castle of Bristol, was delivered by the garrison into the hands of his enemies; and being instantly condemned, without any trial, witness, or accusation, to suffer death, he was hanged on a gibbet in his armour. His unhappy, but more criminal son, soon after shared the same fate: and the king, disappointed in his expectations of succour from the Welsh, was seized among their mountains, where he had endeavoured to conceal himself, and confined in Kenilworth castle. Meanwhile the queen, taking advantage of the prevailing delusion, summoned, in Edward's name, a parliament at Westminster; where the king was accused of incapacity for government, and by the authority of her partizans deposed. The prince, a youth of fourteen years of age, was placed on the throne, and the queen was appointed regent during his minority⁶.

The great body of the people are seldom long in the wrong with respect to any political measure. Corrupted as they now were by the licentiousness of the times, and inflamed by faction, they could not, in the present instance, remain insensible to the voice of nature. A wife had first dishonoured, next invaded, and then dethroned her husband: she had made her infant son an instrument in this unnatural treatment of his father; and had, by false pretences, seduced the nation into rebel-

6. Ypod Neust. T. Walsingham. T. de la More. Rymer, vol. iv.

lion against their sovereign, whose weakness was his only crime. All these circumstances were so odious in themselves, and formed such a complicated scene of guilt, that the least reflection sufficed to open men's eyes, and make them detest so flagrant an infringement of every public and private duty.

The earl of Lancaster, formerly earl of Leicester, to whose custody the dethroned monarch had been committed, was soon touched with sentiments of compassion and generosity towards his sovereign; and beside using him with gentleness and humanity, he was supposed to have entertained more honourable intentions in his favour. The king was therefore taken out of his hands, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, Mautravers, and Gournay, who were entrusted alternately, each for a month, with the charge of guarding him. While in the custody of Berkeley, Edward was still treated with the gentleness and respect due to his rank and his misfortunes; but when the turn of Mautravers and Gournay came, every species of indignity was offered him, as if their intention had been to break entirely the unhappy prince's spirit, and to employ his sorrows and afflictions, instead of more violent and more dangerous means, as the instruments of his murder. That method of laying Edward in his grave, however, appearing too slow to the impatient Mortimer, he sent orders to Gournay and Mautravers to dispatch the king secretly: and these ruffians contrived to make the manner of his death as cruel as possible. Taking advantage of the indisposition of Berkeley, in whose custody he then was, but who was incapacitated by sickness from attending his charge, they came to Berkeley-castle, and put themselves in possession of the king's person. They threw him on a bed: held him down violently with a table, which they flung over him, and thrust into his fundament a horn, through which they burnt his bowels with a red-hot iron. But although outward marks of violence were prevented by this expedient, the atrocious deed was discovered to
all

all the guards and attendants by the screams of the agonizing king⁷.

Thus perished the unfortunate Edward II. It is not easy for imagination to figure a man more innocent and inoffensive, or a prince less fitted for governing a fierce and turbulent people. The vigour and capacity of the son made ample amends for his father's weakness. But a variety of objects must occupy our attention, before we consider the reign of Edward III.

LETTER XXXVIII.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ROME AND THE ITALIAN STATES, FROM THE ELECTION OF RODULPH OF HAPSBURGH, TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VII.

THE German empire, my dear Philip, as I have already had occasion to observe, could not properly be said to have a head, from the death of Frederic II. till the election of Rodolph count of Hapsburg. This great captain, who had some time exercised the office of grand marshal to A. D. 1072. Ottocarus king of Bohemia, and was raised to the imperial dignity on account of his military talents, no sooner found himself in possession of the august throne, than he employed his authority in suppressing the disorders which had prevailed during the interregnum; and he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that peace and security were soon generally re-established in Germany. He destroyed in Thuringia sixty castles, which were the retreats of banditti, and ordered ninety-nine highwaymen to be hanged at one time in the city of Erfurt¹.

Having thus in some measure settled the interior police of the empire, Rodolph assembled a diet at Mentz, where he granted new privileges to A. D. 1274. Goslar and other cities, and confirmed those which had been granted by his predecessors. Here

7. T. Walsingham.

T. de la More.

also the deliberations of the assembly turned upon the conduct of certain princes, who had protested against the election of the count of Hapsburg. Among these was Ottocarus king of Bohemia, against whom the diet had other causes of dissatisfaction. He had seized upon the duchy of Austria, after the death of Frederic, the last duke; and the states complained of the oppressions which they suffered under this usurper, from whom they begged to be delivered.

A second diet was summoned on this subject at Augsburg: where Ottocarus not appearing, or doing A. D. 1275. homage by his ambassadors, was declared a rebel to the empire. His possession of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, and Carinthia, was adjudged illegal: and the emperor was desired to divest him of those territories.

When this sentence was notified to Ottocarus, he arrogantly exclaimed, "To whom should I do homage! —I owe Rodulph nothing; he was formerly my servant! and I paid him his wages. My possessions I will maintain with the point of my sword".

In consequence of this resolution, Ottocarus associated himself with several other German princes, and among the rest with the duke of Bavaria. But they were all at last obliged to submit; and the proud Ottocarus himself not only relinquished the contested territories, but did homage for Bohemia and Moravia.

This homage was performed in the island of Camberg in the Danube, under a close canopy, A. D. 1276. in order to save Ottocarus from a public humiliation. He repaired to the place, all covered with gold and jewels. Rodulph, by a superior pride, received him in the most coarse and simple dress; and in the midst of the ceremony, either by accident or design, the curtains of the canopy fell back, and exposed to the eyes of the people, and the armies that lined the banks of the river, the haughty king on his knees, with his hands joined between those of his conqueror, whom he

had so often called his steward, and to whom he now became cup-bearer.

The wife of Ottocarus, a Russian princess, and no less haughty than her husband, was so much hurt by this mortifying circumstance, that she induced him to renounce the treaty he had concluded with Rodulph, and again have recourse to arms A. D. 1277. for the recovery of Austria. The emperor immediately marched against him; and a battle ensued, in which Ottocarus was slain.

Rodulph now discovered himself to be no less a politician than a warrior. He gave the government of Austria and its appendages to his eldest son, count Albert; whom he afterwards, in a A. D. 1282. diet at Augsburg, publicly invested with that duchy, which was incorporated with the college of the princes. Hence the rise of the house of Austria. And he at the same time invested Rodulph, another of his sons, with the county of Suabia, which belonged to him in right of his wife. He also wisely resolved to adhere to the articles of the treaty with Ottocarus; and accordingly put his infant son Wincelous under the tutelage of the marquis of Brandenburg³.

But although Rodulph's authority was now fully established in Germany, he was far from being master in Italy. The imperial crown had indeed been confirmed to him by Gregory X. on his ceding to the holy see the lands of the countess Matilda, and all the territories mentioned in the grants made to the church by former emperors. In so doing, Rodulph properly yielded nothing but the right of receiving homage from noblemen, who never did it without reluctance, and cities which it was not in his power to command. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, had a greater number of ships than the emperor could muster of ensigns: Florence was become considerable, and already the nurse of the liberal arts.

3. Heiss, ubi sup. Du Mont. *Corp. Diplom.* tom. i.

Rodulph spent the latter part of his reign in establishing the grandeur of his family in Austria. He granted privileges to the clergy; bestowed new dignities upon the noblemen; diminished the taxes; built and repaired public edifices; and behaved with so much generosity and moderation, as won the hearts of all men. But notwithstanding his popularity, he could not procure his son Albert, duke of Austria, to be elected king of the Romans; a disappointment which, together with the death of his son Rodulph so much chagrined him that he died soon after. He was a prince of great valour, sagacity, and probity; and raised the empire from a state of misery and confusion, to the enjoyment of peace, policy, and riches⁴.

After an interregnum of nine months, which was productive of many disorders, the German princes raised to the imperial throne Adolphus of Nassau, on the same principle which had made them choose his predecessor. He seemed capable of maintaining the glory of the empire at the head of its armies, without being able to enslave it.

The reign of this prince was one continued scene of troubles, and at last terminated in his deposition. His necessities had made him guilty of several acts of injustice; which Albert duke of Austria, dissatisfied at not succeeding to the imperial throne, took care to represent in the worst light. A confederacy was formed against Adolphus; and he was deposed by the archbishop of Mentz, in the name of the princes of the empire.

4. Heiss, lib. ii. c. 22. Barre, tom. vi. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Nothing can shew in a stronger light Rodulph's resolution and presence of mind, than his behaviour at his coronation. The absence of the imperial sceptre, supposed to be that of Charlemagne, which had been mislaid, seemed to afford some disaffected noblemen a pretext for refusing the oath of allegiance;—"This is my sceptre," said Rodulph, seizing a crucifix; and all the princes and nobles instantly took the oath, and did him homage as emperor. Heiss, &c. ubi sup.

“ Six years ago,” said the archbishop, “ the empire
 “ being vacant, we canonically elected Adolphus count
 “ of Nassau, king of the Romans, knowing at that time
 “ no person more worthy of the dignity. At first he con-
 “ ducted himself wisely, following the counsels of the
 “ most prudent electors and princes of his court. But
 “ he began by degrees to despise their advice, and listen
 “ to the counsels of young persons without either sense
 “ or experience; then he found himself destitute of means
 “ and friends to assist him sincerely in bearing the burden
 “ of government. The electors perceiving his indigence,
 “ and swayed by many other motives have demanded
 “ the pope’s consent to depose him, and chuse another
 “ emperor. We are told that our envoys have obtained
 “ the consent of his holiness; though those of Adolphus
 “ affirm the contrary: but we, having no regard to any
 “ authority except that which is vested in ourselves, and
 “ finding Adolphus incapable of governing the empire,
 “ do depose him from the imperial dignity, and elect
 “ Albert, duke of Austria, king of the Romans⁵.”

Adolphus, apprized of this election, raised the siege of Ruffach, in Alsace, and marched towards Spire, where he encamped. He was reinforced by the count Palatine Rodolph, Otho duke of Bavaria, and the cities of Spire and Worms, which had never deserted his cause. Albert advanced towards him, in order to dispute the imperial crown by arms. They engaged between Gelnshheim and the cloister of Rosendal, and the battle was maintained with much obstinacy on both sides. In the heat of action Adolphus singling out his rival, attacked him hand to hand, haughtily exclaiming, “ Here you shall resign
 “ to me the empire and your life!”—“ Both,” replied Albert, “ are in the hands of God;” and immediately struck his competitor with such violence in the face, that he fell from his horse, and was instantly slain⁶.

During the reign of Adolphus, and also of his predecessor Rodolph, the Jews were persecuted in the

5. *Chron. Colm.*6. *Ibid.*

empire with great cruelty, on a supposition that they had slain several Christian children, and committed other crimes, which excited the hatred of the public. They were accused of having stolen a consecrated host; and the credulous people without examining into the matter, were so much incensed at this pretended sacrilege, that the inhabitants of Nuremberg, Rottemberg, Amberg, and several other towns of Franconia and Bavaria, seized all the unhappy Israelites that fell in their way; committed them to the flames, and drove the rest to such despair, that numbers chose rather to destroy themselves and families than run the hazard of falling into the hands of the merciless Christians. Nor was this unhappy people treated with more indulgence in Holland and Friesland, their present asylum, at that time provinces of the empire⁷.

Though Albert had been elected king of the Romans before his victory over Adolphus, and consequently became emperor on the death of that prince, he chose to have his title confirmed by a new diet; which was accordingly assembled for that purpose at Franckfort, A. D. 1298. the elector of Triers and the Palatine not having formerly given their votes: and he was afterwards solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. The concourse of people on that occasion was so great, that the duke of Saxony, the emperor's brother, and several other persons, were squeezed to death in the crowd⁸.

The first years of Albert's reign were disquieted by a quarrel with the pope and the ecclesiastical electors. Boniface VIII. the last pontiff who pretended to dispose of crowns, and who carried the pretensions of the apostolic see as high as any of his predecessors, took part with the three German archbishops, who had refused to answer

7. *Annal Steron. Mosheim, Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. Dr. Mosheim leaves it doubtful whether the accusations against the Jews were true or false; but his learned and judicious translator, in a note, gives reason to believe they were insidiously forged.

8. Heiss, lib. ii. chap. xxiv.

the emperor's summons. They were at length, however, obliged to submit; and Boniface confirmed the election of Albert, when he wanted to make ^{A. D. 1303.} him the instrument of his vengeance against Philip king of France. But the emperor did not obtain this confirmation, it is said, till he had declared, that "the empire was transferred by the holy see from the Greeks to the Germans; that the sovereign pontiff had granted to certain ecclesiastical and secular princes the right of electing a king of the Romans, destined to the empire; and that emperors and kings derive their regal power from the pope⁹."

The most remarkable event in this reign is the rise of the republic of Swisserland. Fortified by their natural situation, surrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods, the Swiss having nothing to fear from strangers, had lived happily in a rugged country, suited only to men who have been accustomed to a frugal and laborious course of life. Equality of condition was the basis of their government. They had been free from time immemorial; and when any of their nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either altogether expelled or reduced within bounds by the people. But although the Swiss were extremely jealous of their liberty, they had always been submissive to the empire, on which they depended; and many of their towns were free and imperial.

When Rodulph of Hapsburg was elected emperor, several lords of castles formally accused the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, of having withdrawn themselves from their feudal subjection. But Rodulph, who had formerly fought against those petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens; and thenceforth these three cantons were under the patronage, but not the dominion of the house of Austria.

9. *Hist. de Demel. de Bonif. VIII. avec Philip le Bel.* Moshcim, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii.

Rodulph always treated the Swiss with great indulgence, and generously defended their rights and privileges against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. Albert's conduct in these respects, was just the reverse of his father's: he wanted to govern the Swiss as an absolute sovereign, and had formed a scheme for erecting their country into a principality for one of his sons. In order to accomplish this purpose, he endeavoured to persuade the cantons of Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, to submit voluntarily to his dominion. In case of compliance, he promised to rule them with great lenity; but finding them tenacious of their independency, and deaf to all his solicitations, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner.

The tyranny of these governors exceed all belief. Geisler, governor of Uri, ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place of Altorf, and every passenger was commanded, on pain of death, to pay obeisance to it. But the independent spirit of William Tell, who among others had projected the deliverance of his country, disdained to pay that absurd homage. On this the governor ordered him to be hanged; but remitted the punishment, on condition that he should strike an apple from his son's head with an arrow. Tell, who was an excellent marksman, accepted the alternative, and had the good fortune to strike off the apple without hurting his son. But Geisler perceiving a second arrow under William's coat, inquired for what purpose that was intended: "It was designed for thee," replied the indignant Swiss, "if I had killed my son." For that heroic answer he was doomed to perpetual imprisonment, though fortune happily put it out of the governor's power to carry this sentence into execution.

This and other acts of wanton tyranny determined Arnould Melchtat, a native of Underwald, Werner Straffacher of Schwiz, and Walter Furtz, of Ury, to put in execution those measures which they had concerted for
delivering

delivering themselves and their country from the Austrian dominion. Naturally bold and enterprising, and united by a long intimacy of friendship, they had frequently met in private to deliberate upon this interesting subject: each associated three others; and these twelve men accomplished their important enterprise, without the loss of a single life. A. D. 1308.

Having prepared the inhabitants of their several cantons for a revolt, they surprised the Austrian governors, and conducted them to the frontiers, obliging them to promise upon oath never more to serve against the Helvetic nation, then dismissed them¹⁰; an instance of moderation not perhaps to be equalled in the history of mankind, of a people incensed against their oppressors, and who had them in their power!

Thus, my dear Philip, these three cantons, Ury, Schwitz, and Underwald, delivered themselves from the Austrian yoke, and established that liberty which they still enjoy. The other cantons soon engaged in this confederacy, which gave birth to the republic of Swisserland. Never did any people fight longer or harder for their liberty than the Swiss. They have purchased it, as we shall have occasion to see, by above sixty battles against the Austrians; and it is to be hoped they will long preserve it, for never were the beneficial effects of liberty more remarkable than in Swisserland. The change of government seems to have produced a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated; the craggy rocks are covered with vines; and the wild heath, tilled by the hands of freemen, is become a fruitful plain.

When Albert was ready to hazard his forces against that courage which is inspired by the enthusiasm of new-born liberty, he fell a sacrifice to his rapacity and injustice. His own nephew, John, who could not ob-

10. Stetler, *Annal. Helvetic.*

tain from him the enjoyment of his patrimony, resolved to make sure of his revenge. This injured youth, confederating with three others, stabbed the emperor in presence of his court and army, on the banks of the river Prus, in the neighbourhood of Swisserland¹¹.

No sovereign was ever less regretted, though few have died more tragically. He did not want valour, or abilities; but a desire of aggrandizing his family influenced his whole conduct, and made him violate every public and private tie.

The imperial throne continued vacant for seven months after the assassination of Albert. At length the electors assembled at Frankfort, and chose Henry A. D. 1309. count of Luxembourg; who was crowned, without opposition, at Aix-la-Chapelle. A diet was soon after held at Spire; where sentence of death was pronounced against prince John for the murder of his uncle, the late emperor; whose sons, at the same time, demanded the investiture of Austria and the other hereditary dominions of their father, which Henry intended to seize. They obtained their demand, on making him sensible, that as the house of Austria had already sent two emperors out of the world, it might yet prove fatal to a third, if he did not desist from his unjust pretensions¹².

At this assembly also appeared Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Wincellaus king of Bohemia. She had been contracted to John, count of Luxembourg, son of the present emperor, Henry VII. and now king of Bohemia. But the marriage had been delayed, from time to time, under different pretences. The princess therefore demanded, that the contract might be fulfilled, or cause shewn why the nuptials should not be solemnized: and understanding that a report had been spread to the disadvantage of her chastity, she repaired to

11. Rebdorf. ad ann. 1308.

12. Heiss, lib. ii. chap. 25.

the emperor's anti-chamber, undressed herself to the shift, in presence of the ladies there assembled, and approaching Henry in that condition, requested that she might be immediately examined by matrons. She was accordingly committed to the inspection of some experienced ladies and midwives, who unanimously declared her an unspotted virgin; and, in consequence of their testimony, the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence, in presence of the electors and other princes and noblemen of the diet¹³.

This is a point on which our modern physicians would have had many consultations. They pretend that the signs of virginity are altogether precarious, though every old woman affirms them infallible. And fortunately the daughter of Wincellaus was judged by old women: for so scrupulous were the bridegrooms of those days on the article of chastity, that the slightest suspicion in regard to it was sufficient to obstruct the marriage, or ruin the happiness of a couple for life.

The emperors from the time of Frederic II. seemed to have lost sight of Italy. But Henry VII. as soon as he had settled the affairs of the north, resolved to re-establish the imperial authority in that country. With this view a diet was held at Frankfort; where proper supplies being granted for the emperor's journey, well known by the name of the Roman Expedition, he set out for Italy, accompanied by the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, the archbishop of Triers, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Savoy and Flanders, with other noblemen, and the militia of all the imperial towns. A. D. 1310.

Italy was still divided by the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, who butchered one another without humanity or remorse. But their contest was no longer the same: it was not now a struggle between the empire and the priesthood, but between faction and faction, inflam-

13. *Id. ibid.*

ed by mutual jealousies and animosities. Pope Clement V. had been obliged to leave Rome, which was distracted by the anarchy of popular government. The Colonnas, the Ursini, and the Roman barons divided the city; and this division was the cause of the long abode of the popes in France, as we shall have occasion to see in the history of that kingdom; so that Rome seemed equally lost to the popes and the emperors. Sicily was in the possession of the house of Arragon, in consequence of the famous massacre called the Sicilian Vespers, which delivered that island from the tyranny of the French, as shall be afterward more fully related. Carobert, king of Hungary, disputed the kingdom of Naples with his uncle Robert, son of Charles II. of the house of Anjou. The house of Este had established itself at Ferrara: and the Venetians wanted to make themselves masters of that country. The old league of the Italian cities no longer subsisted. It had been formed with no other view than to oppose the emperors: and since they had neglected Italy, the cities were wholly employed in aggrandizing themselves at the expense of each other. The Florentines and the Genoese made war upon the republic of Pisa. Every city was also divided into faction within itself; Florence between the blacks and the whites, and Milan, between the Visconti and the Turriani.

In the midst of these troubles Henry VII. appeared in Italy, and caused himself to be crowned
 A. D. 1311. king of Lombardy at Milan. The Guelphs had concealed the old iron crown of the Lombard kings, as if the right of reigning were attached to a particular circlet of metal. But Henry, contemning such a thought, ordered a new crown to be made, with which the ceremony of inauguration was performed¹⁴.

Cremona was the first place that ventured to oppose the emperor. He reduced it by force, and laid it under

14. Struv. period. ix. sect. 4.

heavy contributions. Parma, Vicenza, and Placentia, made peace with him on reasonable conditions. Padua paid a hundred thousand crowns, and received an imperial officer as governor: The Venetians presented Henry with a large sum of money, an imperial crown of gold enriched with diamonds, and a chain of very curious workmanship. Brescia made a desperate resistance, and sustained a very long siege; in the course of which the emperor's brother was slain, and his army diminished to such a degree, that the inhabitants ventured to march out, under the command of their prefect, Thibault de Drussati, and give him battle. But they were repulsed with great loss, after an obstinate engagement, and at last obliged to submit. Their city was dismantled.

From Brescia Henry marched to Genoa, where he was received with expressions of joy, and splendidly entertained. He next proceeded to Rome; A. D. 1312. where, after much bloodshed, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the cardinals. Clement V. who had originally invited Henry into Italy, growing jealous of his success, had leagued with Robert king of Naples, and the Ursini faction, to oppose his entrance into Rome. He entered it in spite of them, by the assistance of the Colennas¹⁵.

Now master of that ancient city, Henry appointed it a governor; and ordered, that all the cities and states of Italy should pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprehended the kingdom of Naples, to which he was going to make good his claim of superiority by arms, when he died at Benevento, of poison as A. D. 1313. it is commonly supposed, given him by a Dominican friar, in the consecrated wine of the sacrament¹⁶.

During the last years of the reign of Henry VII. who was a valiant and politic prince, the knights of the Teutonic order aggrandized themselves, by making war upon the Pagans of the north. They possessed them-

15. Struv. ubi sup. Cuspin. *Vit. Hen. VII.*

16. Id. *ibid.*

selves

selves, of Samogitia, after butchering all the inhabitants who refused to embrace Christianity: they took Dantzick, and purchased Pomerellia of a marquis of Brandenburg, to whom it then belonged. But while the order was making these acquisitions in Europe, it lost all its possessions in Asia⁷.

The affairs of France now claim our attention.

LETTER XXXIX.

FRANCE, FROM THE DEATH OF LEWIS IX. TILL THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF VALOIS.

YOU have already, my dear Philip, seen the pious Lewis IX. perish on the coast of Africa, in a second expedition against the infidels. The A. D. 1270. most remarkable circumstance in the reign of his son and successor, Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, a prince of some merit, but much inferior to his father, is the interest that he took in the affairs of his uncle Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily. This circumstance naturally leads us to an account of the famous Sicilian Vespers, and of the war between France and Arragon.

Charles, by the severity of his government, had not only rendered himself, but his family odious to the Sicilians; and the insolence and debauchery of the French troops had excited an irreconcilable aversion against the whole nation. At the same time the boundless ambition of this prince, who was actually preparing to attack the Greek emperor, Michael Paleogus, and was suspected to have an eye to the German empire, raised a general jealousy of him among his neighbours. Of that num-

17. Pet. de Duisburgh, *Chronic. Pruffæ*. Solignac, *Hist. de Pologne*. Barre, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, tom. vi.

ber was pope Nicholas III. who particularly dreaded Charles's power; and, if he is not slandered by the French historians, contrived the scheme of his humiliation, though it did not take effect till after the death of his holiness. It was conducted by John di Prodicta, a Sicilian nobleman, who had secretly prepared the minds of his countrymen for a revolt: and an accident gave it birth.

On the evening of Easter-day, as the French and Sicilians were going in procession to the church of Montreale, in the neighbourhood A. D. 1282. of Palermo, a bride happened to pass by with her train; when one Droguet, a Frenchman, instantly ran to her, and began to use her in a very rude manner, under pretence of searching for concealed arms. A young Sicilian, flaming with resentment, stabbed Droguet to the heart; a tumult ensued, and two hundred Frenchmen were slain on the spot. The enraged populace now ran to the city, crying aloud, "Kill the French! kill the French!"—and, without any distinction of age or sex, murdered every person of that nation found in Palermo. The same fury spread itself through the whole island, and produced a general massacre. The rage of the conspirators was so great, that they did not even spare their own relations, but ript up women with child by Frenchmen, and dashed the half-formed infants against the walls; while the priests, catching the general frenzy, butchered all their French penitents'.

Peter, king of Arragon, who had married the daughter of Mainfroy, the former usurper of Sicily, supported the Sicilians in their rebellion, and openly claimed the kingdom in right of his wife. The Sicilians received him with open arms. He was crowned at Palermo; and Charles of Anjou was obliged to abandon the island, after having besieged Messina for six weeks in vain. He had now no hopes but from France, where the nobility in general were well affected to him, and readily offered to furnish

1. Spondan. Malespina. Giannone, *Hist. di Napol.*

troops for his support. In this disposition they were encouraged by Philip III. Martin IV. who had succeeded Nicholas III. in the see of Rome, was also entirely in the interest of Charles; who might probably have recovered Sicily, had he not imprudently agreed to decide the dispute with Peter by single combat.

The king of Arragon, who had the duel very little at heart, was by that means enabled to amuse his rival, and fix his own family on the throne of Sicily, which became a separate kingdom from Naples. In the mean time the pope excommunicated Peter, and gave his dominions to any of the younger sons of France that the king should choose to name. Philip III. flattered by this proposal, declared his son Charles of Valois king of Arragon and Valentia, and count of Barcelona. He put himself at the head of a numerous army, in order to realize these honours; and he furnished, at the same time, his uncle Charles of Anjou with a fleet and army for the recovery of Sicily. Splendid projects! which proved the ruin of both.

Charles had left his son of the same name at Naples, with strict orders to risk nothing until his return with succours from France. But that young prince, provoked by the Arragonese fleet, sailed out with the force under his command, and was defeated and taken prisoner before his father's return; a circumstance which so much affected the king, that he is said to have strangled himself with a halter, a death sufficiently mild for such a tyrant².

Meanwhile the French army, under the command of Philip, had penetrated into Catalonia, and laid siege to Gironne, which made a gallant defence. The king of Arragon being in the neighbourhood with a small army, attacked a convoy going to the French camp, and received a mortal wound. Gironne surrendered; and Philip having put a

2. Id. *ibid.*

good garrison into it, dismissed part of his fleet, which had been principally hired from the Italian states. Roger di Loria, the Arragonese admiral, who durst not attack the French fleet while entire, burnt and destroyed it when divided, seizing all the money and provisions intended for the support of the army: A. D. 1285. and these losses sunk so deeply into the mind of Philip, that he secretly repassed the Pyrennees, and died a few days after at Perpignan³.

Philip III. was the first French monarch who granted letters of nobility, which he bestowed on Ralph the Goldsmith. In so doing, he only restored the ancient constitution of the Franks; who, being all of one blood, were esteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the highest offices. The notion of a particular and distinct nobles took its rise towards the close of the second race, when many of the officers of the crown had usurped, and converted into hereditary dignities, the offices and jurisdictions which they received from royal favour⁴.

The reign of Philip IV. surnamed the Fair, the son and successor of Philip the Hardy, forms an æra in the history of France, by the civil and political regulations to which it gave birth; the institution of the supreme tribunals, called Parliaments, and the formal admission of the commons, or third estate, into the general assemblies of the nation. How the French commons came afterwards to be excluded from these assemblies, we shall have occasion to see in the course of our narration.

The first care of Philip was to compose all differences with his neighbours, as he found his finances exhausted: and this he was enabled to effect by the mediation of Edward I. of England, against whom he afterwards ungenerously commenced hostilities, while that monarch was engaged in a war with Scotland. Philip also attempted, at the expense of much blood and treasure, to seize the country of Flanders, which had leagued with

3. Nag. Chron.

4. Henault. tom. i.

England. But as these wars were neither distinguished by any remarkable event, nor followed by any consequence that altered the state of either country, I shall proceed to the transactions between Philip and the see of Rome, and the extinction of the order of Knights Templars.

Pope Boniface VIII. of whose arrogance I have already had occasion to speak, prohibited the clergy in general from granting any aids or subsidies to princes without his leave. Philip IV. who was no less haughty than his holiness, and very needy, thought the clergy, as being the richest order of the state, ought to contribute to the wants of the crown, when the situation of affairs made it necessary, and without any application to Rome; he therefore encountered the pope's bull by an edict, forbidding any of the French clergy to send money abroad without the royal permission. This was the first cause of the famous quarrel between Boniface and Philip; and the insolence of a bishop of Pamiers threw things into a still greater ferment.

This man, named Bernard Saissetti, who had rebelled against the king in his diocese, was appointed by A. D. 1303. Boniface legate to the French court. An obnoxious subject thus invested with a dignity, which, according to the see of Rome, made him equal to the sovereign himself, came to Paris and braved Philip, threatening his kingdom with an interdict. A layman, who had behaved in such a manner, would have been punished with death, but the person of a churchman was sacred; and Philip was satisfied with delivering this incendiary into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, not daring to treat him as a criminal.

Pope Boniface, enraged at the confinement of his legate, issued a bull, declaring, "That the vicar of Christ is vested with full authority over the kings and kingdoms of the earth:" and the clergy of France received, at the same time, an order from his holiness to repair to Rome.

A French archdeacon carried this bull, and these orders to the king; commanding him under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the pope as his temporal sovereign. This insolence was answered with a moderation little suited to the character of Philip. He contented himself with ordering the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and prohibiting the bishops from departing the kingdom. Forty of them, however, with many of the heads of religious orders, went to Rome, notwithstanding the king's prohibition. For this trespass he seized all their temporalities.

While Boniface and his council were considering the conduct of Philip, and by means of his confessor brought his most secret thoughts under review, that politic prince assembled the states of his kingdom. They acknowledged his independent right to the sovereignty of France, and disavowed the pope's claim. It was on this occasion, that the representatives of cities were first regularly summoned to the national assembly⁵.

Philip was now at full liberty to treat the pope as an open enemy. He accordingly leagued with the family of Colonna, and sent William de Dogaret, a celebrated lawyer, into Italy, with a sum of money, in order to raise troops. A body of desperadoes were suddenly and secretly collected, with which William and Sciarra Colonna surprised Boniface at Anagni, a town in his own territories, and the place of his birth, exclaiming, "Let the pope die! and long live the king of France!" Boniface, however, did not lose his courage. He dressed himself in his cope, put the tiara upon his head: and, holding the keys in one hand, and the cross in the other, presented himself with an air of majesty before his conquerors. On this occasion, it is said, Sciarra had the brutality to strike him, crying out, "Tyrant! renounce the pontificate, which thou hast dishonoured."—"I am pope," replied Boniface, with a look of intrepidity,

5. Henault, ubi sup. Du Chesne. Folyd. Virg.

“and I will die pope!” This gallant behaviour had such an effect on the minds of the inhabitants, that they rose against his enemies, and rescued him from their hands. But Boniface was so much affected by the indignities which had been offered him, that he died in a few days⁶.

On the death of Boniface, the cardinals elected Nicholas Boccacini, who took the name of Benedict XI. He was a mild and good man; and being desirous of using his power for the promoting of peace, he revoked the sentence of excommunication, which his predecessor had fulminated against Philip the Fair. He also pardoned the Colonnas; and shewed a great disposition to reform that corruption which had spread itself through the dominions of the church. But these proceedings, so notorious in themselves, excited the ha-

A. D. 1305. tred of his licentious and vindictive countrymen, who suddenly took him off by poison.

He was succeeded by Clement V. who being a Frenchman, and entirely in the interest of Philip, fixed his residence in France. By means of this pope the

A. D. 1308. French monarch hoped to have obtained the empire for his brother, Charles of Valois, and

A. D. 1310. actually re-united the city of Lyons to his kingdom⁷.

But although this was justly considered as a great acquisition, Philip had occasion for the assistance of Clement in an affair that lay nearer his heart. I allude to the suppression of the order of Knights Templars. That religious and military order, which took its rise, as has been already observed, during the first fervour of the crusades, had made rapid advances in credit and authority; and had acquired, from the piety of the faithful, ample possessions in every Christian country, but more especially in France. The great riches of those

6. A. Baillet, *Hist. de Demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel.*

7. Trivet. *Annal. Hist. Menitr. Conc. de Lyons.*

knights, and other concurring causes, had, however, relaxed the severity of their discipline. Convinced by experience, by fatigues, and by dangers, of the folly of their fruitless expeditions into Asia, they chose rather to enjoy in ease their opulent fortunes in Europe; and being all men of birth, they scorned the ignoble occupations of a monastic life, and passed their time wholly in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. By these means the Templars had in a great measure lost that popularity, which first raised them to honour and distinction. But the immediate cause of their destruction proceeded from the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair.

The severity of the taxes, and the mal-administration of Philip and his council in regard to the coin, which they had repeatedly altered in its value, occasioned a sedition in Paris. The Knights Templars were accused of being concerned in the tumult. They were rich, as has been observed; and Philip was no less avaricious than vindictive. He determined to involve the whole order in one undistinguished ruin; and on no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices, he ordered all the Templars in France to be committed to prison, on one day, and imputed to them such enormous and absurd crimes, as are sufficient of themselves to destroy all the credit of the accusation. They were universally charged with murder, robbery, and the vices most shocking to nature; and it was pretended that every one whom they received into their order was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to join to this impiety the superstition of worshipping a gilded head, which was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. The novice was also said to be initiated by many infamous rites, which could serve no other purpose but to degrade the order in his eyes: and, as Voltaire very justly observes, it shews a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to suppose

pose there can be any societies that support themselves by the badness of their morals, or who make a law to enforce the practice of impudence and obscenity. Every society endeavours to render itself respectable to those who are desirous of becoming members of it.

Absurd, however, as these accusations appear, above one hundred knights were put to the rack, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt. The more obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors. Several, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was desired of them. Forged confessions were imputed to others; and Philip, as if
A. D. 1311. their guilt had now been certain, proceeded to a confiscation of all their treasures. But no sooner were these unhappy men relieved from their tortures, than they disavowed their forced confessions; exclaimed against the forgeries; justified the innocence of their order, and appealed to the many gallant actions performed by them, as a full apology for their conduct.

Enraged at this disappointment, and thinking himself bound in honour to proceed to extremities, Philip ordered fifty-four Templars, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to perish by the punishment of fire in his capital. Great numbers expired, after a like manner, in different parts of the kingdom: and when the tyrant found that the perseverance of those unhappy victims, in justifying to the last their innocence, had made deep impression on the minds of the people, he endeavoured to overcome the constancy of the Templars by new inhumanities. John de Molay, the grand-master of the
A. D. 1312. order, and another great officer, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiny, were conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Notre Dame, at Paris. A full pardon was offered them on one hand, a fire destined for their execution was shewn them on the other. But these gallant noblemen persisted in the protestation

protestation of their own innocence and that of their order; and as the reward of their fortitude, they were instantly hurried into the flames by the public executioner⁸.

In all this barbarous injustice, Clement V. who then resided at Poitiers, fully concurred: and, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, in a general council held at Vienne, without examining a single witness, or making any enquiry into the truth of facts, he abolished the whole order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny, and the power of their enemies still pursued and oppressed them. But no where, except in France, were the smallest traces of their guilt pretended to be found. Some countries sent ample testimony of their piety and morals: but as the order was now annihilated, their lands in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the Knights Hospitallers. In Spain, they were given to the knights Calatrava, an order established to combat the Moors⁹.

Philip, soon after the suppression of this order, revived his quarrel with the count of Flanders, whose dominions he again unsuccessfully attempted to unite to the crown of France. The failure of that project, together with some domestic misfortunes, threw him into a languishing consumption, which carried him off in the thirtieth year of his reign, A. D. 1314. and the forty-seventh of his age. He was certainly a prince of great talents; and notwithstanding his vices, France ought to reverence his memory. By fixing the parliaments, or supreme courts of judicature, he secured the ready execution of justice to all his subjects; and, though his motive might not be the most generous for calling in the third estate into the national council, he by that measure put it in the power of the French nation to have established a free government.

8. Puteau. *Hist. de la Condemnat. de Templars.* Nic. Gartler. *Hist. Templar.* Steph. Baluz. *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.*

9 Id. *ibid.* Rymer, vol. iii. Vertot. *Hist. Chev. Malth.* tom. ii.

Lewis X. surnamed Hutin, the son and successor of Philip the Fair, began his reign with an act of injustice. At the instigation of his uncle, the count of Valois, he caused his prime minister Marigny to be executed, on account of many pretended crimes, and magic among the rest; but in reality on account of his supposed riches, which were confiscated to the crown.

But neither the confiscation of Marigny's effects, nor of those who were styled his accomplices, being sufficient for the king's wants, he extorted money from the nobility, under various pretences: he levied a tenth upon the clergy: he sold enfranchisements to the slaves employed in cultivating the royal domains; and when they would not purchase their freedom, he declared them free, whether they would or not, and levied the money by force¹⁰! He died, like his father, after an unsuccessful attempt upon Flanders.

On the death of Lewis X. a violent dispute arose in regard to the succession. The king left one daughter, by his first wife, Margaret of Burgundy, and his queen, Clemence of Hungary, pregnant. Clemence was brought to bed of a son, who lived only eight days. It had long been a prevailing opinion, that the crown of France could never descend to a female; and as nations in accounting for principles which they regard as fundamental, and as peculiar to themselves, are fond of grounding them on primary laws rather than on blind custom, it had been usual to derive this maxim (though, according to the best antiquarians, falsely) from a clause in the Salian Code, the body of laws of an ancient tribe among the Franks. In consequence of this opinion, and precedents founded on it, Philip V. surnamed the Long, brother to Lewis X. was proclaimed king; and as the duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the right of his niece, the states of

10. Le Gendre. Duplex.

the kingdom, by a solemn and deliberate decree, excluded her, and declared all females forever incapable of succeeding to the crown of France¹¹. The wisdom of this decree is too evident to need being pointed out. It not only prevents those evils which necessarily proceed from female caprices and tender partialities, so apt to make a minister from love, and degrade him from whim, but is attended with this peculiar advantage, that a foreigner can never become sovereign of France by marriage; a circumstance always dangerous, and often productive of the most fatal revolutions.

The reign of Philip the Long, and also of his brother Charles IV. surnamed the Fair, were both short; nor was either distinguished by any memorable event. Charles left only one daughter, and consequently no heir to the crown; but as his queen was pregnant, Philip de Valois, the next male heir, was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove female. The queen of France was delivered of a daughter: the regency ended; and Philip de Valois was unanimously placed on the throne of France.

This prince was cousin-german to the deceased king, and incontestably the nearest heir-male descended from a male: but Edward III. as we shall soon have occasion to see, took up the dispute upon other grounds. In the mean time I must make you acquainted with the more early part of the reign of that illustrious monarch.

11. Mezeray. Du Tillet. P. Henault. P. Daniel.

LETTER XL.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN, DURING THE
REIGN OF EDWARD III.

THE reign of Edward III. my dear Philip, opens a wide field of observation, and involves whatever is great or interesting in the history of Europe A. D. 1327. during that period. But before we enter on the foreign transactions of this prince, I must inform you of the domestic; and for this purpose, it will be necessary to recapitulate a little.

You have already been witness to the miserable death of the second Edward, by the inhuman emissaries of Roger Mortimer the queen's gallant, who was become the object of public odium. The hatred of the nation daily increased both against him and queen Isabella. Conscious of this, they subjected to their vengeance whomsoever they feared, in order to secure their usurped power. The earl of Kent, the young king's uncle, was iniquitously condemned and executed; the earl of Lancaster, Kent's brother, was thrown into prison; and many of the prelates and nobility were prosecuted under different pretences¹.

These abuses could not long escape the observation of a prince of so much discernment as young Edward, nor fail to rouse his active spirit against the murderer of his father, and the dishonourer of his mother. But he was besieged in such a manner by the creatures of Mortimer, that it became necessary to conduct the project of bringing that felon to justice with as much secrecy and caution as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his sovereign. He communicated A. D. 1330. his intentions, however, to some of the nobility, who readily entered into his views; and they surprised the usurper in the castle of Nottingham, and

1. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

dragged him from an apartment adjoining to the queen's, while she, in the most pathetic manner, implored her son to spare the *gentle* Mortimer!—A parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation; and he was sentenced to die, from the supposed notoriety of his crimes, without any form of trial. He perished by the hands of the hangman, at the Elmes, near London: and the queen was confined, during life, to her house at Risings; where she languished out twenty-five years of sorrow rather than of penitence².

Edward having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself with industry and judgment, to redress all those grievances which had either proceeded from want of authority in the crown, or the late abuse of it. He issued ^{A. D. 1331.} writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer justice, without paying any regard to the arbitrary orders of the great: and as thieves, robbers, murderers, and criminals of all kinds, had multiplied to an enormous degree during the public convulsions, and were openly protected by the powerful barons, who made use of them against their enemies, the king set himself seriously to remedy the evil, after exacting from the peers a solemn promise in parliament, that they would break off all connexion with such malefactors³. The ministers of justice animated by his example, employed the utmost diligence in discovering, pursuing, and punishing criminals: and the disorder was by degrees corrected.

In proportion as the government acquired authority at home, it became formidable to the neighbouring nations; and the ambitious spirit of Edward sought, and soon found an occasion of exerting itself. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and fixed it by treaty, was now dead, and had left David, his son, a

2. Knyghton. Walsingham.

3. Cotton's *Abridgment*.

minor, under the guardianship of Randolph earl of Murray, the companion of his victories. About this time Edward Baliol son of John, formerly crowned king of Scotland, was discovered in a French prison by lord Beaumont, an English baron, who, in the right of his wife, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and deeming Baliol a proper instrument for his purpose, procured him his liberty, and induced him to revive his claim to the Scottish crown.

Many other English noblemen, who had obtained estates during the subjection of Scotland, were in the same situation with Beaumont. They also saw the utility of Baliol, and began to think of recovering their possessions by arms: and they applied to Edward for his concurrence and assistance. Edward was ashamed to avow their enterprize. He was afraid that violence and injustice would every where be imputed to him, if he attacked with superior force a minor king, and a brother-in-law, whose independent title had been so lately acknowledged by solemn treaty: but he secretly encouraged Baliol in his claim, connived at his assembling forces in the north, and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join him. A force of near three thousand men was assembled, with which Baliol and his adherents landed on the coast of Fife.

Scotland was now in a very different situation from that in which it had appeared under the victorious Robert. Besides the loss of that great monarch, whose genius and authority preserved entire the whole political fabric, and maintained union among the unruly barons, lord Douglas, impatient of rest, had gone over to Spain in a crusade against the Moors, and there perished in battle. The earl of Murray, long declining through years and infirmities, had lately died, and been succeeded in the regency by Donald earl of Mar, a man much inferior in talents; so that the military spirit of the Scots, though still unbroken, was left without a guide. Baliol had valour and activity, and his followers being firmly united by their common object,

object, drove back the Scots who opposed his landing. He marched into the heart of the country; and with his small party defeated an army of forty thousand men, under the earl of Mar, of whom twelve thousand are said to have been slain.

Baliol, soon after this victory, made himself master of Perth, and was crowned at Scone; while young Bruce, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife Jane, sister to king Edward. Scotland was subdued by a handful of men; but Baliol lost the kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it. His imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss part of his English followers, he was unexpectedly attacked near Annan by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of Bruce's party. He was routed: his brother John Baliol was slain; and he himself was chased into England in a miserable plight⁴.

In this extremity, Baliol had again recourse to the English monarch, without whose assistance he was now become sensible he could neither recover nor keep possession of his throne. He offered to acknowledge Edward's superiority; to renew the ^{A. D. 1333.} homage for Scotland; and to espouse the princess Jane, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Ambitious of retrieving that important superiority relinquished by Mortimer during his minority, Edward willingly accepted the offer, and put himself at the head of a powerful army, in order to reinstate Baliol in his throne. The Scots met him with an army more numerous, but less united, and worse supplied with arms and provisions. A battle was fought at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; where about thirty thousand of the Scots fell, and all the chief nobility were either killed or taken prisoners⁵.

4. Hemming. Knyghton. Walsingham, Buchanan. Fordun. 5. Ibid.

After

After this fatal blow, the Scottish nobles had no resource but in submission. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh; the superiority of England was again recognized: many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; who, leaving a considerable body of troops with Baliol to complete the conquest of the kingdom, returned to England

A. D. 1334.

with the remainder of his army. But the

English forces were no sooner withdrawn than the Scots revolted against Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. Edward was again obliged to assemble an army, and to march into Scotland. The

A. D. 1335.

Scots, taught by experience, withdrew into their hills and fastnesses. He destroyed the

houses and ravaged the estates of those whom he called rebels. But this severity only confirmed them more in their obstinate antipathy to England and to Baliol; and being now rendered desperate, they soon re-conquered

A. D. 1336.

their country from the English. Edward

made anew his appearance in Scotland, and with like success. He found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and although he marched uncontrolled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken or subdued. Besides being supported by their pride or anger, passions difficult to tame, the Scots were encouraged amid all their calamities, with daily promises of relief from France; and as a war was now likely to break out between that kingdom and England, they had reason to expect a division of the force which had so long overwhelmed and oppressed them⁶.

These transactions naturally bring us back to Edward's claim to the crown of France; on which depended the most memorable events not only of this long and active reign, but of the whole English and French history,

6. Rymer, vol. iv. Leland's *Collect.* vol. ii. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

during

during more than a century. A notion weaker or worse grounded than that claim cannot well be imagined. He admitted the general principle, that females could not inherit the crown of France. But, in so doing, he only set aside his mother's right, to establish his own; for although he acknowledged females incapable of inheriting, he asserted that males descending from females were liable to no such objection, but might claim by right of propinquity. This plea, however, was not only more favourable to Charles king of Navarre, descended from a daughter of Lewis X. but contrary to the established rules of succession in every European country, Edward's claim was therefore disregarded, and the title of Philip of Valois universally recognized and acknowledged⁷.

But although the youthful and ambitious mind of Edward had rashly entertained this false idea, he did not carry his pretensions so far as to engage in hostilities with so powerful a monarch as Philip VI. On the contrary, he went over to Amiens, and did homage for Guienne⁸. By that compliance he indirectly acknowledged Philip's title to the crown of France. His own claim indeed was so unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than to pretend to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it would probably never have been farther thought of, had it not been for some incidents which afterwards excited an animosity between the two monarchs.

Robert of Artois, a prince of great talents and credit, who had married Philip's sister, had fallen into disgrace at the court of France. His brother-in-law not only abandoned him, but prosecuted him with violence. He came over to England, and ^{A. D. 1337.} was favourably received by Edward. Now resigning himself to all the movements of rage and revenge, Robert endeavoured to revive in the mind of the English mo-

7. Froissard, tom. i. D. Specileg, tom. iii.

8. Rymer, vol. iv.

narch his supposed title to the crown of France; and even flattered him, that it was not impossible for a prince of his valour and abilities to render this claim effectual, "I made Philip de Valois king of France," added he, "and with your assistance, I will depose him for his ingratitude⁹."

Edward was the more disposed to listen to such suggestions, as he had reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and because that monarch had both given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independency. Resentment gradually filled the breasts of both monarchs, and made them incapable of hearkening to any terms of accommodation. Philip thought he should be wanting to the first principles of policy, if he abandoned Scotland; and Edward pretended that he must renounce all claim to generosity, if he withdrew his protection from Robert of Artois. Alliances were formed on both sides, and great preparations were made for war.

On the side of England was the count of Hainault, the king's father-in-law, the duke of Brabant, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Guelder, the marquis of Juliers, and the count of Namur. These princes could supply, either from their own states, or from the bordering countries, great numbers of warlike troops: and nothing was wanting to make Edward's alliance on that quarter truly formidable but the accession of Flanders, which he obtained by means somewhat extraordinary.

The Flemings, the first people in the north of Europe that successfully cultivated arts and manufactures, began now to emerge from that state of vassalage, or rather slavery, into which the common people had been universally thrown by the abuses of the feudal polity; and the lower class of men among them had risen to a degree of

9. Froissard, liv. i. *Mém. de Robert d'Artois.*

riches unknown elsewhere to those of their station in that comparatively barbarous age. It was impossible for such men not to resent any act of tyranny; and acts of tyranny were likely to be practised by a sovereign and nobility accustomed to domineer. They had risen in tumults; they had insulted the nobles, and driven their earl into France¹⁰.

In every such revolution there is always some leader or demagogue to whose guidance the people blindly deliver themselves. And on his character entirely depends the happiness or misery of those who have put themselves under his care; for every such man has it in his power to be a despot: so narrow are the boundaries between liberty and slavery:—The present leader of the Flemings was James d'Arteville, a brewer of Ghent, who governed them with a more absolute sway than had ever been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. He placed and displaced the magistrates at pleasure. He was constantly attended by a guard: who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man that happened to fall under his displeasure. All the cities of Flanders were full of his spies; and it was immediate death to give him the smallest umbrage. This was the man to whom Edward addressed himself for bringing over the Flemings to his interests¹¹.

Proud of advances from so great a prince, and sensible that the Flemings were naturally inclined to maintain connections with the English, on account of the advantages of trade, their demagogue ^{A. D. 1338.} embraced the cause of Edward, and invited him over to the Low Countries. Edward repaired to Flanders, attended by several of his nobility, and a body of English forces; but before the Flemings, who were vassals of France, would take up arms against their liege lord, Edward was obliged to assume the title of king of France, and to challenge their assistance for dethroning

10. Froissard, liv. i.

11. Id. ibid.

Philip de Valois, the usurper of his kingdom¹². This step, which was taken by the advice of d'Arteville, as he knew it would produce an irreconcilable breach between the two monarchs (a further motive for joining the cause of Edward,) gave rise to that animosity which the English and French nations, but more especially the former, have ever since borne against each other, an animosity which had, for some centuries, so visible an influence on all their transactions, and which still continues to inflame the heart of many an honest Englishman.

Let philosophers blame this prejudice as inconsistent with the liberality of the human mind; let moralists mourn its severity, and weak politicians lament its destructive rage—you, my dear Philip, as a lover of your country, will ever, I hope, revere a passion that has so often given victory to the arms of England, and humbled her haughty rival; which has preserved and continues to preserve, the independency of Great Britain!

The French monarch made great preparations against the attack from the English; and his foreign alliances were both more natural and powerful than those which were formed by his antagonist. The king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the count of Bar, were entirely in the interests of Philip; and on the side of Germany, the king of Bohemia, the palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Lorraine and Austria, the bishop of Liege, the counts of Deuxponts, Vaudemont, and Geneva. A. D. 1339. A mighty army was brought into the field on both sides. Conferences and mutual defiances, however, were all that the first campaign produced; and Edward, distressed for want of money, was obliged to disband his army, and return to England¹³.

But this illustrious prince had too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking. He was

12. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham. Rymer, vol. v.

13. Froissard, ubi sub. W. Hemming. T. Walsingham.

anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful and more gallant enterprizes; and next season proved somewhat more fortunate. The English, under the command of Edward, gained an important advantage over the French by sea. Two hundred and thirty French ships were taken, thirty thousand Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals. The lustre of this victory increased the king's reputation among his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition, and joined the English army; and Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above one hundred thousand men. The French monarch had collected an army still more numerous: yet he continued to adhere to the prudent resolution he had formed, of putting nothing to hazard, hoping by that means to weary out the enemy. This conduct had, in some measure, the desired effect. Edward, fatigued with fruitless sieges, and irritated at the disagreeable prospect that lay before him, challenged Philip to decide their claims to the crown of France by single combat; by an action of one hundred against one hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied with his usual coolness, that it did not become a vassal to challenge his liege lord; and Edward found it necessary to conclude a truce for one year⁴.

This truce would in all likelihood have been converted into a solid peace, and Edward would have dropped his claim, had not an unexpected circumstance opened to him more promising views, and given his enterprizing genius a full opportunity to display itself. The count de Mountfort, the heir male of Brittany, had seized that duchy in opposition to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew, who had married the daughter of the late duke. Sensible that he could expect no favour from Philip, Mountfort made a voyage to England, on pretence of soliciting his claim

14. Ibid.

to the earldom of Richmond, which had devolved to him by his brother's death; and then offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, he proposed a strict alliance for the support of each other's pretensions.

Little negotiation was necessary to conclude a treaty between two princes connected by their immediate interests. But the captivity of the count de Mountfort, which happened soon after, seemed to put an end to all the advantages naturally to be expected from such an alliance. The affairs of Brittany, however, were unexpectedly retrieved by Jane of Flanders, countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of her time. Roused by the captivity of her husband from those domestic cares to which she had hitherto confined herself, she boldly undertook to support the fallen fortunes of her family. She went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary for subsistence, and concerting the proper plans of defence; and having put the whole province in a good posture, she shut herself up in Hennebone, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours which Edward had promised her.

Charles of Blois, anxious to make himself master of this important fortress, sat down before the place with a great army, and conducted the attack with indefatigable industry. The defence was no less vigorous. The besiegers were repulsed in every assault. Frequent sallies were made by the garrison; and the countess herself being the most forward on all occasions, every one was ashamed not to exert himself to the utmost. The reiterated attacks of the besiegers, however, had at length made several breaches in the walls; and it was apprehended that a general assault, which was dreaded every hour, might bear down the garrison. It became necessary to treat of a capitulation: and the bishop of La-

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on was already engaged in a conference on that subject with Charles of Blois, when the countess, who had mounted a high tower, and was anxiously looking toward the sea for relief, descried some sails at a distance. "Behold the succours!" exclaimed she;—"the English succours!—No capitulation." They consisted of six thousand archers, and some cavalry, under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England: and having entered the harbour, and inspired fresh courage into the garrison, immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from their posts, and obliged them to decamp¹⁵.

Notwithstanding this success, the troops under sir Walter Manny were found insufficient for the support of the countess of Mountfort, who was still ready to be overpowered by numbers. Edward therefore sent over a reinforcement under Robert of Artois, and afterwards went to her assistance in person. Robert was killed in the defence of Vannes: and Edward concluded a truce of three years, on honourable terms, for himself and the countess. A. D. 1343.

This truce, however, was of much shorter duration than the term specified in the articles, and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. The English parliament entered warmly into the quarrel, advised the king not to be amused by a fraudulent truce, and granted him supplies for the renewal of hostilities. The earl of Derby was sent over for the protection of Guienne, where he behaved with great gallantry; and Edward invaded Normandy with an army of thirty thousand men. He took several towns, and ravaged the whole province, carrying his excursions even to the gates of Paris. At length Philip advanced against him at the head of an hundred thousand men, and Edward, afraid of being surrounded in the enemy's country, retreated towards Flanders¹⁶. A. D. 1344.

15. Froissard, liv. i.

16. R. de Averborg. Froissard, ubi sup.

In this retreat happened the famous passage of the Somme, which was followed by the still more celebrated battle of Cressy. When Edward approached the Somme, he found all the bridges either broken down or strongly guarded. An army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Godamar de Faye was stationed on the opposite bank; and Philip was advancing on him, at the same time, from behind. In this extremity he was informed of a place that was fordable: he hastened thither, but saw de Faye ready to obstruct his passage. A man of less resolution, or more coolness, would have hesitated: Edward deliberated not a moment, but threw himself into the river sword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their station, and pursued them to a distance on the plain. Philip and his forces arrived at the ford, when the rear-guard of the English army was passing; and the rising of the tide only prevented that incensed monarch from following them. On the lapse of so few moments depended the fate of Edward!—and these, by his celerity, were turned from ruin into victory! yet if he had been unfortunate in his passage, or if the French army had arrived somewhat sooner, how many pretended philosophers would have told us that he was an inconsiderate prince, and the attempt would have been branded as absurd!—So much, my dear Philip, does the reputation of events depend on success, and the characters of men on the situations in which they are engaged.

Edward by his fortunate passage gained some ground of the enemy, as Philip was obliged to take his route by the bridge of Abbeville; but he still saw the danger of precipitating his march over the plains of Picardy, and of exposing his rear to the insults of the numerous cavalry, in which the French camp abounded. He therefore embraced the prudent resolution of waiting the arrival of the enemy, and chose his ground advantageously near the village of Cressy; where he drew up his army in excellent order, and divided into
three

three lines. The first line was commanded by the prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour; the second by the earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the king himself took the direction of the third, which was intended as an auxiliary force. The French army, which now consisted of above an hundred and twenty thousand men, was also formed into three lines; but as Philip had made a hasty and confused march from Abbeville, the troops were fatigued and disordered. The first line, consisting of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi: the second was led by the count d'Alencon; and the king in person was at the head of the third. The ^{AUG. 26.} battle began about three o'clock, and continued till towards evening; when the whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword with great slaughter till the darkness of night put an end to the pursuit. Almost forty thousand of the French were slain, among whom were many of the principal nobility, twelve hundred knights, and fourteen hundred gentlemen. On his return to the camp Edward flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, who had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner. "My brave son!" cried he, "persevere in your honourable course. "You are my son! for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day. You have shewn yourself worthy of "empire¹⁷."

This victory is partly ascribed to some pieces of artillery which Edward is said to have planted in his front, and which gave great alarm to the enemy¹⁸; but we cannot suppose they did much execution. The invention was yet in its infancy; and cannon were at first so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that they were rather incumbrances than those terrible instruments of desolation which we now behold them. They had never before been made use of on any memorable occasion in Europe. This may, therefore, be regarded

17. Froissard, lib. i. Walsingham. Knighton. Averburg. 18. Villani, lib. xii.

as the æra of one of the most important discoveries that has been made among men; a discovery which changed by degrees the whole military science, and of course many circumstances in the political government of Europe; which has brought nations more on a level; has made success in war a matter of calculation, and though seemingly contrived for the destruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires has in the issue rendered battles less bloody, and conquests less frequent, by giving greater security to states, and interesting the passions of men less in the struggle for victory.

A weak mind is elated with the smallest success: a great spirit is little affected by any turn of fortune. Edward, instead of expecting that the victory at Cressy would be immediately followed by the total subjection of the disputed kingdom, seemed rather to moderate his views. He prudently limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; by which he hoped to secure such an easy entrance into France, as might afterwards open the way to more considerable advantages. He therefore marched thither with his victorious army, and presented himself before the place.

In the mean time David Bruce, king of Scotland, whom his countrymen had recalled, was strongly solicited by his ally, Philip to invade the northern counties of England. He accordingly assembled a great army, and carried his ravages as far as Durham. He was
OCT. 17. there met by queen Philippa, at the head of a body of twelve thousand men, which she committed to the command of lord Percy. A fierce engagement ensued; and the Scots were broken and chased off the field with great slaughter. Fifteen thousand of them were slain, among whom were the chancellor and earl-marshal. The king himself was taken prisoner, together with many of the principal nobility¹⁹.

As soon as Philippa had secured her royal prisoner, she crossed the sea at Dover, and was received in the

19. Averburg. Knyghton. Froissard, ubi sup.

English camp before Calais with all the eclat due to her rank, her merit, and her success. This was the age of chivalry and gallantry. Edward's courtiers excelled in these accomplishments no less than in policy and war; and the extraordinary qualities of the women of those times, the necessary consequence of respectful admiration, form the best apology for the superstitious devotion which was then paid to the softer sex. Calais was taken, after an obstinate siege of almost twelve months. The inhabitants were expelled; and it was peopled anew with English subjects, and made the staple of wool, tin, and lead; the four chief commodities of England, and the only ones for which there was yet any demand in foreign markets. A truce was soon afterwards concluded with France, through the mediation of the pope's legate, and Edward returned in triumph to England²⁰.

Here a few observations seem necessary. The great success of Edward in his foreign wars had excited a strong emulation among the English nobility; and their animosity against France, and respect to their prince, had given a new and more useful turn to that ambition, which had so often been turned by those turbulent barons against the crown, or which discharged its fury on their fellow-subjects. This prevailing spirit was farther promoted by the institution of the military Order of the Garter, in emulation of some orders of knighthood, of a like nature, which had been established in different parts of Europe.—A story prevails, though not supported by ancient authority, that Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter at a court ball; that the king stooped, and took it up; when observing some of his courtiers to smile, as if they had suspected another intention, he held up the trophy, and called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*: "Evil to him that evil thinks."—And as every incident of gallantry in

20. Id. *ibid.*

those times was magnified into a matter of importance, he instituted the Order of the Garter in commemoration of this event, though not without political views, and gave these words as the motto of the order. Frivolous as such an origin may seem, it is perfectly suitable to the manners of that age; and, as a profound historian remarks, it is difficult by any other means to account for the seemingly unmeaning terms of the motto, or the peculiar badge of the garter, which appears to have no reference to any purpose either of military use or ornament²¹.

A damp, however, was suddenly thrown over the triumphant festivity of the English court, by a destructive pestilence which about this time invaded Britain, after having desolated the greatest part of the earth. It made its appearance first in the north of Asia; encircled all that vast continent; visited Africa; made its progress from one end of Europe to the other; and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country through which it passed. Above fifty thousand persons are said to have perished by it in London alone. This grievous calamity, more than the pacific disposition of the princes, served to prolong the truce between England and France.

During this truce Philip de Valois died, without being able to re-establish the affairs of France, which his unsuccessful war with England had thrown into much disorder. This monarch had, during the first years of his reign, obtained the appellation of *Fortunate*, and acquired the character of *Prudent*: but he ill maintained either the one or the other; less indeed from his own fault, than because he was overmatched by the superior fortune and superior genius of Edward. But the incidents in the reign of his son John, gave the French cause to lament even the calamitous times of Philip. John was distinguished by many virtues, but particularly by a scrupulous honour and fidelity. He was not

21. Hume, *Hist. England*, chap. xv.

deficient in personal courage; but as he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight, which his difficult situation required, his kingdom was at the same time disturbed by intestine commotions, and oppressed by foreign wars.

The principal author of these calamities was Charles king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, and whose conduct fully entitled him to that appellation. He was descended from males of the blood royal of France. His mother was daughter of Lewis X. and he had himself married a daughter of the reigning king; but all these ties, which ought to have connected him with the throne, gave him only greater power to shake and overthrow it. He secretly entered into a correspondence with the king of England; and he seduced, by his address, Charles afterwards surnamed the Wise, the king of France's eldest son, and the first who bore the title of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown. This young prince, however, made sensible of the danger and folly of such connections, promised to make atonement for the offence by the sacrifice of his associates. In concert with his father, he accordingly invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to a feast at Rouen, where they were betrayed into the hands of John. Some of the most obnoxious were immediately led to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison. But this stroke of severity in the French monarch, and of treachery in the Dauphin, was far from proving decisive in restoring the royal authority. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles the Bad, and Geoffery d'Harcourt, put all the towns and castles belonging to that prince in a posture of defence; and they had immediate recourse to England in this desperate extremity²².

The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill observed on both sides, was now expired; so that Edward was at liberty to support the French

22. Froissard, liv. I.

malecontents. The war was again renewed; and after a variety of fortunes, but chiefly in favour of the English, an event happened which nearly proved fatal to the French monarchy.

The prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of
 A. D. 1356. the first campaign, took the field with an army of only twelve thousand men; and with that small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. King John, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, collected an army of sixty thousand combatants, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. The prince, not aware of John's near approach, lost some days, on his march, before the castle of Remorantin, and thereby gave the French monarch an opportunity of overtaking him. The
 SEPT. 19. pursuers came within sight at Maupertuis, near Poitiers; and young Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a hero, and all the prudence of an experienced general. No degree of prudence or courage, however, could have saved him, had the king of France known how to make use of his present advantages. John's superiority in numbers enabled him to surround the English camp, and by intercepting all provisions, to reduce the prince to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. But the impatient ardour of the French nobility prevented this idea from striking any of the commanders; so that they immediately took measures for the assault, with full assurance of victory. But they found themselves miserably mistaken. The English adventurers received them with desperate valour, put their army to flight, and took their king prisoner.

The Black prince, who had been carried away in pursuit of the flying enemy, finding the field entirely clear on his return, had ordered a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of battle, when informed of the fate of the French monarch. John had long refused to surrender himself to any one, but his "cousin the
 prince

“ prince of Wales²³.” Here commences the real and unexampled heroism of young Edward—the triumph of humanity and moderation over insolence and pride, in the heart of a young warrior, elated by as extraordinary and as unexpected success as had ever crowned the arms of any commander. He came forth to meet the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior Providence, which controuls all the efforts of human force and prudence. He ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the royal prisoner; and he himself served at the captive’s table, as if he had been one of his retinue. All his father’s pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion. John, in captivity, received the honours of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne of Clovis. His misfortunes, not his right, were respected: and the French prisoners, conquered by this elevation of mind, more than by the English arms, burst into tears of admiration; which were only checked by the reflection, that such exalted heroism in an enemy, must make him doubly dangerous to the independency of their native country²⁴.

The prince of Wales conducted his royal prisoner to Bourdeaux; and, after concluding a truce for two years, brought him over to A. D. 1357. England. Here the king of France, besides the generous treatment which he met with, had the melancholy consolation of meeting a brother in affliction. The king of Scotland had been for eleven years a captive in the hands of Edward, whose superior genius and fortune had reduced at once the two neighbouring potentates with whom he was engaged in war, to the condition of prisoners in his capital. Finding, how-

23. Rymer, vol. vi. Froissard, liv. i.

24. Ibid. ubi sup.

ever, that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, Edward consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty, for the ransom of one hundred thousand marks sterling: and that prince delivered the sons of all his principal nobility, as hostages for the payment²⁵.

Meanwhile the captivity of the French monarch, joined to the preceding disorders of the kingdom, had produced an almost total dissolution of civil authority, and occasioned the most horrible and destructive violences ever experienced in any age or country. The Dauphin, now about nineteen years of age, naturally assumed the reins of government, during his father's captivity; but although endowed with an excellent judgment, even in such early years, he possessed neither experience nor ability sufficient to remedy the prevailing evils. In order to obtain supplies,

A. D. 1358. he assembled the states of the kingdom. But that national assembly, instead of supporting his administration, were themselves seized with the spirit of licentiousness; and laid hold of the present opportunity to demand limitations of the regal power, the punishment of past malversations, and the liberty of the king of Navarre. Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, and first magistrate of that city, put himself at the head of the unruly populace; and from the violence and temerity of his character, pushed them to commit the most criminal outrages against the royal authority. They detained the Dauphin in a kind of captivity: they murdered in his presence Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, mareschals of France: they threatened all the other ministers with the like fate; and when Charles, who had been obliged to temporize and dissemble, made his escape from their hands, they levied war against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, in imitation of the capital, shook off the

25. Rymer, vol. i.

Dauphin's authority; took the government into their own hands, and spread the contagion into every province. The wild state of nature seemed to be renewed in the bosom of society: every man was thrown loose and independent of his fellow-citizens.

The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost all their influence. The troops, who could no longer be retained in discipline, by reason of the want of pay, throwing off all regard to their officers, sought the means of subsistence by pillage and robbery; and associating with them all the disorderly people, with whom that age abounded, infested every quarter of the kingdom in numerous bodies. They desolated the open country, burned and plundered the villages; and by cutting off all means of communication or subsistence, reduced to necessity even the inhabitants of the fortified towns.

The peasants, formerly oppressed, and now left unprotected by their masters, became desperate from their present misery; and, rising every where in arms, carried to the last extremity those disorders, which were derived from the sedition of the citizens and disbanded soldiers. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were every where exposed to the violence of popular rage; and, instead of meeting with the respect due to their rank, became only on that account, the object of more wanton insult to the mutinous rustics. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy. Their castles were consumed with fire, and levelled with the ground; while their wives and daughters were subject to violation, and then murdered.

A body of nine thousand of these savage boors broke into Meaux, where the wife of the Dauphin, the dutchess of Orleans, and above three hundred other ladies, had taken shelter. The most brutal treatment and fatal consequences were apprehended by this fair and helpless company; when the count de Foix and the captal de Buche, with the assistance of only sixty knights, animat-
ed

ed with the true spirit of chivalry, flew to the rescue of the ladies, and beat off the brutal and rapacious peasants with great slaughter²⁶.

Amidst these disorders the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and presented a dangerous leader to the furious malecontents. He revived his pretensions to the crown of France; but in all his operations he acted more like a captain of banditti than one who aspired to be the head of a regular government, and who was engaged by his station to endeavour the re-establishment of order in the community. All the French, therefore, who wished to restore peace to their desolated country, turned their eyes towards the Dauphin; who, though not remarkable for his military talents, daily gained by his prudence and vigilance, the ascendant over his enemies. Marcel, the seditious provost of Paris, was slain in attempting to deliver that city to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty; the most considerable bodies of the mutinous peasants were dispersed, or put to the sword; some bands of military robbers underwent the same fate, and France began once more to assume the appearance of civil government²⁷.

Edward appeared to have a favourable opportunity of pushing his conquests, during the confusion in the Dauphin's affairs; but his hands were tied by the truce, and the state of the English finances made a cessation
 A. D. 1359. of arms necessary. The truce, however, no sooner expired than he invaded France anew with the whole military force of England. He ravaged the country without opposition; pillaged many towns, and levied contributions upon others; but finding that he could not subsist his army in a kingdom wasted
 A. D. 1360. by foreign and domestic enemies, he prudently concluded the peace of Bretigni, which seemed to secure essential advantages to his crown. By this peace, it was stipulated, that John should pay three

26. Froissard, liv. i. St. Pelaye sur l'Ancien Chivalrie.

27. Froissard, ubi sub.

millions of crowns of gold for his ransom; that Edward should forever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Tourraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; in exchange for which he should receive the provinces of Poitou Xaintonge, l'Angenois, Perigord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that the full sovereignty of these provinces, as well as of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England; and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them²⁸.

In consequence of this treaty, the king of France was restored to his liberty; but many difficulties arising with respect to the execution of some of the articles, he took the honourable resolution of coming over to England in person in order to adjust them. A. D. 1363.

His council endeavoured to dissuade him from this design, which they represented as rash and impolitic; and insinuated, that he ought to elude as far as possible the execution of so disadvantageous a treaty. "Though justice and good faith," replied John, "were banished from the rest of the earth, they ought still to retain their habitation in the breasts of princes!" And he accordingly came over A. D. 1364. to his former lodgings in the Savoy; where he soon after sickened and died²⁹.

John was succeeded in the throne of France by his son, Charles V. a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his prudence and experience, to repair the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his predecessors. Contrary to the practice of all the great princes of those times, who held nothing in estimation but military courage, he seems to have laid it down as a maxim, never to appear at the head

28. Rymer, vol. vi.

29. Froissard, ubi sup.

of his armies. He was the first European monarch, that shewed the advantage of policy and foresight over a rash and precipitate valour.

Before Charles could think of counterbalancing so great a power as England, it was necessary for him to remedy the many disorders to which his own kingdom was exposed. He accordingly turned his arms against the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age; and he defeated that prince, and reduced him to terms, by the valour and conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most accomplished captains of those times, whom Charles had the discernment to chuse
A. D. 1365. as the instrument of his victories. He also settled the affairs of Brittany, by acknowledging the title of Mountfort, and receiving homage for his dominions. But much was yet to do.

On the conclusion of the peace of Bretigni, a multitude of military adventurers, who had followed the prosperous fortunes of Edward, being dispersed into the several provinces of France, and possessed of strong-holds, refused to lay down their arms, or relinquish a course of life to which they were now accustomed, and by which alone they could earn a subsistence. They, therefore, associated themselves with the banditti, who were already inured to the habits of rapine and violence; and under the name of *Companies* and *Companions*, became a terror to the peaceable inhabitants. Some English and Gascon gentlemen of character were not ashamed to take the command of these ruffians, whose number amounted to near forty thousand, and who bore the appearance of regular armies rather than bands of robbers³⁰. As Charles was not able by force to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led by necessity, and by the turn of his character, to correct it by policy; to discover some method of discharging into foreign countries this dangerous and intestine evil. And an occasion now offered.

30. Ibid.

Alphonso XI. king of Castile, who took the city of Algezira from the Moors, after a famous siege of two years, had been succeeded, in 1350, by his son Peter I. surnamed the Cruel, a prince equally perfidious, debauched, and bloody. He began his reign with the murder of his father's mistress, Leonora de Gusman: his nobles fell every day the victims of his severity: he put to death his cousin, and one of his natural brothers, from a groundless jealousy; and he caused his queen, Blanche de Bourbon, of the royal blood of France, to be thrown into prison, and afterwards poisoned, that he might enjoy in quiet the embraces of Mary de Padella, with whom he was violently enamoured.

Henry, count of Transtamara, the king of Spain's natural brother, alarmed at the fate of his family, and dreading his own, took arms A. D. 1366. against the tyrant; but having failed in the attempt, he fled into France, where he found the minds of men inflamed against Peter, on account of the murder of the French princess. He asked permission of Charles to enlist the *Companies* in his service, and to lead them into Castile against his brother. The French monarch, charmed with the project, employed du Guesclin in negotiating with the leaders of these banditti. The treaty was soon concluded: and du Guesclin having completed his levies, led the army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided, and demanded, sword in hand, absolution for his ruffian soldiers, who had been excommunicated, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres for their subsistence. The first was readily promised him, but some difficulty being made with respect to the second, du Guesclin replied, "My fellows, I believe, may make shift to do without your absolution: but the money is absolutely necessary." His holiness now extorted from the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood the sum of one hundred thousand livres, and offered it to Guesclin. "It is not my purpose," said that generous warrior, "to oppress the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals can spare me double the sum from their

“ own pockets. I therefore insist, that this money be
 “ restored to the owners: and if I hear they are de-
 “ frauded of it, I will myself return from the other side
 “ of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them resti-
 “ tution.” The pope found the necessity of submit-
 ting, and paid from his own treasury the sum demand-
 ed³¹. Thus, hallowed by the blessings, and enriched by
 the spoils of the church, du Guesclin and his army
 proceeded on their expedition!

A body of experienced and hardy soldiers, con-
 ducted by so able a general, easily prevailed over the
 king of Castile, whose subjects were ready to join the
 enemy against their oppressor. Peter fled
 A. D. 1367. from his dominions, took shelter in Gui-
 enne, and craved the protection of the Black Prince,
 whom the king of England had invested with the sove-
 reignty of the ceded provinces, under the title of the
 principality of Aquitaine. The prince promised his
 assistance to the dethroned monarch; and having ob-
 tained his father’s consent, he levied an army, and set
 out on his enterprize.

The first loss which Henry of Transtamara suffered
 from the interposition of the prince of Wales, was the
 recalling of the *Companies* from his service: and so
 much reverence did they pay to the name of Edward,
 that great numbers of them immediately withdrew
 from Spain, and enlisted under his standard. Henry,
 however, beloved by his new subjects, and supported
 by the king of Arragon, was able to meet the enemy
 with an army of one hundred thousand men, three
 times the number of those commanded by the Black
 Prince; yet du Guesclin, and all his experienced offi-
 cers, advised him to delay a decisive action; so high
 was their opinion of the valour and conduct of the
 English hero!—But Henry, trusting to his numbers,
 ventured to give Edward battle on the banks of the
 Ebro, between Najara and Navarette; where the
 French and Spaniards were defeated, with the loss of

31. *Hist. de Guesclin.*

above twenty thousand men, and du Guesclin and many other officers of distinction taken prisoners. All Castile submitted to the victor: Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward returned to Guienne with his usual glory: having not only overcome the greatest general of his age, but restrained the most blood-thirsty tyrant from executing vengeance on his prisoners³².

But this gallant warrior had soon reason to repent his connections with a prince like Peter, lost to all sense of virtue and honour. That ungrateful monster refused the stipulated pay to the English forces. Edward abandoned him. He treated his subjects with the utmost barbarity; their animosity was roused against him; and du Guesclin, having obtained his ransom, returned to Castile with the count of Transtamara, and some forces levied anew in France. They were joined by the Spanish malecontents; and having no longer the superior genius, and the superior fortune of the Black Prince to encounter, they gained a complete victory over Peter in A. D. 1368. the neighbourhood of Toledo. The tyrant now took refuge in a castle, where he was soon after besieged by the victors, and taken prisoner, in endeavouring to make his escape. He was conducted to his brother Henry; against whom he is said to have rushed, in a transport of rage, disarmed as he was. Henry slew him with his own hand, in resentment of his cruelties; and, though a bastard, was honoured with the crown of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity³³.

In the mean time the affairs of the Black Prince were fallen into some disorder. He had involved himself so much in debt by his Spanish expedition, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose on his foreign principality a new tax, which some of the nobility paid with extreme reluctance, and to which others absolutely refused to submit. They carried their complaints to the king of France, as their lord paramount;

32. Froissard, liv. I.

33. Id. *ibid.*

and, as the renunciations agreed to in the treaty of Bretigni, had never been made, Charles seized this opportunity to renew his claim of superiority over the English provinces³⁴. In this resolution he was encouraged by the declining years of Edward III. and the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health: he therefore sent the prince a summons to appear at his court at Paris, and justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied, that he would come to Paris; but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. War was renewed between France and England, and with singular reverse of fortune. The low state of the prince of Wales's health not permitting him to exert his usual activity, the French were victorious in almost every action; and when he was obliged, A. D. 1370. by his increasing infirmities, to throw up the command, and return to his native country, the affairs of the English went to total ruin on the continent. They were stripped in a few years of all their ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and of all their conquests, except Calais³⁵.

These misfortunes abroad were followed by the decay of the king's authority at home. This was chiefly occasioned by his extravagant attachment to Alice Pierce, a young lady of wit and beauty, whose influence over him had given such general disgust, as to become the object of parliamentary remonstrance. The indolence naturally attendant on years and infirmities, had also made Edward resign the administration into the hands of his son, the duke of Lancaster, whose unpopular manners and proceedings weakened extremely the affections of the English to their sovereign. Meanwhile the prince of Wales died; leaving behind him a character adorned with every eminent virtue, and which would throw lustre on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. A. D. 1376.

34. T. Walsingham. Froissard, ubi sup.

35. Ibid.

The king survived that melancholy incident only about twelve months. He expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign; ^{A. D. 1377.} one of the longest and most glorious in the English annals. His latter days were indeed somewhat obscured, by the infirmities and the follies of old age; but he was no sooner dead, than the people of England were sensible of their irreparable loss, and posterity considers him as the greatest and most accomplished prince of his time.

The domestic government of Edward was even more worthy of admiration than his foreign victories. By the prudence and vigour of his administration, England enjoyed a longer term of interior peace and tranquillity than it had been blest with in any former period, or than it experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion: his valour and conduct made them successful in most military enterprizes; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those private feuds to which they were naturally so much disposed. This internal tranquillity was the chief benefit that England derived from Edward's continental expeditions: and the miseries of his successor made the nation fully sensible of the value of the blessing.

But before I speak of the administration of Richard II. the unhappy son of the Black Prince, I must carry forward the affairs of the German empire. At present, however, it will be proper to observe, that the French monarch, Charles V. whose prudent conduct had acquired him the surname of *Wise*, died soon after Edward III. while he was attempting to expel the English from the few places which they still retained in France, and left his kingdom to a minor son of the same name, Charles VI. so that England and France were now both under the government of minors. And both experienced the misfortunes of a turbulent and divided regency.

LETTER

LETTER XLI.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ROME AND THE ITALIAN STATES, FROM THE ELECTION OF LEWIS OF BAVARIA TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES IV.

WE now, my dear Philip, approach to that æra in the history of the German empire, when the famous constitution, called the Golden Bull, was established; which, among other things, settled the number and the rights of the electors, as yet uncertain, and productive of many disorders.

Henry VII. as you have already seen, struggled hard to recover the sovereignty of Italy; but he died before he was able to accomplish his purpose. His death was followed by an interregnum of fourteen months, which were employed in the intrigues of Lewis of Bavaria, A. D. 1315. and of Frederic the Handsome, duke of Austria. Lewis was elected by the greater number of the princes; but Frederic being chosen and supported by a faction, disputed the empire with him. A furious civil war, which long desolated both Italy and Germany, was the consequence of this opposition. A. D. 1319. At last the two competitors met near Muldorf, and agreed to decide their important dispute by thirty champions, fifteen against fifteen. The champions accordingly engaged in presence of both armies, and fought with such fury, that in a short time not one of them was left alive. A general action followed, in which the Austrians were worsted. But this victory was not decisive. Frederic soon repaired his loss, and even ravaged Bavaria. The Bavarian assembled a powerful army, in order to oppose his rival; and the battle of Vechivis, in which the duke of Austria was taken prisoner, fixed the imperial crown on the head of Lewis V^t. A. D. 1322.

1. Avent. *Annal. Boior.* lib. vii.

During

During the course of these struggles was fought, between the Swiss and Austrians, the memorable battle of Morgart; which established the liberty of Swisserland, as the victory of Marathon had formerly done that of Greece: and Attic eloquence only was wanting to render it equally famous. Sixteen hundred Swiss, from the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, defeated an army of twenty thousand Austrians, in passing the mountains near Morgart, in 1315, and drove them out of the country with terrible slaughter. The alliance which these three cantons had entered into for the term of ten years, was now converted into a perpetual league; and the other cantons occasionally joined it².

Lewis V. had no sooner humbled the duke of Austria than a new antagonist started up:—he had the pope to encounter. The reigning pontiff at that time was John XXII. who had been elected at Lyons in 1315, by the influence of Philip the Long, king of France. John was the son of a cobbler, and one of those men who, raised to power by chance or merit, are haughty in proportion to the meanness of their birth. He had not hitherto, however, interfered in the affairs of the empire; but now, all at once, he set himself up as its judge and master. He declared the election of Lewis void: he maintained, that it was the right of the sovereign ^{A. D. 1324.} pontiff to examine and confirm the election of emperors; that the government, during a vacancy, belonged to him: and he commanded the emperor, by virtue of his apostolic power, to lay aside the imperial ensigns, until he should receive permission from the holy see to reassume them³.

Several attempts were made by Lewis towards a reconciliation with his holiness, but in vain: the proud pontiff was inflexible, and would listen to no reasonable conditions. The emperor, therefore, jealous of the independency of his crown, endeavoured to strengthen his

2. Simler, *de Repub. Helvetic.*

3. Steph. Baluzii. *Vit. Pontiff. Avenion.* vol. i.

interest both in Italy and Germany. He continued the government of Milan in the family of the Visconti, who were rather masters than magistrates of that city; and he conferred the government of Lucca on Castruccio Castruccani, a celebrated captain, whose life is pompously written by Machiavel. The German princes were mostly in his interest, and no less jealous than he of the dignity of the empire.

Enraged at such firmness, pope John excommunicated
 A. D. 1325. and deposed the emperor Lewis, and endeavoured to get Charles the Fair, king of France, elected in his room. But this attempt miscarried. None of the German princes, except Leopold of Austria, came to the place appointed for an interview with the French monarch; and the imprudent and ambitious Charles returned chagrined and disappointed into his own dominions⁴.

Thus freed from a dangerous rival, the emperor
 A. D. 1327. marched into Italy, in order to establish his authority in that country. He was crowned at Milan, and afterwards at Rome; where he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Augustan friar: "Is there any one who will defend the cause of the priest of Cahors, who calls himself pope John?"—And no person appearing, sentence was immediately pronounced against his holiness.

A. D. 1328. Lewis declared him convicted of heresy, deprived him of all his dignities and benefices, and delivered him over to the secular power, in order to suffer the punishment of fire; and Peter Rainaucci, a Neapolitan cordelier, was created pope under the name of Nicholas V⁵.

But Lewis, notwithstanding this mighty parade, was soon obliged, like his predecessors, to quit Italy, in order to quell the troubles of Germany and pope

4. Villani, lib. xi.

5. Balluzii, ubi sup.

John, though a refugee on the banks of the Rhone, recovered his authority in Rome. The Imperialists were expelled the city, and Nicholas V. the emperor's pope, was carried to Avignon, where, with a rope about his neck, he publicly implored forgiveness of his rival, and ended his days in a prison⁶. A. D. 1330.

The emperor, in the mean time, remained in peace at Munich, having settled the affairs of Germany. But he still lay under the censures of the church, and the pope continued to solicit the princes of the empire to revolt against him. Lewis was preparing to assemble a general council in order to depose his holiness a second time, when the death of John made such a measure unnecessary, and relieved the emperor from all dread of the spiritual thunder. This turbulent pope, who first invented the taxes for dispensations and mortal sins, died immensely rich. He was succeeded in the papacy by James Fournier, surnamed the White Cardinal, who assumed the name of Benedict XII⁷. A. D. 1334.

The new pope, who seemed desirous to tread in the steps of his predecessor, confirmed all the bulls which had been issued by John against the emperor. But Lewis had now affairs of more importance to engage his attention than those important fulminations. John of Luxemburg, second son of the king of Bohemia, had married Margaret, surnamed Great Mouth, heiress of Carinthia; and that princess accusing her husband of impotency, a bishop of Frisingen dissolved the marriage, and she espoused the margrave of Brandenburg, son of the emperor Lewis, who readily consented to a match that added Tyrol and Carinthia to the possessions of his family. This marriage produced a war between the houses of Bavaria and Bohemia, which lasted only one year, but occasioned abundance of bloodshed; and the parties came to a very singular accommodation^{A. D. 1336.} John of Luxemburg confessed that his wife had

6. *Ibid.*7. *Baluz. Vit. Pontif. Avinion.*

reason to forsake him, renounced all claim to her, and ratified her marriage with the margrave of Brandenburg⁸.

This affair being settled, Lewis exerted all his endeavours to appease the domestic troubles of the empire, which were still kept alive by the intrigues of the pope; and notwithstanding all the injuries and insults he had sustained, he made several attempts towards an accommodation with the holy see. But these negociations being rendered ineffectual by the influence of France, the princes of the empire, ecclesiastical as well as secular, assembled at Frankfort, and established that famous constitution, by which it was irrevocably fixed, “That the plurality of the suffrages of the electoral college confers the empire, without the consent of the holy see; that the pope has no superiority over the emperor of Germany, nor any right to approve or reject his election; and that to maintain the contrary is high-treason.” They also refuted the absurd claim of the popes to the government of the empire during a vacancy; and declared, that this right appertains, by ancient custom, to the count Palatine of the Rhine⁹.

Germany now enjoyed for some years what it had seldom known, the blessings of peace; which was again interrupted by the court of Avignon. Benedict XII. was succeeded in the papacy by Clement VI. a native of France, and so haughty and enterprising as to affirm that his “predecessors did not know what it was to be popes.” He began his pontificate with renewing all the bulls issued against Lewis; with naming a vicar-general of the empire in Lombardy, and endeavouring to make all Italy shake off the emperor’s authority.

Lewis, still desirous of an accommodation with the holy see, amidst all these acts of enmity, sent ambassadors to the court of Avignon. But the conditions prescribed by his holiness were so unreasonable, that they were reject-

8. *Hist. de Luxemburg.*

9. Heiss, liv. ii. chap. 26.

ed with disdain by a diet of the empire, as an insult upon the imperial dignity. Clement, more incensed than ever at this instance of disregard, fulminated new excommunications against the emperor. "May the wrath
 " of God," says the enraged pontiff in one of A. D. 1346.
 his bulls, "and of St. Peter and St. Paul, crush him in
 " this world, and that which is to come! May the earth
 " open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish,
 " and all the elements be his enemies; and may his
 " children fall into the hands of his adversaries, even in
 " the sight of their father¹⁰."

Clement issued another bull for the election of a new emperor; and Charles of Luxemburg, margrave of Moravia, afterwards known by the name of Charles IV. son and heir of John, king of Bohemia, having made the necessary concessions to his holiness, was elected king of the Romans by a faction. Lewis, however, A. D. 1347.
 maintained his authority till his death, which
 happened soon after the election of his rival; when Charles, rather by his money than his valour, got possession of the imperial throne.

While these things were transacting in Germany, a singular scene was exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi, a private citizen of Rome, but an eloquent, bold, enterprising man, and a patriot, seeing that city abandoned by the emperors and the popes, set himself up as the restorer of the Roman liberty and the Roman power. Proclaimed tribune by the people, and put in possession of the Capitol, he declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But these convulsive struggles of long-expiring freedom, like many others, proved ineffectual. Rienzi, who styled himself "the severe though
 " merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous assertor of the
 " liberties of Italy, and the lover of all mankind," as he

¹⁰ *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

attempted to imitate the Gracchi, met the same fate, being murdered by the patrician faction¹¹.

A scene no less extraordinary was about this time exhibited at Naples. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily still continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the house of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert of Anjou, son of Charles the *Lame*, though he had failed in his attempt to recover possession of Sicily, had made Naples a flourishing kingdom. He died in 1343, and left his crown to Joan, his granddaughter, who had married her relation Andrew, brother to Lewis of Anjou, elected king of Hungary; a match which seemed to cement the happiness and prosperity of that house, but proved the source of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, though but eighteen years of age, insisted that he should only be considered as the queen's husband. A Franciscan friar, called Brother Robert, by whose advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and discord between the royal pair; and the Hungarians, of whom Andrew's court was chiefly composed, excited the jealousy of the Neapolitans, who considered them as barbarians. It was therefore resolved, in a council of the queen's favourites, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly strangled in his wife's anti-chamber: and Joan married the prince of Tarentum, who had been publicly accused of the murder of her husband, and was well known to have been concerned in that bloody deed. How strong a presumption of her own guilt!

In the mean time Lewis king of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of that unfortunate prince on her and her accomplices. He accordingly set out for
A. D. 1348. Naples by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he publicly accused Joan, before the tribune Rienzi;

11. *Id. ibid.*

who, during the existence of his transitory power, beheld several kings appealing to his tribunal, as was customary in the times of the ancient republic. Rienzi, however, declined giving his decision; a moderation by which he at least gave one example of his prudence: and Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying along with him a black standard, on which were painted the most striking circumstances of Andrew's murder. He ordered a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the regicide, to be beheaded. Joan and her husband fled into Provence; where, finding herself utterly abandoned by her subjects, she waited on pope Clement VI. at Avignon, a city of which she was sovereign, as countess of Provence, and which she sold to that pontiff, together with its territories, for eighty thousand florins in gold, which a celebrated historian tells us were never paid. Here she pleaded her cause in person before the pope, and was acquitted. But perhaps the desire of possessing Avignon had some influence upon the judgment of his holiness.

Clement's kindness did not stop here. In order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, he proposed that Joan should pay him a sum of money; but as ambition or avarice had no share in Lewis's enterprize, he generously replied, "I am not come hither to sell my brother's blood, but to revenge it!" and as he had partly effected his purpose, he went away satisfied, though the kingdom of Naples was in his power². Joan recovered her dominions, but only to become more wretched. Of her unhappy fate I shall afterwards have occasion to speak.

We must now return to the affairs of the emperor Charles IV. This prince, who was equally distinguished by his weakness and pride, had no sooner settled the affairs of Germany, than he went to receive the imperial crown at Rome, where he behaved in a manner more pusillanimous

12. Villani, lib. xii.

than any of his predecessors. The coronation ceremony was no sooner performed than he retired without the walls, in consequence of an agreement which he had made with the pope; though the Romans came to offer him the government of their city, as his hereditary right, and entreated him to re-establish their ancient liberty. He told the deputies he would deliberate on the proposal. But being apprehensive of some treachery, he sneaked off in the evening, under pretence of going to take the diversion of hunting. And he afterwards ratified and confirmed many promises extorted from him by Clement VI. very much to the prejudice of the empire in Italy¹³.

The poet Petrarch, so highly celebrated for his love-verses, wrote a letter to Charles A. D. 1356. upon this occasion, in which are found these spirited words: “ You have then promised upon oath, never to return to Rome!—What shameful conduct in an emperor to be compelled by a priest to content himself with the bare title of Cæsar, and to exile himself forever from the habitation of the Cæsars! to be crowned emperor, and then prohibited reigning, or acting as head of the empire!—What an insult upon him who ought to command the universe, to be no longer master of himself, but reduced to obey his own vassal¹⁴.

This emperor seemed to have renounced entirely the politics of his predecessors; for he not only discouraged and rejected the proffers of the Ghibelines, but affected to treat them as enemies to religion, and actually supported the Guelphs. By these means he procured the favour of the pope and his dependents, who flattered him with the most fulsome adulation; but the Italians, in general, viewed him with contempt, and the greatest part of the towns attached to the empire, shut their gates against him. At Cremona he was obliged to wait two hours without the walls, before he

13. Fleury, tom. xx. liv. 96.

14. *De Vit. Solit.* lib. ii.

received the answer of the magistrates; who, at last, only permitted him to enter as a simple stranger, without arms or retinue¹⁵.

Charles IV. made a more respectable figure after his return to Germany. The number of electorates had been fixed since the time of Henry VII. more by custom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The duke of Bavaria presumed he had a right to elect as well as the count Palatine, the elder branch of their family; and the younger brothers of the house of Saxony believed themselves entitled to vote as well as the elder. The emperor, therefore, resolved to settle these points, that due subordination might take place, and future elections be conducted without confusion or disorder. For this purpose he ordered a diet to be held at Nuremberg, where the famous constitution, called the *Golden Bull*, was established, in the presence, and with the consent of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities.

The style of that celebrated charter partakes strongly of the spirit of the times. It begins with an apostrophe to Satan, anger, pride, luxury; and it says that it is necessary the number of electors should be seven, in order to oppose the seven mortal sins. It speaks of the fall of all the angels, of a heavenly paradise, of Pompey, and of Cæsar; and it asserts that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity. The seven electors were, as formerly premised, the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, the king of Bohemia, the count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg.

The imperial dignity, which of itself then conferred little real power, never shewed more of that lustre which dazzles the eyes of the people, than on the publication of this famous edict. The three ecclesiastical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared in the procession

15. Barre, tom. ii. Spond. *Contin.* Baron, tom. i.

with the seals of the empire; the archbishop of Mentz carried that of Germany, the archbishop of Cologne that of Italy, and the archbishop of Triers, that of Gaul; though the empire now possessed nothing in Gaul, except a claim to empty homage for the remains of the kingdoms of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné. How little power Charles had in Italy, we have already seen. Besides granting to the pope all the lands claimed by the holy see, he left the family of Visconti in the quiet possession of Milau and Lombardy, which they had usurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona⁶. I must now return to the ceremonial.

The duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, who represented the king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, presented the emperor with his drink, poured from a golden flaggon into a cup of the same metal; the duke of Saxony, as grand marshal, appeared with a silver measure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburg presented the emperor and empress with water to wash in a golden ewer, placed in a golden bason; and the count Palatine served up the victuals in golden dishes, in presence of all the great officers of the empire⁷.

The latter part of the reign of Charles IV. was distinguished by no remarkable transaction except the sale of the imperial jurisdictions in Italy; which were again resumed and again sold. Charles who A. D. 1378. was reputed a good prince, but a weak emperor, was succeeded in all his possessions and dignities by his son Wincslaus, whom I shall afterward have occasion to mention. We must now return to the affairs of England; remarking by the way, that Charles IV. was an encourager of letters, and founded the university of Prague.

16. *Id. ibid.*

17. Heiss, liv. ii. chap. 27.

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